

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

## Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

---

Bachelor of Divinity

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

---

5-1-1947

### The Race Question in the Light of the Una Sancta

Harry N. Huxhold

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, ir\_huxholdh@csl.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv>



Part of the [Religious Thought, Theology and Philosophy of Religion Commons](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

Huxhold, Harry N., "The Race Question in the Light of the Una Sancta" (1947). *Bachelor of Divinity*. 209. <https://scholar.csl.edu/bdiv/209>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Bachelor of Divinity by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact [seitzw@csl.edu](mailto:seitzw@csl.edu).

THE RACE QUESTION IN THE LIGHT  
OF THE UNA SANCTA

---

A Thesis Presented to  
The Faculty of Concordia Seminary  
Department of Systematic Theology

---

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Bachelor of Divinity

---

by  
Harry N. Huxhold  
May 1947

Approved by: J. E. Meyer  
V. D. Pennington

## CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
Introduction-----	1
I. The Relation of the Local Congregation to the Una Sancta-----	5
II. The Duties of the Local Congregation-----	30
III. The Place of the Local Congregation in Society-----	39
Conclusions-----	58
Bibliography	

## OUTLINE

- I. The relation of the local congregation to the Una Sancta.
  - A. The Una Sancta is the Body of Christ.
  - B. The local congregation should be the counterpart of the Una Sancta.
  
- II. The duties of the local congregation.
  - A. To establish the Ministry among Christians of given locality.
  - B. To promote the Church at large.
  
- III. The place of the local congregation in society.
  - A. The local congregation is primarily concerned with the spiritual realm.
  - B. The religious integration of the local congregation differs from social integration.
  - C. The local congregation leads society in charity to all men.

THE RACE QUESTION IN THE LIGHT  
OF THE UNA SANCTA

Introduction

In St. Louis plans of a group of clergymen working for an inter-racial conference were upset by the manager of the hotel at which the conference was to be held. No amount of argument could persuade the manager to offer his rooms for a mixed gathering. Finally, one of the clergymen accused him of being undemocratic. When the hotel manager learned that none of the clergymen present presided over mixed churches, he replied, "Then, by what right do you damn me for being undemocratic when in your own churches all of you are afraid<sup>1</sup> to be Christians?"

Such protests against the church are growing more frequent. Both white and colored groups point to segregation in American Christian churches as proof of insincerity of Christian confessions. The militant Negro press champions the cause of the Fair Employment Practice Commission and of

---

1. Wallace Stegner, One Nation, p. 1.

the Communistic labor unions as the practical application of the law of love which they claim the "white" church is lax in performing. Supreme Court decisions in favor of racial minority groups have added weight to the arguments of protesting forces. However, the protests have not solved the racial problem, for the racial problem continues to exert strong pressure upon human relationships in the South and ever large metropolitan center in the North.

The Roman Catholic Church has begun an endeavor to answer the protests of racial minority groups with a crusade for membership of all minority groups. In many of its parishes, the Roman hierarchy has utilized the power of its clergy as the solution to the problem of integration.

However, Protestant churches find an answer to the racial problem much more complex. The majority of Protestant congregations are democratic, and their laity retain the right to vote against integration of whites and racial minority groups. The Protestant clergy is also careful not to thrust integration upon its laity because the clergy does not want to lose the laity which is skeptical of morals, standards of living, and qualities of racial minority groups.

And yet, Protestant churches are confronted with the task of developing answers to the demands championed by all those protesting her position on integration and the teachings of such "social gospelers" as Rauschenbusch and Jones. Furthermore, the Protestant congregations may not everywhere

ban members of racial minority groups from their altars.

There are exceptional cases of the presence of racial minority groups in the local congregation. Education has lifted many individuals of minority racial groups out of the lower classes into higher society. The transfer usually includes a step from the slum area and the slum mission to a more fashionable community. The congregation of the better community affiliated with the slum mission has the obligation to recognize a letter of transfer from the mission.

The "downtown church" has its own problems of answering the needs of the multiple number of racial minority groups crowded within its parish lines. If the local congregation makes no provisions to fulfill its missionary obligations to the racial minority groups within its parish lines by providing facilities to teach them the Word, it must fulfill those obligations by incorporating the minority groups into its own body.

The assumption that these problems of assimilating racial minority groups within the local congregation are remote to the Church is unfounded. Instances of the problems have not been seldom and they are growing in frequency.

Neither Scriptures nor the Confessions of the Lutheran Church deal with the specific problems of racial minority groups, for the problem was absent at the time of their writing. But both indicate principles on the basis of which the question may be treated. Approaches to the problem on

the basis of the various principles laid down in Scriptures and the Confessions may vary. But since the problem as it confronts the Church is most generally connected with the question of integrating racial minority groups in the local congregation, the following paper is a study of the race question and its implications in the light of the Doctrine of the Church.

Since the writer of the following thesis worked in a Negro mission, the investigation and experiences will be restricted as applicable to Negro people in the Synodical Conference.



## I. THE RELATION OF THE LOCAL CONGREGATION TO THE UNA SANCTA

The prime consideration of the race question in the light of the doctrine of the Church is a definition of the Church itself. Christians confess in the third article of the Apostles' Creed that they believe in the Holy Christian Church which is the Communion of Saints. Luther explains in his exposition of the Third Article what the Church is when he says that the Christian Church is the entire number of believers on earth whom the Holy Ghost calls through the Gospel, enlightens, sanctifies and keeps with Jesus Christ in the one true faith. Thus the Christian Church is not a visible, external organization as the Roman and Anglican churches teach, but there is no external concept of the Church; as the Apology teaches, there is no visible church. <sup>1</sup>

Luther pointed out that Scripture does not speak of the Church as an external organization but speaks of the Church quite simply and uses the term in only one sense---that the Church is the assembly of all believers in Christ upon earth. This community or assembly consists of all those who live in true faith, hope and love, so that the essence and nature of the Church is not a bodily assembly, but an assembly of hearts in one faith. In reality the assembly is a spiritual unity, and this unity in itself makes the Church. Without that

---

1. "Apology of Augsburg Confession," Triglott Concordia, VII and VIII, p. 235.

unity, no unity of place, of time, of person, of work, or  
 whatever else, makes a church.<sup>2</sup>

C. F. W. Walther also taught that the Universal Church (Una Sancta) is the communion of saints and the sum total of all who have been called by the Holy Ghost through the Word from out of the lost and condemned race, who truly believe in Christ and have been sanctified by this faith and have been incorporated into Christ.<sup>3</sup>

Men do not become members of the Universal Church by outward signs, but all those and only those who believe in the Gospel promise of the atonement won for them and all men by Jesus Christ are the members of the holy, Christian Church. Personal faith alone makes men members of Christ, and thus members of the mystical body of Christ.<sup>4</sup>

This spiritual unity of the Christian Church according to faith in Christ is clearly taught in Scripture. St. Paul describes the church as the body of Christ, for God has given all things to Christ that He might be the Head of the Church, which is the body (Eph. 1: 22, 23), and as the husband is the head of the wife, so Christ is the Head of the Church (Eph. 5: 23-30). All Christians are members of the

2. Cf. Works of Martin Luther, Holman edition, I, p. 349.

3. C. F. W. Walther, "Church and Ministry," Walther and the Church, Dallmann, Dau, Engelder, p. 56. "Augsburg Confession," op. cit., p. 47: "The Church is the congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments are rightly administered."

4. Theodore Engelder, Christian Dogmatics, p. 54, par. 3.

body of Christ, flesh of His flesh, bones of His bones. There is one body, one Spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father (Eph. 4: 4-6). There may be countless numbers of believers in all parts of the world, but there can be only one Church, for the total number of believers are one body in Christ and all are members one of another (Rom. 12: 4, 5), for the work of Christ was for every kindred, tongue, people, and nation (Rev. 5: 9). There is no distinction of race, sex, age, social condition in the Church, for by one Spirit all Christians are baptized into one body, whether they be Jews or Gentiles, whether they be bond or free. All have been made to drink into one Spirit (I Cor. 12: 13). Christ has made all Christians one and has broken down the middle partition between Gentile and Hebrew, by His work on the cross. (Eph. 2: 13-22).

That faith alone and nothing external makes men members of the Christian Church was further demonstrated by Luther who explains that though a man consists of two natures, body and soul, he is not counted a member of the Church Universal according to his body, but according to his soul, that is, according to his faith. Otherwise someone might say that a man is a nobler Christian than a woman because he is stronger than the woman; or that a man is a greater Christian than a child; a healthy person a stronger Christian than an invalid; the rich and powerful stronger than servants and the poor. But he is the better Christian who is greater in faith,

hope and love. Scripture makes it very evident that the Church is a spiritual community which can be classed with a temporal community as little as spirits with bodies or faith with earthly possessions.<sup>5</sup>

Every person, from every walk of life, from every race, from every nation, from every age can be certain and absolutely sure that he is a member of the Church Universal as long as he trusts in the Gospel promise that offers him life and salvation through the merits of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Head of the Church Universal.

However, not only believers but all believers are members of the Church. The Church of the Old Testament and the Church in the New Testament are the one and the same Church. The believers in the Old Testament who trusted in the Messiah to come trusted in the Christ of the New Testament. The children of the New Testament who are believers are the children of Abraham (Gal. 3: 6, 7, 29). Paul writes to the Gentile Christians that all Christians are no longer strangers and foreigners but they are actually and really fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus being the corner stone; and this building continues to grow through faith in Christ (Eph. 2: 12-22). Paul was establishing the fact that Gentile Christians who formerly

---

5. Works of Martin Luther, op. cit., I, p. 353.

occupied a station far from the children of Israel are now citizens in the commonwealth of the Christian Church. There is no difference, for Gentile Christians belong to the household of God like all other believers. And the household of believers continues to grow until the end comes with the conversion of the last elect member.<sup>6</sup> Faith thus unites the members of all times and all places into one body under Christ the Head.

The Ethiopean converted by Philip, the Samaritan woman with whom Jesus talked at Jacob's well, Rahab, Ruth are the members of the same church of the millions of Christians all over the world today. Scriptural evidence is plain that there is no race question of any kind in the Universal Church. The entire world has been redeemed with the precious blood of Christ. The entire world is invited to share the glories of Christ's Church through faith in that Redemption.

The Universal Church is the entire company of the elect, and it cannot be divided. The Universal transcends all time. Luther writes that the word "church" ought to mean the holy, Christian people, not only of the time of the Apostles, but to the end of the world, so that there is always living on earth a Christian, holy people in which Christ lives, works, and reigns through His redemption, through grace and forgiveness of sins; and the Holy Ghost through regeneration

---

6. Paul E. Kretzmann, Popular Commentary, "New Testament," II, p. 271. .

and sanctification, through the daily purging out of sins  
 and renewal of life.<sup>7</sup>

As the Church Universal is the unified group of all who believe in Christ, so the local congregation should be the counterpart of the Universal Church. Scripture teaches that the local congregation is the company of believers at a specific point. The term used in the New Testament for the company of believers is ecclesia. Aside from the use of ecclesia in Acts 19, the word is used to denote the assembly for worship, the local congregation and the *Una Sancta*.

The use of ecclesia as a local congregation met for public worship occurs in a few instances in the New Testament. St. Paul writes to the Corinthians that he would speak in the ecclesia only in such manner as he could be understood (I Cor. 14: 19), and that the women should keep silent in the ecclesiai (I Cor. 14: 34). The context of these two passages, which both occur in the same chapter, clearly indicates that Paul is speaking of the ecclesia as the assembly for public worship.<sup>8</sup> He also mentions to the Corinthians that he has heard that when they come together in the ecclesia there are divisions among them.

Though the term ecclesia is used in these few passages

---

7. Holman, *op. cit.*, V, p. 266.

8. I Cor. 14: 26: "When ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation."

to denote a gathering for public worship, it is used in many passages to denote the company of believers at a specific locality. The writers of the New Testament refer to the congregations at Jerusalem, at Rome, in Galatia, in Asia with the term ecclesia (Acts 5: 11; 8: 1; I Cor. 4: 17; Rev. 1: 11). Sometimes also a group of congregations is described as the ecclesia. Luke speaks of the churches which St. Paul had persecuted in the plural (Acts 9: 31) while St. Paul speaks of them both in the singular (Gal. 1: 13) and in the plural (Gal. 1: 22). In several instances ecclesia also denotes house-congregations which apparently are placed on a par with larger congregations (I Cor. 16: 18; Col. 4: 15).

The term ecclesia is used in the epistles, especially Ephesians and Colossians, primarily to denote the body of Christians throughout the world. When St. Paul speaks of the gifts which Christ has bestowed upon the ecclesia, he is not thinking only of the Corinthian congregation, but of the entire body of Christians. The Epistle to the Ephesians (a general epistle) is loaded with references to the ecclesia, and the term invariably refers to the body of all believers (Eph. 1: 22; 3: 10; 5: 23, 27, 29, 32).

Though ecclesia may be used of three categories mentioned above, the word does not have three distinct connotations, but the term always denotes the congregation of true believers, and never both the visible and the invisible church.

Proof that the term ecclesia denotes the congregation of believers is the manner in which the term is used in the New Testament. It is significant that the term is used interchangeably in the singular and the plural (cf. Acts 9: 31 and Gal. 1: 23 with Gal. 1: 13 and I Cor. 15: 9). On occasion Paul views the body of Christians throughout the world as ecclesia and then he restricts the use of the word to the Christians at a specific locality (cf. I Cor. 10: 32 with 11: 16; Rom. 16: 4 with I Cor. 4: 17). The ecclesia at Jerusalem, at Rome, at Corinth is essentially identical with the ecclesia described in Colossians and Ephesians (the Una Sancta).

The term ecclesia always denotes an assembly of the Christians, whether that assembly includes only two or three at a specific locality (Matt. 18: 20) or all the Christians as the mystical body of Christ (Eph. 1: 22; 5: 23). In a word, the term ecclesia demonstrates that there are not two churches.

---

9. F. Pieper, Christliche Dogmatik, III, 483: "Die Gesamtkirche und die Ortskirche sind nicht zwei Kirchen oder zwei Arten von Kirchen, sondern die Gesamtkirche ist die Summe von Ortskirchen, unter Hinzuzählung der einzelnen Gläubigen, die von aller äusseren Kirchengemeinschaft ausgeschlossen sind.....Eine Ortsgemeinde ist daher so zu definieren: Die Ortsgemeinde ist die Gemeinde der Gläubigen, die sich an einem bestimmten Ort und Wort und Sakrament gesammelt haben."

Cf. also Kittel quoted by F. E. Mayer, The Concept of the Una Sancta According to Ekklesia (unpublished conference paper) p. 10. Kittel suggests that the ecclesia universalis should not be viewed as the sum of all ecclesia locales, but



Thus the Savior speaks of only one fold and one Shepherd (John 10: 16). So also the Apostle Paul refers to the members of the local congregation and the saints of heaven as one family (Eph. 3: 15). According to membership there is only one Church. There are not two different churches with two different constituencies. The membership of the Universal Church is co-extensive with that of the local churches, in addition to those who are believers but are deprived of membership in a local church. The believers are the same believers of the Church Universal.<sup>10</sup>

The equivalent of the Greek term ecclesia used in the New Testament is actually lacking in the English language. The English word "church" has a much wider meaning. Therefore, whenever "church" is used its meaning must be derived from the context. Luther writes that for the sake of brevity and a better understanding the local "church" and the Universal Church should be called by two different names. The first, which is the natural, essential, real, and true one,

---

essentially ecclesia always denotes the same. On II Cor. 1: 1 he writes: "Hier sollte man nicht uebersetzen: 'die korinthische Gemeinde', neben der dann die roemische Gemeinde usw. staende, sondern: 'die Gemeinde, Kirche, Versammlung, wie sie in Korinth ist.' Wenn jemand in einer solchen Versammlung verachtet ist (I K 6, 4), wenn man zusammenkommt in ihr, wenn sie nicht belastet werden soll (I Tm 5, 16), so ist nicht an die an einen Ort gebundene Gemeinde, sondern an die Gemeinde ueberhaupt gedacht." Kittel, c.c., 508.

10. Engelder, op. cit., p. 62, par. 32. Cf. also J. T. Mueller, Christian Dogmatics, p. 554: "Scripture teaches clearly that these are not two different churches, but that the Church Universal consists of all true believers who are found in the local churches."

can be called a spiritual inner Christendom. The other, which is man-made and external, can be called a bodily external Christendom. The two cannot be parted in two, but just as a man is spoken of according to the soul as a spiritual being and according to the body as a physical being (or as Paul speaks of the inner and outward man), so the churches can be called by different names.<sup>11</sup> Walther calls the "individual parts" of the Universal Church "churches or particular churches."<sup>12</sup>

The word "church" is also generally applied to the local congregation as it is gathered about the Word. This concept does not exclude the number of hypocrites who are gathered about the Word with the number of believers.<sup>13</sup> However, the true concept of ecclesia, as shown above, clearly teaches that only true believers are members of the Church.

Since the Church is the number of believers united in the body of Christ by faith in Christ, the disruption of the Church by sects and schisms is contrary to the Will of God. Paul writes that Christians must endeavor to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace (Eph. 4: 3). Therefore, those who teach false doctrines (contrary to Scriptures) are guilty of disrupting the unity of the Church Universal. Like-

---

11. Holman, op. cit., I, p. 355  
 12. Walther, op. cit., p. 63: "...to the visible church.....the name 'Church' can belong, and can be accorded only in an improper, synœdocal sense."  
 13. Ibid.

wise the local congregation or church that is guilty of separating itself from Christians who cling to the unadulterated truths of Scripture is guilty of disrupting the unity of the Church Universal.

The Apology of the Augsburg Confession warns against the disruption of the unity of the Church by schisms,<sup>14</sup> divisions in the Church caused by differences in adiaphora.<sup>15</sup> So also Walther states in his treatise, "The Lutheran Church the True Visible Church," that any who separate themselves from the true Church because they disagree in secondary doctrines, or even on account of persons who have incurred their displeasure or have offended them, or on account of ceremonies, destroy the unity of the Church.<sup>16</sup>

When groups or individuals, therefore, for no valid rea-

14. Cf. "Apology," *op. cit.*, pp. 237 ff.

15. Cf. Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 560: "The term separatism, or schism, denotes a denominational separatism of religious groups from existing churches on non-Scriptural grounds, such as ecclesiastical customs, forms, usages, and the like (Donatism). Schisms are therefore opposed to God's Word and are sinful. For practical reasons we distinguish between malicious separatism (schismatici malitiosi) and non-malicious separatism (schismatici non-malitiosi). The former is caused by, and mingled with, spite and uncharitableness, the latter is the result of ignorance or prejudice and is not joined with the intentional disregard of the principle of brotherly love."

16. C. F. W. Walther, "The Lutheran Church the True Visible Church," *op. cit.*, p. 119: "Communion destroying the unity of the Church for non-fundamental errors or personalities or ceremonies or wicked life, according to God's Word are schismatic or separatistic communions."

son leave the true Church because an individual or number of persons of the racial minority groups have been accepted into the local congregation, those who have separated themselves from the Church are destroying the unity of the Church. There is no distinction of race in the Church Universal, and God wills that there be no distinction of race in the local church, because the membership of the local church is co-extensive with that of the Church Universal.

Scripture everywhere teaches that the members of the Church must preserve harmony by love which is grounded in faith. Though of different nationalities, races, temperaments and ages they all have the same peace with Jesus Christ. Therefore, Scripture bids them to walk together in love with meekness and lowliness endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. (Eph. 4: 1-3).

Though the material problems of property values, social contacts, inter-marriage, and the like which the presence of racial minority groups present to the Church, they are not the prime concern of the Church. The Church is primarily concerned with endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit  
17  
in the bond of peace.

---

17. Joachim Wach, Sociology of Religion, p. 24 writes: "Theory and practice remain closely knit, but the former is gradually subordinated to the latter and man rather than God comes to be the center of interest." John T. Gillard, "The Catholic Church and the American Negro," The Ecclesiastical Review, IV (XCIV), (Feb., 1936), says: "So far as the Negro is concerned, some priests treat this doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ as an academic theory to be preached as an ideal, but impossible of realization in our everyday world."

However, this is more easily said than done. The principle laid down in Scripture that Christians preserve and keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace is grand, glorious, but difficult. Keeping the unity of the Church is especially difficult where the unity must be preserved among whites and Negroes, because emotions in both groups are strained by human conflicts in society that have occurred in the centuries of American history.

The unfortunate situation that arises where Caucasian and Negroes must strive to keep the bond of peace is that the Caucasians frequently do not view the Christian Negroes in the light of their faith. Instead, the deep-rooted social prejudices against the Negroes arise to darken all hopes for contacts with the Negroes in the Church. Such prejudices are not easily combatted, for they are not only the products of disdain for a race that has lost all prestige through slavery, but they are made more complex by forces operating in the larger society today. The average Caucasian does not hold prejudices against the Negro because of his reflection upon the Negro's slave ancestry, but his prejudices are the result of his generalization on the inferior position of the Negro in society today. The result is that Caucasian Christians generally carry these prejudices in their contacts with Christian Negroes. The Caucasians do not think of the Christian Negro as a Christian brother but they think of him as an inferior member of society. The natural reaction is

that they consider their place in society as endangered by contacts with the Negro. The immediate question that arises among the Caucasians is not, "How shall we care for the Negro?" but "What will happen to our position in society?" The resulting tendency is to steer shy of the Negroes.

This church segregation of the Negro is best exemplified in a picture of a Negro sitting on the stairs of a house of worship in the South. On the door lintel is the inscription "A House of Prayer for All People." But in the South "A House of Prayer for All People" means for all white people, for the Negro who would take the inscription at face value would cause consternation.

Such segregation is a great moral dilemma to many earnest Caucasian Christians. For many, segregation is an embarrassment. Embree writes "that in a religion which teaches brotherly love, preachers have to do a great deal of rationalizing as they expound their own gospel."

Gunnar Myrdal's study of the Negro problem in the United States draws the following conclusions regarding the segregated church:

Southern whites usually succeed in keeping the Christian challenge of religious brotherhood off their minds. The observer feels that the very incompatibility between uncompromising Christian creed, on the one hand, and the actual caste relations, on the other hand, is a reason white

---

18. Stegner, op. cit., p. 215.

19. Edwin R. Embree, Brown America, pp. 208. 209.

ministers in the South keep so aloof from the race problem and why the white church in the South has generally played so inconsequential a part in changing race relations. It is also a reason why the white minister has been so closely watched by his congregation so that he does not start to draw practical conclusions from Christian doctrine that would favor the improvement of race relations. Bailey complained a generation ago: 'Even in religion does the black blight of unfreedom appear.....Let a preacher in a Southern pulpit begin to plead for the Negroes, and he at once endangers his popularity if not his support. Preachers do thus plead on occasion, and are generously called 'courageous' by some of their friends. Why should a minister of the church be 'courageous' when he reminds his parishioner of the fundamental principle of Christianity, the priceless value of the human soul? And yet I should personally advise nine out of ten clergymen to leave this Negro question severely alone.....If a special student of the Negro question must submit to being called 'brave' because he gently insinuates that, according to Christianity, Negroes have immortal souls and that Christ died for those souls, although he has prefaced his remarks with a stiff statement of his adherence to 'Southern' principles, is it surprising that the people should want their ministers to keep clear of a subject which they ordinarily have not studied? On the other hand, I have heard esteemed and godly ministers make heartless remarks about Negroes, remarks so cruelly harsh and unsympathetic that they aroused my indignation that alleged ambassadors of the Most High should speak so slightingly of any of God's children..... When men must use certain thought molds in politics, and must fear the effects of disturbing a bristling racial orthodoxy, it is natural that they should not be free in religion.'" 20

The situation is not much different in the North. A few white churches in the North have a few Negro members, and they rarely turn away Negro visitors. Usually they can not allow the Negro membership to grow too large. In Boston a serious problem arose when some Episcopal churches had ~~had~~

increased Negro attendance. A white church leader explained the situation thus:

What shall we do with these Negroes? I for one would like to have them stay. I believe it is in accordance with the doctrine of Christ, but the proportion is growing so large that white people are drifting away from us. Strangers avoid us. Our organization is expensive to keep up and the Negroes are able to contribute very little in proportion to their numbers. Think about it yourself: What shall we do? If we allow the Negroes to attend freely it means that eventually all the white people will leave and we shall have a Negro church whether we want it or not. 21

The advisability of separate churches for Negroes and whites is not only maintained by whites, for fear of losing a large part of the white membership, but it is also maintained by many Negroes. A segregated society has made the Negroes feel uncomfortable where they are offered equal rights with the whites. Even though Negroes are against the principle of church segregation, they prefer to worship by themselves. <sup>22</sup> Pastor Andrew Schulze observes:

Few Negroes, at least understanding Negroes (so we are told by Negro authors, editors, and others) desire to worship in the same church with Caucasians if they have the opportunity to worship with their own group. If there are two Lutheran churches both of equal distance from the home of a Negro, both offering equal facilities, the one accommodating Caucasian worshipers, the other Negro worshipers, the Negro Lutheran will invariably prefer membership in the church of Negro worshipers, so we are assured, and there are good reasons for accepting this as true. No doubt this will be true as long as racial lines are drawn in America. 23

---

21. Ibid., p. 870.

22. Ibid.

23. Andrew Schulze, My Neighbor of Another Color, p. 79.



Thus the segregation in the local congregation is really a continuation of segregation in society. There would be no segregation in the local congregation if there were no segregation in society. But the local congregation does not identify itself as an ordinary social institution, for the local congregation is the fellowship of believers.<sup>24</sup> However, should the point be raised that because the local congregation's membership is also a membership of society, the local congregation must retain the standards of society, we must remember that the local congregation cannot afford to retain social standards that are unbalanced and are a direct violation of the creeds, ideals, and goals of the society itself. Any local congregation in America that upholds segregation is not only lax in promoting the spirit of the bond of peace, but it is violating the creed of the country in which it operates and thrives. The American Creed takes a unique position in the world in that it offers freedom and equal rights for all. A strange phenomenon occurs when a Church in America defends segregation while it exists in a society that prides itself in the fact that its glorious creed is based on Christianity. Henry Wallace in his speech of May 8, 1940, to the Free World Association stated:

The idea of freedom---the freedom we in the United States know and love so well---is derived from the Bible with its extraordinary emphasis on the dignity of the individual. Democracy is the only true political expression of Christianity. 25

---

24. The place of the church in society will be discussed in chapter III.

25. Myrdal, op. cit., I, p. 11.

This same American Creed is the pulse of America. It has been the foundation of the American way of life. America has grown because of it. Americans are proud of it. But, Pearl Buck states:

Talk to any dirt American and he honestly believes in equality and justice and in giving everybody democratic rights. But mention to him the colored man and you will not believe your own ears. 26

Thus the Negro-white problem becomes a public moral issue. The American deals with the Negro in opposition to his convictions. Myrdal states the problem precisely in the introduction to his lengthy and detailed study of the problem thus:

The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American. It is there that the interracial tension has its focus. It is there that the decisive struggle goes on.....The "American Dilemma" referred to in the title of this book (An American Dilemma), is an ever raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved in the general plane which we shall call the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes on individual and group living, where personal and local interests, economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook. 27

At this point clear distinction must be made. On the one hand, the Church does not uphold equality in the local

---

26. Pearl Buck, "Tinder for Tomorrow," Freedom for All, reprinted from Asia (March, 1942), p. 10.

27. Myrdal, op. cit., I, p. xliii.

congregation because society upholds equality, but the Church maintains that all Christians are united equally in the *Una Sancta*. On the other hand, public opinion will definitely shape the procedure on the social problem presented by the Negro-white relationships.

Thus when the local congregation is dealing with the problem of segregating Negroes, the attempt to be a counterpart of the *Una Sancta* is complicated by the fact that the congregation is at the same time dealing with a highly complex moral conflict in society.

However, the complexity of the problem does not end here. In spite of the fact that the local congregation cannot uphold segregations, because of its relation to the *Una Sancta*, a host of arguments defending the caste system against Negroes are hurled at the local congregation. The same rationalizations are used to defend the caste system as were used to defend slavery. After the Civil War and Emancipation the race dogma upholding slavery was retained to justify the caste system.<sup>28</sup>

This unfounded race dogma was successful in stifling Negro genius and keeping the Negro mass on an inferior level of society. Then the observation that the Negro was inferior was connected with the fact that man belongs to the biological universe, and by a twist of logic, the incorrect de-

---

28. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 88.

duction was made that the Negro's inferiority is biological  
 29  
 in nature.

Other incorrect deductions are made from the Negro's inferior position in society which is a result of his start in American society. A vicious cycle is in action. Myrdal states the case thus:

White prejudice and discrimination keep the Negro low in standards of living, health, education, manners, and morals. This in turn gives support to white prejudice. White prejudice and Negro standards thus mutually "cause" each other. 30

These prejudices and rationalizations defending the prejudices which keep the Negro inferior in society are not only detrimental to society but have no place whatsoever in the local congregation. The local congregation must approach the problem solely from the relation of the local congregation to the Una Sancta.

However, the local congregation that is confronted with a Negro-white problem and makes every effort to make both Negroes and whites conscious of its relationship to the Una Sancta may take comfort and courage in the fact that society is no longer totally unaware of the weakness of arguments against accepting Negroes into membership. Myrdal observes:

It is significant that today even the white man who defends discrimination frequently describes his motives as "prejudice" and says that it is "irrational." The popular beliefs rationalizing caste in America are no longer intellectually respectable. They can no longer, therefore, be found in current

---

29. Ibid., p. 99.  
 30. Ibid., p. 75.

books, newspapers or public speeches. They live a surreptitious life in thoughts and private remarks.....Everybody who has acquired a higher education knows that they are wrong. Most white people with a little education also have a hunch that they are wrong. There is today a queer feeling credo quia absurdum hovering over the whole complex of popular beliefs sustaining racial discrimination. 31

On the other side of the picture, the local congregation will do well to learn the reaction of Negroes to segregation and discrimination. In years past, Negroes endured segregation with a passive resistance, but today education has spurred a growing protest among Negroes. And a more violent reaction takes place among the lower class of Negroes.

Bishop Sims observes:

Race prejudice limits opportunity for Negroes and hence produces ignorance and moral degeneracy to an outstanding degree. Race prejudice produces liars, thieves, and hypocrites out of minority groups. But it also reacts. It produces hate on the part of the victim. Negroes have learned to hate white people because they are white. Race prejudice breeds suspicion on the part of Negroes. The Negro believes very little in the white man's Christianity. This is particularly true of the young Negro who has opportunity to observe extensively. 32

Generally speaking, the segregated church has aroused the indignation of the Negro youth to the point that the tendency of the Negro youth to abandon the Church is greater than among most white youth, with the exception of the Jews. 33

---

31. Ibid., II, p. 1003.

32. Bishop Sims, Social Action, IX, 1, (Jan. 15, '43), p. 42.

33. Myrdal, op. cit., II, p. 863.

One Negro boy in Washington confessed that the Negro youth is no more concerned about the church than the church is about the Negro youth, which is unfortunate because he says the church could do much for them.<sup>34</sup> A freshmen college student commented that the Negro preacher is about as useless a creature as could be found, and that he stayed home from church since he was no longer forced to go by his parents.<sup>35</sup> A son of a physician expressed his disgust at the antics<sup>36</sup> in the Negro church.

These are but samples of the testimonies of the Negro youth that demonstrate how the Church among the Negroes is losing in numbers and general influence. The young Negro population charges that the segregated Negro church tends to be capitalistic in its sympathies and religious only in exhortations.<sup>37</sup>

The segregated church among the Negroes, which is the result of white discrimination, is losing in importance, and there are indications that a new church is rising among the Negroes. The new church is a militant church, concerning itself with the problems of society.<sup>38</sup> This new church, which may be the "old-line Protestant church," some younger

---

34. Franklin E. Frazier, Negro Youth at the Crossways, p. 121.

35. Ibid., p. 128.

36. Ibid., p. 129.

37. Ira DeA. Reid, In a Minor Key, p. 84.

38. Ibid.

denomination, a Catholic congregation, or a community church, is just coming of age. Negro youth and the Negro's new church, will face the problems of survival and progress together.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, what the situation amounts to is that the Negro youth is creating a social institution called a "church" to answer the needs of its own society, because the "white church" has discriminated against the Negro.

The situation is really tragic. The Christian Church is in danger of losing many Negro members, because many Negroes have reached the conclusion that Christianity as the old slave knew it has failed. The tragic feature is that church membership has been higher among Negroes than among whites. Five out of every twelve Negroes claim membership in some church,<sup>40</sup> and the remarkable feature of Negro church membership is that less than one out of every hundred of the millions of Negroes in the United States today who adheres to a religious faith subscribes to any other faith but the Christian creed.<sup>41</sup>

Furthermore, it is significant to note that the small percentage of those among Negroes who are not Christians and subscribe to another faith may be the members of some sect or cult which has been founded to counter-act Christianity.

---

39. Ibid., p. 86.

40. America's Tenth Man, Southern Regional Council Inc., p. 21.

41. Arthur Auff Fauset, Black God's of the Metropolis, p. 2.

Myrdal writes:

In more recent times there have developed some very minor sects which are openly anti-white, but since they take no overt action other than to prohibit whites from attending their services, few whites even know of their existence. Notable among the anti-white sects are the various "Islamic" cults. They claim to adhere to Mohammedanism instead of Christianity and look to the brown peoples of Asia Minor and North Africa to save them for the whites.....

Another anti-white group, the African Orthodox Church, is of somewhat greater numerical importance and has branches in many cities, but it has mollified its anti-white position somewhat in recent years. 42

In summary, the local congregation is confronted with a host of problems when it endeavors to rule out all segregation and discrimination because of the congregation's relation to the Una Sancta. The fear of losing white members if Negroes are admitted to the local congregation is but one of the many considerations which the congregation must weigh. The congregation must first reexamine its relation to the Una Sancta, then consider the feelings of its members, the advisability of separate congregations, the legitimacy of protests of whites against Negro membership, the feelings of the Negroes, the dilemma of Christians who are violating their consciences by practicing discrimination, and the damages resulting from a segregated church.

Finally, a word of warning is sounded by Dorsha Hayes for all who are faced with the task of dealing with Negroes.

---

42. Myrdal, op. cit., II, p. 862.



The warning is especially applicable to the local congregation in its contacts with the Negro.

It would be a mistake to accept the Negro every place just because he is a member of an ill treated race. There again the mistake would be in thinking of race and not individuals. 43

This warning contains in a nutshell the basis for proper attitudes toward race. The local congregation must not react favorably or unfavorably toward the individual because of race, but always by the confession of that faith in Jesus Christ, who alone is able to add unto the Church Universal.

---

43. Dorsna Hayes, The American Primer, p. 23.

## II. THE DUTIES OF THE LOCAL CONGREGATION

An all important question which confronts the local congregation in dealing with Negroes is whether it is her duty to care for Negroes, and how much must she care for them.---Where do the duties toward the Negroes begin and where do they end?---Hence, this chapter is devoted to an examination of the duties of the local congregation.

All the rights and privileges with which Christ has endowed the Universal Church are also vested in the local congregation, large or small, orthodox or heterodox. The local congregation is a divine institution. God has instituted it. Joining a Christian congregation which insists on purity of doctrine and correct Bible practice does not lie in the sphere of Christian liberty, and the forming of local congregations is not the result of mere Christian wisdom and expediency.<sup>1</sup> The early Christians set the godly example to be emulated for all times, continuing steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of bread,<sup>2</sup> and in prayers. Furthermore, the Apostle

---

1. Engelder, *op. cit.*, p. 62, par. 32.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 62, par. 33. Cf. also Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 555. "To the objection of those who deny this point on the ground that membership in the Church Universal is sufficient for salvation and that Christ has given His followers no direct command to establish or to join local churches, so that local churches are free organizations, founded by men as the practical needs of believers in this world have made them necessary, we reply that it is indeed God's will and appointment---

a. That all believers living at one place should establish in their midst the public ministry and make dili-

Paul made common worship in the local congregation a divine ordinance for all Christians when he commanded that all Christians should provoke one another unto good works, not forsaking the assembling of themselves together (as the manner of some is), and to exhort one another (Heb. 10: 25). Christ says, too, that they are blessed who hear the Word of God and keep it (Luke 11: 28) and they that are of God hear God's Words (John 8: 47). He Himself instituted the Eucharist for all Christians with the command that they should observe and partake of the Supper often (I Cor. 11: 23-28), instituted the Sacrament of Holy Baptism for all Christians (Matt. 28: 19), gave to Christians the power to forgive sins in His name (John 20: 22, 23), ordered Christians to rebuke the erring brother (Matt. 18: 15-18), and commanded all Christians to preach His Gospel to all men (Matt. 28: 19).

These duties, rights, and privileges of the Universal

---

gent use of it by hearing and learning God's Word as it is proclaimed by the divinely called ministers, Eph. 4: 3-6; Acts 2: 42-47; 14: 23; 20: 28; I Cor. 12: 28; I Pet. 5: 2, 3; Titus 1: 5;

b. That they should together celebrate Holy Communion, I Cor. 11: 26; 10: 17, and exercise the duties of Christian fellowship and love, I Cor. 11: 33; 1: 10; Acts 6: 1-6; Col. 3: 15, 16;

c. That they should not only privately reprove an erring brother, Matt. 18: 15, 16, but also as a church, or congregation, rebuke and discipline impenitent sinners, Matt. 18: 17; I Cor. 5: 13."

Also Edward W. A. Koehler, Summary of Christian Doctrine, p. 221. "Since Christians should establish the ministry of the Word in their midst, exercise brotherly discipline, partake of the Lord's Supper in testimony of the communion of faith, every Christian will gladly become, and remain to be, a member of a local church."

Church are likewise the possessions of the local congregation. Just as the Universal Church extends these privileges to all men with no distinction of persons (Acts 10: 34. 35), so also the local congregation must establish the ministry of these rights and privileges among all the Christians of its locality.

Racial minority groups are not to be excluded from the benefits of these rights and privileges. When the Universal Church offers the free Word and Sacraments to men of all races, the local congregation does the same. Where the local congregation cannot afford and does not provide the establishment of the ministry and its rights among racial minority groups in its locality, it still is under the command of Scripture to administer the Word and Sacraments to the Christians of that community. The only alternative for the local congregation to establish the ministry among the Christians of the racial minority groups within its midst or locality is to share the ministry of the Word it possesses with those Christians.

---

3. Unfortunately, Wach, op. cit., p. 210, observes: "Even in the more complex cultures we see mythological explanations used to justify dubious appropriation of cultic rights and privileges by the more powerful classes." Cf. also, ibid., p. 213: "The community feeling in a caste-bound society is generally limited, 'the citizens owing moral allegiance to their casts first, rather than to the community as a whole.' Naturally, this greatly affects the type and extent of religious observances. Regional differences, though, important, are secondary to caste affiliations which determine positive and negative privileges of cultic observance (segregation, attendance at services, performance of rites)."

The local congregation is not unconscious of the host of problems that the presence of a racial minority group presents to society, but such problems are social problems to be answered by society.<sup>4</sup> The presence of a racial minority group is not a social problem in the local congregation, but forces the obligation of the local congregation of fulfilling its duties of establishing the ministry of the Word and Sacraments among the Christians of its locality.<sup>5</sup>

The local congregation is not founded for the purpose of promoting social welfare, and conversely, the local congregation is not a social institution that maintains social distinctions and classes, especially when social distinctions and classes become a barrier to the fulfillment of the duties of the local congregation. When cast, class, and race distinction become a hindrance to the fulfillment of the duties of the local congregation, the local congregation does not tolerate such hindrance as a "sin of weakness."

The Apostle Paul labored diligently against distinction

---

4. The place of the local congregation in society will be discussed later.

5. Churches have failed in their duties and those who have have been the objects of violent criticisms. E. g., Jackson Malcolm Aage, "The Negro and the United Lutheran Church," The Lutheran Church Quarterly, XIII, 4, (Oct., 1940), p. 416: "They (leaders of outstanding denominations) have advocated and perpetuated separate synods, because they were too narrow and provincial to worship at the fountain of universal brotherhood. And so eight million Negroes are left unchurched and uncared for because traditions and selfish thoughts are more strongly respected than Christ's teachings."

of Jew and Gentile, because the Jews were wont to demand more of the Gentiles than faith in Christ and thus destroy the work of Christ (Eph. 3: 6). Likewise any refusal to share the rights and privileges of the Church comes dangerously close to a denial of universal sin and universal grace.<sup>6</sup>

The local congregation guards against every and any sin which detracts, hinders, or prevents it from carrying out the fulfillment of its duties of establishing the ministry in its midst. The local congregation likewise guards against social prejudices and biases in any form that would hinder it from establishing the ministry of the Means of Grace among a racial minority group, or groups, in its midst.

Included in the duties of the local congregation is also the promotion of the Church at large. Walther writes that it is also the duty of the congregation to diligently keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace with all parts of the orthodox Church.<sup>7</sup>

---

6. Rom. 3: 23, 24 cf. Luke 18: 9-14, The Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, directed against those which trusted in themselves that they were righteous and despised others. Cf. also Thomas F. Doyle, "Catholicism and the Negro," The Catholic World, CL II, 907, (Oct. 1940): "It might seem strange to associate what is called the Negro problem in the United States with the Puritanism that stemmed from the Protestant Reformation in England. But if we consider how Puritanism, which saw in worldly prosperity the sign of God's favor, castigated the weak or poverty-stricken, regarding their misfortune as proof of God's condemnation, we should be able to find an interesting parallel in the widespread attitude here toward the Negro."

7. C. F. W. Walther, "Proper Form of A Local Congregation," Walther and the Church, p. 93.

Paul writes that Christians themselves are taught by God to love one another and that the congregation at Thessalonica showed this love to the members of the congregation at Macedonia, but he also urged them to increase in love more and more. (I Thes. 4: 8. 9. 10). The churches in Macedonia and Achaia were the example for other churches in displaying their love of the Church at large by their contributions to the church at Jerusalem (Rom. 15: 25. 26), and Paul wrote to the Church at Corinth that they also should display their love by a collection for the saints (II Cor. 8: 19. 24).

Luther writes that all things in the Church are common to all believers, that Christians share in all their possessions. All the prayers and good works of the Church must help, assist, and strengthen each believer at all times, in life and death, and thus bear each other's burden.<sup>8</sup> So also Paul told the Church at Rome to accept a fellow Christian (Phebe) from the Church at Cenchrhea and assist her in whatever need she had of them (Rom. 16: 1. 2). The writer to the Hebrews urges the Hebrew Christians to display their love to fellows who are strangers with the reminder that some have entertained angels unawares (Heb. 13: 1. 2). Whatever the circumstance, all Christians are to promote the work of the Church at large by keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond

---

8. Holman, op. cit., II, p. 373..

of peace with all parts of the orthodox Church.

Again, racial minority groups who are members of the Church Universal are not to be exempt from the practice of promoting the work of the Church at large by the spirit of love. Whatever the needs of racial minority groups, whether they are members of the Church in foreign lands or of the members of the neighboring congregation they are the beneficiaries of the promotion of the Church at large, which is the fruit of Christian love.

Luther says that this love grows on Christians. He writes that the more a Christian is incorporated into Christ and into the fellowship of saints, the more certain he will be that they love him and stand by him in all the trials of life and death, and that he will take his turn in taking to heart the shortcomings and lapses of all Christians and of the whole Church, that his love will go out to everyone, he will desire to help everyone, to hate no one, to suffer with all and pray for them; and the needs of the Church will  
10  
move him.

Again, however, all the principles of the duties of the local congregation are difficult to put into practice whenever Negroes are present in the community. Ugly prejudices mentioned in the foregoing chapter usually hinder the work

---

9. Cf. Kretzmann, *op. cit.*, II, p. 276: "We should endure even the unpleasant peculiarities of our Christian brethren without a hint of impatience."

10. Holman, *op. cit.*, II, p. 31.



of Christ. Sad to say, the downtown congregations in possession of physical plants capable of handling a thousand or more communicant members but serving only a few hundred souls, because their parish lines include Negroes and other racial minority groups, are not too few.

In New York today, the largest Negro city in the world, there is but one Synodical Conference congregation. In Chicago, the second largest Negro city in the world, there is also but one Synodical Conference congregation and one District Negro mission. A number of formerly large congregations are disintegrating because of the Negro population pressing on them. One congregation in Chicago has disbanded and has sold its property, because the immediate neighborhood was transformed into a Negro community.

When Missionary M. L. Kretzmann left for India, he not only bade farewell to the Church of America, but he also said good bye to such metropolitan congregations which fail to fulfill their duties and obligations. He describes such congregations which do not establish the ministry among all those in their community as congregations which

migrate with their members as their property increases.....Whose reason for existence is the care of a definite cultural stratum of society..... Have you heard of it?.....Why we couldn't stay in that neighborhood. The Negroes moved in on all sides.....Or the Jews.....And yet we send men to foreign lands to bring the colored into the Church of Christ.....but not too close. 11

---

11. Schulze, op. cit., p. 29.

Missionary Kretzmann's article is an attempt to make the local congregation conscious that the local congregation dare not for one moment excuse itself from any of its duties. The local congregation is actually failing in its duties wherever it does not provide the establishment of the ministry of the Word and Sacraments among Negroes in its own community. Only those who have actually been in Negro mission work apparently are able to understand how often and how much discrimination and segregation is affecting the Church and how much the local congregation fails in its obligations because of prejudices.

Pastor Schulze lifted his cry for a better understanding of the situation in his book on race relations in the Church. He writes:

Our Negro mission needs Missouri Synod dollars  
but it needs the assurance of a sympathetic  
Christian understanding and interest more. 12

What the local congregation needs primarily in meeting its duties in dealing with Negroes is a renewed interest in the Negro as a person who is bought with the blood of Christ and worthy of all the rights and privileges which Christ has given to the entire Christian Church. Then the local congregation can begin to realize its full duties in establishing the ministry among all men.

---

12. Ibid., p. 19.

### III. THE PLACE OF THE LOCAL CONGREGATION IN SOCIETY

As pointed out in the previous chapters race integration is socially extremely difficult. However the local congregation's real interest in the problem is not social, for the local congregation is not concerned with the solution to the race problem as such, but is primarily concerned with the spiritual realm. The very charter of the local congregation demands that the congregation expend all its energies in supplying the spiritual needs of its members and carry the Word of salvation to all men. Any activity, group or organization within the congregation which does not serve to spread the Word of God, the only means of building the Church, does not build but tears down the Church. In proportion as a congregation succumbs to Secularism, such as engaging in political activity, promoting social welfare and the like, it neglects its proper business, the preaching of the Gospel. When a congregation forsakes its charter entirely and substitutes, for instance, for the Gospel the "social<sup>1</sup> gospel," it has lost its character as a Christian Church. The local congregation, because of its relationship to the<sup>2</sup> Church Universal, is originally a fellowship of faith.

---

1. Engelder, op. cit., p. 60, par. 25.

2. "Apology," op. cit., p. 227, par. 5: "But the Church is not only the fellowship of outward objects and rites, as other governments, but it is originally a fellowship of faith and of the Holy Ghost in hearts."

Luther attacked the Roman Church on its doctrine of the Universal Church in The Papacy at Rome, warning against the preaching of dreams in materialistic communities and the converting of the Church into an outward monarchy. While the tract is leveled at the papacy's attempt to teach that "outside of the church there is no salvation," it is a strong condemnation of any group that attempts to utilize the Church for the prime purpose of improving society.<sup>3</sup> In the statement of his case that the Church is not concerned with building a temporal community, Luther makes reference to the words of Christ, "My kingdom is not of this world" (John 18: 36).

The Apostle Paul is an example. Paul never sought to change the social order. His letter to Philemon offers testimony that his interest lay in Christian to Christian relationship. When Onesimus came to Paul, the Apostle did not issue an edict against slavery as a social institution. Instead, he established the principle that the Gospel does not nullify human ordinances that are not in themselves violations of the Moral Law. However, Paul reminded Philemon that he should recognize his slave as a brother in Christ. Though still a slave in the eyes of Philemon, Onesimus no

---

3. Holman, op. cit., I, p. 352: "Therefore all those who make the Christian communion a material and outward thing, like other communities, are in reality Jews (for the Jews likewise wait for their Messiah to establish an external kingdom at a certain definite place, namely, Jerusalem), and thus sacrifice the faith, which alone makes the kingdom of Christ a thing spiritual and of the heart."

longer should bear the character of a slave according to the world's definition of the term. As far as Paul was concerned, Onesimus was a dearly beloved brother, the sharer of his bonds, and his son in the faith.<sup>4</sup>

The Church, after Paul's death, dealt similarly with the problem. Slavery was a characteristic feature of the ancient world. Various factors combined to weaken the institution of slavery as time went on, and Christianity figured in the betterment of the lot of the slaves. However, the Church conducted no organized campaign. No attempt was made to abolish it even within the circle of Christians, for the Christian conscience of the day did not insist on immediate abolition of slavery. It was a recognized result of the Fall, a rod of discipline in God's hands, one of the institutions of the state appointed by God.<sup>5</sup>

Nor did the early Church conduct a campaign to erase class distinction. The Church leaders never conceived of an elimination of class distinctions which characterized the Empire, especially when Christianity became numerically dominant.<sup>6</sup>

The effects of Christianity upon its environment never resulted from deliberate Christian effort at a reconstruction of society. Few Christians, if any, ever

---

4. Kretzmann, op. cit., II, pp. 432-437.

5. Kenneth Scott LaTourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, I, p. 261.

6. Ibid., p. 263.

dreamed of reshaping the world (or even the Mediterranean world) into conformity with demands of Scripture. Rather, many Christians denied the charge that their movement was a threat to the established social order.<sup>7</sup>

Wach conducted an objective survey of world religions to determine the points of contact between religion and society.<sup>8</sup> The study includes the consideration of the effects of religion upon society and the effects of society upon religion. In the final analysis, Wach determines the fallacy of regarding religion as a function of natural social grouping, for social and religious forms are not always properly balanced.<sup>9</sup>

The primary function of the local congregation is to add souls to the *Una Sancta*, and the local congregation's attempt to eradicate segregation in the local congregation is the result of its primary function. The Christian will become a salt and a light in society. The Christian Church has always exerted a wholesome influence on the social institutions of its community.

Furthermore, the local congregation cannot be identified as a social institution attempting to destroy segregation for the benefit of society, because the religious inte-

---

7. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

8. Wach, *op. cit.*, p. 13: "Is religion primarily the concern of the individual or of the group? Is religion basically positive, negative, or indifferent toward 'secular' social grouping?"

9. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

gration of the local congregation differs from social integration. The motivation for social integration is the betterment of society at large. The theory is that concentrated and united effort will develop a morally well-balanced society. The theory is based on the assumption that man is inherently good.<sup>10</sup>

However, the Christian Church teaches that man is evil, spiritually depraved, deserving of the wrath of God; man is saved from the guilt and punishment of his evil life only by trust in the atonement of Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and man is brought to Christ only through the Holy Spirit. Thus it is this common Christian experience of the love and mercy of God in Christ that unites all Christians in a fellowship unequalled in all society. All Christians are one in Christ, He is the body, they are the members (John 17: 21-23; I Cor. 12: 12, 14, 20, 24-27). Thus as Luther writes, though the Christians are a thousand miles apart in body, yet each one preaches, believes, hopes, loves, and lives like one another.<sup>11</sup>

Nowhere in society do people think of themselves as such a closely knit unit as in the Church for there is absolutely no one factor in life so potent in unifying man as regeneration. The mixed multitude that was converted to

---

10. Cf. E. Stanley Jones, Christ of the Indian Road, and Walter Rauschenbusch, Christianizing the Social Order.

11. Holman, op. cit., I, p. 349.

Christ on Pentecost was immediately united in heart and soul, charity and life (Acts 4: 32). They shared all that they possessed and had all things in common. It is remarkable that people from such a variety of social relations, classes, and conditions could be agreed and united in such complete harmony. Such unity is the result of the power of faith in Christ.<sup>12</sup> The Apostle Paul mentions the love of the Ephesian Christians to all the saints in his letter to the Church (Eph. 1: 15). Their love for all the saints was the immediate result of their faith. They were united with all the believers, both Jews and Gentiles, by the bond of brotherly love.<sup>13</sup>

This feeling of unity began with the first disciples of Jesus who thought of themselves as a family, and conversion to them included their incorporation into the one household of faith. As the Gospel was spread beyond Palestine the same feeling continued. Everywhere Christians were conscious of belonging to the one family and they were all brethren wherever they might be. One of Paul's chief concerns throughout his missionary career was to foster this sense of unity among his churches and to make it practical.<sup>14</sup> Paul wrote to the church at Collosae that they should forbear one another in love and forgiveness as Christ forgave them, men-

---

12. Kretzmann, op. cit., I, p. 553.

13. Ibid., II, p. 265.

14. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age, p. 636.



tioning that before Christ there is no difference in the Greek, Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free (Col. 3: 11). Paul mentions the Scythians undoubtedly because they were neighbors and perhaps associates of the Colossians, and were quite unlike any other race of men. We can well deduce that Paul mentions these people to touch the problem of race. <sup>15</sup>

Paul's letter to Philemon carried implications for a strong bond of fellowship between the master Philemon and the slave Onesimus. Paul considered Onesimus a son in the faith. Much more closely Philemon was to consider himself united with his slave by the twofold bond of material and spiritual relation. The slave served the temporal interests of his master but was bound to him by the rights of common faith, a much more intimate and cordial relationship than afforded by any earthly connection. <sup>16</sup>

In the first century of the Church after Paul, leading teachers of the Church also maintained that both bond and free were capable of the same spiritual life. Ambrose pointed out that the slave might be superior to his master spiritually and really be more free than he. The freedom of some slaves was purchased with church funds. Some Christians surrendered their own freedom to ransom others. All slaves were granted religious equality and the right to hold

---

15. Paul P. Anspach, "The Race Problem in Paul's Epistles," The Lutheran Church Quarterly, IX (Jan., 1936), p. 46.

16. Kretzmann, op. cit., II, pp. 432-432.

office in the Church, even that of bishop. Non-Christians were urged to liberate their slaves or permit them to buy their freedom, because servitude under non-Christians was<sup>17</sup> believed to endanger their spiritual welfare.

Similarly, though the early Church did not campaign against class distinction, yet, by teaching that all Christians are heirs of eternal life and that worldly wealth and fame did not assure eternal destiny, and by living in spiritual equality, it contributed toward breaking down stratifications in society centuries later.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, as the early Church approached no problem of society with force and rulings, so today, the local congregation must avoid social legislation.

Integration in the local congregation is spontaneous and not forced. Wach's study shows how the new forms of grouping and living together as characterized by the concept of relationship as spiritual brotherhood under one spiritual fatherhood are definitely spontaneous. Organic growth does not contribute as greatly to the emergence of this spirit as does a definite break with the past and with ties of nature. The more pronounced the break is, the more definitely the new unit becomes a specifically religious group. Symbols of the break are such concepts as rebirth,

---

17. LaTourette, op. cit., pp. 262. 263.

18. Ibid., p. 263.

conversion, and corresponding rites. Those who undergo this experience, collectively or individually (the more frequent), are stimulated to join in close company. Intimacy of new religious experience makes for intimacy of new fellowship.<sup>19</sup>

This common religious experience is the basis for communion of most intimate character which bores deep into the bedrock of impulses, emotions, and thoughts which are common to all men. Subjective religion has always proved itself potent enough to unite and integrate people who are normally separated widely by descent, professions, wealth, and rank.<sup>20</sup>

This is very evident in primitive religions, where the worship of the numen became the unitive element for encouragement, strength, and comfort in sharing what he has with others. Faith in the value of such communion has been so profound that throughout history it has contributed greatly to the development of religious and sociological concepts and institutions.<sup>21</sup>

---

19. Our missionaries to India tell us that though they do not encourage their Christian converts to break with their castes socially, that almost unanimously the converts break entirely with the caste system to live in communion with their fellow believers. Cf. also Wach, op. cit., p.110.

20. Wach, op. cit., p. 234.

21. Ibid., p. 333. Cf. also p. 371: ".....the decisive integrating power in religion is worship. A group of people who pray together becomes unified even if composed of socially, intellectually, or otherwise heterogenous elements, at least for the time the devotion lasts. A group of people who pray and worship together regularly become, at least tem-

The relation of the local congregation to society and racial minority groups does not center in anything else than the racial minority groups' relation to the local congregation. Where the racial minority group is in spiritual fellowship with the local congregation a unity will eventually develop that will cut through biases, prejudices, and preconceived judgments and emerge in a spirit of fellowship that will be evidenced in daily contacts.

However, the local congregation never finds its motivation for dealing with racial minority groups in the creation of better social conditions, per se. Wherever and whenever the local congregation is to be found in communion with racial minority groups the resulting integration is the immediate consequence of the spiritual relationship in common religious experience and common worship.

The third aspect of the local congregation's relation to society is charity. Here again the local congregation is not to be regarded as an ordinary social institution, for the Church leads society in charity to all men in a special sense. The love of Christ for the Church, His suffering and death, is more than the example for love of the Church. The love of

---

porarily, brethren and sisters in a more than metaphorical sense. The decision may be made and prevail to carry these concepts and attitudes over into various and perhaps all fields of existence (common life)." In Christianity, the prayer is usually the result of common religious experience and confession. It does, however, also help to bring close together groups already bound by common confession.

Christ is the fountainhead of the love of the Church for all men. The fulfillment of His command to love enemies (Luke 6: 27, 28) and to love each other as He loved the Church (John 15: 12) would be impossible if He had not made possible the rebirth of men through His life and death. The world attains a certain amount of love in its own eyes, but true Christian love is the fruit of faith in the suffering and death of Christ. True Christian love springs and flows from the love of Christ Himself and manifests itself toward all men.

Where the Church grows in communion with Christ it grows also in love toward all men. Where the teachers of the Church draw Christians closer to the Savior through the Word they also preach a greater love for all men. Paul writes that the love of the Church should be without dissimulation (Rom. 12: 9); that each should love his neighbor as himself (Gal. 5: 13, 14); do good unto all men (Gal. 6: 10); put on charity (Col. 3: 14); and abound in love toward one another and toward all men (I Thes. 3: 12, 13). James writes similarly that the Church must abide by the command of the Savior to love the neighbor as self, and if the Church is a respecter of persons within its own body, it commits sin (James 2: 8, 9).

These same commands are applicable to the local congregation as it views racial minority groups. The Church is commanded to look upon all men as poor sinful beings to be

won to the love of Christ by the love dwelling in those who have already experienced that love. Likewise the local congregation is expected to live in mutual love with those racial minority groups who are members of the Church. Christians are commanded by the Apostle Paul not to abuse their Christian liberty in their obligations of love toward one another (Gal. 5: 13, 14).

Luther comments that the Christian must war against his flesh which reasons that, because the Christian has been freed from the Law by Christ there is no reason to do good, to give alms, and to suffer evil for the benefit of a neighbor.<sup>21</sup> Each one must help his neighbor to the limit of his capacity, for all are encumbered with the Apostle's admonition<sup>22</sup> to serve one another in love by the rule of mutual love.

Luther explains that every person who is in need of help is neighbor to the Christian. Even if a person has done some wrong or hurt to the Christian, yet he must be loved, for he is still a human being with flesh and blood. As long as a person is a human being with flesh and blood,<sup>23</sup> so long he is to be the object of the Christian's love.

---

21. Martin Luther, A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, Theo. Graebner, p. 214 says: "The flesh reasons, 'If we are without the law, we may as well indulge ourselves. Why do good, why give alms, why suffer evil when there is no law to force us to do so.' This attitude is common enough. People talk about Christian liberty and then go and cater to the desires of covetousness, pleasure, pride, envy, and other vices. Nobody wants to fulfill his duties. Nobody wants to help out his brother in distress. This sort of thing makes me so impatient at times that I wish the swine

The attitude of the Church toward all men, including the racial minority groups, outstrips the attitude of any other group in society. The attitude of the Church is not tolerance of men. The Church has the command of Christ to love all men with a love far transcending the love of the world. The love of the Church is inspired by the willingness and eagerness to share in the love of Christ.

Wach writes that the missionary interest of a church may be principally limited or potentially universal. In the first case the natural order of things may be partly incorporated into the new religious conception. If a church is constitutionally selective, it will discriminate between prospective converts and those who can not be converted. The first will be treated as a potential brother, the second with indifference or contempt. If the church is potentially or actually universal in its aim, it will admit no principle difference in dealings with members and non-members, though actually feelings of superiority toward the latter and double standards will develop easily.<sup>24</sup>

The Christian Church, by virtue of its command of the Savior to preach the Gospel to every creature (Mark 16: 15) and the historic fact that He died for all men (II Cor. 5: 15),

---

who trampled precious pearls under foot were back once again under the tyranny of the Pope. You cannot wake up the people of Gomorrah with the Gospel of peace."

22. Ibid., p. 215.

23. Ibid., p. 219.

24. Wach, op. cit., pp. 111. 112.

guards against any who would limit its missionary outlook and practice. In the case of racial minority groups the Church makes no exceptions. Where minority groups present problems peculiar to that area of society<sup>25</sup> the local congregation copes with those problems as best it can. Wherever the local congregation limits its missionary program because of the problems that arise with the presence of racial minority groups, it neglects its proper business, the preaching of the Gospel.<sup>26</sup>

The attitude of the Church toward all men as "potential brothers" has sent the Gospel into all the corners of the world to men of all races and classes of society, without distinction or selection. The Church can deal with racial minority groups in no other way. There can be no discrimination, no indifference, no contempt.

The attitude of the individual toward society in all its forms depends largely on the spirit which permeates the doctrines, cult and organization of the Church.<sup>27</sup> The individual Christian will react to racial minority groups in

---

25. Wach, op. cit., p. 284. "The development of segregated Negro religious communities poses the problem of typical and characteristic features to be answered with a view to local and regional conditions (rural and urban) and economic and social stratification."

26. Cf. p. 39. The Church dare not permit any group, organization and activity within its group to prevent or hinder its missionary program to racial minority groups on the basis of social contacts or it is in danger of becoming nothing more than a social institution.

27. Cf. Wach, op. cit., p. 49.



the spirit of Christian love in proportion as his life of sanctification has progressed.

Again, however, though the principles of the Church's attitude and the individual Christian's attitude toward the Negro as a potential brother are clearly set forth in Scripture and are demonstrated in the history of the attitude of the early Church toward society, the theory is not put into practice as it should be. This discrepancy between theory and practice has been the reason for strong accusations against the Church. Most generally these accusations come from reformers of society who wish to help society in a material way. While the purpose of the accusations is not the same as that of the Church, the accusations, nevertheless, bring to light the fact that the Church's interest in the individual Negro as a potential brother is lagging behind the many social institutions.

28

Today, the Negroes do not believe that the Church any longer has the vitality of common religious experience to cement relationships between Negro and white Christians. Negroes today believe that jobs will turn the tide. Roi Ottley writes:

Essentially, the masses of Negroes are concerned only with jobs---for they believe that fundamentally their problem is an economic one.....The integration of Negroes in our economic life would end differences and divisions between the races

now perpetuated by what each fails to learn about the other, and accentuated by their separation. 29

The opinion is also strong that education will solve the problem of race relations. The theory is that the only influence that can combat social menaces is education. The hope of progress is centered in the school, and the mediator between Negro aggression and white intolerance is the teacher. <sup>30</sup> One city planner of race relations voiced his opinion thus:

I believe that our schools and colleges must be organized to teach racial tolerance, and our churches must be so organized, and it must be more than lip service. 31

The truth of the matter is, that wherever the Negroes have been given full opportunities of education and jobs they have proved themselves capable of equal development with whites. In northern cities many Negroes have grown to the full stature of American life faster than many immigrant groups from Europe. <sup>32</sup> Again, however, the total problem is not solved, and race relations in the Church are not solved.

Many Christians actually continue to believe that they need not help the Negro, spiritually or materially, because they think that the Negro is not using the opportunities given him because he is inherently lazy. However, Dr. DuBois,

- 
29. Roi Ottley, New World A-Coming, p. 346.  
 30. Ernest Groves, Social Problems and Education, p. 335.  
 31. City Planning in Race Relations, Proceedings of the Mayor's Conference on Race Relations, Chicago, (Feb., 1944), p. 40.  
 32. Edwin R. Embree, Brown Americans, p. 35.

the great Negro teacher and writer, answers:

While it is a great truth to say that the Negro must strive and strive mightily to help himself, it is equally true that unless his striving be not simply seconded, but rather aroused and encouraged, by the initiative of the richer and wiser environing group, he cannot hope for great success. <sup>33</sup>

Dr. Dubois maintains that Christians do not help the Negro as they should. He praises Mohammedanism, because Mohammedanism makes no distinction in the practice of its religion while Christianity practices the love it preaches only to the white men. <sup>34</sup> Similarly, the atheistic Communists have made inroads upon the sympathies of Negroes, because they have offered equal rights and privileges to the Negroes. <sup>35</sup>

Negroes and social leaders have not missed the opportunity to flout Christianity on this score. The great Negro David Walker pointed out the general failure of preachers to live up to the Sermon on the Mount and wrote of "Our wretchedness in consequence of the preachers of the religion of Jesus Christ." <sup>36</sup>

Lilian Smith, author of the much-discussed novel Strange Fruit, writes that psychiatrists are ahead of the Church in practicing love. She says:

- 
33. W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Souls of Black Folk, p. 58.  
 34. Schulze, op. cit., p. 27.  
 35. Ibid., p. 67.  
 36. Benjamin Erawley, Negro Genius, p. 42.

As for love.....once preachers preached about it, and then lost their own belief in its magic. But psychiatrists have rediscovered it. They are telling us that love is powerful medicine in emotional illness, as specific for many mental "infections" as penicillin for physical ailments. Perhaps the church will take courage from science and once more declare its faith in the love of God and man. 37

Another biting accusation against the Church comes from  
L  
Liston Pope, who writes:

The Christian churches of America, by virtue of the very faith they profess, must face squarely the social injustices of the world, or else confess by their failure to do so that they do not seriously entertain the faith they admonish..... It is probably that far more is being done by trade unions at present to break down barriers against the Negro than by churches of America. 38

This same bitterness toward the Church underlies much of the reporting of the work of the Church. Whenever possible, the Church is made the victim of denunciatory remarks. An example of such writing occurred in the Pittsburgh Courier of Saturday, December 2, 1944:

Three Mephians were baptized recently in the Lutheran Church, an unusual thing in this part of the country, where the Lutherans have traditionally frowned upon Negro membership.

While these opinions are usually colored to strengthen arguments and are utilized for a purpose different from that of the Church, they, nevertheless, serve to reflect that the Church does not view the Negroes as potential brothers. In

---

37. Lillian Smith, "Humans in Bondage," Social Action, (Feb. 15, 1944), p. 32.

38. Liston Pope, "The People, One," Social Action, (Jan. 15, 1943), p. 4.

the case of the Caucasian and the Negro, no one reports of the Church as was reported of the early Church, "Behold how they love one another."

The solution to the race problem in the Church and the answer to these accusations lies in a restudy and indoctrination of clergy and laity in the doctrine of the Church. Both clergy and laity need to relearn the meaning of "endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace," the meaning of "ecclesia," the importance of the duties of the Church, and the proper attitude they must have toward all men. When the Church is fully conscious of these facts, it can answer society best, not with words, but with the proper display of love for the Negro.

## CONCLUSIONS

The terms "race problem" and "race question" are foreign to Scripture. God's Word does not speak of the colored man, the Indian, the Negro, the Yellow Man. However, we have examined the principles laid down in Scripture pertaining to the doctrine of the Church which apply to the race question in the Church.

The fundamental principle of the Church is universality. The Church is the universal body of Christ which includes all believers in Christ, barring all racism. The same term which is used of the Church Universal in Scripture, "ecclesia," is also used to designate the local congregation, for the local congregation is the body of believers at a certain point. Therefore, the local congregation must also be "universal" in its membership, transcending all racism. However, the Church finds this principle difficult to put into effect in the case of Negroes because of standards of society and prejudices of society. For this reason the Church finds it advisable to maintain separate churches for Negroes and for whites. However, the principle of segregation is a moral problem in society, sustained by public prejudices which have no place in the local congregation's approach to the problem from the doctrine of the Church. Furthermore, even those who uphold segregation are gradually becoming conscious of their error, and the task of the Church is becoming correspondingly easier in eradicating prejudices with-

in the Church. Above all, the Church must always deal with the Negroes as individuals and not as members of an ill-treated race or a despised race.

An examination of the duties of the local congregation also brings to light that the duties of the congregation are "universal." If the membership of the Universal Church is identified with that of the local congregation so are also the duties. All the rights and privileges of the Church Universal are the rights and privileges of the local congregation. Therefore, the primary duty of the local congregation is to establish the ministry of the Word and Sacraments among the Christians of a given locality, and to promote the work of the Church at large. In areas of mixed communities of whites and Negroes, these duties have been hindered by prejudices against the Negroes. However, the Church must be reminded of the importance of its duties and the charter on which it rests that no souls be lost because the Church has nurtured prejudices against the Negroes.

Finally, the Church is also "universal" in its outlook upon men. Because of its source of life and love, Christ, the Church looks upon all men as potential brothers and potential members of the body of Christ. The Church should be willing to share the glorious life it has in Christ Jesus with all men. The Church should exercise the greatest love for  
every human

person. In the Church Christians are knit together in a bond of love unequalled in society. This bond of love is best exemplified in the life of the early Christian Church. However, today social reformers and Negroes point to the Church's prejudiced attitude toward the Negro as proof that "Christianity is a failure." However, these accusers have mistaken the primary function of the Church, which is the care of the spiritual realm. Where the Church has erred in the past in its attitude toward Negroes, it can improve its attitude and mission to the Negroes by a reexamination of the study of the importance of the doctrine of the Church and all its glorious implications. It may and it may not practice integration. Both whites and Negroes have Christian liberty. Local conditions must determine the course of action and Christian love must implement it.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANONYMOUS, America's Tenth Man, Atlanta, Georgia, Southern Regional Council, Inc., 1944. (Originally published by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation).
- ANONYMOUS, "City Planning in Race Relations," Proceedings of the Mayor's Conference on Race Relations, Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, Chicago, (Feb., 1944).
- ANONYMOUS, "Report of the Special Seminar on 'the Special Implications of Race and Culture,'" Social Action, IX, 1, (Jan. 15, 1943).
- ANSPACH, PAUL P., "The Race Problem in Paul's Epistles," The Lutheran Church Quarterly, IX, (Jan., 1936).
- AUGSBURG CONFESSION and APOLOGY, Triglot Concordia, St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1917.
- BRAWLEY, BENJAMIN, The Negro Genius, New York, Dodd, Mead, & Company, 1937.
- BUCK, PEARL S., Freedom for All, New York, The Post War World Council, 1943, (Reprinted from Asia, March, 1942).
- DALLMANN, DAU, ENGELDER, Walther and the Church, St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1938.
- DOYLE, THOMAS F., "Catholicism and the Negro," The Catholic World, CL II, 907, (Oct. 1940).
- DuBOIS, W. E. BURGHARDT, Souls of Black Folk, Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1928.
- EMBREE, EDWIN R., Brown America, New York, The Viking Press, 1931.
- EMBREE, EDWIN R., Brown Americans, New York, The Viking Press, 1943.
- ENGELDER, THEODORE, Christian Doctrines, Mimeographed Class Notes, St. Louis, Concordia Seminary Mimeograph Company, n. d.
- FAUSET, ARTHUR AUFF, Black Gods of the Metropolis, Volume III of Publications of the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944.
- FRAZIER, FRANKLIN E., Negro Youth at the Crossways, Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1940.

- GILLARD, "The Catholic Clergy and the American Negro," The Ecclesiastical Review, IV (XCIV), (Feb., 1936).
- GROVES, ERNEST, Social Problems and Education, New York, Longmans, Green, & Co., 1925.
- HAYES, DORSHA, The American Primer, New York, Alliance Book Corporation, 1941.
- JACKSON, MALCOLM AAGE, "The Negro and the United Lutheran Church," The Lutheran Church Quarterly, XIII, 4, (Oct., 1940).
- KOEHLER, EDWARD W. A., Summary of Christian Doctrine, River Forest, Koehler Publishing Company, 1939.
- KRETZMANN, PAUL E., Popular Commentary, St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, I & II, (New Testament), 1923.
- LaTOURETTE, KENNETH SCOTT, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, New York, Harper and Brothers Publishers, I (The First Five Centuries), 1937.
- LUTHER, MARTIN, A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, A New Abridged Translation by Theodore Graebner, Grand Rapids, Zondervan Publishing House, Second Edition, n. d.
- LUTHER, MARTIN, Of the Creed, Holman Edition, II., n. d.
- LUTHER, MARTIN, On the Councils and the Churches, Holman Edition, V, n. d.
- LUTHER, MARTIN, The Papacy at Rome, Holman Edition, I, n. d.
- LUTHER, MARTIN, Treatise on the Blessed Sacrament, Holman Edition, II, n. d.
- MAYER, F. E., The Concept of the Una Sancta According to Ekklesia, unpublished conference paper, n. d.
- McGIFFERT, ARTHUR CUSHMAN, A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897.
- MUELLER, JOHN THEODORE, Christian Dogmatics, St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1934.
- MYRDALL, GUNNAR, An American Dilemma, New York, Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944, (2 volumes).
- POPE, LISTON, "The People, One," Social Action, IX, 1, (Jan. 15, 1943).
- REID, IRA DeA., In a Minor Key, Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1944.

ROI, OTTLEY, New World A-Coming, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943.

SCHULZE, ANDREW, My Neighbor of Another Color, Published privately by Andrew Schulze, 4240 St. Ferdinand Ave., St. Louis, 1941.

SMITH, LILLIAN, "Humans in Bondage," Social Action, (originally published as the Feb. 15, 1944 issue of Social Action).

STEGNER, WALLACE, and the Editors of Look, One Nation, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945.

WACH, JOACHIM, Sociology of Religion, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1944.