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Attitudes and Policies of the Lutheran Church Toward the Negro

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ATTITUDES AND POLICIES OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH
TOWARD THE NEGRO

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of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
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Bachelor of Divinity

Approved by: T.M. Reinwinkel
Advisor

Paul A. Schmitt
Reader

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congregations bypass those of darker skins in their evangelistic and missionary programs.

Should we call this an inconsistency or an indictment of Christians and of Christian congregations? This attitude of overlooking and bypassing Negroes is prevalent among Christians, among pastors, and sad to say, among leaders of the church. In a midwest metropolitan city there is a pastor who directs a large mission program in far-away Africa, yet his congregation bypasses Negroes living within the sound of their very church bells. This is not an exceptional case.

To believe that when Christian congregations make a distinction among people because of race and bypass

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Great Commission of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ urges us Christians to make disciples of all nations and all peoples. Lutheran theology teaches that all those who do not accept Jesus Christ by faith as their personal Savior from sin are lost eternally. Quite logically, therefore, our Lutheran congregations and church bodies carry on evangelistic and missionary efforts to proclaim the blessed ministry that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself. But quite illogical, it is, we feel, that many of our traditionally white congregations bypass those of darker skins in their evangelistic and missionary programs.

Shall we call this an inconsistency or an indictment of Christians and of Christian congregations? This attitude of overlooking and bypassing Negroes is prevalent among Christians, among pastors, and sad to say, among leaders of the church. In a midwest metropolitan city there is a pastor who directs a large mission program in far-away Africa, yet his congregation bypasses Negroes living within the sound of their very church bells. This is not an exceptional case.

We believe that when Christian congregations make a distinction among people because of race and bypass

Negroes in their program of saving souls a problem of moral theology is involved. Dr. O. P. Kretzmann, president of Valparaiso University, once offered the following steps to aid in solving a problem in moral theology, namely, first, there must be a hard cool appraisal of the situation as it is; secondly, we must turn to the New Testament and look at the divine will; thirdly, we must take the situation and the divine will and bring them together.¹ In this paper we propose to concentrate on the first step, to answer the questions: "What is the real situation? What have been and what are the attitudes and policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro?"

When we compare The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod in a general way with other established white Protestant bodies two facts in reference to the Negro seem to stand out. The first one is that while other groups have been adopting resolutions on the Negro and racial issues for years, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod adopted its first resolution only last year (1956). On the other hand, despite the fact that we have reached only a small fraction of the Negro population in our missionary efforts, yet in recent years our white constituency has been more

¹O. P. Kretzmann, "Education Without Discrimination," Proceedings of the 1950 Lutheran Institute on Race Relations, Held at Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana, July 18 and 19, 1950, 47-48.

active in doing "mission work" among the Negroes than many other traditionally white bodies. What are the reasons for this? Possibly this study of Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro will shed some light on this question.

The Synodical Conference's first missionary among the Negroes, The Rev. Mr. John Fredrich Doescher, was commissioned on October 16, 1877.² In 1920 one of the pioneers in the field, Missionary N. J. Bakke wrote:

To some extent the future of our church among the Negroes must be judged by the past. Looking out upon the vast field which extends from New York to New Orleans, and which is studded with Christian school-houses, churches, chapels and two higher educational institutions, the future appears bright.³

Reports continued to promise a glorious future. There were more requests, then more missionaries, more schools, more chapels, more money. But were we reaching and serving proportionately more people with the Gospel? When we hear reports from our missionaries and from our officials the picture so often is colored as rosy and the future portrayed as bright. But what are the facts?

Seventy-five years after the first missionary was commissioned, 1952, was the last year that the Statistical

²Christopher F. Drewes, Half A Century of Lutheranism Among our Colored People (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1927), 15.

³N. J. Bakke, "The Lutheran Church of the Future Among The Negroes," The American Lutheran, III (May, 1920), 8.

Yearbook of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod indicated the total souls and communicant members among the Lutheran Synodical Conference's American Negro congregations and preaching stations. After seventy-five years, after the efforts of many missionaries, after the investments of hundreds of thousands of dollars, the book shows a net number of 17,964 souls and 10,222 communicant members.⁴

Compare this total of 28,186 baptized and communicant members among the Negroes in the United States after seventy-five years with the total of 32,055 baptized and communicant members in Nigeria⁵ sixteen years after our first missionary arrived there.⁶ The Gospel which was preached was the same. Could the attitudes and policies of the missionaries and of the board members have made a difference in the net results?

When one sees Lutheran churches move out of changing neighborhoods one wonders: "For what purposes do these churches exist?" In an article written in Today an official of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, The Rev. Mr. F. A. Hertwig admits that "at least eight Detroit

⁴Statistical Yearbook of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod for the Year 1952 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 194.

⁵Ibid., 195.

⁶John Theodore Mueller, A Brief History of the Origin, Development, and Work of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1948), "Dr. and Mrs. Hy. Nau were sent to Africa as our missionaries in January, 1936." p. 53.

Lutheran churches of various synodical connections have sold out and moved during the past twenty-five years" and that "a number of others have already decided to move as soon as possible."⁷ Such machinations raise the questions: What is the church? Is it a club for a certain stratum of society or is it an organization to serve God by preaching the saving Gospel to all men? What is the attitude of these Lutheran church members towards the Negro?

We are concerned essentially about the spiritual welfare of people, but when it so happens that approximately one out of every ten Americans is a Negro, and that our Lutheran Synodical Conference claims less than two tenths of one per cent of American Negroes as members, we should be gravely concerned and should look for the reasons for our failure to gain more Negroes for the Lutheran Church. It may be that a definition of our attitudes toward our neighbors of another color may help to answer some of the questions and solve some of the problems.

Definition of the Topic

Our subject, Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro is confined to written sources

⁷F. A. Hertwig, "Must the Downtown Church Die?" Today, I (February, 1946), 5.

issued within The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. We recognize that questionnaires or opinion polls coupled with psychological investigations would greatly enhance a study of this nature, but such detailed study is beyond the scope of this paper. As we review the attitudes recorded in various writings it will become apparent how such attitudes affect the policies of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod in working with the Negro.

We are confining the area of our study to The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (commonly referred to as "The Missouri Synod"). Inasmuch as the Missouri Synod is the largest synod affiliated with the Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (commonly referred to as the "Synodical Conference"); and inasmuch as all the early work among the Negroes was performed through the Synodical Conference; and inasmuch as we found no essential differences on attitudes and policies toward Negroes between the two aforementioned bodies, we do not distinguish between the two. In other words, whatever is true of the Synodical Conference is true of the Missouri Synod.

The time of our study on Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro covers the period especially from 1930 to the end of 1956. The year of 1930 as the beginning date has been chosen rather arbitrarily, but it allows us to observe attitudes and practices for about a decade prior to the modern era's struggle for

equality. The year of 1956 is significant as the terminal date because in June of that year The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod officially adopted its first statement on the race issue.

When we use the term Negro we have in mind, of course, the American Negro unless there is specific mention to the contrary.

Since it would be impossible to write about attitudes toward the Negro without taking into consideration the terms and concepts of "race relations" or "human relations" we have followed the general custom and used the terms interchangeably even though one does not have to be a semanticist to differentiate between the terms.

Our topic, defined and expanded, reads: Recorded Attitudes and Adopted Policies of The Lutheran Church (specifically, The Missouri Synod) Toward the American Negro and Race Relations from 1930 to 1956.

Sources

In attempting to determine the attitudes and policies of The Lutheran Church toward the Negro our study derives its material from two types of sources. The first type emanates from the official church body, and hence chapters II and III discuss the official boards and bodies and items found in official publications. The second type of information is found in unofficial circles and hence chapter IV,

V and VI discuss unofficial organizations and publications not under the direct control of any official church body. The second last chapter is devoted to a study of St. Louis Lutheranism and the Negro.

Because of the fact that so little has been written in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod on our subject we have dealt almost exclusively with primary sources. While there are many general expressions answering the question of why we should bring the Gospel to the Negroes, as late as 1950 there was almost nothing from official sources on the subject of race relations. The treatise on human relations in the church, My Neighbor of Another Color, by the Rev. Mr. Andrew Schulze, published in 1941, is still the sole thorough treatment of this subject emanating from the Missouri Synod.

The author of the above-mentioned volume, Dr. Andrew Schulze, conducted a poll on integration in Lutheran churches by means of a questionnaire in 1950. The first part of the poll concerned twelve congregations who had begun to integrate. The second part analyzed the returns of a questionnaire sent to about forty-five "pastors of churches known or thought to be in transition areas, but who were not known to have begun to integrate."⁸ On the basis of twenty-one responses Dr. Schulze offered the

⁸Andrew Schulze, Questionnaire, Unpublished manuscript, page Q-3. In the possession of the writer.

following analysis:

There is at this time:

- a. a greater awareness of the problem,
- b. a general lack of consciousness of responsibility to do something to improve an admittedly bad condition within the congregation,
- c. a general feeling that the difficulty is to be found in the changing community rather than in the minds of those who oppose integration even before the change takes place,
- d. a greater willingness to discuss the question that was evident ten or twelve years ago,
- e. the belief that within about twenty-five years conditions in the world will have so changed the thinking of Protestants that they will be ready to accept minority group members into full membership of their churches.⁹

In attempting to offer an objective study of the Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro we began simply by collecting all references to Negroes and to race relations. After we had thus proceeded for some time it became apparent that unofficial publications and organizations fostered a more progressive spirit to improve conditions between Negroes and whites than the publications of official bodies. This will be evident as the reader peruses the manuscript. From the point of time and effort it was impossible, of course, to review thoroughly all publications; but we are able to offer a detailed review of two main sources, namely the Concordia Theological Monthly, an official publication and The American Lutheran, an unofficial periodical.

⁹Ibid., page Q-4.

We have followed this somewhat mechanical process in our study, namely, of listing the references to Negroes, to race relations and similar subjects, and then evaluating the same at the end of each section.

The attitude of the Lutheran Church toward the Negro in this chapter is to record and analyze official pronouncements of the Synodical Conference and the Missouri Synod and of several of their boards and educational institutions. There is next a double difficulty, that of finding a wealth of material on the "mission work" among the Negroes, but next to nothing on improving relations among peoples especially in the early years. Generally, this seems to be the early attitude of the official boards and bodies: We must bring the Gospel to the Negro, but we dare not bring the Negro too closely into the fellowship of the Lutheran communion as an equal. We believe that it is a legitimate argument to say that what has not been stated betrays a negative attitude toward good relations.

The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America

Since 1877 the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America has engaged in missionary activities among the Negroes in the United States. In fact, this effort has been the sole practical program of the Synodical Conference. We shall not concern ourselves here with a

CHAPTER II

OFFICIAL BODIES AND BOARDS

In attempting to determine the attitudes and policies of the Lutheran Church toward the Negro in this chapter we want to record and analyze official pronouncements of the Synodical Conference and the Missouri Synod and of several of their boards and educational institutions. Here we meet a double difficulty, that of finding a wealth of material on the "mission work" among the Negroes, but next to nothing on improving relations among peoples especially in the early years. Generally, this seems to be the early attitudes of the official boards and bodies: We must bring the Gospel to the Negro, but we dare not bring the Negro too closely into the fellowship of the Lutheran communion as an equal. We believe that it is a legitimate argumentum e silentio to say that what has not been stated betrays a negative attitude toward good relations.

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history of the work, but would refer the interested reader to booklets listed in the footnote.¹

Following the publication of Pastor Andrew Schulze's My Neighbor of Another Color the Missionary Board of the Synodical Conference released two mimeographed reviews of the book. The first one under our consideration consists of three pages and bears the heading, "Observations Upon Reading 'My Neighbor of Another Color.'" Its composer is unnamed in the manuscript, but only generally identified at the end with this note: "By a member of the Missionary Board." The paper charges, "The book 'My Neighbor' contains a very serious indictment against the practices of our Church,"² and then quotes a number of sentences from My Neighbor of Another Color, the first one being, "Official church organs have been all but mute on this question." The statement is true, of course, and all one has to do to assure himself of its veracity is to read the official church organs. All of the charges raised can be answered in a similar manner.

¹N. J. Bakke, Illustrated Historical Sketch of Our Colored Mission (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1914); C. F. Drewes, Half A Century of Lutheranism Among Our Colored People (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1927); John Theodore Mueller, A Brief History of the Origin, Development, and Work of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1948).

²In the possession of the writer.

We quote two more sentences from the review:

It is to be regretted that the author seems not to appreciate the sacrificing work that his church has done for the Negroes.

No doubt, mistakes have been made in dealing with our neighbor of another color, but these mistakes were not of the heart but of the head.³

Under the date of August 21, 1942, Dr. John Theodore Mueller released a twelve-page mimeographed work, A Review and Opinion on My Neighbor of Another Color. Dr. Mueller's review was severely critical⁴ and we are happy that he wrote the following note to this writer on May 17, 1953:

I do not remember what I said in my review of that book, but let me say that I am in favor of every race relation effort which does not crowd out of the pulpit the Gospel of Christ, which is the real objective of our ministry. When the book appeared, there were points which I did not understand. I discussed them repeatedly with Pastor S [chulze] and we are in complete harmony and friendship. Thanks for your "Report", which I read with great interest. Since other churches are working in the field of race relations, we dare not withdraw. Cordially, [Signed] J. T. Mueller.⁵

The attitude toward the subject of race relations by the official convention of the Synodical Conference is

³Ibid., 2-3.

⁴John Theodore Mueller, "A Review and Opinion on My Neighbor of Another Color," twelve-page review released by the Missionary Board of the Synodical Conference, 1942 (mimeographed). In the possession of the writer.

⁵In the possession of the writer.

revealed by its answer to the Southeastern District's (of the Missouri Synod) request for a committee on race relations in 1946. We reprint their request and the convention's action in full.

To free any Synodical Conference Lutherans from any race prejudices which may exist and to contribute toward the development in all Americans of a Christian attitude toward persons of different races, with a view to gaining souls for Christ, the Southeastern District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States respectfully memorializes the Synodical Conference meeting in convention in Milwaukee, Wis., Aug. 6-9, 1946, to establish immediately a Committee on Race Relations, national in scope, to study race relationships, with a view to gaining souls for Christ. To this end the committee shall (1) encourage the publication of books and other matter on the subject; (2) suggest reading matter on the subject; and, (3) suggest the organization of study groups and seminars.⁶

Realizing that the fundamental and divinely assigned work of the Church is the preaching of Christ and Him crucified, this committee recommends that the Church, in this evening time of the world, remain committed to the charge of preaching the crucified Savior to the saving of souls. This Gospel, when properly and consistently preached and accepted, will produce the wholesome fruit of God-fearing relationships.⁷

The adoption of the above overture by the convention clearly demonstrates that the Synodical Conference officially refused to study the subject of race relations.

⁶Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth Convention of the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America, Assembled at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, August 6-9, 1946 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), p. 43. Hereafter referred to as Proceedings of the Synodical Conference.

⁷Ibid., 48.

The Chicago Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations submitted the following memorial to the Synodical Conference convention in 1948:

- Resolved, 1. That we Lutherans of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, in convention assembled in Milwaukee, Wis., August 3-6, 1948, remind our fellow Lutherans everywhere that the Church must not be conformed to the world by accepting secular patterns of social living, but that it must transform the world by establishing and promoting Christian patterns of social living;
2. That we call upon our fellow Lutherans to recognize fully and to face fearlessly the evils of racial segregation and discrimination;
 3. That we call upon our fellow Lutherans to promote by precept and practice the Scriptural ideals of justice and mercy; and
 4. That we call upon our fellow Lutherans especially to promote the integration of racial minority groups into the congregational life of our churches.⁸

The floor committee submitted the following resolutions which were submitted to the convention:

- Resolved, 1. That we call upon our fellow Lutherans to recognize fully and to face the issue of God-fearing relationships by mutually applying Scriptural principles of justice and love; and
2. That we remind our fellow Lutherans sincerely to consider the peaceful acceptance of minority groups into our churches, by "exercising discretion, wisdom, and love." (Proceedings, Thirty-Ninth Convention, 1946, p.45.).⁹

⁸Proceedings of the Synodical Conference for 1948, 134.

⁹Ibid., 134-35.

The convention adopted the above recommendation, but it seems, as a reactionary afterthought, it added the following proviso: "However, we want it understood that we do not approve of all the sentiments and teachings expressed or implied in the overture, particularly in Paragraphs 1 and 2."¹⁰

Integration of Congregations into Established Districts

For years individuals and groups within the Synodical Conference felt dissatisfied with certain attitudes and policies of the Missionary Board. Charges centered on the paternalistic and condescending attitude of the Board towards the Negro missionaries and Negro people. Additionally, there was a rather general feeling that the board possessed and exerted too much authority in so many phases of the missionaries' life and work. Dissatisfaction seemed to have reached its height when the Missionary Board acted in the capacity of a congregation in cases of discipline, and some of the Negro Christians became resentful and angered.¹¹ Finally, in 1944, a special committee made a Survey of the Negro Missions and some of the above facts

¹⁰ Ibid., 135.

¹¹ The Seventh General Conference of the Negro Churches of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America convened in St. Philip Evangelical Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, Pa., June 8-11, 1944, 9.

were brought to light and appeared in public print for the first time.¹²

The General Conference of Lutheran Negro Mission Workers was composed of missionaries among the Negroes and their congregations. Though this "General Conference" was authorized by the Missionary Board, it had no authority and no mutual relationship with fellow Lutheran bodies in the Synodical Conference. For years the leaders of the General Conference discussed and studied plans to form an official body of their own. In 1944 the General Conference resolved to urge the few self-supporting congregations to organize as a district of a constituent Synod of the Synodical Conference. The 1944 convention of the Synodical Conference was presented with a proposed constitution for the new body.¹³ As one reads through the convention reports of both the General Conference and of the Synodical Conference regarding this reorganization plan it appears that an entire volume could be filled with all the various committee reports, studies, surveys, proposals and counter-proposals. At any rate, the Synodical Conference Survey Committee submitted recommendations and resolutions for the 1946 convention of the Synodical Conference. Since

¹²Proceedings of the Synodical Conference for 1944, 63-64.

¹³Ibid., 54 ff.

the adoption of the floor committee's resolution was such a great step forward, we want to quote the entire recommendation:

We recommend the adoption of the Survey Committee's report on receiving Negro churches and their pastors into membership of the constituent synods of the Synodical Conference (or the respective Districts), as follows:

WHEREAS, It has been and still is the privilege and prerogative of any congregation, pastor, and teacher in good standing with a constituent synod of the Synodical Conference to apply for membership with any of the constituent synods or their respective Districts; and

WHEREAS, It has been and still is the policy of the constituent synods of the Synodical Conference and their respective Districts to receive into membership any congregation, together with their pastor and teachers in good standing and duly released;

We believe it to be within the rights and privileges also of our Negro churches, pastors and teachers in good standing and under the jurisdiction of the General Board to apply for membership with a given synod or a District affiliated with the Synodical Conference; and

We believe it to be within the rights of the constituent synods (or their Districts) to receive such applicants in good standing into membership within their District and synod after they have been released by the General Board.

We further recommend that congregations, both white and Negro, exercise discretion, wisdom, and love in putting this plan into operation.¹⁴

After the above committee recommendation was adopted, the following statement was added: "The Synodical Conference

¹⁴Proceedings of the Synodical Conference for 1946,
45-46.

convention suggests that all these recommendations be referred back to the constituent synods."¹⁵

The program of integrating the Negro congregations into the established districts progressed so favorably that the executive secretary, Dr. Karl Kurth, was able to make the following report at the 1948 Convention:

The Districts which were approached manifested a willingness and readiness to accept the proposed plan re supervision, with the proviso that the entire matter be presented for ratification to the District conventions during the summer and fall of 1948.¹⁶

In the "Report of the Missionary Board of the Synodical Conference" to the forty-third regular convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod in 1956, the executive secretary reported that the appeal to ask the constituent districts to supervise the work of Negro congregations met with general favor and that "all but two Districts of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod have now assumed complete supervision of Negro Missions in their midst," and that "in two Districts Regional Mission Committees have been established, and in the course of time these Districts will undoubtedly merge Negro Mission work with their own existing mission setup."¹⁷ Thus, we see, that in less than

¹⁵Ibid., 46.

¹⁶Proceedings of the Synodical Conference for 1948, 81.

¹⁷Proceedings of the Forty-Third Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, assembled at Saint Paul, Minnesota, as the Twenty-Eighth Delegate Synod, June 20-29, 1956 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), 418.

a decade after the adoption of the resolution to ask the districts to accept the Negro congregations, the plan was virtually completed.

The 1950 Convention of the Synodical Conference adopted two resolutions presented from the floor which requested the Missionary Board

to study the problems involved in the integration of Negroes as communicant members in existing churches, particularly where population trends indicate a great influx of the Negro people, [and to]

offer a set of evangelical techniques and guidelines to all pastors who may have an opportunity to inaugurate a program of communicant integration in their congregations.¹⁸

These resolutions were referred to the Missionary Board which in turn instructed "the Executive Secretary in collaboration with capable men, on the basis of gathered information, [to] draw up evangelical directions or guidelines which will be helpful to congregations."¹⁹ In April of 1952 the essay on "Integration" was presented to the Plenary Board and adopted. The document is known as Guidelines²⁰ and appeared first in a mimeographed bulletin form of eighteen pages.

An analysis of the Guidelines proves it to be a hazy

¹⁸Proceedings of the Synodical Conference for 1950, 113.

¹⁹Proceedings of the Synodical Conference for 1952, 62-63.

²⁰Ibid., 128.

and indefinite statement of general principles; no positive and specific techniques or directions for integration are offered. One sentence suggests a program of education, namely, "When a congregation is faced with an 'integration problem,' an intensive program of education should be inaugurated."²¹ First of all, we suggest that integration should be regarded as an opportunity to win souls for Christ, and not as a "problem." Secondly, we suggest that an intensive program of education should be inaugurated before the opportunity to integrate presents itself. The so-called Guidelines are in reality no guidelines for congregations who have the opportunity to integrate and they offer very little for a progressive and aggressive program of integration.

Educational Institutions of the Missouri Synod

In response to a letter soliciting students for St. Paul's College at Concordia, Missouri Pastor Andrew Schulze wrote President J. C. Moeller on May 12, 1938, concerning the possibility of enrolling some Negro Lutheran boys at the institution. Less than two weeks later Pastor Schulze received a reply from the secretary of the faculty of St.

²¹Karl Kurth, Integration of Negroes, known as Guidelines, for The Missionary Board of the Lutheran Synodical Conference, 1952, 15. In the possession of the writer.

Paul's College that the Board of Directors of the Missouri Synod "in a resolution adopted in a meeting of May 18th, decided against the admission of Colored students to other institutions besides those named and maintained specifically for them by Synod."²²

During the summer of 1946 Samuel Hoard sought admission to Concordia Theological Seminary of Springfield, Illinois. On August 8, 1946, the president of the Springfield Seminary wrote Mr. Hoard's pastor, The Rev. Mr. Andrew Schulze as follows:

This morning we had a Faculty meeting and discussed the enrollment of Samuel Lawrence Hoard. I am very sorry to state that the Faculty adopted a resolution to this effect: "In view of our very large enrollment and furthermore in view of the fact that we have Immanuel College at Greensboro, North Carolina, for the training of colored men for the ministry, we cannot receive Mr. Hoard as one of our students."²³

Upon receiving the application of a Negro for admittance to Concordia College at Fort Wayne, Indiana, the registrar, Erwin Schnedler addressed a letter to the Missouri Synod's Board of Directors, in care of the Chairman, Dr. J. W. Behnken on August 31, 1946, saying:

Since acceptance of the young man as a student would create a new situation here, the local Board of Control took the matter under advisement and directed me to inquire of the Board of Directors whether Synod has a policy with regard to receiving negroes as

²²In the possession of the writer.

²³In the possession of the writer.

ministerial students at our preparatory schools, or what attitude the colleges should take on this question.²⁴

On September 3, 1946 Dr. Behnken replied to Pastor Schnedler's letter:

The recent Synodical Conference Convention decided something with reference to the opening of our colleges and seminaries for negro students. I do not remember the wording of the resolution, but I do know that I called attention to the fact that the Synodical Conference cannot legislate for the Missouri Synod. I also mentioned that if this motion carries our Synod would be the one which would have to face the problem. I regret very much that this issue is forced upon us. I know that it will not result in resolutions and actions which will meet with the approval of all parties concerned. . . . It is unfortunate that there has been agitation [sic].²⁵

As late as 1947 Concordia Seminary of Springfield, Illinois rejected a Negro's application for admission, that of Mr. Lindsay Robinson.²⁶

The aforementioned cases were some which came to our attention in which Negroes had been refused admission to educational institutions of the Missouri Synod. Yet Missionary N. J. Bakke calls attention to the fact that five Negroes attended the Seminary at Springfield in its

²⁴In the possession of the writer.

²⁵In the possession of the writer.

²⁶Letter from B. H. Selcke, Secretary of The Board of Control, Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, Illinois, to The Rev. Mr. Andrew Schulze, August 23, 1947. In the possession of the writer.

early years.²⁷ Mr. Samuel Hoard was admitted to Concordia College in Fort Wayne in September of 1946 as a special "off-campus" student for the first three months. Later he was granted the privilege to live in the dormitory on the campus. It is interesting to note that during the time Mr. Hoard was seeking admission to the Fort Wayne institution a Negro student who graduated two years previously from the sister institution at Oakland, California, was attending Concordia Theological Seminary in St. Louis, Missouri.²⁸

The 1956 Missouri Synod Resolution on Race Relations in National and World-Wide Church Work

We now come to the last topic to be considered under the chapter, "Official Boards and Bodies." We believe it is appropriate that the 1956 Missouri Synod resolution be considered separately because it was the first time this body had taken a definite stand on the race issue in a public convention.

A number of memorials pertaining to race relations were submitted to the 1956 convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Identical memorials on race

²⁷N. J. Bakke, Illustrated Historical Sketch of Our Colored Mission (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1914), 78-79.

²⁸Interview with Samuel Hoard in February of 1957.

relations in general were offered by Zion Lutheran Church of Mascoutah, Illinois and Immanuel Lutheran Church of Chicago, Illinois.²⁹ The Church Council of Trinity Lutheran Church of Los Angeles, California³⁰ and St. Matthew Lutheran Church of New York City³¹ submitted resolutions on the establishment of congregations on a non-segregated basis. The St. Louis Chapter of The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America requested a synodical policy of desegregation.³²

As the Proceedings mention, there was considerable discussion. A special "open session" of the committee was well attended. The Vanguard reports:

It was perhaps the first time in the history of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod that delegates and guests at its convention . . . were noticeably interested in the race question.³³

As one can readily expect, on such an issue as the race question, there are many divergent opinions, and it would be almost inconceivable to adopt a resolution which would be satisfactory to all. There are those who would desire that the resolution would have said more; likewise,

²⁹Proceedings of the Forty-Third Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, assembled at Saint Paul, Minnesota, as the Twenty-Eighth Delegate Synod, June 20-29, 1956 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), 752-53.

³⁰Ibid., 753-54.

³¹Ibid., 754.

³²Ibid., 756-57.

³³The Vanguard, III (July, 1956), 1.

a few who desire that it might have said less. Yet, all things considered, and comparing it with pronouncements of other Protestant church bodies, it seems to this writer, that the Missouri Synod (though cautious and belatedly) formulated a Biblical, a Christian and a practical resolution.

The Vanguard, the official organ of The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, whose leaders and members worked for a "strong" resolution, commented:

The convention, in making this pronouncement, did more in the right direction than many of us had anticipated. The very fact that the matter was discussed and acted upon is a mark of progress for the Missouri Synod.

.....

Mere honesty, therefore, would require at least a statement calling for repentance where the Church has been in error. The memorial called for such a statement; the adopted pronouncement omits all reference to the need for repentance. On the other hand, it presents the past in a halo of goodness.³⁴

The resolution is in four parts, the first one being a restatement of a resolution adopted by the Synodical Conference convention in 1952. Finally, because of its significance we wish to record the last points of the resolution:

And be it further

Resolved, (b) That in all problems which arise in connection with the application and conduct of

³⁴Ibid., 2-3.

these above-mentioned principles of Scriptures, all members of our church unreservedly obey the Savior's command "that ye love one another," and practice Christian charity, forbearance, and understanding with each other, knowing that the same Lord is Head over all, and that His Spirit dwells by Word and Sacrament in all the churches; and be it further

- Resolved, (c) 1. That all congregations of Synod regard all persons regardless of race or ethnic origin living within the limits of their respective parishes, and not associated with another Christian church, as individuals whom God would reach with the Gospel of His saving grace through the ministry of the local congregation;
2. That congregations operating in changing communities be encouraged to continue operations in those areas rather than relinquish their properties through sale to other denominations, and that the various District Mission Boards be encouraged to subsidize these congregations when this becomes necessary, so that the souls in those communities, regardless of race or ethnic grouping, may be won and served;
3. That synodical institutions, agencies, and offices continue to make no distinction, based upon race or color, in their entrance requirements or employment policies; and be it finally

Resolved, (d) That since Christians are constrained to do justice and love mercy, we acknowledge our responsibility as a church to provide guidance for our members to work in the capacity of Christian citizens for the elimination of discrimination, wherever it may exist, in community, city, state, nation and world.³⁵

³⁵ Proceedings of the Forty-Third Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, assembled at Saint Paul, Minnesota, as the Twenty-Eighth Delegate Synod, June 20-29, 1956 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), 758-59.

CHAPTER III

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

In this effort to determine the "Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro," we shall survey some of The Missouri Synod's official magazines and publications. The two magazines selected for a thorough study are the Concordia Theological Monthly, the official professional journal for the pastors of the Missouri Synod, and Today, "A Journal of Practical Missionary Procedure," issued from 1946 to 1951. We have endeavored to note every reference to our general topic from these two periodicals. Additionally, we want to make a cursory review of the official organ of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, The Lutheran Witness. Finally, we propose to call attention in this chapter to a number of miscellaneous articles and booklets from official sources.

The Concordia Theological Monthly

The Concordia Theological Monthly is the official theological journal for the clergymen of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. It continues the erstwhile Lehre und Wehre, Magazin fuer ev.=luth. Homiletik, the Theological Quarterly, and the Theological Monthly. Its first issue was released in January, 1930. Because of its eminent

position to influence the thinking and practices of the present generation of the pastors of the Missouri Synod, we have searched the entire series (up to and including the year of 1956) and propose to report in detail on all references to Negroes, to the subjects of race and racial problems and also to call attention to some articles referring to the so-called "social gospel" and to social problems in general.

In a general way, the subjects of the Negro and race relations are touched on only occasionally during the first decade. In 1940 a special series on the topic, "The Church and Social Problems," was published. Significant and positive articles on the subject of human relations have been offered especially from 1952 to 1956.

The early policy of avoiding the issue of race relations is stated quite clearly in an article entitled, "Anent Race Relations," which reported on the National Baptist Convention, a Negro body, and a number of requests for the Negro, "It is not the function of this journal to propose remedial measures for an ominous situation." Then, continuing its laissez-faire attitude on this important social problem, the article comments, "May God grant our statesmen and legislatures and voters wisdom to discover and to follow the proper course."¹

¹Concordia Theological Monthly, XIII (December, 1942), pp. 950-51. Hereafter this journal will be referred to as CTM.

At least by 1943 the editors are aware of the race issue and concomitant problems for in reporting on the American Bar Association's movement toward a proper recognition of the rights of Negro citizens the following comment is made:

May God grant all of us true wisdom and love in thinking and speaking of the race question, which is now assuming gigantic proportions.²

Sometimes the Concordia Theological Monthly seems deprecatory and flippant in regard to worthy endeavors to promote understanding between groups, as for example, in reporting that the United States is to have a Brotherhood Week, the article continues:

The tendency to have a week set aside for the discussion and promulgation of every worthy cause strikes one as thoroughly puerile.³

Again, in quoting The Lutheran concerning a Minnesota movement to adopt the following democratic pledge,

I will never by rumor or careless generalization indict a whole race or religious group by reason of the delinquency of a few members. . . . I will daily deal with every man in business, social, and political realms solely on the basis of his individual worth,⁴

the Concordia Theological Monthly comments:

It strikes one as strange that a special pledge of this kind is submitted. Why not start a propaganda

²CTM, XIV (December, 1943), 878.

³CTM, XVII (April, 1946), 311.

⁴Quoted from CTM, XV (November, 1944), 787.

asking people to pledge obedience to the Ten Commandments?⁵

The uncertainty of the Church's role to speak out on the issue of equality is revealed in the report on The Methodist Quadrennial General Conference in Boston in May, 1948:

On the race issue important resolutions were passed. . . . "Complete equality of accommodations for all races . . . in national and international meetings of the Church" was recommended and adopted, likewise the principle of equality "in church schools and institutions, in political franchise and economic and educational opportunities."⁶

Here the Concordia Theological Monthly comments:

The question arises whether the Assembly here confined itself to what the Scriptures teach or went into fields which lie beyond the jurisdiction of church meetings. The line admittedly is difficult to draw, but it should not be overlooked that the church as such has no authority to go farther than the Word of God does.⁷

At least one of the editors who claimed to have an interest in the race question regards it not because of the great injustices done to Negroes or because of the vast mission possibilities for our existing churches, but because of the numerous colored congregations in the Synodical Conference. The article is entitled "Progress in Race Relations" and reads:

⁵CTM, XV (November, 1944), 787.

⁶Quoted from CTM, XIX (September, 1948), 691.

⁷CTM, XIX (September, 1948), 691.

While we have no political ax to grind, we are deeply interested in the various angles of the race question that have to do with the moral and religious field. On account of the numerous colored congregations which are connected with our Synodical Conference, an editorial in America (July 31) which has the heading "Negro Voters in the South" is of interest to readers of this journal. We reprint it here without comment.⁸

About 1948 Concordia Publishing House published a fifteen-page tract written by Dr. John H. C. Fritz titled The Lutheran Church and The Negro. This pamphlet is considered in another chapter, but here we want to refer to its review by O. E. Sohn. Professor Sohn approves of the tract and follows the author's words closely in his review:

This timely tract is published at the request and with the approval of the Missionary Board of the Synodical Conference. After demonstrating that the Lutheran Church has been aware of its obligation to preach the Gospel to all nations regardless of race or color, the author develops the thesis that our attitude toward the Negro should not differ from that which we take toward other races. Yet, even though we are all one in Christ Jesus, it does not follow that a Christian congregation will under any and all circumstances include in its membership Christians of any color, race, or nationality. God has granted us a certain amount of freedom, just as with respect to marriage or intimate friendships. Membership in a particular congregation will be determined by personal choice, the law of love, wisdom and other factors. Love must be exercised by all concerned.⁹

The attitudes and policies of The Lutheran Church--
Missouri Synod toward the Negro as well as its views on

⁸CTM, XIX (October, 1948), 777.

⁹CTM, XIX (December, 1948), 959.

race relations have been influenced and controlled most likely by our leaders' thinking toward social questions in general. Early in the twentieth century the concept of the "social gospel" developed and infected large segments of American Protestantism, but the Synodical Conference remained aloof and distant from the movement. In an article, "Rauschenbusch in Retrospect," R. L. Moellering wrote that he failed to uncover a single reference in the predecessor to the Concordia Theological Monthly magazine, Lehre und Wehre, to this great exponent of the "social gospel."¹⁰ Yet in the year 1935 the Concordia Theological Monthly has at least five articles on the "social gospel" and various social questions and problems.¹¹

Dr. Paul E. Kretzmann's "The Church and Social Problems" written in 1937 is a rather unusual composition because it is the first article of its kind to treat this subject in a detailed fashion. The author shows, first of all, of course, that the main business of the Church is to preach the saving Gospel of Jesus Christ. Restating the

¹⁰CTM, XXVII (August, 1956), 613.

¹¹"The Social Gospel in Baptist Churches," CTM, VI (May, 1935), 382; "The Attitude of the Lutheran Church Toward Social Questions," CTM, VI (May, 1935), 384-86; "The Church and Social Questions," CTM, VI (June, 1935), 454-55; "Southern Baptists," CTM, VI (July, 1935), 548-49; "Southern Presbyterians and the Social Gospel," CTM, VI (December, 1935), 944.

words of the Great Commission, "teaching them to observe all things," he shows how the early church provided for the physical necessities of its communion. Following a review of passages on Christian love Dr. Kretzmann continues:

In all these statements and in all these historical accounts there is not one word which would justify the "social gospel," the idea that we are to build the kingdom of God in an outward, visible manner, by making the amelioration of living conditions among the poor, the adjustment of difficulties between labor and capital, the reduction of delinquency among the youth, and other problems the aim of our church-work. But such by-products of the preaching of the gospel as are specifically named in Holy Scripture might and should engage the attention of churches everywhere, . . .¹²

Even though the subject of race relations is not mentioned Dr. Kretzmann already in 1937 demonstrated his acquaintance with and respect for the fields of sociology and social ethics. He strongly urged a full educational program of the entire social field in every congregation.

As one reads through the entire Concordia Theological Monthly journal looking for positive statements on social questions and social problems the words of I Cor. 14:8, printed on the cover of every issue, cry out: "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to battle?" This is understandable, probably even whole-

¹²CTM, VIII (September, 1937), 669-70. See also CTM, X (February, 1939), 142-44, 148-49.

some, when one remembers the number of editors and the large number of contributors. But it is difficult to understand how one of the editors seems to espouse opposite sides of a cause on the very same issue. Lest we misinterpret and lest we be misunderstood we should like to make two lengthy quotations and have the reader compare them carefully.

Is the Social Gospel Avoided?--A correspondent from Indianapolis writes the Christian Century as follows: "Ministers of many Indiana Lutheran churches joined in recommending that the denomination abandon its traditional non-committal attitude toward social problems. The recommendation of an active policy was in reply to a questionnaire from the Church's Board of Social Missions. The president of the Indiana Lutheran Synod, Dr. Homer E. Turney, stated that 'through the years it has been the custom of the United Lutheran Church to preach Christian truth and leave the settling of social problems to individuals according to their interpretation of the truth.' Marriage and divorce, gambling, liquor control, indecent literature, and demoralizing movies are among the problems listed by the ministers as needing attention from the pulpit. Others are, war and peace, conscientious objection to war, race, industrial relations, minority blocs, foreign refugees, unemployment and relief, and capital and labor." Are these people aware that they are treading on dangerous ground and that, while the Church has to preach everything the Scriptures contain, its function is entirely spiritual? (our italics).¹³

The second article reads:

These brief remarks are intended to introduce a series of articles dealing with the topic mentioned in the caption, articles which, God willing, will appear in this journal during 1940. While we should feel extremely sorry if our Church and its ministers, instead of studying and preaching the Word of God, should

¹³CTM, XI (February, 1940), 140.

devote themselves to the debating of sociological questions, we cannot ignore the situation which confronts us, realizing that on every side these matters are made the subject of religious discussion and that our Christians are vitally affected by them. Our church-members are looking to the clergy for guidance and counsel. Certainly it is the duty of pastors to tell their parishioners what the Word of God says on the social questions that perplex them. It is not at all the intention of the editors to publish articles which will solve knotty problems of statesmanship and public civic policy. They hope, however, that through the projected examination and discussion our ministers will become more clear in their own minds on what principles the Scriptures contain with respect to social problems and on the proper and most effective way of bringing these principles, with their application, to the attention of our people.¹⁴

We probably in our pulpit discourses and in our church papers have often been silent on great social issues because we realized that according to the Scriptures it was not proper for a Christian congregation to assume the functions of a civic or political club, and on that account we neglected to tell our Christians what instructions the Word of God places before them as to their civic duties, and we did not help them to apply these instructions correctly.¹⁵

The first article seems to disparage preaching on social issues and the second seems to advocate such preaching. If the esteemed Doctor Arndt was not certain in his own mind what course to follow, he certainly was not alone, and it is all the more commendable that he introduced the series of excellent articles on "The Church and Social Problems" in the same year, 1940. One should read his

¹⁴W. Arndt, "The Church and Social Problems," CTM, XI (February, 1940), 115.

¹⁵Ibid., 118.

entire article to appreciate his keen analysis of the problem, for in a general way, from this time forth we find more positive items and articles in the area of social activity and race relations in the Concordia Theological Monthly.

The second article of the series appears in two issues, April and May of the same year and covers thirty-two pages. It was written by Dr. Theodore Laetsch and bears the title, "The Prophets and Political and Social Problems."¹⁶

The third article, "The Social Implications in the Gospels and in the Book of Acts," came from the pen of Dr. Paul E. Kretzmann and covers eight pages.¹⁷

The fourth and last work, the crown of the series, is written by Dr. Arthur Carl Piepkorn. In his "St. Paul on Social Relationships" this writer thoroughly considers all the various social relationships considered by St. Paul and demonstrates how applicable these principles are in the modern world. The author has these specific and positive statements on race relations:

In Christ nationality and race confer no privilege.
 In Christ--and, by that token, in His Kingdom, the

¹⁶CTM, XI (April and May, 1940), 241ff. and 337ff.

¹⁷CTM, XI (June, 1940), 401-08.

Church--all believers enjoy a parity of privilege, and the distinctions of the world without constitute, as we have seen, no claims to special prerogatives.¹⁸

In the light of modern nationalist and racist theories St. Paul's position is interesting. Although in the Christian community all privileges and prerogatives based on race or nationality are denied, neither in St. Paul nor even in non-political Judaism is there any denial of race or nationality.¹⁹

St. Paul's world knew nothing of our "hard" liquors nor of our appallingly impersonal and efficient means of mass murder nor of a color line.²⁰

In his conclusion Dr. Piepkorn lays down this positive and dominant principle concerning "The Church and the Social Problems":

The Church must have and must express an opinion on social issues which affect her membership, not with the thought of imposing them upon society, but for the guidance of those that own her as their spiritual mother.²¹

For the sake of completeness we just want to mention Carl Walter Berner's article, "The Social Ethics of Martin Luther," in the March, 1943 issue of the Concordia Theological Monthly.²²

Considerably different than Dr. Piepkorn's aforementioned article is the Concordia Theological Monthly's

¹⁸CTM, XI (October, 1940), 731.

¹⁹Ibid., 734.

²⁰Ibid., 748.

²¹Ibid., 751.

²²CTM, XIV (March, 1943), 161-78.

"The Spiritual, Not the Social Gospel in The Church," (With Special Reference to the Race Relations Problem) by Dr. John Theodore Mueller in the October, 1943 issue. The footnote to the title reads: "An essay read and discussed at the plenary meeting of the Missionary Board of the Synodical Conference, Chicago, Ill., April 28 to 29, 1943."²³

While Dr. Mueller claims that he acknowledges the serious race relations problem in this country and the fact that "many of the thirteen million Negroes in our country are suffering serious injustice and are laboring under decided disadvantages,"²⁴ he offers little in the line of specific recommendations for Lutheran Churches and for Lutheran Christians to ameliorate such conditions. If we accept the definition of the term "social gospel" offered by E. W. A. Koehler²⁵ in the same issue of the Concordia Theological Monthly we agree with the writer that we are not to foster the "social gospel" (which in reality is no Gospel).

Dr. Mueller writes:

Indirectly Christ showed that it was His divinely appointed mission to preach the spiritual Gospel by

²³CTM, XIV (October, 1943), 682.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵E. W. A. Koehler, "The Social Gospel. What Is It?" CTM, XIV (October, 1943), 707-08.

refusing to deal in cases where external or earthly matters came into consideration.²⁶

And this is followed by three cases which allegedly support his statement:

He, for example, did not command the Centurion to free his servant (slave), but respected the established relation of master and servant (Matt. 8:9). He did not preach disobedience to, and rebellion against, the Roman oppressors, but very earnestly commanded the Jews: "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things which are God's" (Matt. 22:21). He did not side with the Pharisees against the woman who was taken in adultery, since the stoning on which her enemies insisted was a matter of political law (John 8:5-6).²⁷

But one of the very passages which the author cites (viz., Matt. 22:21) proves the contrary, namely, that our Lord did deal in cases where external or earthly matters came into consideration, for He said, "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's." Assuming that the first eleven verses of the eighth chapter of the Gospel according to St. John are genuine the reason for Christ's releasing the woman was not because He refused to interfere with political law, but because He did not condemn her (John 8:11). Dr. Mueller continues:

In short, Christ never in His divine ministry mingled earthly and spiritual affairs, never preached a "social gospel," but always the spiritual Gospel of salvation

²⁶Mueller, op. cit., 685.

²⁷Ibid.

by His vicarious death (Matt. 20:28). His theology and ministry were otherworldly, not this-worldly.²⁸

We ask the reader to compare the many healing miracles of Jesus, the fact that "when He saw the crowds, he had compassion for them, because they were harassed and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd" (Matt. 9:36), His two great feeding miracles, the making of wine for the wedding at Cana, the command to pay the tax from the mouth of a fish (Matt. 17:24-27) with the above quotation.

The statement, "As a Church we have but one function to perform, and that is to preach Christ--the crucified and risen Savior,"²⁹ is quite out of tune with the previous statements of Dr. Arndt³⁰ and Dr. Piepkorn.³¹

Before we leave the subject of the "social gospel" we want to refer to two more articles, a twelve page essay, titled "The Social Gospel (With Special Reference to Walter Rauschenbusch)" by P. E. Kretzmann³² and R. L. Moellering's "Rauschenbusch in Retrospect." In his article Pastor Moellering refers to this interesting quotation of one of the late presidents of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, F. Pfotenhauer: "The real business of the church is to

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid., 691.

³⁰Supra., 36.

³¹Supra., 37-38.

³²CTM, XV (July, 1944), 459-71.

preach the Gospel. It is not the mission of the church to abolish physical misery or to help men to earthly happiness."³³ What progress the Missouri Synod has made since that statement was first printed in 1911 is indicated by the fact that this sentence was allowed to stand in Rev. Moellering's article: "The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America is at least keeping pace with, if not outstripping, the most progressive thinkers on the race question among American churchmen."³⁴

In perusing the Concordia Theological Monthly we found several articles pertaining to related subjects of human relations, like slavery and caste systems in other countries. There are two articles on the caste system in India, namely, "Is the Caste System in India Crumbling?"³⁵ and "The Church and Caste" by Missionary A. J. Lutz.³⁶ Two articles on slavery in Africa are "Slavery Still Practiced on a Large Scale in Africa,"³⁷ which is a quotation from The Christian Century, and "Die „Sklaverei" in Abessinien."³⁸ The April, 1937, issue carries a book review of Dr. J. T. Mueller's

³³Quoted from CTM, XXVII (August, 1956), 613.

³⁴Ibid., 614.

³⁵CTM, V (July, 1934), 565-66.

³⁶CTM, XVIII (September, 1947), 679-96.

³⁷CTM, III (October, 1932), 785.

³⁸CTM, VI (December, 1935), 946-47.

Brightest Light for Darkest Africa.³⁹ The same writer contributed an article with the caption "Afrikaans and English in South Africa." This deals with the problem of biraciality and bilingualism, and Dr. Mueller comments: "The Christian minister must be characterized by neither racial nor linguistic prejudices."⁴⁰ An item in the January, 1951, issue reveals that the Reverend Mr. I. D. Morkel broke away from the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa because that religious body has insisted on observing apartheid and so he organized a new group.⁴¹

Returning to the subject of race relations in the United States we note a few brief items on the Ku Klux Klan, lynchings and acts of violence which appeared in the Concordia Theological Monthly. The copy of March, 1940, mentions an attack on the offices of the Constitution, an Atlanta, Georgia, newspaper.⁴² In the September issue of 1946 we find an item telling that the St. Louis Metropolitan Church Federation issued a statement against the Ku Klux Klan.⁴³ The September, 1947, issue ran an interesting item

³⁹CTM, VIII (April, 1937), 319.

⁴⁰CTM, XIV (November, 1943), 806.

⁴¹CTM, XXII (January, 1951), 65.

⁴²CTM, XI (March, 1940), 225.

⁴³CTM, XVII (September, 1946), 719.

noting that St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Miami, Florida, charged their pastor, The Reverend Mr. Ernest L. Wiendenmann for using church property for improper and anti-Christian purposes by conducting services for the Klan.⁴⁴

Several references are made to the poverty of the Negro, to lynching and to race fanaticism. The May issue of the Concordia Theological Monthly journal of 1937 quotes some figures on the poverty of Negro farm operators as given in a pamphlet issued by the Conference of Education and Race Relations of Atlanta, Georgia. This is followed by the simple comment: "These are figures which should arouse our heartfelt sympathy."⁴⁵ Two items touched on lynching.⁴⁶ In the "Brief Items" section of the July, 1936, issue John J. Cornwell, former governor of West Virginia advocated rejection of bills fostering equality between whites and Negroes in the official positions of the Episcopal Church.⁴⁷

The same page quotes some figures on lynching as reported by the Christian Century from a pamphlet The Mob

⁴⁴CTM, XVIII (September, 1947), 707.

⁴⁵CTM, VIII (May, 1937), 397.

⁴⁶"Lynching Not Yet Exterminated," CTM, III (April, 1932), 308; and "Lynching Flares Up Again," CTM, XVII (December, 1946), 925-26.

⁴⁷CTM, VII (July, 1936), 546.

Still Rides.⁴⁸ In an article captioned "Race Fanaticism" the story is told of a missionary who served the Baptist Church in Burma and related how his father years ago was beaten by a white man for preaching to Negroes. The Concordia Theological Monthly editor comments: "Undoubtedly the assailant thought he was rendering the cause of truth and justice a real service. What blindness prejudice will produce!"⁴⁹

At least four items concerning Negroes and race relations with reference to the Episcopal Church appear in the Concordia Theological Monthly and a news note that a Protestant Episcopal Church (Calvary) of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, decided to call a colored minister (November, 1945).⁵⁰

Two articles regarding education for the Negro clergy appeared in 1951. The first one informs us that

The removal of legal barriers and the urgent need for academic seminary training for Negro Baptist students have opened the doors to Negro students in three Southern Baptist theological seminaries: The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Ky., the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary at Fort

⁴⁸CTM, VII (July, 1936), 546-47.

⁴⁹CTM, XIII (July, 1942), 545.

⁵⁰"The Race Problem in the Episcopal Church," CTM, IV (January, 1933), 52-53; "Episcopal Work Among the Negroes," CTM, IX (June, 1938), 462-63; "Concerning the Work of the Episcopalians Among the Colored People," CTM, XI (November, 1940), 865; CTM, XVI (November, 1945), 798.

Worth, Tex., and the Baptist Theological Seminary in New Orleans.⁵¹

The second article considers the education of Negro clergy in the Southern Baptist Convention.⁵²

In 1946 the Concordia Theological Monthly carried two brief items concerning education of Negroes in general.⁵³ The latter mentioned that the number of Negro college graduates studying for degrees in religion increased thirty-two percent during the four years past. A rather unique and excellent effort to raise the educational level of Negro ministers in Alabama by means of a traveling theological seminary was reported in March of 1950.⁵⁴

The only article concerning Negro churches in general is "Colored Churches Considering United Action" and appeared in December of 1935.⁵⁵ The so-called "Father Divine" came up for discussion at least six times but seemed to be forgotten by the editors of the Concordia Theological Monthly after he was exposed in "Three Blasphemous Paradises."⁵⁶

⁵¹CTM, XXII (June, 1951), 455.

⁵²CTM, XXII (October, 1951), 774-75.

⁵³CTM, XVII (February, 1946), 142-43 and CTM, XVII (August, 1946), 639-40.

⁵⁴CTM, XXI (March, 1950), 230.

⁵⁵CTM, VI (December, 1935), 943-44.

⁵⁶CTM, XV (September, 1944), 705-06; Vide CTM, VI (April, 1935), 309-10; CTM, VII (March, 1936), 226-28; CTM, VII (August, 1936), 599-600; CTM, VIII (January, 1937), 70; and CTM, XIII (December, 1942), 952.

In the periodical under discussion we find a few interesting items dealing with other races and attitudes towards other minority groups. In a review of The Origin of Mankind by Ambrose Fleming Dr. Theodore Graebner contradicts the author concerning the inferiority of the progeny of Negro and white offspring.⁵⁷ A quotation from the Christian Century reads: "Racial Discrimination against Mexicans in the United States was strongly condemned by Robert E. Lucey."⁵⁸ Antisemiticism by Hugo Valentin was reviewed in December of 1937.⁵⁹ A long article by Ralph Moellering, "Luther's Attitude Toward the Jews," appeared in 1948 and 1949.⁶⁰

If we were to choose any specific year in which a change of interest of the Concordia Theological Monthly in regard to the Negro and human relations is indicated we would suggest the year of 1942. For it was in April of that year that Dr. Theodore Engelder presented a quite favorable and sympathetic review of Pastor Andrew Schulze's book, My Neighbor of Another Color. While a number of fellow ministers, including those in official positions in

⁵⁷CTM, VII (August, 1936), 631-32.

⁵⁸CTM, XV (January, 1944), 132.

⁵⁹CTM, VIII, (December, 1937), 965.

⁶⁰CTM, XIX (December, 1948), 920-34; CTM, XX (January, 1949), 45-59; CTM, XX (March, 1949), 194-215 and addendum in CTM, XX (August, 1949), 579.

the church, were condemning Pastor Schulze's book upon its publication, Dr. Engelder's review was one of the first positive voices from official quarters. He concluded his review with these remarks: "We bespeak for this scholarly treatise the kind and respectful consideration of the brethren, even though we do not agree with all of its conclusions and judgments."⁶¹ Even though the review might not be considered ideal in the year of 1957, it certainly was significant in 1942 and therefore we should like to quote the pertinent part of the review in detail:

This discussion of a pressing problem has scientific value. It offers anthropological and sociological information that bears on the relation between the Caucasian and the Negro races in America. It quotes statements such as these: "There is no reliable proof of innate differences." "The idea that any race has, as such, definable characteristics making it 'superior' or 'inferior' in substance and potentiality is a delusion without biological, physiological, or other scientific foundation." The treatise also has great religious value. It propounds and drives home the great truth that before Christ, in the spiritual realm, there are no differences of race, that a Negro Christian is there the equal of a Caucasian Christian, that the Negro Christian possesses all the spiritual rights and privileges which Christ bestowed upon all His brethren. And that means that the Christian of any race will treat the members of any other race, particularly the brother-Christians of that race, with love and kindness and with Christian respect. It means, too, that a white congregation will, as occasion demands it, have a colored pastor in the pulpit of its church as a guest-preacher and, if the need arises, have a colored Christian receive the Holy Communion at its altar. It does not mean that the Church must establish mixed congregations. The Lord of the Church

⁶¹CTM, XIII (April, 1942), 319.

has left the ordering of this matter to the wisdom of His Christians. He has given no regulation either forbidding or demanding it. And racial peculiarities being what they are, each race having and cherishing its own temperament, habits, and idiosyncrasies, Christian wisdom has established the present order. And in Christian love each congregation gladly recognizes the New Testament law that each congregation has equal standing with the other before Christ.⁶²

In the May issue of the year 1943 of the Concordia Theological Monthly magazine one of the few early positive statements on race relations is found. Except for the introductory background it has no comment by the editors and we deem it significant enough to quote in its entirety:

On February 9 when the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church was in session in New York it adopted paragraphs pertaining to the relations between Christians of various races, which we here reprint. They appeared originally in the Living Church.

"1. Fellowship is essential to Christian worship. Since there are no racial distinctions in the mind of the Father, but 'all are one in Christ Jesus,' we dare not break our Christian fellowship by any attitude or act in the house of God which marks our brethren of other races as unequal or inferior.

"2. Fellowship is essential in church administration. Through the privilege of exercising initiative and responsibility in church affairs, through fair representation and voting power in all its legislative assemblies, will Negro churchmen be assured that their fellowship in the Episcopal Church is valid and secure.

"3. High standards must be maintained in every department of our work with the Negro. This principle applies to buildings, equipment, maintenance, personnel and general policy in the case of institutions, and especially to training and support of the ministry.

⁶²Ibid., 318-19.

Where separate facilities are still maintained, they should provide the same opportunities as those which are available to other racial groups.

"4. It is both the function and the task of the church to set the spiritual and moral goals for society, and to bear witness to their validity by achieving them in her own life. The church should not only insure to members of all races full and free participation in worship, she should also stand for fair and just access to educational, social and health services, and for equal economic opportunity, without compromise, self-consciousness, or apology. In these ways the church will demonstrate her belief that God has 'made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the whole earth.'"⁶³

Two articles in 1944 and 1946 disclose the myth that the Bible has placed a curse upon the Negro race. The first is titled "Has the Bible Placed a Curse upon the Negro Race?" and declares:

The Presbyterian Guardian (March 10, 1944) answers this question as follows: "This question should be answered with an emphatic negative. . . . There appears to be absolutely no Scriptural warrant for considering the Negro race to be servile."

An editor of the Concordia Theological Monthly comments:

We agree to this, despite the fact that frequently in our publications the view that "the Bible has put a curse upon the Negro race" has been expressed and defended. But to do so, means to make a declaration without having clear and firm and unmistakable Scripture proof upon which to rest one's assertion.⁶⁴

The second article by J. Ernest Schufelt bears the heading "Noah's Curse and Blessing" and concludes: "No one is justified in teaching that the curse upon Canaan is a

⁶³CTM, XIV (May, 1943), 376.

⁶⁴CTM, XV (May, 1944), 346.

curse upon Ham and his African descendants.⁶⁵

During the last part of the forties we find more items and articles favorable to Negroes and progressive race relations movements. In the June issue of 1945 a quotation from the Christian Century reveals that more Negroes are being employed in Cleveland's industries.⁶⁶ In March of 1946 an item appeared about the Memphis, Tennessee, police and the rape of a Negro girl.⁶⁷ In August of 1947 a program in which forty Negro boys and girls from the Roxbury District of Boston, Massachusetts, would vacation in the homes of white members is noted.⁶⁸ In October of 1947 the Concordia Theological Monthly called attention to the fact that a chair of Human Relations, believed to be the first of its kind, had been established at the University of Miami.⁶⁹

Under the "Theological Observer" section of the February issue of 1940 we found the following paragraph:

Among Southern Presbyterians there are numerous laymen who are strongly opposed to union with the Northern Presbyterians. An exchange says that they fear "the dangers of Northern Race ideas and modernistic theology." Knowing of the inroads of Modernism among Northern Presbyterians, we have to declare the fears

⁶⁵CTM, XVII (October, 1946), 742.

⁶⁶CTM, XVI (June, 1945), 424.

⁶⁷CTM, XVII (March, 1946), 231.

⁶⁸CTM, XVIII (August, 1947), 633.

⁶⁹CTM, XVIII (October, 1947), 795.

of these laymen justified. Let us hope, however, that their position is not chiefly due to apprehension concerning "Northern race ideas."⁷⁰

In 1944 a report on the Southern Baptist Convention read:

"Concerning race relations these resolutions were adopted: "1. That we reaffirm our deep and abiding interest in the welfare of all races of mankind, and particularly our interest in the welfare and advancement of the Negro race, which lives in our midst to the number of some ten or eleven millions.

"2. That this convention would urge the pastors and churches affiliated with the convention, and all our Baptist people, to cultivate and maintain the finest Christian spirit and attitude toward the Negro race, to do everything possible for the welfare of the race, both economic and religious, and for the defence and protection of all civil rights of the race."⁷¹

In 1948 three favorable items appeared in the Concordia Theological Monthly magazine. The first one noted that the quadrennial general conference of the Methodist Church voted unanimously that J. Ernest Wilkins, a Negro lawyer from St. Louis, Missouri, should serve on the Judicial Council of the Methodist Church, the supreme court of that body.⁷² The same issue takes note of an institute on racial and cultural relations and also of the Nursery Foundation of St. Louis, Missouri, an interracial project.⁷³

⁷⁰CTM, XI (February, 1940), 150.

⁷¹CTM, XV (September, 1944), 631.

⁷²CTM, XIX (September, 1948), 705.

⁷³Ibid., 710.

As we proceed chronologically through the Concordia Theological Monthly we find that the subject of good human relations, especially towards Negroes, is emphasized more and more. In a report on the North Carolina Baptist Convention which met at Raleigh, North Carolina, we find the following nine sentences on the problems of racial and minority groups which were adopted:

- (1) All Christians are brothers in Christ.
- (2) Every member of a racial or minority group is a person and should be treated as such.
- (3) No racial group because of biological inheritance is superior or inferior to any other group.
- (4) The members of all racial and minority groups should be recognized as citizens constituting a state under one government with equal rights.
- (5) All citizens have the right to equal privileges and treatment in our local, State and Federal governments.
- (6) All racial and minority groups have a right to be represented by members of their own group or bodies concerned with the general welfare of the community--police, education, courts, elections, etc.
- (7) Christians should protest injustices and discrimination against any group and strive to promote community good will between all groups.
- (8) The members of every group should eliminate from their speech terms which degrade or show contempt for other groups, especially in the presence and the teaching of children.
- (9) Christians must believe and teach that prejudice or ill will toward any group is unchristian.⁷⁴

A review of Ervin E. Krebs' The Lutheran Church and the Negro in America issued by the Board of American Missions of the American Lutheran Church was presented in the July issue of 1951 in the Concordia Theological Monthly. The reviewer notes the fact that this booklet contains the

⁷⁴CTM, XXI (February, 1950), 146-47.

American Lutheran Conference's statement on race relations, and calls the booklet a "useful addition to our mission reference literature."⁷⁵

The June issue of 1952 reports how Dr. Channing H. Tobias, a Negro Protestant leader and a member of the United States' delegation to the United Nations answered the Ukranian delegate:

"I am a Negro, born in Georgia, and I have survived my youth with sufficient good frame to stand here as a representative of all the people of the United States. True, we have some bad laws and some good ones not enforced, but the thing we have which you have not is freedom to fight bad laws and insist on good ones being enforced."⁷⁶

It is interesting to note that the Concordia Theological Monthly magazine carried a brief item noting that the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa was accused in a United Nations debate in New York of being largely responsible for racial segregation in South Africa.⁷⁷

Dr. Carl M. Zorn contributed a significant eight page article to the June, 1947, issue of the Concordia Theological Monthly. The work is interestingly composed and offers much material for serious and refreshing thought. Though some, including the present writer, would prefer to see

⁷⁵CTM, XXII (July, 1951), 538.

⁷⁶CTM, XXIII (June, 1952), 471-72.

⁷⁷CTM, XXVI (February, 1955), 141.

Dr. Zorn develop his theses into a more positive stand on the practical level, we would not criticize for he writes in his conclusion:

Many Christians are just now being forced to think through the color question for the first time. . . . The Christian must think in terms of evangelical integration. Our own church literature ought freely and frankly to deal with this matter. These paragraphs are intended merely as an introduction to the subject of evangelical integration of color.⁷⁸

In January of 1947 the Concordia Theological Monthly magazine recorded that the American Lutheran Church convention in October (presumably of 1946), resolved to give Negro pastors full status of district membership.⁷⁹ A brief article describes the interracial congregation of St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Brooklyn, New York, of the Augustana Lutheran Church as an "experiment."⁸⁰ The same article mentions that Harbor Homes Lutheran Church, recently organized in Oakland, California, is the first Negro congregation in the history of the Augustana Lutheran Church.

Under the heading "Thoughts for Thanksgiving Day" the subject of gifts and concomitant obligations introduces a lengthy and general "Statement on Human Relations" by the United Lutheran Church. After discussing the "social

⁷⁸CTM, XVIII (June, 1947), 437-38.

⁷⁹CTM, XVIII (January, 1947), 75.

⁸⁰CTM, XXII (October, 1951), 771.

gospel" in the Lutheran Church the editor of the Concordia Theological Monthly comments:

The basic ethical injunctions of the New Testament are absolute invariables, but the specific applications must conform to our present economic and political social structure. It is from these viewpoints that the above Statement on Human Relations seems to us to be particularly timely and relevant."⁸¹

A perusal of the footnotes of this section on the Concordia Theological Monthly journal indicates that the development is essentially on a chronological basis. We suggested earlier that 1942 might be the year when we notice a change towards greater interest in this journal regarding the Negro and human relations. Now we would like to suggest that 1952 be noted as the beginning date when we find forceful and direct and special articles in the fields of race relations and integration.

Three articles particularly, printed in three successive years, namely 1952, 1953 and 1954, deal with our subject in detail. The first two, "Race Relations--The Christian Directive"⁸² by Dr. Richard R. Caemmerer and "Human Relations According to 'Ephesians'"⁸³ by Dr. Martin H. Scharlemann were originally presented at institutes on human relations at Valparaiso University.

⁸¹CTM, XXII (November, 1951), 866.

⁸²Richard R. Caemmerer, "Race Relations--The Christian Directive," CTM, XXIII (March, 1952), 176-92.

⁸³Martin H. Scharlemann, "Human Relations According to 'Ephesians,'" CTM, XXIV (October, 1953), 705-14.

In "Race Relations--The Christian Directive" Dr. Caemmerer elaborates on the following sentences: (1) The New Testament Refuses to Give Specific Directives, (2) The New Testament Specifies Concern for One Relation: Strong and Weak, (3) The Christian Seeks to Relate Well to Christians of Other Races, (4) The Christian is Concerned for Good Race Relations Involving Also Non-Christians.⁸⁴

In the essay, "Human Relations According to 'Ephesians'" Dr. Scharlemann gives special attention to the phrase found in the fourteenth verse of the second chapter of the same book, "the middle wall of partition," and shows how the Letter to the Ephesians exalts the Church as the means of removing that middle wall of partition.⁸⁵

Shortly after the eventful decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional in May of 1954, the president of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, Dr. John W. Behnken, summoned a special conference of church leaders to consider problems arising from that decision. "The Supreme Court Decides" was the title of a paper read by Dr. Martin H. Scharlemann.⁸⁶ This is the third detailed consideration

⁸⁴Caemmerer, op. cit., passim.

⁸⁵Scharlemann, op. cit., 706.

⁸⁶CTM, XXV (August, 1954), 615-19.

of a human relations subject which appeared in the Concordia Theological Monthly and we suggest that it too should be read in its entirety by anyone who is interested in the subject.

During 1955 and 1956 at least three books touching on our general subject were reviewed.⁸⁷ The first one, Apostles of Discord, was reviewed by Dr. Arthur Carl Piepkorn and with characteristic discernment he recognizes a number of identified and unidentified Lutherans mentioned in the book.

We are rapidly reaching the end of our review of attitudes and policies of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod as recorded in its main theological journal, The Concordia Theological Monthly, and as we come to the years of 1955 and 1956 we find a little surge of articles and items on our general subject, and especially on various phases of integration in the Lutheran Church at large. Out of New York the following news item appeared in August of 1955:

The Lutheran Women's Missionary League, an affiliate of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, has cancelled its 1955 convention scheduled for July 12 and 13 in New Orleans because of the city's segregation customs.

⁸⁷Reviewed in CTM, XXVI (January, 1955), 74-76; Apostles of Discord; A Study of Organized Bigotry and Disruption on the Fringes of Protestantism. By Ralph Lord Ray; Reviewed in CTM, XXVII (March, 1956), 237; The Social Psychology of Prejudice. By Gerhart Saenger; and Reviewed in CTM, XXVII (May, 1956), 428-29. Minorities and the American Promise. By Stewart G. Cole and Mildred Wiese Cole.

The cancellation was announced after the convention committee of the League's New Orleans Zone withdrew its invitation to the women to hold this year's sessions in the Southern City.⁸⁸

The following item, also in reference to the Missouri Synod, came out of St. Louis:

The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod was presented with the 1956 National Award for the Advancement of Racial Tolerance by the Women's Research Guild at a ceremony here. The award was in recognition of the Synod's "furthering of racial understanding by outstanding and dramatic portrayals in its TV series 'This is the Life' and its Christian teaching and practices."⁸⁹

The second paragraph notes the fact that the award was received by the Synod's president, Dr. John W. Behnken.

Various items about other Lutheran bodies appear for consideration. In Detroit the American Lutheran Church recommended an open door policy in changing neighborhoods and the denomination's Board of American Missions adopted the following resolution:

In the event that minority or non-white groups make up members of the community, it shall be the responsibility of the congregation to work among them in the same way as they would among usual white communities.⁹⁰

As we proceed in our review of the Concordia Theological Monthly we notice that we are reaching an acceleration point again in the references to racial questions and problems and also solutions. We shall summarize a number

⁸⁸CTM, XXVI (August, 1955), 616-17.

⁸⁹CTM, XXVII (May, 1956), 402.

⁹⁰CTM, XXVI (August, 1955), 617.

of them. An official of the National Lutheran Council called upon the churches to make "a determined and courageous effort to speed up the process of racial integration."⁹¹ Dr. Robert E. van Deusen makes some good forceful statements in the same article. From Geneva is reported the news that an all-Africa Lutheran conference held in Marangu, Tanganyika, was interracial in character and that no color bar existed.⁹² The April, 1956, issue of this theological journal comments on the Reverend Mr. Robert S. Graetz' valiant stand in the boycott of Montgomery, Alabama's, bus system.⁹³ The Religious News is quoted as offering the following item from Atlantic City, New Jersey:

Lutheran social-mission leaders urged here that all parties in the controversy over desegregation "uphold due process of law and maintain public order." The resolution was adopted by the Board of Social Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America. It will be submitted to the denomination's 20th biennial convention in Harrisburg, Pa. October 10-17. The board declared that the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools "is in harmony with Christian convictions."⁹⁴

Three separate news items are recorded in October of 1956. The United Lutheran Synod of New York and New England assigned a white pastor to a Negro Church and received

⁹¹CTM, XXVI (December, 1955), 947.

⁹²CTM, XXVII (March, 1956), 220.

⁹³CTM, XXVII (April, 1956), 304-05.

⁹⁴CTM, XXVII (August, 1956), 650-51.

a Negro congregation into membership. The Reverend Mr. Robert Tage Neilssen is mentioned as the first white clergyman called as pastor of a Negro congregation in the synod's history. Because of its uniqueness we should like to quote the third item verbatim:

An all-Negro independent Methodist congregation at Roxbury, Mass., became a synod member. It will be known as All Saints Evangelical Lutheran Church. Its pastor, the Rev. Vernon E. Carter, has been studying at Philadelphia Theological Seminary since last July and members of the congregation have received instruction in Lutheran doctrine.⁹⁵

A final item notes that Archbishop Francis Rummel of New Orleans announced that the archdiocesan system will maintain separate classes for whites and Negroes for at least one more year. The article commented that the prelate branded segregation as a sin but promised a future program of integration.⁹⁶

Here we conclude our review of references to the Negro and to human relations found in the Concordia Theological Monthly magazine. Our study shows that during the first decade of its existence, specifically from 1930 to 1941, these subjects were seldom mentioned. The one lone positive article on proper attitudes towards the Negro was Dr. Arthur Carl Piepkorn's "St. Paul on Social Relationships" in the

⁹⁵CTM, XXVII, (October, 1956), 813.

⁹⁶CTM, XXVII (November, 1956), 899.

October, 1940, issue. We have also attempted to show how The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod's reaction to the so-called "social gospel" philosophy and that synod's reticence on social problems in general may have retarded the thinking and the progress for good positive programs in the field of human relationships.

In April of 1942 Dr. Theodore Engelder presented a favorable and sympathetic review of Pastor Andrew Schulze's My Neighbor of Another Color. For a short period after this we discovered several articles and statements which were negative towards good human relation movements. However, it seems that the publication of Dr. Schulze's "Treatise on Race Relations in the Church" aroused interest and awakened consciences and minds, for simultaneously we find quite a number of positive statements printed in the Concordia Theological Monthly. We detect a slight general improvement in tenor in the late forties.

Just as we have shown that 1942 is the year in which the Concordia Theological Monthly begins to show real interest in our subject, so we also suggest that 1952 is the date when we begin to find special and positive articles on the subjects of Christian human relations and integration.

The first two most important articles, "Race Relations--The Christian Directive," and "Human Relations According to 'Ephesians,'" were first presented at the

Valparaiso University Institutes on Human Relations. This probably gives evidence to the suggestion that unofficial groups, like The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, can move faster in certain areas than an official church body or board or publication bound by tradition and regulations.

All things considered, we conclude that although the Concordia Theological Monthly was very slow to concern itself and to discuss the race relations problem and to offer positive solutions, it did antedate the historic Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954, in some of its expressions. And, since that date, it has advertised and espoused a progressive, positive and Christian philosophy towards the Negro and programs for better human relations.

Today

One of the finest magazines edited and published by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod was the periodical titled Today. Under the able editorship of the Reverend Mr. Herman W. Gockel it was published monthly (or more accurately, about nine or ten times each year) from February, 1946, to November, 1951. Designed to be "A Journal of Practical Missionary Procedure," as its subtitle indicates, it was warmly welcomed and readily received by pastors in the parish ministry.

This excellent magazine proved to be a veritable gold mine for those looking for practical missionary procedures. Throughout its articles and editorials it stressed evangelism and techniques of bringing the saving Gospel to our fellow men. Among the areas of the Christian ministry covered were radio, rural, tract, press, stewardship, Vacation Bible School, and Sunday School.

It is gratifying to find at least ten articles devoted specifically to an important but oft-slighted field, the rural ministry. Yet only five articles specifically considered the downtown urban church. On the basis of location forty-five per cent of The Missouri Synod's stations are rural;⁹⁷ hence, most of the Synod's churches and a sizeable portion of its membership are affected by and concerned with the problems and potentialities of the downtown church, especially those in racially changing areas.

The first issue of Today carried a stimulating article "Must the Downtown Church Die?" written by Dr. F. A. Hertwig. This parish pastor and synodical official points out that

At least eight Detroit Lutheran churches of various synodical connections have sold out and moved out

⁹⁷Armin Schroeder, compiler, 1955 Statistical Yearbook of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), 257.

during the past twenty-five years. A number of others have already decided to move as soon as possible.⁹⁸

In calling attention to the Voelkerwanderung and problems in his own parish district Pastor Hertwig lists as some of the reasons, "The colored are coming in too strong!"--"Foreign elements are settling here."⁹⁹

After stating that the churches have been charged with neglecting and leaving the underprivileged areas the same writer suggests: "I believe that the church at large through its boards and commissions ought to take hold of this matter and stop the "flight from the blight."¹⁰⁰

The October, 1946, issue carried an article, "The Old School in a New Day," by C. T. Schuknecht. This article contains urgent pleas to keep our Christian day schools operating in the downtown areas.¹⁰¹

A news article in the December, 1947, issue of Today relates the founding of a "Negro mission" in the following words:

Rev. Karl E. Lutze of Muskogee, Okla., tells of a new way to start a Negro mission. The late Rev. Louis M. Theimer, while pastor of our white congregation in Muskogee, went to a colored funeral home and received permission to conduct a vacation Bible school there. After a successful term, Pastor Theimer did some intensive follow-up work, with the result that in due

⁹⁸Today, I (February, 1946), 5.

⁹⁹Ibid., 6.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 7.

¹⁰¹Today, I (October, 1946), 15-17ff.

time a chapel was purchased and a permanent pastor was called.¹⁰²

In the same issue The Reverend Mr. William A. Drews provokes real thought in an article titled "Expansion-- Horizontal or Vertical?" We quote:

The time has come in the life of our Church and the American community to emphasize the need for a proper balance between the intensive and extensive phases of our missionary program.¹⁰³

Now is the opportune time to rethink and reshape our mission policies. . . .

On the community level this calls for a realistic analysis of the present situation, the frank and fearless application of the divine principles of stewardship, a sincere concern for the building of the Kingdom (not just the congregation), and a demonstration of the divinely enjoined love for souls, no matter what their social standing or the color of their skin.¹⁰⁴

Pastor Drews serves as the executive secretary of the Eastern District of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod and speaks on the basis of rich personal experience. What he has to say is worthwhile reading and heeding:

Certainly our mission expansion should include the establishment of new churches, especially in the suburban areas, but the first emphasis should still be on the existing church and its surrounding population. Are we developing these to the limit of their normal possibilities and capacities? What are we doing for the souls living in the very shadows of our well-equipped churches? Are the churches unproductive islands in the midst of a sea of humanity? Do they stand as monuments to a noble past, as silent and cold

¹⁰²Today, II (December, 1947), 25.

¹⁰³Today, II (December, 1947), 1.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 2.

and unresponsive as statues? It is high time that we overcome our inhibitions and discard our social exclusiveness, fling wide the doors of our hearts and the portals of our churches, making our church edifices houses of worship for all people.¹⁰⁵

The fourth article dealing with the downtown church is written by the Reverend Mr. William M. Stieve and bears the title "Serving Souls Through the Downtown Church." While speaking of the plight of churches in downtown and underprivileged areas Pastor Stieve opines: "The real tragedy lies in the willingness of many a congregation to turn its back on such a community by relocating with no thought as to the souls who still live in that area."¹⁰⁶

After considering various obligations which an existing congregation has toward its community Pastor Stieve gives some practical advice on how to serve people of such communities. While some pastors and congregations have cried about and decried the presence of people of other races or color or culture as a "problem," Pastor Stieve's article shows the glorious opportunities such churches have.

The communion of saints knows no lines of race, color, or culture. . . . What a glorious opportunity for our church to invite them all to become a part of the spiritual community of which our church is the core!¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 2-3.

¹⁰⁶Today, III (October, 1948), 18.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 19.

The fifth and final article dealing with the downtown church is by Dr. Jaroslav Pelikan and bears the heading: "Building Porches for the Community." Dr. Pelikan gives a graphic description of Our Savior Congregation in Detroit, Michigan. By trying to meet the needs of the community the congregation seeks to bring the power of the Gospel to bear upon the life of the people who come under its influence. A highly developed athletic program certainly seems to pay dividends in respect to serving members and the community.¹⁰⁸

In the "Case Records" section of the February, 1950, issue of Today an interesting case is presented in which canvassers upon finding a Jewish person simply move on without even bothering to invite Mrs. Cohen to worship. The article fittingly comments: "Over against this attitude we must continue to preach (and to practice according to our preaching) that Christ 'died for all' and that all, regardless of racial background, are the rightful objects of our missionary efforts."¹⁰⁹

One wonders how often such incidents have occurred in our churches' contacts with Negroes!

¹⁰⁸Today, IV (August, 1949), 5ff.

¹⁰⁹Today, V (February, 1950), 26.

An article "Solving Relocation Difficulties"¹¹⁰ and an editorial entitled "Relevance"¹¹¹ pertain to downtown churches and might have reference to Negroes in such communities.

Although the periodical Today specializes on the topic of Christian evangelism, we found only the following specific references to witnessing among Negroes (which group comprises more than ten per cent of the nation's population). In the April, 1949, issue we read the short news item:

A friend of ours was visiting in a Fort Worth, Tex., bookstore when a colored truck driver came in to buy a Greek Testament. He had worn his previous copy into shreds.¹¹²

"You Can Start From Scratch if You Have To" is written by the genial editor of Today and contains no reference to the fact that the mission is in a Negro community; this is revealed only by the accompanying picture.¹¹³ The final article referring to a congregation in a Negro or multi-racial neighborhood is that of The Reverend Kurt Brink in the August, 1951, issue.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰A. C. Stahnke, "Solving Relocation Difficulties," Today, IV (September, 1949), 31.

¹¹¹Today, V (April, 1950), 17-18.

¹¹²Today, IV (April, 1949), 31.

¹¹³Today, IV (December, 1950), 5-8.

¹¹⁴Kurt Brink, "Sell Neither Short," Today, VI (August, 1951), 9ff.

Judging from the tenor of the articles appearing during the six years' existence of Today we conclude that The Board For Home Missions is aware of the situation of churches in racially changing communities and also cognizant of these churches' obligations to all people. While one article suggests that the church-at-large should attempt to solve the situation, two articles assert that people of other colors should be served by existing ("white") congregations. At least ten articles of Today referred specifically to rural situations in the life of our Missouri Synod, but only three specifically to serving Negroes in our large downtown metropolitan communities. To this writer it seems that "A Journal of Practical Missionary Procedure" like Today, issued from 1946 to 1951, should have offered even more encouragement and guidance to congregations in racially changing communities to integrate Negroes into their membership.

The Lutheran Witness

Since The Lutheran Witness is the official organ of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, it is necessary that we consider what this periodical has to say on our topic, Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro. A perusal of the fortnightly magazine indicates that while there were some references to the Synodical Conference mission work among the Negroes, aside from that,

until the decade beginning with 1940, there were scarcely any references to Negroes, to daily relations with them or to the mutual relationship in the Body of Christ. In a general way, we find the subjects of Negroes and race relations beginning to be discussed in the decade of 1940 and an emphasis on proper attitudes and Christian action during the decade beginning with 1950.

One of the earliest pleas for better relations among whites and Negroes was a letter written by Andrew Schulze. This was occasioned by Dr. Theodore Graebner's editorial, "The Deaf," in which he pleaded for using proper terms in referring to the deaf. Upon suggesting that proper terms be used when referring to Negroes, Pastor Schulze concludes his letter,

Our Negro Missions need Missouri Synod dollars, but it needs the assurance of a sympathetic Christian understanding and interest more.¹¹⁵

There is a virtual dearth of material on Negroes and the subject of human relations in The Lutheran Witness up until 1940. The policy to avoid the subject or to treat it negatively was, as near as we can determine, the policy of our clergy and even of our missionaries among the Negro people. An example of this attitude is presented in an article titled, "Our Negro Mission--a Doxology," written

¹¹⁵The Lutheran Witness, hereafter referred to as LW, LXVIII (November 14, 1939), 401.

by Pastor G. M. Kramer of New Orleans, Louisiana. After admitting the temptation to join in Negro uplift work, like race-betterment associations, urban leagues and interracial committees, he writes:

Our work must remain on the spiritual plane only and always. We shall scatter our energies,--worse,--defeat our efforts, and undo what has already been accomplished if we enter upon race uplift and social betterment work, be it even as a side issue. Not that we are not interested. We definitely are, but in the doxology [see article] way only. The Gospel of the crucified Savior is the instrument of our operations. It is this, that will effectually solve the problems of race and calm the troubled waters that are ahead.¹¹⁶

During the Second World War The Lutheran Witness carried two editorials, both titled "The Race Problem," but they contributed nothing specifically to the race relations problem between whites and Negroes in the United States.¹¹⁷

As near as we can determine, the first article in The Lutheran Witness specifically applying Scripture and its principles to the racial problem appears in the sixty-second year of its existence. In the July 6, 1943, issue Richard R. Caemmerer in his column, "We Look at the World," deplored the tainting of our country's war effort by race prejudice and race rioting. Commenting on the cause of

¹¹⁶LW, LIX (July 23, 1940), 262-63.

¹¹⁷LW, LXI (October 13, 1942), 355-56; LXII (August 17, 1943), 271 [unnumbered page].

outbreaks of racial violence in Los Angeles, California, and Detroit, Michigan, the writer states: "Prejudices and aversions normally stifled or latent now burst into flame at the slightest provocation." Dr. Caemmerer continues:

In other words, it's just plain human nature, and at its worst. The Christian Church is in the business of changing human nature. "You can't change human nature," folks say. So said Jesus Christ long ago-- "That which is born of the flesh, is flesh." You can't change human nature.

But the Lord Jesus can. "That which is born of the Spirit, is spirit." The Christian Church is in the business of implanting the Spirit into human hearts. We are interested to see results of our work.¹¹⁸

It is interesting to note that The Lutheran Witness gave a number of early reports on the St. Louis Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations.¹¹⁹ It would be fascinating to know whether these articles were printed because the official church paper wanted to promote good human relations or simply because it published news which had been forwarded to them. At any rate, the above mentioned articles were some of the few recorded on the subject of human relations.

From this time (1945) on, there is still a dearth of material on the race relations problem for the readers of The Lutheran Witness in a country where one out of ten

¹¹⁸LW, LXII (July 6, 1943), 231.

¹¹⁹LW, LXIII (March 28, 1944), 108; LXIV (March 27, 1945), 109; LXIV (June 19, 1945), 204.

people are subjected to unchristian prejudice and discrimination.

In April of 1948 we find a short news item telling how the Lutheran Missionary Association of Fort Wayne and vicinity observed National Brotherhood Week. An audience of 1,200 heard The Reverend Mr. Marmaduke Carter, a Negro pastor, speak on "Brotherhood in America's Christian Churches."¹²⁰

During 1949 The Lutheran Witness reported on two Lutheran race relations society meetings, that of the Lutheran Race Relations Society of Texas¹²¹ held in Houston on February twelfth and thirteenth, and that of the Race Relations Institute held at St. Luke's Lutheran Church in Chicago on November sixth.¹²²

The year 1950 saw a significant increase in the number of items and articles regarding the Negro in The Lutheran Witness. In March a few lines indicated that the status of Negroes was improving economically and industrially.¹²³ Two letters which advocated reception and integration of Negroes into "white congregations" were printed.¹²⁴ To demonstrate how The Lutheran Witness devoted more and more

¹²⁰LW, LXVII (April 20, 1948), 122.

¹²¹LW, LXVIII (May 17, 1949), 169.

¹²²LW, LXVIII (December 13, 1949), 416.

¹²³LW, LXIX (March 7, 1950), 74.

¹²⁴LW, LXIX (June 13, 1950), 178; LXIX (October 3, 1950),

space to the general subject of Negroes and our relations towards them we would like to quote four brief items as examples:

Davis House, Quaker-sponsored international residence in Washington, D. C., has been forced to close after ten years of existence, ostensibly because it is a rooming house in a zone restricted to single-family residences. It is believed that the interracial policy of the Quakers is the underlying cause of the closing, and until another location is found, it will be difficult for religious groups coming to Washington to obtain unsegregated facilities.¹²⁵

Middle-of-the-road courage with regard to race relations and fair employment practices have been urged by Charles P. Taft, former president of the Federal Council of Churches. People's consciences must be pricked, he said, and then, with a ministry of love, they must patiently take a step toward social betterment.¹²⁶

A number of southern States have adopted measures for the repeal of poll tax laws and for the admission of Negroes into State universities. Eight States have passed their own fair employment practices laws. Mrs. M. E. Tilly, member of President Truman's Commission for Civil Rights in 1947, states: "The Mason-Dixon line is being pushed farther and farther toward the gulf of Mexico."¹²⁷

Spyros P. Skouras, president of the 20th Century-Fox Film Corporation, has accepted chairmanship of an international committee to promote world brotherhood. General chairman of the World Brotherhood organization is Chancellor Arthur H. Compton of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., a Nobel Prize physicist. Skouras is to direct the formation of World Brotherhood chapters in major cities of the world and to mobilize

¹²⁵LW, LXIX (September 5, 1950), 282.

¹²⁶LW, LXIX (June 27, 1950), 205.

¹²⁷LW, LXIX (October 3, 1950), 314.

religious, scientific, and labor-management leaders for the group's educational program.¹²⁸

An official of the Missouri Synod, the Stewardship Counselor, in writing on our work among the Negroes comments:

Surely the 15,509 Negroes belonging to our Church in the one hundred thirteen congregations and mission stations in North America are not a record of which we can be proud. Let us follow the directive of our recent synodical convention and mend our ways!¹²⁹

The Lutheran Witness of May 2, 1950, graciously announced the first Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations¹³⁰ and the August 22, 1950, issue printed Pastor Walter Heyne's one-page report of the same, "We Have So Much in Common," together with a picture taken at the institute.¹³¹ We suggest that this latter issue be noted, for our cursory review of The Lutheran Witness shows this issue to be both a milestone and somewhat of a dividing line, because from this time forth we find more and more positive articles on the subject of human relations. The potent editorial in the same issue, titled "Race Relations Must Be faced," says in part:

¹²⁸LW, LXIX (December 12, 1950), 404.

¹²⁹LW, LXIX (July 25, 1950), 235.

¹³⁰LW, LXIX (May 2, 1950), 143.

¹³¹LW, LXIX (August 22, 1950), 262-63.

The angels of heaven rejoice over the soul of one sinner that repents. We often wonder whether Christians here on earth can bring themselves to do the same, especially if that sinner happens to be of a different color or race or national background from the majority around him.

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More and more our Government is legislating equality of opportunity for all races. Will the Church lead or lag in the trend toward non-discrimination and toward equal opportunity?¹³²

Four brief paragraphs under the "News" section of the September 4, 1951, issue of The Lutheran Witness dealt with our general topic of human relations. The first quoted Time Magazine, which in turn, quoted Dr. Alvin Walcott Rose at the 1951 Institute on Human Relations at Valparaiso University, saying: "the Christian Church is America's most segregated institution. . . . It is tragic that of all our institutions the Christian Church should be the most unchristian."¹³³ The second article reports on the above mentioned institute:

Lutherans were tackling the problem. At the Valparaiso Institute 90 members heard Dr. Richard R. Caemmerer, in his "Christian Directive," point out that after 15 years of work in Nigeria the Church has gathered 23,237 souls, while after a century's work in America only 15,579 Negroes are members of the Missouri Synod. "The same Gospel was preached in both countries," he said, "but in America the barriers of community

¹³² Ibid., 265.

¹³³ LW, LXX (September 4, 1951), 296.

injustices helped to impede that Gospel."¹³⁴

The third item reports that the United Lutheran Church's Board of Social Missions had begun to circulate its "Statement on Human Relations."¹³⁵ The fourth item reveals that Martin Orrid, a member of Our Savior Church at Indianapolis, Indiana, had been featured in Ebony.¹³⁶

Mr. Mel Doering of the Public Relations Department of Valparaiso University was the author of "Valparaiso Institutes," a detailed article on the purposes and progress of the various institutes held at the University.¹³⁷ Attention was given to the 1951 Institute on Race Relations and the accompanying picture shows leaders and participants of that race relations institute.

An interesting article titled, "Church of All Nations," was written by Winfred A. Schroeder and published in the April 29, 1952, issue of The Lutheran Witness. Reverend Schroeder's report shows that Hawaii is composed of many races and religions and that the Missouri Synod's Church there is interracial in membership.¹³⁸

"The Negro and I" relates the experiences and development of a young pastor who accepted a call to serve Negroes

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷LW, LXX (October 16, 1951), 340.

¹³⁸LW, LXXI (April 29, 1952), 10.

in the State of California. Pastor Charles Cline, the author, reveals that as he began his work, he looked for "differences" among the Negro people, but that he failed to discover such alleged "differences." The last part of his article, "God's Word Shows How To Treat Negroes," contains some well-stated Scriptural principles.¹³⁹

The following item seems misleading and deceptive when we compare it with Pastor Erwin G. Tiemann's article, "Mission Work in the Downtown Church," appearing in The American Lutheran magazine in March of 1956. It seems that St. Philip's Church is simply a "segregated mission" located near an already established Lutheran Church. Nonetheless we quote the article:

In Milwaukee the Wisconsin and the Missouri Synod, both members of the Lutheran Synodical Conference, are sharing the expenses of St. Philip's Mission, Milwaukee's first interracial Lutheran Church, designed to serve the large Negro population of the city's Sixth Ward. The mission will "refuse membership to no one just because he happens to be of a different color." St. Philip's occupies a building which formerly housed a Seventh-Day Adventist congregation.¹⁴⁰

One of the last reports on a segregated institution, the Alabama Lutheran Conference, is found in December of 1953.¹⁴¹

"God's Frontiersmen" is written by the Reverend Mr. Walter Heyne and reviews the 1953 Institute on Human Relations

¹³⁹LW, LXXI (July 8, 1952), 4-5.

¹⁴⁰LW, LXXII (February 17, 1953), 64.

¹⁴¹LW, LXXII (December 8, 1953), 416.

at Valparaiso University. Pastor Heyne points out that there is a great frontier left for the church, "the almost untouched field of dark-skinned people who, in our large cities, are moving into the very shadows of old, established churches."¹⁴² The writer calls attention to the fact that some churches like St. Matthew's Lutheran Church of New York City (the oldest Lutheran Church in the country), are meeting this challenge. At present St. Matthew's counts thirty-two different ethnic and racial groups (including about one hundred persons of Hebrew extraction) in its membership.

During the summer of 1954 Dr. Andrew Schulze contributed "Segregation--in Public Schools . . . in the Church." This article declared the tremendous importance of the Supreme Court's Decision of May 17, 1954, and presents a real challenge to the Church.¹⁴³ After the opening of school (September 28, 1954) following the Supreme Court Decision The Lutheran Witness issued an editorial "A Plea for Patience." After pointing out that the children in integrated schools had probably adjusted themselves, it goes on to advise parents, saying, "parents can and should

¹⁴²LW, LXXII (December 22, 1953), 435.

¹⁴³LW, LXXIII (July 20, 1954), 255.

influence their children to be tolerant."¹⁴⁴ We don't want to seem hypercritical, but we would like to suggest that "tolerance" is not necessarily a Christian virtue; love is.

The Lutheran Witness reported on the fifth annual Human Relations Institute held at Valparaiso University.¹⁴⁵ A picture of the assembled participants accompanied the report. A letter from Eugene D. Mossner deploras bigotry and related problems in society and concludes: "But in the church there should be no problem at all if the members are taught the Word of God and are intent upon living according to it."¹⁴⁶ Under the "News" section of the last issue in 1954 The Lutheran Witness reported on the first Lutheran Human Relations Institute in Nebraska.¹⁴⁷ Pastor Alfred Doerffler's article, "God's One Class Distinction," restates some general Scriptural principles on the subject of race and race relations.¹⁴⁸

A perusal of The Lutheran Witness from 1949 to the end of 1954 and/or a reading of this section of this thesis indicates that several references or special articles

¹⁴⁴LW, LXXIII (September 28, 1954), 336.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., 340.

¹⁴⁶LW, LXXIII (October 12, 1954), 346 [unnumbered page].

¹⁴⁷LW, LXXIII (December 21, 1954), 449.

¹⁴⁸LW, LXXIII (November 9, 1954), 383ff.

pertaining to the Negro or human relationships were made each year. However, as we come to the years of 1955 and 1956 the reader will note a rapid increase of articles on these subjects.

The first significant article on our general subject in 1955 tells how First Immanuel Lutheran Church of Chicago was revived by doing the church's work on an interracial basis. The one-column article is accompanied by a picture of a confirmation class composed of six nationalities and two races.¹⁴⁹

The May 24, 1955, issue carried an "Official Notice" announcing the cancellation of the Lutheran Women's Missionary League convention at New Orleans because of "local customs of segregation."¹⁵⁰ This matter will be considered in the chapter on "Affiliated and Subsidiary Organizations."

On August 2, 1955, The Lutheran Witness printed a letter by Pastor David A. Preisinger who could not "recall any major articles within the past twelve months on this subject in the Lutheran Wittness [sic]," and he asked for more information and guidance. The editor's note refers the brother to numerous articles, some of which were

¹⁴⁹LW, LXXIV (March 29, 1955), 120.

¹⁵⁰LW, LXXIV (May 24, 1955), 201.

already referred to above.¹⁵¹ Beginning with this same issue we have an abundance of items on the general subject of human relations. To give the reader an idea of how The Lutheran Witness increased its items on this topic, we want to make a brief listing of the dates and subject matter, namely,

August 2: A Question: What position is being taken by the Lutheran Church with regard to the integration of races?¹⁵²

August 2: A Report on the first annual Human Relations Institute sponsored by the Portland, Oregon, Chapter of the Lutheran Human Relations Association.¹⁵³

August 30: A Report on the sixth annual Institute of The Lutheran Human Relations Association.¹⁵⁴

September 13: According to Deacon Henry Bauer, long-time member of Immanuel Lutheran Church of Chicago, Illinois, there has been no exodus of white members since the decision to integrate.¹⁵⁵

September 27: "The Georgia Board of Education has rescinded two resolutions directed against teachers

¹⁵¹LW, LXXIV (August 2, 1955), 274 [unnumbered page].

¹⁵²Ibid., 281.

¹⁵³Ibid., 285.

¹⁵⁴LW, LXXIV (August 30, 1955), 317.

¹⁵⁵LW, LXXIV (September 13, 1955), 336.

who favor interracial public schools."¹⁵⁶

October 25: An item about the Thompson family and the Lutheran ministry.¹⁵⁷

October 25: Rev. P. Montgomery, the first Negro pastor of an all-white congregation in the Methodist Church.¹⁵⁸

December 6: An article and picture on the installation of Rev. J. T. Skinner at Calvary Church in Memphis, Tennessee.¹⁵⁹

Thus we see how The Lutheran Witness considerably increased its attention to Negroes and human relations in the latter part of 1955. In a general way, we have reviewed the official organ of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod on a chronological basis, and the reader can notice that, as time proceeds, we find more and more articles on our general subject. Now, as we proceed to 1956, the last year to be considered in this paper, we find a veritable host of articles which refer to many aspects of our general topic, for example: In Macon, Georgia, seventy-five white and Negro ministers met to discuss solutions

¹⁵⁶LW, LXXIV (September 27, 1955), 357.

¹⁵⁷LW, LXXIV (October 25, 1955), 397.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., 398

¹⁵⁹LW, LXXIV (December 6, 1955), 452.

to the problems of racial tensions.¹⁶⁰ A Negro minister was named moderator for the first time in the century-old Brazos Presbytery in southeast Texas.¹⁶¹

The Association of Catholic Laymen, Inc., recently formed in New Orleans and opposed to racial integration, will "discontinue its activities" in response to a request from Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel, who, threatening excommunication, ordered the organization to disband.¹⁶²

The April 10, 1956, issue of The Lutheran Witness informed its readers that the National Award for the Advancement for Racial Tolerance from the Women's Research Guild was presented to the Reverend Mr. Byron P. Wall-schlaeger, pastor of Grace Lutheran Church, of San Francisco, California. After viewing the television program, "This Is The Life," the Dent family was led to this Lutheran Church.¹⁶³

The same issue reported on an opinion poll conducted among Methodists.¹⁶⁴ The poll showed that fifty-six and four tenths per cent favored the removal of all racial barriers in the church. The General Conference of the same body, the Methodist Church, in Minneapolis, Minnesota,

¹⁶⁰LW, LXXV (March 13, 1956), 108.

¹⁶¹LW, LXXV (March 27, 1956), 124.

¹⁶²LW, LXXV (June 5, 1956), 219.

¹⁶³LW, LXXV (April 10, 1956), 140.

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

approved a constitutional amendment which makes it easier for Negro churches and conferences to move into regular geographical conferences.¹⁶⁵

Three articles referred to advances in the racial field among various Lutheran groups. In the first one Dr. Robert E. van Deusen, the National Lutheran Council's Washington secretary, told the Women's Missionary Society that if churches made a determined and courageous effort to speed up the progress of racial integration, the church's world missions program would attain a new stature.¹⁶⁶ The second article reports that two churches for the deaf in St. Louis, Missouri, were integrated into one congregation.¹⁶⁷ More information on this fascinating merger is presented in the chapter on St. Louis Lutheranism and the Negro. The third article, reporting on the twentieth biennial convention of the United Lutheran Church, tells of a stormy debate on a human relations resolution before the assembly.¹⁶⁸

The year 1956 saw The Lutheran Witness giving attention to various aspects of the Supreme Court decision on

¹⁶⁵LW, LXXV (July 3, 1956), 264.

¹⁶⁶LW, LXXV (January 17, 1956), 35.

¹⁶⁷LW, LXXV (February 14, 1956), 68.

¹⁶⁸LW, LXXV (November 6, 1956), 429.

the desegregation of schools and related problems. The first such item describes an interracial conference to effect desegregation in Austin, Texas.¹⁶⁹ The second article describes the opinions of a panel of five Southern Protestant publication editors who discussed "Southern Reaction to the Supreme Court Decision on Desegregation in the Public School."¹⁷⁰ An editorial titled "Problems of Integration" appeared in the May 8, 1956, issue of The Lutheran Witness and ends with the statement: "The key to the problems of integration is love!"¹⁷¹ According to Dr. E. C. Bolmeir of Duke University "The most important legal issue in education today is religious instruction, and segregation one of the least important of the major law school questions."¹⁷² The article presents Dr. Bolmeir's views on the subject. The last article regarding integration of schools pertains to the Missouri Synod's system of parochial day-schools and the first sentence reads as follows:

Synod's parochial schools were asked to maintain a complete "open door" policy regarding desegregation by three speakers at the combined annual meeting of

¹⁶⁹LW, LXXV (April 10, 1956), 141.

¹⁷⁰LW, LXXV (May 8, 1956), 188.

¹⁷¹Ibid., 176.

¹⁷²Ibid., 186.

the National Lutheran Parent-Teacher League and the Lutheran Education Association at River Forest, Ill.¹⁷³

A number of articles in The Lutheran Witness during 1956 considered the subject of churches in downtown neighborhoods and in racially changing communities. The first of this kind was an editorial, "The Inner City," in the January 31, 1956, issue.¹⁷⁴ A rather extensive treatment of such churches and their obligations is made in "The Church in a Changing Community." This series was written by Reverend William A. Drews, the executive secretary of the Eastern District of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and appears in three parts in various issues of The Lutheran Witness. Part I deals with the topic: "What Is Happening to Our Cities?" and shows the vast changes that are going on in America's urban and suburban life.¹⁷⁵ Part II is titled "What About the Downtown Church?"¹⁷⁶ and shows that such a church can be a real center for community activities and denominational functions. Part III answers the question "What About the Church in the Older Residential Area?" Pastor Drews begins this part with these underlying principles:

¹⁷³LW, LXXV (October 23, 1956), 412.

¹⁷⁴LW, LXXV (January 31, 1956), 48.

¹⁷⁵LW, LXXV (March 13, 1956), 92ff.

¹⁷⁶LW, LXXV (March 27, 1956), 117ff.

The Great Commission in Matthew 28 to evangelize the world is not restricted to any race or color or nationality, nor is it limited by any consideration of social or economic status. Likewise the "whosoever" of John 3:16 is unlimited as far as the promise of eternal life is concerned. Therefore no congregation has ever placed any such barrier into its constitution.

Secondly, we should like to emphasize the principle that the welfare of the Kingdom is paramount, not the growth or congeniality of the individual congregation.¹⁷⁷

We believe that the series of three articles by Pastor Drews are written very thoroughly and that they offer a wealth of advice to pastors and congregations in urban communities.

A "Religious News" item during July comments on the interracial program of Mount Calvary Lutheran Church in Denver, Colorado.¹⁷⁸ An interesting article on St. Paul's Lutheran Church of Chicago is titled "An Old Church in a New Day" and appeared in November in The Lutheran Witness. The neighborhood of St. Paul's is described as "colorful, baffling, and terrifying," and also as a "graveyard of churches." The writers report that the local Gamma Delta group pick up forty to sixty children and bring them to Sunday School each week, and that recently a group of

¹⁷⁷LW, LXXV (April 24, 1956), 149.

¹⁷⁸LW, LXXV (July 3, 1956), 262.

twenty-four neighborhood children, Negroes, Orientals and white were baptized.¹⁷⁹

In February The Lutheran Witness published a letter by Anne M. Engelbrecht of Chicago, Illinois, in which she expressed the hope that The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod would take a stand on the race question.¹⁸⁰ This hope was realized when this beloved body assembled in regular convention during the month of June at Minneapolis, Minnesota, adopted an excellent resolution on human relations. This resolution is considered in detail in the chapter on Official Boards and Bodies.¹⁸¹ As far as this part of our study on The Lutheran Witness is concerned we should like to close by calling attention to the article titled, "Synod's Witness On The Race Issue," composed by the Missouri Synod's pioneer and protagonist for better human relations, Dr. Andrew A. Schulze. The author shows that the Missouri Synod is interested in people by adopting these resolutions which are a witness to the world and guidelines for the church-at-large and congregations. Dr. Schulze concludes his analysis with these words:

¹⁷⁹Charles Manske, James G. Manz and Roland Reinhardt, "An Old Church in a New Day," LW, LXXV (November 20, 1956), 440.

¹⁸⁰LW, LXXV (February 14, 1956), 58 [unnumbered page].

¹⁸¹Supra., 24-27.

In the area of race relations we have a long way to go truly to be the church as Christ would have us to be, but with these resolutions adopted and the firm determination to fit the action to the word, we are, by His grace, on the way.¹⁸²

In summary, our perusal of The Lutheran Witness leads us to the following conclusions. Until 1940 this official periodical made only occasional reports on Negroes, and most of these references were made in connection with the Synodical Conference's work among the Negroes. As near as we can ascertain The Lutheran Witness offered its first specific and positive statement on relations between Negroes and whites in 1943 in an article by Dr. R. R. Caemmerer.¹⁸³ Reports on the St. Louis Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations and other similar groups following the year of 1944 were the first articles devoted to the topic of race relations. 1950 is the year in which we find a decisive rise in the number of articles devoted to our general subject. Especially during the years of 1955 and 1956 The Lutheran Witness offered positive guidance and direction in the field of relations towards our neighbors of another color.

¹⁸²LW, LXXV (December 4, 1956), 467.

¹⁸³Supra., 72-73.

Miscellaneous Official Publications

In this chapter on "Official Publications" dealing with Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro we have reviewed thoroughly the Concordia Theological Monthly and Today and cursorily The Lutheran Witness. The general attitude of these magazines compares favorably with other official publications. We want to refer to a small number of miscellaneous sources whose attitudes range all the way from bad to good. Here again it is necessary to note the date to evaluate properly each article.

In June of 1946 the Concordia Junior Messenger printed this offensive item:

Here's A Good Idea. A West Virginia darky, a blacksmith, recently announced a change in business as follows:-- Notice. De copartnership heretofore resisted between me an' Mose Skinner is hereby resolved. Dem what ows de firm will settle wid me; and dem what de firm owes will settle wid Mose.¹⁸⁴

The Child's Companion in June of 1942 carried a four-column cartoon portraying "Sambo" as the Negro janitor.¹⁸⁵ While the cartoon may have been a true-to-life situation, we fear that it, like the above item, nonetheless types the Negro into a lower category and may lead the average child to develop a negative impression.

¹⁸⁴Concordia Junior Messenger, XIV (June, 1936), 122.

¹⁸⁵The Child's Companion, VI (June 21, 1942), 100.

We realize that a mission bulletin must be brief and hence cannot go into detail on every subject it touches, but we quote these few sentences from one because we believe they portray generally at least one way in which official publications avoided the race question. "God Bless America" is a small four-page bulletin issued by the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Missouri Synod) during the Second World War and reads:

There is a great restlessness among our Negro fellow citizens. Whatever the cause for this restlessness, our Church will do well to increase its effort to bring to the colored race the message of Christ: "Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Matt. 11:28.¹⁸⁶

The Lutheran Annual 1950 carried an article by Dr. John Theodore Mueller titled "Converts That Confessed." In his introduction Dr. Mueller writes:

There are perhaps no more pleasant folk among whom to witness the Gospel than the Negroes of the South. By this we do not wish to disparage any other section of our country; but we have worked only among the Negroes of the South, and these certainly were as grateful, genial, and receptive as any race or people possibly could be.¹⁸⁷

In his article certain Christian converts are described, and as a sample, we quote a few lines about one by the name of Moses:

¹⁸⁶In the possession of the writer.

¹⁸⁷John Theodore Mueller, "Converts That Confessed," The Lutheran Annual 1950, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1949), 30.

His father was a Jew, and his mother was a Negress, and he could boast an aquiline nose, raised to the nth power, of which even the first great Moses might have been proud.¹⁸⁸

The September, 1954, issue of the Welfare Review issued by the Department of Social Welfare of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod carried a report by the Reverend Mr. Martin E. Nees on the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America. In this article Pastor Nees states the need for the organization and gives a brief historical summary of the same.¹⁸⁹ A paragraph in the April, 1955, issue of the Welfare Review takes note of the fact that the above-mentioned writer, Martin Nees, was chosen as the recipient of the Dr. J. H. Rabin interracial award in Kansas City, Kansas, for the year of 1954.¹⁹⁰

During the late forties, as near as we can establish, the Missionary Board of the Lutheran Synodical Conference requested Dr. John H. C. Fritz to prepare a tract on the Lutheran Church and the Negro. After some extensive revisions Concordia Publishing House with the approval of the same Board released a fifteen-page tract titled, "The Lutheran Church and the Negro." We have never heard, nor have we ever seen our esteemed professor speak and write so

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Welfare Review, I (September, 1954), 2.

¹⁹⁰ Welfare Review, II (April, 1955), 3.

indecisively. The tract leaves the serious reader puzzled, for it contains such ambiguities and near-contradictions as:

God's command is clear. The duty of the congregation and the individual Christian is: "Preach the Gospel unto every creature." Therefore it is the obligation of the congregation to bring the Gospel to all within its reach, irrespective of race or color, and to administer the Sacraments according to Christ's institution.

Certainly no Christian in a white congregation should object to have a Negro, or a person of any other color, to sit alongside of him in church and worship God together with him. . . .¹⁹¹

Therefore it is self evident that no man is to be barred from membership in a Christian congregation because of his place in the family of nations.

But an altogether different question it is whether a congregation under any and all circumstances will include in its membership Christians of any color, race or nationality.¹⁹²

Membership in a particular congregation will be determined by personal choice, the law of love, wisdom, and other factors. Of course, if, as already said, a Christian congregation bars anyone from church membership merely because he is of a different race, color, or nationality, for such I hold no brief, for such lovelessness is condemned by the Lord Himself.¹⁹³

It is difficult to understand that Dr. Fritz would suggest that "personal choice," rather than Scripture alone should "dictate the policy that Negro congregations should

¹⁹¹John H. C. Fritz, The Lutheran Church And The Negro, Published at the request and with the approval of the Missionary Board of the Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, n.d., n.p., 6-7.

¹⁹²Ibid., 8.

¹⁹³Ibid., 13.

be established for Negroes."¹⁹⁴

If "The Lutheran Church And The Negro" proved to be disappointing to the searcher of Christian faith in action towards our neighbors of another color, the first two pamphlets of the Lutheran Round Table series certainly prove to be an inspiration. The first is titled God In Our Confused World and while the author, John Strietelmeier, as a keen student of geography, covers a good part of the world in such a few pages, he nonetheless gives a proper emphasis and perspective on the race issue in our country. After indicating that "the ratio between the 'white' and the 'colored' population of the world keeps shifting toward the 'colored' side," and that we are living in a world with a color line, Professor Strietelmeier says:

Yet we hesitate to come to terms, in our country, with a reality which stern necessity has forced upon us. The attempt, still strong in some sections of our country, to maintain a superior-inferior relation between white and nonwhite is an intrinsically hopeless attempt.¹⁹⁵

In stressing the necessity of knowledge for the Christian in the world of today, the author becomes rather pointed in declaring:

¹⁹⁴Ibid., 14-15.

¹⁹⁵John Strietelmeier, God In Our Confused World, the Lutheran Round Table, Pamphlet No. 1 (Saint Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, c.1955), 11.

It is a part of our Christian duty, therefore, to know what the problems of our time are. We should know the facts that lie behind the problems and examine the proposed solutions with Christian intelligence. The Christian who persists in following a line of prejudice when he could know that the prejudice has no factual foundation does more than fall into error. He commits a sin.¹⁹⁶

We are happy to conclude this review of the official publications of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod on a major triad, for three writers collaborated on the excellent booklet, The Christian and Race. If we want to develop the figure farther, we might refer to it as a harmonious chord, because it was published by the Department of Adult Education of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, in cooperation with the Lutheran Laymen's League, the Student Service Commission, the Lutheran Women's Missionary League, and the Walther League. Each of the three authors develops his theme in a classical, scholarly and Christian manner; namely, Osborn T. Smallwood, "The Problem Before Us," Martin H. Scharlemann, "The Bible And Race," and Philip A. Johnson, "A Problem For The Church."¹⁹⁷ Of all the literature we have reviewed for this paper we would suggest that this pamphlet, The Christian And Race, stands high on the list of the most scholarly, objective and Christian literature on the understanding of and solutions to the problems of race relations.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., 22.

¹⁹⁷The Christian and Race (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c.1955).

CHAPTER IV

UNOFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

In the previous chapter we have considered the "Official Publications" of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Now we propose to review and to analyze some of the "Unofficial Publications." Lest we be misunderstood we should like to define the two terms. By "Official Publications" we mean those writings which were published by order of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod or its duly designated boards. By "Unofficial Publications" we mean those writings published by groups or individuals without the stated sanction of the general church body or its regularly constituted boards or committees.

To anyone who knows The Missouri Synod the reasons for making a thorough review of The American Lutheran in this paper would be quite apparent. Since its inception The American Lutheran has wielded a strong and wholesome influence on The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Furthermore, it has much to say on our general subject, namely, Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro.

Other periodicals like The Cresset and The Christian Parent are only cursorily reviewed. Since the Exegetical Studies in Race Relations and the Human Relations Exchange is one of the few publications which concerned itself direct-

ly with our topic, it is natural that we consider it here. The Lutheran Race Relations Bulletin is reviewed in the chapter on St. Louis Lutheranism and The Vanguard is considered under the chapter on The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America.

Additionally, the only book on the subject of race relations produced within The Missouri Synod, Dr. Andrew Schulze's My Neighbor of Another Color, will be considered briefly.

The American Lutheran

Beginning with its first issue in January of 1918 and continuing monthly until the present time The American Lutheran has exerted a tremendous influence for good in many areas within The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. The American Lutheran is published by the American Lutheran Publicity Bureau which is not an official department of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, although its officers and directors are members of that body.

The American Lutheran was born during the trying days of the First World War, at a time when not only the physical conflict was raging against Germany, but also when propaganda and antagonism against almost everything of German origin and German contact was at its height. The Missouri Synod with its very strong German background was misunderstood and misinterpreted. Some leaders believe that the

Church needed not only defense, but good positive publicity. The American Lutheran Publicity Bureau and its organ, The American Lutheran, admirably filled this need.

Several early articles pertaining to the mission work of the Synodical Conference of The Lutheran Church among the Negroes indicate the spirit of the times and seem to take for granted the old policy of segregation. One must remember that we are referring to the decade of 1920, before great advances in the fields of race relations and civil rights were made in the United States. As this section develops it will be seen how The American Lutheran magazine became one of the early and strong voices for a progressive program to promote better attitudes and policies towards Negroes.

Quite a number of the early issues deal with subjects pertaining to Lutheranism in general and The Missouri Synod in particular in their relations with non-German and non-Lutheran elements and situations. The second issue already (February, 1918) carried an article by F. Pieper titled "Is Lutheranism Limited Nationally?"¹ This article was written in answer to The Churchman showing that Lutheranism is not bound by racial or national limitations.

After several of the individual states of this country had barred the German language as a medium of instruction in private schools, an editorial bearing the title, "A Blessing

¹The American Lutheran, I (February, 1918), 5. Hereafter referred to as TAL.

in Disguise," inferred that The Missouri Synod had tremendous missionary potential among the non-German speaking elements in our country.² The venerable Karl Kretzmann, probably feeling the stigma of anti-German and anti-Lutheran propaganda wrote "Echoes from History," which shows that the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod is truly an American Church.³

The problems of the "German Language Question" and the awareness and potentiality of reaching out to the total population of our country is indicated by letters like those of Dr. Theodore Graebner, "Neglected Opportunities,"⁴ and "The Language Question," a camp pastor's letter in which a serviceman is described as leaving The Lutheran Church because services were held in the German language only.⁵

In the November-December issue of 1919 "The Italian Mission, Its Difficulties, and the Ways and Means of Overcoming Them" by A. Bangarzone appeared.⁶ This article clearly showed that The Lutheran Church was reaching out to serve other than Northern European peoples.

The first article in The American Lutheran touching our subject of Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church

²TAL, I (August, 1918), 1.

³TAL, I (October, 1918), 3-5.

⁴TAL, I (December, 1918), 10.

⁵TAL, I (December, 1918), 11.

⁶TAL, II (November-December, 1919), 8-10.

Toward the Negro comes from the pen of one of the pioneer missionaries in the Negro field, N. J. Bakke, and is titled "The Lutheran Church of the Future Among the Negroes." What this missionary wrote in 1920 certainly makes interesting reading today! After the Synodical Conference had been working among the Negroes for forty years Pastor Bakke wrote:

The Lutheran church has been and still is the Negroes' best friend. It has done more for the poor neglected common people and for the children of the race than any other church.

To some extent the future of our church among the Negroes must be judged by the past. Looking out upon the vast field which extends from New York to New Orleans, and which is studded with Christian school-houses, churches, chapels and two higher educational institutions, the future appears bright.⁷

A number of brief items and articles appear during the next few years and most of them refer to the work within the Synodical Conference's Negro mission field.⁸

In October of 1922 the sainted Dr. Walter A. Maier wrote a challenging article titled, "What Is Our Church Saving?" Although Dr. Maier had the language question rather than the race question uppermost in mind, he penned these prophetic words: "We cannot work along national lines and racial lines

⁷TAL, III (May, 1920), 8-9.

⁸N. J. Bakke, "The Urgent Needs of our Negro Mission," TAL, III (November, 1920), 7; G. A. Schmidt, "The American Lutheran Publicity Bureau Reaches out a Helping Hand Into the Black Belt of Alabama," TAL, IV (January, 1921), 5; TAL, V (July, 1922), 10; TAL, V (August, 1922), 8; TAL, V (October, 1922), 29; and "Great Negro Cities," TAL, V (December, 1922), 11; and TAL, VI (March, 1923), 10.

and meet our obligations in our home mission work."⁹

In January of 1924 G. E. Hagemann contributed "The Racial Complexion of Our Country." About half the article deals with the subjects of immigration and European-born Americans. We must appreciate Pastor Hagemann's analysis and admonition. Note that the year is 1924. As we look back over the years and see the neglected opportunities among the Negroes, especially in our large Northern cities, no one can claim that no warning was given, for Pastor Hagemann admonished:

Turn to your almanac or Annual and assure yourself whether we have any men in these fields or whether we have been taking any notice of this settlement of negroes in any of these [certain Northern] cities. Are there many in our Synod, or in the Synodical Conference for that matter, who have paid any special attention to this particular shift in the negro population? Has anyone ever brought this to the attention of such as ought to hear it and are efforts being put forth by our Church to cover this field?¹⁰

If old congregations which are located in Negro neighborhoods feel that they have new problems or new opportunities they might find comfort in reading F. Kroenke's "The New Task For the Old Churches" written already in 1924. After describing the New Frontier of Home Missions and the Difficulties Along this Frontier the writer says:

⁹TAL, V (October, 1922), 8.

¹⁰TAL, VII (January, 1924), 4.

In addition, we have the negro problem now also on our hands in the northern city. The biggest black city in the world is New York, with 153,000 negroes. . . . If anything, this conglomeration, to which must be added race prejudice, language problem and misunderstanding arising from differences in custom, only adds to our responsibility as Christians.¹¹

In an editorial titled "Community Mission Work" The American Lutheran attempts to arouse congregations to reach out for souls and members. In a rather provocative fashion it questions:

What is the purpose, the reason and the excuse for the existence of a Christian congregation? Is a church's object accomplished if it has gathered together those who happen to be by birth of its own particular faith and even, perhaps, of a certain particular race, into a spiritual organization which has no other object but to minister to the spiritual wants of that particular group of people without any obligations towards the unchurched of the community? That seems to be the attitude of many Lutheran churches.¹²

The same issue carries two more sentences that are worth repeating:

It cannot be disputed that the missionary work of the Lutheran Church in this country is being materially hampered and hindered by linguistic and racial prejudices from which many of our churches apparently cannot break loose.¹³

Racial and linguistic prejudices are a retarding factor in the progress of our church today.¹⁴

¹¹TAL, VII (October, 1924), 120.

¹²TAL, VIII (October, 1925), 1.

¹³Ibid., 5.

¹⁴Ibid., 13.

Efforts are being made today to keep our churches and to have them serve their entire neighborhoods whenever the racial complexion of the area changes. Such efforts were made already in 1928 and one of the pastors wrote: "About the saddest thing in the life of a church is that it decides to move and abandon an old field. There sometimes is a reason for this, but more often there is a mere excuse."¹⁵ In the same article by L. Winfield Wickham three churches which met their mutual problems in three different ways are described, and the author commends the congregations whose building was used as a "colored mission."

From time to time we find incidental references to mission and evangelistic efforts among Negroes. Two items concerning the use of tracts among Negroes are found.¹⁶ Nor are all the articles complimentary to the Negro race.¹⁷ Under the "News From Here and There" section in the September, 1931, issue a brief item on "Islam and the American Negro" informs us concerning the Ahmadiyya sect: "They

¹⁵L. Winfield Wickham, "The Sunday School in the Congested District," TAL, XI (March, 1928), 10.

¹⁶TAL, X (March, 1927), 8; and TAL, X (August, 1927), 16.

¹⁷"How Our Colored Lutheran Churches Advertise," TAL, VII (January, 1924), 9; "Lugubrious Churches," TAL, XII (March, 1929), 5.

proclaim racial and social equality and in America they claim many converts, especially among the colored people."¹⁸

An editorial, "Segregation in the Church," has nothing to say about Negroes or race segregation, but rather humorously the writer relates how he and his family unknowingly sat together for public worship in a church where segregation of the sexes was rigidly observed.¹⁹

The following items may contribute little directly to our general subject of The Attitudes and Policies of the Lutheran Church Toward the Negro, yet we wish to include them for completeness' sake. Two brief²⁰ and three longer articles consider urban and downtown churches. The first of the longer articles is written by Dr. O. A. Geiseman.²¹ "Mission Work in the Downtown Church" is the second article and is written by Erwin G. Tieman. In describing Trinity Lutheran Church of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Pastor Tieman writes:

¹⁸TAL, XIV (September, 1931), 22.

¹⁹TAL, XV (September, 1932), 4. See also "Sex Segregation at Communion," TAL, XV (October, 1932), 5.

²⁰F. R. Webber, "An Appeal," TAL, XVI (January, 1933), 14-16, and "Dying Gracefully," TAL, XVII (August, 1934), 5.

²¹O. A. Geiseman, "The Urban Church," TAL, XVIII (January, 1935), 6-8.

Although Trinity Church is near the colored area, only two families have joined, since there is a colored Lutheran Mission, St. Philips, near by, conducted by the Synodical Conference. But Trinity has on its minutes a resolution, to receive and commune any color or race, as long as they subject themselves to the Word of God and accept the Confessions of the Lutheran Church.²²

The third article is titled "Don't Move Out; Reach Out!" and is written by The Reverend Robert G. Lange, pastor of Zion Lutheran Church of St. Louis, Missouri, which operates on a segregated basis.²³

An editorial, "Unevangelized America," cites some figures to show the religious condition in America and declares, "Among the 13,000,000 Negroes in America, 7,000,000 are unchurched."²⁴ A short article on Negro education shows the low standard of education among the members of the Negro clergy.²⁵ In a review of Religion and State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century by Reba Carolyn Strickland Pastor Karl Kretzmann mentions this interesting item: "Because of his opposition to the introduction of slavery, Bolzius grew very unpopular with some of the people."²⁶ In the September, 1942, issue

²²TAL, XXXIX (March, 1956), 14-15.

²³TAL, XXXIX (April, 1956), 8ff.

²⁴TAL, XXI (March, 1938), 7.

²⁵TAL, XXIV (April, 1941), 12.

²⁶Reviewed by Karl Kretzmann in TAL, XXIII (January, 1940), 24.

Dr. Otto A. Geiseman reviewed Chester F. Dunham's The Attitude of the Northern Clergy Toward the South, 1860-1865 and closed with the paragraph:

The author's treatment of the attitude of the Lutheran Church on the question of slavery as presented on pages twenty-one to twenty-six does not do justice to the position of our own Synod which held that while the Scriptures did not condemn slavery as an institution the law of love did condemn the abuses inherent in a slave economy.²⁷

In a two-page article William H. Gehrke discusses "Practical Hints for Work Among the Negroes in the North." There is much good advice on the subject; however, one of the tactics (to be seriously questioned) suggested for starting a new mission is:

When the question is raised, Can't we attend the white Lutheran Churches? the answer invariably must be, Certainly, until we get started and then come and help us gain others.²⁸

The author also indulges in some generalities as when he writes: "The future trend of the Negro in the large cities can be fairly accurately forecast, since the Negro follows the Jew."²⁹

As we have already intimated, The American Lutheran advocated a policy of equality and integration of races.

²⁷Reviewed by O[tto] A. G[eiseman] in TAL, XXV. (September, 1942), 23.

²⁸TAL, XXI (April, 1938), 17.

²⁹Ibid.

This is not apparent until the year of 1944. But there is one editorial we should like to regard as a bridge crossing over into the new era. While World War II was raging, while the Allies were losing rather than winning victories, in May of 1942, "Physician, Heal Thyself!" appeared. It began with the question: What kind of social and economic order is to emerge from the present chaos when a just peace is made?" After considering the voice and the influence of Christian people in the peace and the matter of salaries in the Church the editorial continues:

The question of race will play an important part in establishing a just peace. What can the Christians say in this matter to help a blind world? Many churches refuse to admit negroes to membership in the same church with whites. Others ignore and evade the question if possible--and quietly establish separate churches for the color. A student of history can understand, even though he may find it difficult to approve, the principle of race segregation as practiced in certain parts of our country. But when that principle is carried into the Church, the matter becomes more serious. By what right can we criticize the caste system of India or Hitler's attitude to the Jews when we ourselves organize our congregations on the principle of race and ourselves refuse to draw the natural consequence of the principle of Christian brotherhood in which we say we believe?³⁰

Beginning with the May issue of 1944 we find The American Lutheran giving real prominence to the subjects of the Negro, and human relations. As evidence of this we made the following annual count of articles, editorials, letters, book reviews and short news items regarding the Negro, human

³⁰TAL, XXV (May, 1942), 3.

relations and racial integration. We list the year, and beneath it, the number of items which appeared in The American Lutheran in that year:

1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
6	8	10	6	4	2	1	2
1952	1953	1954	1955	1956			
1	3	4	10	16			

For the May issue in 1944 of The American Lutheran the Rev. Mr. Delvin Ressel wrote "Attacking the Race Problem in the Church." This is an article describing the activity of The St. Louis Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations.³¹ The July issue of the same year in a brief item, "Segregation of Blood Said to Be Ended," is a quotation from the Christian Century and declares that there is no segregation of blood plasma for use in the army medical corps. It also tells the fascinating story of how a blood specimen taken from an African native is the basis of all vaccine against yellow fever.³²

We now come to the first main articles penned by one of the Missouri Synod's chief protagonists of racial equality and integration, the Rev. Mr. Andrew A. Schulze.

³¹TAL, XXVII (May, 1944), 17.

³²TAL, XXVII (July, 1944), 7.

In two article, each of which covers almost two pages, Pastor Schulze shows that racial segregation in society is wrong³³ and that racial segregation in the Church is definitely sinful.³⁴

"Our Problem" is the title of an editorial in the December, 1944, issue of The American Lutheran. The writing declares that the Church should speak out on the problems of racial and religious bigotry, and we quote a few sentences:

It is the business of the Church to teach and to preach all things which our Lord has commanded and to apply these teachings to the problems of the present age. The problem of Racial and religious bigotry is one of these problems. The Church cannot keep silence. She must speak if she would be true to her divine commission . . . The Church alone can prevent the further spread of the anti-Christian spirit of race hatred and bigotry by her message of sin and grace.³⁵

Under the "Open Forum" section of the January, 1945, copy of our magazine under consideration the first article described how Robert W. Serle dined with a Negro veteran on a train near Louisville, Kentucky.³⁶ The second article is by Andrew Schulze and bears the title, "Racial Designations." In almost three pages the writer shows some of the dangers

³³Andrew Schulze, "Racial Segregation in Society in General," TAL, XXVII (July, 1944), 9-10.

³⁴Andrew Schulze, "Racial Segregation in the Church," TAL, XXVII (October, 1944), 9ff.

³⁵TAL, XXVII (December, 1944), 3.

³⁶"Observation Post," TAL, XXVIII (January, 1945), 12.

and harm especially towards Negroes because of such racial designations. He further points out that

While not subscribing to the injustice and unfairness that lies behind these terms in our social setup, and being conscious of the inadequacy of the terms themselves, we are compelled, for clarity sake, to employ the terms.

Pastor Schulze draws the following conclusions:

From the foregoing it is obvious that the use of racial designations is fraught with many possibilities of tactlessness, offense, injustice, and stumbling blocks to racial good will and especially of Gospel Kingdom progress.

The more discerning, for this reason, will at all times speak on racial matters without using designations which may have an unsatisfactory connotation, or may be misunderstood to the detriment of the cause they desire to espouse.³⁷

While The American Lutheran espoused and promoted ideas and programs for better human relations, opportunities and voice apparently were given to those who were unfavorable to such policies. In October of 1944 Theodore Schliepsiek contributed "How The South Feels" which referred to David L. Cohn and the January issue of The Atlantic Monthly. For about one year, from May of 1945 to June of 1946, at least five articles or letters appeared in the form of a mild debate.³⁸

³⁷TAL, XXVIII (January, 1945), 14-15.

³⁸TAL, XXVII (October, 1944), 8; Wm. G. Kennell, "Concerning Racial Designations," TAL, XXVIII (May, 1945), 15-16; Theo. Schliepsiek, A Letter, TAL, XXVIII (September, 1945), 12; "The Negro Problem," TAL, XXIX (April, 1946), 17; A. Schulze, "Racial Segregation--An Expediency," TAL, XXVIII (November, 1945), 14; TAL, XXIX (June, 1946), 14; and a letter from Theodore Siek, TAL, XXXII (January, 1949), 13.

"A Suggested Program for the Lutheran Church and the Negro" is written by Pastor George W. Bornemann and offers fifteen salient suggestions, among which we should like to note the fourth and the eleventh, namely:

Negro congregations to become members of the geographical districts in which they are situated. Pastors and delegates to meet with official status.

Secondary education and university education to be stressed for training of Negro lay leadership in the Lutheran Church.³⁹

Within a period of a year four articles dealt with various aspects of race relations and programs in the St. Louis, Missouri, area.⁴⁰

For the May issue of 1946 Pastor Andrew Schulze wrote "A Transition Period." In this write-up the author shows how our country and our churches were being forced to re-examine their thoughts and policies in respect to the Negro. He also outlines the duty to carry on a true educational program in the church in the following words:

If the church is to grow--if she is to survive--in this transition period, humanly speaking, she must teach her members to think of and to treat those of another color as members of one human family, and in the case of fellow-believers, as "fellow-citizens with the saints of the household of God," equal members of the body of Christ.⁴¹

³⁹TAL, XXVIII (April, 1945), 15.

⁴⁰Euphemia Beck, "Hand in Hand in St. Louis," TAL, XXVIII (September, 1945), 16; E. Beck, "Real Estate Bugaboos," TAL, XXIX (February, 1946), 15; E. Beck, "Living Together in St. Louis," TAL, XXIX (March, 1946), 15ff; and Elizabeth R. Pruitt, "The House I Live In," TAL, XXIX (May, 1946), 14ff.

⁴¹TAL, XXIX (May, 1946), 8.

After declaring that there is a rainbow in the sky because church leaders are beginning to face and to attempt to overcome some of the problems, Pastor Schulze's article concludes:

We of the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church have a long way to go still, and we dare not hope to get there without courageous action, while this old world of ours is struggling in the throes of tremendous and violent change. Yet we may thank God and take courage, because we are beginning to move in the right direction.⁴²

The American Lutheran has consistently given space and attention to institutes on race relations and to the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America. In the July issue of 1946 it presented an editorial quoting resolutions of the Race Relations Institute at St. Louis, Missouri.⁴³ The same issue carried the editorial "Christian Race Relations."⁴⁴ The August issue of the same year carried a notice of the Race Relations Institute.⁴⁵

The October, 1954, copy carried two items, one on the formation of the Lutheran Human Relations Association⁴⁶ and the other on the installation of Dr. Andrew Schulze as

⁴²Ibid., 27.

⁴³TAL, XXIX (July, 1946), 4.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵TAL, XXIX (August, 1946), 13.

⁴⁶TAL, XXXVII (October, 1954), 10.

the executive secretary of that body.⁴⁷ Reviews of the "Proceedings" of the institutes at Valparaiso University were favorably presented.⁴⁸

Following the Synodical Conference's resolution of 1946 "That our congregations be encouraged, wherever advisable, to use their Christian prerogative to seek integration into an established district" and following the adoption of the same program by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod The American Lutheran carried two articles on the plan. The first is "District Racial Integration"⁴⁹ and the second is "Advantages of the New Plan For Integrating Negro Congregations into Established Districts of Synods of the Synodical Conference." Pastor Arthur Vincent, then of Alton, Illinois, commends the wisdom of this plan and points out that District Mission Boards will be able to do the work more efficiently because they are closer to their respective situations and that more local interest and support will be effected because of the proximity of the mission program itself.⁵⁰

⁴⁷Ibid., 23.

⁴⁸TAL, XXXIV (June, 1951), 22; and TAL, XXXVI (May, 1953), 16.

⁴⁹TAL, XXIX (September, 1946), 3-4.

⁵⁰TAL, XXXI (June, 1948), 9ff.

The American Lutheran followed the policy of attempting to keep its readers informed on racial issues both within and without the church by occasionally reviewing books and booklets on the subject. In the July issue of 1947 these three books were reviewed, Distinguished Negroes Abroad,⁵¹ Clever Hands of the African Negro,⁵² and Primer in Intergroup Relations.⁵³ A year later, Prejudice and Property by Tom C. Clark and Philip B. Perlman was reviewed.⁵⁴ Shortly after the Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954, Lillian Smith wrote Now Is The Time. This book urges immediate implementation of the decision and was reviewed by Arlin A. Maas in The American Lutheran.⁵⁵

Through the years The American Lutheran has promoted interest in the subject of human relations in its book reviews of both secular and religious books. Naturally, its emphasis has been in the field of religion, and in its review of The Protestant Church and the Negro by Frank S. Loescher we read:

⁵¹TAL, XXX (July, 1947), 12.

⁵²Ibid., 13.

⁵³Ibid., 15.

⁵⁴TAL, XXXI (July, 1948), 16.

⁵⁵TAL, XXXVIII (August, 1955), 17.

The American Lutheran Magazine, as our readers know, has been interested in this subject for many years. We believe that we as a religious magazine have taken the leadership in furthering the cause of the Negro in our American society.⁵⁶

Some of the other books reviewed in The American Lutheran are Race Mixture by Harry L. Shapiro,⁵⁷ The Ecumenical Movement and the Racial Problem by W. A. Visser 'T Hooft,⁵⁸ The Chosen People or The Bible, Christianity and Race by Gerald W. Broomfield,⁵⁹ and The Catholic Church and The Race Question by The Reverend Father Yves M.-J. Congar, O.P.⁶⁰

Arthur M. Weber is the reviewer of The Christian and Race, "A Resource for Christian Thinking On Issues of Our Times." This thirty-four page pamphlet was one of the first special works on this subject published by Concordia Publishing House and the reviewer writes:

This is by far the finest work on human relations to come from the presses of Concordia Publishing House. Each of the three authors has presented the Scriptural viewpoint in an admirable manner.⁶¹

⁵⁶TAL, XXXI (October, 1948), 21.

⁵⁷TAL, XXXVIII (March, 1955), 18.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹TAL, XXXVIII (August, 1955), 17.

⁶⁰TAL, XXXVIII (September, 1955), 23.

⁶¹TAL, XXXIX (May, 1956), 18.

Hats off to Concordia Publishing House for a real contribution to the solution of a problem that should never have arisen among people of God!⁶²

Dr. Otto A. Geiseman, in his monthly column, "While It Is Day," calls attention a number of times to proper attitudes and relationships towards dark-skinned peoples.⁶³ The reaction of some clergymen to steer away from social problems caused him to write the following:

Some theologians seem to count it a mark of orthodoxy when they assert that the church has nothing to do with social problems. They are of the opinion that churchmen who express themselves on the subject of race relationships, the relationship of capital and labor, the question of democracy or economic justice, and the like more are meddlers who are interfering in matters which should be of no concern to the theologian and the churchman.⁶⁴

Quite a number of miscellaneous letters, items and editorials about racial issues appear in The American Lutheran and we would like to list them for the sake of completeness. A letter from Frederick Nohl deploring the sin and the shame of segregation appeared in April of 1949.⁶⁵ An interesting item in November, 1953 reads:

⁶²Ibid., 23.

⁶³TAL, XXX (May, 1947), 5; TAL, XXXVII (February, 1954), 5; TAL, XXXIX (May, 1956), 5.

⁶⁴"The Church and Society," TAL, XXXI (June, 1948), 5.

⁶⁵TAL, XXXII (April, 1949), 13.

The President of the United States has taken steps to stop all racial discrimination practices where government contracts are involved.

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Our racial integration in church life is slower. During the last fifteen years nearly three million Negroes have migrated to northern States, but the white churches in the North have done little for their new Negro neighbors.⁶⁶

In an editorial "The Church's Report Card on Integration" the author lists among other advances the fact that the Lutheran High School in St. Louis accepted an interracial parish into its membership and that Negro students are enrolled for the second academic year.⁶⁷ Under the "Church Council Chit-Chat" column we find a three-paragraph item titled "Racial Segregation Test is Local," which concludes with the words: "Let each Christian be sure that his own voice speaks clearly in his own community against the monstrous teaching that Christian love is to be measured out according to race or skin color. The test is not in Africa. It is here in each congregation."⁶⁸ The April, 1956, issue praised the Lutheran pastor for students at the University of Alabama, The Reverend Mr. Norman J. Widiger,

⁶⁶TAL, XXXVI (November, 1953), 21.

⁶⁷TAL, XXXVIII (December, 1955), 4ff.

⁶⁸TAL, XXXIX (February, 1956), 17.

for his positive stand and leadership during the turbulent days of the Arthurine Lucy case.⁶⁹

In the early part of May in 1955 the Lutheran Women's Missionary League announced that the convention scheduled for July in New Orleans, Louisiana, had been cancelled because of the local customs of segregation. This was reported in the June issue of The American Lutheran,⁷⁰ and an editorial, "A Landmark in Desegregation," commented:

The New Orleans decision, however, is a landmark in the history of this question, pointing to the fact that never again in our Lutheran Church will a national meeting be held that does not permit all members of our church to attend on an equal basis, no matter what their disabilities may be.⁷¹

The cancellation of this convention will be considered in more detail under the chapter, "Affiliated and Subsidiary Organizations."

Three important works on racially changing neighborhoods will now be considered. The first is an editorial, "Is Your Community Changing?" and refers to the fact that President Behnken of the Missouri Synod at the General Missions Conference urged the mission boards to encourage congregations in changing communities to serve the new

⁶⁹TAL, XXXIX (April, 1956), 26.

⁷⁰TAL, XXXVIII (June, 1955), 17.

⁷¹TAL, XXXVIII (June, 1955), 3.

people in their respective communities.⁷² The editorial reports that a recent National Lutheran Council conference dealt with the same problem, and five good points for congregations in Northern cities and large Negro populations are outlined by The Rev. Mr. Alfred J. Schroder. The second item on churches in changing neighborhoods is a long thought-provoking letter by William A. Messner.⁷³ The writer complains (and probably justly so) of the difficulty of finding dedicated pastors to work in such areas. "Word and Sacrament in a City Church, First St. Paul's, Chicago, Ill." by James G. Manz is the third article regarding an urban church in a changing neighborhood. St. Paul's of Chicago has a long and fascinating story and the article would interest almost any Kingdom worker.⁷⁴

The American Lutheran performed a most valuable service to the church in carrying detailed and extensive articles written by experienced and forward-looking men on the topic of human relations and racial integration in the church. Most of these longer articles deal with the subject especially as the Church is concerned. In each of the following articles there is so much important information that we would do the writers and The American Lutheran an injustice to attempt to

⁷²TAL, XXXV (September, 1952), 3.

⁷³TAL, XXXIX (June, 1956), 24ff.

⁷⁴TAL, XXXIX (September, 1956), 10ff.

summarize or merely to make a few quotations. We would suggest that anyone who proposes to make a serious study of our subject under consideration must read and study these articles as basic material. To give proper prominence to these writings we shall herewith list

A Brief, But Basic Bibliography on Christian Human Relations:

"The Church's Obligations in Race Relations" by Osborn T. Smallwood;⁷⁵

"Christian Thinking About Negroes" by Howard R. Kunkle;⁷⁶

"Iast Mission Frontier" by Andrew Schulze;⁷⁷

"Advances on the Racial Front," by Paul G. Amt;⁷⁸

"It Can Be Done (Assimilating the Negro)" by Richard Klopff;⁷⁹

"The Interracial Church" by Richard Klopff;⁸⁰ and

"The Urban Church in Transition" by Ralph L. Moellering.⁸¹

⁷⁵TAL, XXX (January, 1947), 17ff; and TAL, XXX (February, 1947), 14ff.

⁷⁶TAL, XXXI (July, 1948), 6ff.

⁷⁷TAL, XXXII (December, 1949), 15ff.

⁷⁸TAL, XXXIII (May, 1950), 9ff.

⁷⁹TAL, XXXV (December, 1952), 6ff.

⁸⁰TAL, XXXVIII (December, 1955), 6ff.

⁸¹TAL, XXXIX (March, 1956), 6ff.

These seven articles, all of which appeared in The American Lutheran, would furnish not only the average Christian, but even the serious student of human relations and the church with a wealth of material and information.

A most helpful and penetrating article, "A Key to Understanding the South," appeared in the July, 1956, issue of The American Lutheran.⁸² The author, J. Claude Evans, himself a life-time Southerner, who is the editor of The South Carolina Methodist Advocate, explains the psychological and emotional factors which dominate the thinking and actions of "the average white" Southerner, particularly in respect to the race question.

A number of items in The American Lutheran magazine pay special attention to the Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954, and its effect upon the church. In a long editorial titled, "Lutherans and the Non-Segregation Decision" the Supreme Court is lauded, progress in our own church is noted and a concern is expressed that we endorse and supplement the decision.⁸³

Under the "Open Forum" section of the November, 1954, issue Pastor Arthur M. Weber deplores the fact that The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod had not taken a courageous

⁸²TAL, XXXIX (July, 1956), 11ff.

⁸³TAL, XXXVII (September, 1954), 3-4.

stand on the race issue and that the government and unofficial groups within the church had to lead the way.⁸⁴

An editorial, "Racial Segregation," pointed out some of the progress which had been made during the year since the Supreme Court's Decision. After reminding the readers how many of the Missouri Synod's members were subjected to ethnic indignities during the First World War the editorial declares:

Members of the Missouri Synod should be among the first to assert the right to deal with their neighbors in a Christian fashion, unhampered by artificial bars of color or ethnic origin.

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The Church cannot be governed by social taboos of the world, just as little as it can allow itself to be influenced by the social license of the world. This is a time for the testing of all of us who call ourselves by the great name of Christ, no matter what the Supreme Court decides.⁸⁵

Another editorial, "No Jim Crow Chariot," points out some of the difficulties in implementing the decision of the Supreme Court. But then the editor presents this challenge to the church and to Christians:

⁸⁴ Arthur M. Weber, "Caesar Shows the Way," TAL, XXXVII (November, 1954), 12.

⁸⁵ TAL, XXXVIII (May, 1955), 4.

The delay in implementation of the Court's historic decision in certain areas will give the Church a chance to assert itself--and to redeem itself.

The evangelist Philip, knowing the Lord's command, did not set up a Jim Crow chariot on the famous ride to the stream where the Ethiopian was baptized. Jim Crow may last a long time in certain areas of American life. There is no longer any possible excuse for its existence anywhere in the Church--if there ever was an excuse for it there!⁸⁶

Few will deny that the May 17, 1954, Decision of the Supreme Court certainly changed the entire climate and thinking, and advanced the clock progressively in the entire field of human relations in the United States of America. But yet there are always some who view such progress negatively. Arthur E. Weber writes of such a person:

Recently the writer was told by an occupant of a high synodical position that we had not had much time since the Supreme Court decision had been with us little over a year. When we countered that the Gospel had been in our possession a bit longer we received a condescending glance and the reply: "But this pronouncement is only a year old."⁸⁷

Four articles in The American Lutheran during 1956 refer to the Montgomery, Alabama, Bus Boycott and one of its principal leaders, the Reverend Mr. Robert S. Graetz. The first is a brief item and quotes their leader, the Reverend Mr. Martin Luther King:

⁸⁶TAL, XXXVIII (July, 1955), 4.

⁸⁷"Arthur E. Weber, "A Time for Christian Action," TAL, XXXIX (October, 1955), 13ff.

Love will be returned for hate; nonviolence will be returned for violence. This isn't just a fight for Negroes. It is a fight for justice and democracy.⁸⁸

The second article tells about the role of the courageous young Lutheran Pastor, the Rev. Mr. Robert S. Graetz.⁸⁹

The third article, "Into the Lion's Mouth--In Race Relations," is written by Pastor Graetz himself. In a most interesting manner this pastor describes his responsibility and actions in his difficult position. And finally, he lays these challenging words concerning responsibility on the hearts and consciences of all Lutheran Christians:

It is the responsibility of every Christian, particularly of every Lutheran Christian, to work in his own congregation and in his own community toward finding adequate solutions for the problems that we face. We need your support. We need your prayers. But we also need your example, as a living demonstration that Christian love can bridge the chasm that separates race from race and man from fellow man. We are doing our part. Are you doing yours?⁹⁰

St. Paul once wrote: "Indeed all who desire to live a godly life in Christ Jesus will be persecuted."⁹¹ Pastor Graetz knew this beforehand and experienced this in a terrifying manner for his home was blasted by dynamite the

⁸⁸TAL, XXXIX (July, 1956), 18.

⁸⁹Ibid., 16.

⁹⁰TAL, XXXIX (August, 1956), 11-12.

⁹¹II Tim. 3:12.

first time on August 25, 1956.⁹² Providentially, the pastor and the members of his family were out of town when this despicable act was perpetrated.

Our last two items in our review of The American Lutheran magazine concern the actions of two Lutheran conventions, that of the American Lutheran Church and that of the Missouri Synod. The American Lutheran Church in its fourteenth biennial convention at Blue Island, Illinois, adopted a set of resolutions condemning segregation and urging integration within the churches.⁹³

A two-page editorial, "Synod's Resolution on Human Relations" in the November, 1956, issue of The American Lutheran periodical quotes the resolution as adopted in its entirety. This resolution is also considered in this thesis in the chapter on "Official Boards and Bodies." The editorial declares that the resolution should be welcomed by all Lutherans, white and Negro, by our pastors and by our missionaries all over the world.⁹⁴

⁹²"Bomb Home of Lutheran Pastor Backing Alabama Bus Boycott," TAL, XXXIX (October, 1956), 25-26.

⁹³"ALC Condemns Segregation, Urges Integrated Churches," TAL, XXXIX (December, 1956), 14ff.

⁹⁴"Synod's Resolution on Human Relations," TAL, XXXIX (November, 1956), 3-4.

As we conclude this section on the review of articles regarding the Negro and human relations in The American Lutheran we offer the following conclusions. For the first twenty-five years of its existence (1918 to 1943) little attention was given to the Negro; on the average only one article per year even referred to the Negro. The first article on the racial issue was a bold editorial, "Physician, Heal Thyself," in the May issue of 1942. This editorial criticized the church for its segregation practice and urged it to foster Christian brotherhood. Beginning with 1944 we find a steady stream of literature urging the correction of the evils of segregation and suggesting Christian solutions for the churches' and America's racial problems. The last two years of our review (1955 to 1956) produced more items and articles regarding the Negro and human relations than the first twenty-five years of The American Lutheran (from 1918 to 1943). From 1944 to 1956 The American Lutheran carried about seventy-five articles and items regarding the Negro and race relations, and practically all of them advocated a staunch progressive attitude towards furthering better relations among whites and Negroes. We offer the opinion that this magazine has had a real effect in helping to change the attitudes of many members of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.

The Cresset

The Cresset is a monthly review of literature, the arts and public affairs. Since its publication has been sponsored by two different organizations, namely, the International Walther League from its first issue in 1937 to May of 1951 and The Valparaiso University Press from that time through 1956, we are calling attention to it in this chapter on "Unofficial Publications." As we make a quick review of The Cresset we note that ever since its inception this monthly magazine has taken a positive stand on the race issue and has been a strong advocate of programs for furthering better human relations, especially between Negroes and whites in America. All this, despite the fact that there seems to be a paucity of articles on the subject especially during the forties.

The first article pertaining to our general topic of Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro to come to our attention is a review of What A Negro Mother Faces in the September issue of 1938. The article originally appeared in Forum and was written by Cecelia Eggleston. The review reads as follows:

A graduate of Howard University gives expression to the bitterness which she feels over the injustices and the inequalities of which her people are the victims. We do not doubt that there is bitter truth in her stinging indictment of the church because of

the discrepancy between its preaching and its practice in the race problem. . . . There is still abundant opportunity to apply Christianity in meeting the many problems of the American Negro.⁹⁵

Several articles and items in 1939 refer to the great injustices perpetrated against the Jews in Germany at that time. In January of that same year Dr. O. P. Kretzmann in his section "The Pilgrim" wrote an article titled "Terror in Germany." After showing the picture of hate against the Jews in Germany and the sin of such hate, he draws some lessons for our own American scene, saying:

The matter is of terrible and immediate importance to all Christians. . . . It is far stronger than polls and public addresses would have us believe. . . . It is like a groundswell.⁹⁶

An article titled "Propaganda?" in the February issue of the same year attempts to certify that the Nazi attitude on religion and the treatment accorded to the Jews is as true and worse than The Cresset has portrayed.⁹⁷

Missionary M. L. Kretzmann was the guest contributor to "The Pilgrim" column in August of 1939. He expressed some of his inner thoughts as he left this country and in a spirit of farewell he wrote:

⁹⁵The Cresset, I (September, 1938), 66.

⁹⁶The Cresset, II (January, 1939), 16-17.

⁹⁷The Cresset, II (February, 1939), 2-4.

Goodbye to the churches which exist like islands in their communities, oblivious of their responsibility to society. . . . Which do not raise their corporate voices against the social evils of their communities. . . . Which migrate with their members as their prosperity increases. . . . Whose reason for existence is the care of a definite cultural stratum of our society. . . . Have you heard it? . . . Why we couldn't stay in that neighborhood. The negroes have 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. . . .⁹⁸

One marvels at the insight of Missionary Kretzmann's view of the church he was leaving and wonders if any were moved by his lines. Here we see that The Cresset at an early date recognized the problem of race relations as it affects our church.

After the publication of Andrew Schulze's My Neighbor of Another Color The Cresset reviewed the same in its December issue of 1941. It highly endorsed Pastor Schulze's treatise on race relations in the church with these words:

Almost every page of the book demonstrates the careful thought and the conscientious study and research which the author has given over more than two decades to the question of race relations in this country, and especially in the Church, admittedly his chief interest and concern.⁹⁹

The Cresset reviewer keenly analyzes the race situation in this country and heartily endorses the essence of My Neighbor of Another Color when he writes:

⁹⁸The Cresset, II (August, 1939), 15.

⁹⁹The Cresset, V (December, 1941), 48.

The book is not only well written. It is written bravely and honestly. It attacks a serious problem in the Church and in our country not merely with the weapons of democratic principles but with the resources of divine truth which the author finds in the Bible. It is an important book not merely because it wars against racial prejudice in an era of race hatred, but because it challenges the Church to grasp the opportunity to reflect more fully in its race relationships the power and the beauty of its faith in the Savior of all men and in the communion of all saints.¹⁰⁰

The April issue of The Cresset in 1952 gave real emphasis to the race question and Christian solutions for the same by devoting five articles to the general subject. The lead editorial, "The American Negro," concludes with this paragraph:

The position of this magazine, frequently stated and consistently adhered to, is simple: we recognize neither black nor white, European nor African, descendants of free men or descendants of slaves. With the gentlest of the saints, we believe that "what a man is in the sight of God, that he is and no more"--but, by the same token, no less.¹⁰¹

Andrew Schulze is the author of "All One Body, We," an article of seven pages on the responsibility of the church and its leaders.¹⁰² "Our Respectable Fifth Column" is written by Clemonce Sabourin and shows that, from the global viewpoint, the United States must soon revise its

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 47.

¹⁰¹The Cresset, XV (April, 1952), 1.

¹⁰²Ibid., 11-17.

strategy and actions towards colored peoples to maintain world leadership.¹⁰³ A seven page article, "Civil Rights Progress Report, 1946-1952," was authored by Louis F. Bartelt.¹⁰⁴ "Proceedings of the 1951 Valparaiso University Institute on Race Relations" was reviewed briefly in the same issue.¹⁰⁵

Soon after the Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954, the editors of The Cresset commented:

In overthrowing the mealy-mouthed doctrine of "separate but equal" educational facilities for negroes, the Supreme Court has struck at the very heart of the ugly problem of racial inequality.¹⁰⁶

The decision of the court is a landmark in our history. A national disgrace which has long made all of our statements about democracy and the dignity of man sound hypocritical has at last been clearly and unequivocally branded as a violation of the Constitution.¹⁰⁷

The December issue of 1955 calls attention to a later decision of the same court, namely, that public parks and recreational facilities may not be closed to citizens of the United States on grounds of race.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³Ibid., 18-22.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 23-29.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 57.

¹⁰⁶The Cresset, "The Court and Jim Crow," XVII (July, 1954), 1.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 2.

¹⁰⁸"The Court Acts," The Cresset, XIX (December, 1955), 8-9.

In commenting on the "Emmett Till Case" The Cresset editors suggest: "To the unbiased observer, the case presents strong suggestive evidence of a miscarriage of justice."¹⁰⁹ But the article goes on to show that fundamentally, the due processes of American law were functioning and that actually it was the [white] community through the jurors who acquitted the accused murderers of Emmet Till.

The October, 1956, issue of The Cresset ran an editorial titled "Clinton, Tenn." after the racial incidents following the school integration attempt. The article describes three types of people living in the South and expresses the hope that the Northerner would sympathize more understandingly with the responsible people of the South and that the Southerner will not set the pattern of violence by mob.¹¹⁰

Thus we see from the very brief overview that The Cresset adopted and adhered to a policy of fostering racial equality within and without the church and that it was one of the early and strong voices of social justice for Negroes and other minority groups.

¹⁰⁹"The Emmett Till Case," The Cresset, XIX (November, 1955), 2-3.

¹¹⁰"Clinton, Tenn." The Cresset, XIX (October, 1956), 4.

The Christian Parent

Another magazine which has given attention to the Negro and to the subject of our relationships with him is The Christian Parent. This splendid Christian periodical for the home is edited by Dr. Martin P. Simon and is published by his own firm, The Christian Education Company of Highland, Illinois.

In our consideration of this magazine we are going to refer to just a few of the many articles which appeared in it. "The Book Shelf" section gives favorable reviews to booklets like the "Proceedings of the 1950 Lutheran Institute on Race Relations"¹¹¹ and Successful Human Relations.¹¹² A number of one-paragraph items like the following two appear regularly:

Race Discrimination. A Negro said, If you discriminate against me because I am dirty, I can make myself clean. If you discriminate against me because I am bad, I can reform and be good. If you discriminate against me because I am ignorant, I can learn. If you discriminate against me because I am ill-mannered, I can improve my manners. But if you discriminate against me because of my color, you discriminate against me because of something God gave me and over which I have no control."¹¹³

¹¹¹The Christian Parent, XV (March, 1951), 35.

¹¹²The Christian Parent, XX (July-August, 1956), 35.

¹¹³The Christian Parent, XIII (February, 1949), 24.

Race prejudice is learned at home, according to the Roberts in International Journal of Religious Education of February, 1954. When a negro walked past one little girl, she told her mother, "He didn't bite me." Another little girl said, "Hello, I like you." Certainly they learned their reactions at home. "Parents have the key responsibility for seeing that children are raised with friendly, constructive attitudes toward all people."¹¹⁴

The Christian Parent published a number of longer articles which promoted better understanding and fostered better relations between Negroes and whites, particularly during the last decade. We mention the titles of just a few as samples: "God Is Color Blind,"¹¹⁵ "Are We Teaching Them To Hate?"¹¹⁶ "Spider's Web," being the true story of a boy who was caught in the web of race prejudice.¹¹⁷

"They Lived Among Negroes" is written by the editor, Dr. Simon, and appeared in the December, 1956, issue of The Christian Parent. The article is an interview between Dr. Simon and Dr. and Mrs. Andrew Schulze. Particularly

¹¹⁴The Christian Parent, XVIII (November, 1954),

¹¹⁵Esther Miller Payler, "God Is Color Blind," The Christian Parent, XIII (June, 1949), 15ff.

¹¹⁶Elsie Mates Minor, "Are We Teaching Them To Hate?" The Christian Parent, XIII (October, 1949), 8ff.

¹¹⁷Connie Doyle, "Spider's Web," The Christian Parent, XVI (November, 1952), 14ff.

interesting is The Schulzes' description and interpretation of their own three children's views on color and race.¹¹⁸

Though our review of articles and policies in The Christian Parent is very brief, we nevertheless see that here again an unofficial magazine has moved faster in the field of promoting better relations than the usual publications of an official church body.

Exegetical Studies in Race Relations
and Human Relations Exchange

In January of 1949 The Reverend Mr. Walter Lang, then a pastor in Houston, Texas, began to issue a mimeographed bulletin, titled Exegetical Studies in Race Relations. Its original purpose is defined in its sub-title, "A Study of the Race Relations Problem, Chiefly on the Basis of Textual Study of Some Passages in the Bible, to Assist in Making a Deeper Biblical Study of the Race Relations Problem." Although the bulletin was not professionally edited and published, it nonetheless offered a good amount of current news and some good exegetical and doctrinal essays.

The March and April issue of 1949 offered an exegetical study^{of} verses seventeen to twenty-five of the first chapter

¹¹⁸Martin P. Simon, "They Lived Among Negroes," The Christian Parent, XX (December, 1956), 6ff.

of the First Epistle of St. Peter, titled "St. Peter's Conversion to True, Brotherly Love."¹¹⁹ The November-December issue of 1949 carried the first of a long series of articles dealing with the subject of human relations on the Book of Ephesians.¹²⁰ "Kingdom and Race" by Andrew Schulze appeared in the January-February issue of 1950.¹²¹ Howard Armin Moellering's thesis, "Principles Applicable to Racial Problems Enunciated by Selected Lutheran Theologians" began a series in 1951.¹²² The Reverend Mr. Charles Cline is the author of "A Christian's Attitude Toward the Negro" which appeared in the January-February issue of "Exegetical Studies" in 1951.¹²³ These titles give a good idea of the scope covered in the issues of Exegetical Studies in Race Relations.

The "Exegetical Studies" abounded with interesting news items of integration, both in the district and in the congregations of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.

¹¹⁹ Exegetical Studies in Race Relations, II (March and April, 1949), [page unnumbered].

¹²⁰ Exegetical Studies in Race Relations, II (November-December, 1949), 2ff.

¹²¹ Exegetical Studies in Race Relations, III (January-February, 1950), 2ff.

¹²² Exegetical Studies in Race Relations, IV (January-February, 1951), [unnumbered pages].

¹²³ Exegetical Studies in Race Relations, V (January-February, 1952), 5ff.

We call attention to a few samples. Mr. O. A. Berger, a Negro, had been a member of the "white" congregation at Port Arthur, Texas, for thirty years.¹²⁴ At Winslow, Nebraska, an interracial meeting of Lutheran men was held.¹²⁵ The May-June issue brings news of various districts of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod that have received traditionally Negro churches into their membership, namely, the Oklahoma, the Texas and the Southeastern Districts.¹²⁶ Under the "News Releases" section of the May-June issue of 1952 the truly "interracial" church in Honolulu, Hawaii, Our Redeemer Lutheran Church, is described as having Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Hawaiian and Negro families in attendance at its services.¹²⁷

Early in 1953 the name of the Exegetical Studies in Race Relations was changed to the Human Relations Exchange. The first issue under the new name, the Human Relations Exchange, carried an article titled "Progress in Race Relations" which was a survey of race relations in and around

¹²⁴Exegetical Studies in Race Relations, III (March-September, 1950), 4.

¹²⁵Exegetical Studies in Race Relations, III (December, 1950), 2.

¹²⁶Exegetical Studies in Race Relations, IV (May-June, 1951), [unnumbered page].

¹²⁷Exegetical Studies in Race Relations, V (May-June, 1952), [unnumbered page].

Washington, D. C.¹²⁸ The issues of 1953 abound with news items especially concerning integration and acceptance of Negroes into existing "white" congregations.

Late in 1953 the staff of the Human Relations Exchange decided that it would be best to combine their energies and efforts with The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America. Hence, the last issue of the Human Relations Exchange, the successor to Exegetical Studies in Race Relations, appeared as the November-December issue of 1953. The bulletin was merged with The Vanguard and Pastor Walter Lang served as one of the new editors on The Vanguard's staff.

From 1948 to 1953 the Exegetical Studies in Race Relations and its successor, the Human Relations Exchange, appeared almost every other month. During that period it supplied some good exegetical and doctrinal papers on the topic of human relationships. Its news items offered a continuous stream of important happenings, especially on Lutheran Human Relations Meetings and Institutes and on integration within the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod,

¹²⁸William Schiebel, "Progress in Race Relations (A Survey of race relations in and around Washington, D. C.)," Human Relations Exchange, VI (January-February, 1953), 5ff.

on the district and congregational levels. Though the bulletin was not always edited in an accurate and scholarly manner, we nonetheless regard it as basic literature in this field. We recommend the bulletin to anyone who desires to make a further study ^{Of} Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward The Negro."¹²⁹

My Neighbor of Another Color

To write a paper on Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro without referring to Dr. Andrew Schulze's book, My Neighbor of Another Color, would be like trying to write a book on Christianity without referring to the Bible. My Neighbor of Another Color is the only book on the subjects of the Negro and human relations issued within The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. In fact, it is one of the few books which treats the race issue from a truly evangelical and fundamentally Scriptural viewpoint.

Just as important events in history are dated by a specific crisis, e. g., the Protestant Reformation began with the posting of the ninety-five thesis by Luther, and,

¹²⁹At present, efforts are being made to gather a complete set of the Exegetical Studies in Race Relations and the Human Relations Exchange, and to bind the same into a volume to be deposited in the library of the Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, Missouri.

the involvement of the United States into the Second World War followed the bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese,-- so the publication and subsequent discussion of Pastor Schulze's book lit the fuse which caused the fires and explosions on the race issue, some big, some little, to erupt throughout The Missouri Synod wherever the book was read and discussed.

To write about the book means that we must write about its author, for, if there is ever a man in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod who prayed and pleaded and worked for a better understanding between the races and for a Christian solution to the various problems it is the Reverend Mr. Andrew Schulze, LL. D. He served as pastor of predominantly Negro congregations in Springfield, Illinois, St. Louis, Missouri, and Chicago, Illinois, for about thirty-five years. Since 1954 Dr. Schulze has served as the executive secretary of The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America.

My Neighbor of Another Color bears the subtitle, "A Treatise on Race Relations in the Church," and as such, the work elaborates these two theses: (1) Generally, attitudes against the Negro are not in accordance with the Holy Scriptures and the principles of Christian love, and (2) The solution of race problems, both within and without the church, lies in the universal application of the Christian law of love so that the principles of total

acceptance and complete integration may be carried into every phase of life and of the Church. Regarding the purpose for writing My Neighbor of Another Color the author writes in his preface:

This volume was conceived in the mind of the author as an aid to missionaries who desire some help in the very perplexing problems that confront them in the matter of race relations in the Church. A second reason for its being is the need found in his own Church for improved race relations. It was written furthermore, for the purpose of helping other Christians to reach a better understanding of what a Christian's attitude should be, according to the Christian norm of faith and life, toward members of another race who are Christians already or are to be won for the Church.¹³⁰

As Dr. A. M. Rehwinkel intimated in the foreword to the book,

The subject of this book is, of course, highly controversial and will be extremely unpopular with many. Some will disagree violently with the conclusion arrived at by the author,¹³¹

so it was roundly debated and heatedly discussed. This, in turn lead to a lively interest and further discussion of the subject of race relations throughout The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.

Numerous pastoral conferences of that body reviewed the book. We were privileged to attend one of these

¹³⁰ Andrew Schulze, My Neighbor of Another Color (Published in 1941 by Andrew Schulze, 4240 St. Ferdinand, Ave., St. Louis, Mo., Printed by Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, Minn., U. S. A.), iii.

¹³¹ Ibid., v.

reviews and had the good fortune to keep some detailed notes on the discussion of the pastors after the review. In personal discussion with co-workers who were present at other such conferences, we concluded that this conference was "typical" of a Northern community in its reaction. Hence we would like to share some of the "Comments Follow-Pastor John Fey's Review of My Neighbor of Another Color at the Buffalo District Pastoral Conference (of the Missouri Synod) at North Tonawanda, New York, during the winter of 1942-1943." The first speaker seemed to be charitable to the propositions uttered, and admitted that he would like to invite the colored into our churches but didn't know how it would work out. The second speaker raised the issue of using the common cup at Holy Communion. Another stated that his congregation welcomed the colored, but that he communed them with a private cup. The next pastor related that he had a few colored in his church, and that he tried to educate his people, but could not, and the few colored left the church. The next man advocated the use of the private cup.

The pastor who followed claimed that racial prejudice is not a natural prejudice, but acquired, and cited certain cases from history as proof. He then asked this pertinent question, "How should they (our people) feel and how should we teach them to feel?". . . "It is probably the most

unfortunate thing that the thing in which our Lord intended to unite us, (i. e., Holy Communion) should separate us." The speaker concluded: "We (the pastors) should tell our people how they should feel toward the black man. . . . We, as a Church, must stand on the fact that we are all one in Christ Jesus." He then elaborated on the beautiful doctrine of the Communion of Saints and its practical implications.

Another pastor asked about the race problem as it concerns our missionaries among the Indians and Chinese. The next asked about intermarriage. Following this, one stated: "I am concerned with the races towards us. . . . The people of India wanted to look up to our missionaries." This was answered by one who said that the problem is not fully settled by our missionaries and that in India some of the missionaries had services for each caste.

The second man of right and courage declared: "Our Church should be a leader, taking a stand, in helping our nation solve this problem." The next pastor (already quoted) answered the question about intermarriage this way: "Do I have to marry everyone whom I go to Holy Communion with?" Then he went on, chiding the conference for spending time on all the "side issues" and challenged: "How many of us have asked what God says?" After he elaborated on the Scriptural position, the next speaker admitted, "It is

difficult after this to continue, but . . ." The conference adjourned shortly thereafter.¹³²

Since we fear that we cannot do justice to review My Neighbor of Another Color nor to evaluate properly its wholesome influence, as well as that of the author, we beg the interested reader to read and to study My Neighbor of Another Color, the most important volume in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod on race relations.

¹³²"Comments Following Pastor Fey's Review of My Neighbor of Another Color at the Buffalo District Pastoral Conference (of the Missouri Synod) at North Tonowanda, New York, during the winter of 1942-1943." In the possession of the writer.

CHAPTER V

AFFILIATED AND SUBSIDIARY ORGANIZATIONS

In this chapter on "Affiliated and Subsidiary Organizations" we want to refer to attitudes and policies toward the Negro of various groups which are closely connected with The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. We propose to take note of the following organizations, Valparaiso University, the Walther League, the Lutheran Women's Missionary League and a few miscellaneous student's projects at Concordia Theological Seminary of St. Louis, Missouri.

Valparaiso University

Valparaiso University is owned and operated by the Lutheran University Association and although the university is not an official part of the Missouri Synod, it is very closely related through origin, students, faculty, administration and support with the Missouri Synod. The official channel of communication between the university and the synod is the Advisory Committee for Valparaiso University which serves in a consultative capacity.

Already in the year following the acquisition of the university by Lutherans, in 1926, correspondence took place between the Rev. Mr. Andrew Schulze (then of Springfield, Illinois), the Rev. Mr. F. C. Drewes, Director of the Board

of Colored Missions of the Synodical Conference, and Dr. W. H. T. Dau, president of Valparaiso University. Under the date of July 9, 1936, Dr. Dau wrote Pastor Schulze and enclosed a carbon copy of his letter to the Rev. Mr. J. Shufelt of Rockwell, North Carolina, stating: "I cannot encourage you in sending colored students at the present time."¹

During 1933 to 1936 further efforts were made to secure admission for Negroes into Valparaiso University. On July 13, 1937, the Rev. Mr. L. A. Wisler, the Executive Secretary for the Missionary Board of the Synodical Conference, wrote to the Board of Directors of the university:

The Board for Colored Missions of the Synodical Conference heartily endorses the petition of the Northern Pastoral Conference [of Negro Churches of the Lutheran Synodical Conference]. We sincerely hope that you may see your way clear to grant the enclosed petition.²

The petition was a humble but earnest plea seeking admission for Negro Lutherans to the university.

On September 24, 1937, President O. C. Kreinheder of the university replied to the above conference's request as follows:

¹In the possession of the writer.

²In the possession of the writer.

Sometime ago I received your petition addressed to the Directors of Valparaiso University and endorsed by the Board for Colored Missions of the Synodical Conference.

I presented this petition to the members of our Board at the meeting this past Wednesday. After some discussion of the matter a resolution was adopted instructing me to write you that our present facilities do not enable us to comply with the request expressed in your petition. I want to assure you that every member of the Board is very sympathetic with your problem and would like very much to comply with your request. Existing conditions, however, make it absolutely impossible to do so at this time.³

A few years later in reply to a letter from Dr. Walter A. Maier inquiring whether Negroes are permitted to attend Valparaiso University, the acting president, Walter G. Friedrich, wrote the Lutheran Hour speaker on March 2, 1940:

Valparaiso University has no regulation that prevents Negroes from attending the University. Because of certain local conditions, we do not, however, encourage applications for admission from Negro families.⁴

Pastor Andrew Schulze persevered in his requests, and accordingly, upon the installation of the Rev. Mr. O. P. Kretzmann as Valparaiso's new president, he wrote the new leader on January 30, 1941. On May 30, 1941 (in a joint letter) President Kretzmann wrote as follows:

Ever since I received your communications concerning the admission of Negro students at the University here I have given the matter periodic thought. I did not answer at the time because I had very little information concerning conditions at the school and in the city of Valparaiso. I should now like to report to you regarding the present situation and my hopes for the future.

³In the possession of the writer.

⁴In the possession of the writer.

A number of students and faculty members with whom I discussed the question have evidenced a thoroughly Christian attitude. The problem, as Pastor Schulze points out, lies largely in the city itself. Slowly but surely I am becoming acquainted with the leaders of our community life, and I hope eventually to raise the question and see just exactly what can be done. I am sure that you realize that it will take some time. There seems to be a bad background.

On the other hand, I should like to have you take this letter as my personal assurance that I am in favor of the admission of Negro Lutherans at Valparaiso University, and that I shall do everything in my power to see that they will be able to come and be thoroughly happy here. That may take time, but that is one of my opportunities. I felt that way in the Walther League and I shall continue to feel that way here at Valparaiso.

As time goes on I hope that we shall be able to keep the question alive. If anything of major importance develops I shall let you know promptly.⁵

At any rate, with such a positive stand and leadership--to make a long story short--it was not long before Valparaiso University had Negro students on its campus. At the first annual institute on race relations at Valparaiso University in 1950 Dr. Kretzmann reported:

I have been asked several times this morning to say something about our own experience here at Valparaiso University. I have letters from several of the brethren who were interested in this question, particularly from my own friend, Pastor Schulze. There was the problem: Shall we admit Negroes? We had not thought about it very much. When you have several thousand youngsters on the campus you have enough problems without reaching out for some more.

⁵In the possession of the writer.

But there was the question. It was never discussed, as far as I remember, in the meetings of the faculty. It was discussed with a few individual members of the staff and the deans, in order to be sure that they understood it. It was presented to a few leading students. But there was never any public pronouncement. We merely stood for what is right and just. We just took them in.⁶

Together, the president, faculty members and administrative members of Valparaiso University have given impetus to a sound program of human relations through the cooperation and assistance first in serving as co-sponsors of the annual human relations institutes, and then in making it possible for Dr. Andrew Schulze to serve as the executive secretary of The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America. Prior to this, the university granted the honorary title of Doctor of Laws to Pastor Schulze for his indefatigable devotion to the cause of promoting Christian human relations.

In addition to the fact that many faculty members of the university served as speakers, moderators and panelists at the annual institutes on human relations, they contributed numerous articles on the topic of human relations to The Missouri Synod's official and unofficial periodicals, notably The Cresset, which is considered in another chapter.

⁶O. P. Kretzmann, "Education Without Discrimination," Proceedings of the 1950 Lutheran Institute on Race Relations, held at Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana, July 18-19, 1950, 46.

Thus, we learn that although it took many years for Valparaiso University to receive Negroes as students, the university developed a strong and positive program for better human relations under the leadership of its president, Dr. O. P. Kretzmann. The progressive and helpful work of the institution and President Kretzmann is noted in the chapter on the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America since the university and the president made it possible for that organization to carry on its program.

The Walther League

As early as 1936 some of our pastors working among the Negroes were so concerned about organizing the young Negro people that considerable discussion and correspondence considered the advisability of forming a separate organization for Negro youth, like that of the Walther League of the Missouri Synod.

During this period Dr. O. P. Kretzmann served as the executive secretary of the Walther League and in his distinctive and characteristic manner he performed some basic groundwork in laying proper attitudes towards our neighbors of another color. It was this period of his life he described while addressing the first Lutheran Institute on Race Relations at Valparaiso University:

Shortly after I entered young people's work eighteen years ago, there were requests from several of our Negro societies in the South, particularly in Louisiana, to join the International Walther League. So I went down to Dixie in order to attach those societies to the Dixie District. There for the first time I saw the strange blank wall which confronts you on this question. Here were some of the finest people in our church. I remember a meeting one night that astonished me. I sat there and said, "Let us take these societies." They were not asking for too much. There were merely asking for the privilege of becoming voting members and attending the annual conventions. There was a stare of utter and blank amazement. That any decent Lutheran would even think of something like that! It was not vicious at all--except of course what was behind it--it was just an utterly different world, something that I completely fail to understand. That has changed now too in the last fifteen years; but it shows how profound these prejudices can become.⁷

On June 3, 1938, Dr. Kretzmann expressed his deep interest and concern over the church's attitude toward the Negro in writing to Pastor Schulze:

I therefore heartily second the suggestion that we re-study the entire race question on the basis of the New Testament. Personally I believe that a number of traditions and attitudes have been superimposed on the New Testament attitude and that our approach is entirely wrong. Before God there is no white or black and I can find no reason for postponing our application of that Scripture passage until eternity.⁸

In an interview with Dr. Schulze we were informed that an article titled "A People You Can Love" appeared in The Walther League Messenger in December of 1939. Unfortunately, however, we were not able to find and to review this article

⁷O. P. Kretzmann, op. cit., 45-46.

⁸In the possession of the writer.

on Negroes since it seems to have appeared only in the foreign edition.

In the October, 1943, issue of The Walther League Messenger Dr. Walter A. Maier contributed a courageous article titled, "Down With Race Prejudice!"

After Pastor Schulze completed his manuscript for My Neighbor of Another Color he offered it to Concordia Publishing House, who in turn, gave it into the hands of the Literature Board of the Missouri Synod. After that board deemed it unwise for Concordia Publishing House to publish it, Pastor Schulze had the book printed by another firm and he served as the publisher until 1942. Then the Walther League took over the task of distributing the book.

In an article by Percia Carter, the daughter of one of the Synodical Conference's pioneer Negro pastors, we read of the injustices done to minority groups in the United States. In "What About the Black Belt?" Miss Carter showed how the Lutheran Church and Lutheran Christians can lead in remedying a most unfavorable situation.⁹ For the February issue of 1949 Pastor Schulze wrote "Lutherans and Race Relations."

"Why Prejudice?" was written by Winfred Steglich for the July issue of The Walther League Messenger in 1947. The author makes a keen analysis of the various factors which cause prejudice. The article is especially valuable for

⁹The Walther League Messenger, LV (September, 1948), 6ff.

teachers and all who would lead children into proper attitudes toward other fellow members of the human race.¹⁰ The February issue of the magazine in 1951 carried two articles on famous American Negroes, Todd Duncan,¹¹ and George Washington Carver.¹² The Worker's Quarterly of The Walther League in January of 1953 offered a study by Dr. Andrew Schulze titled, "I am concerned about race relations."

Thus, we can see, from this brief review of the Walther League and of its official organ, The Walther League Messenger, that this organization has made a distinctive contribution towards better race relations in The Missouri Synod, especially among the young people.

The Lutheran Women's Missionary League

Another organization which made a distinct contribution to the promotion of human relations for The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, at least publicity-wise, is the Lutheran Women's Missionary League. This group, as a national body, was organized in July of 1942. The purpose of the organization is to promote missionary education,

¹⁰The Walther League Messenger, IV (July, 1947), 10ff.

¹¹Alfred P. Klausler, "Todd Duncan: American Star," The Walther League Messenger, LIX (February, 1951), 14ff.

¹²Zelma Goslee Locke, "Brotherhood Begins at Home," The Walther League Messenger LIX (February, 1951), 22ff.

inspiration and service. Their district organizations have been particularly successful in assisting in the erection of chapels.

The Lutheran Women's Missionary League had planned to hold its convention in New Orleans, Louisiana, in July of 1955. When it was fully realized that if the convention were to be held in that city, members of color would be discriminated against and treated unfairly, and when it was rumored that certain districts were advised not to bring Negro members to the convention, groups and individuals urged that either the convention fight for fair and equal treatment at New Orleans or that a new city be selected, or that the convention be cancelled. One of the strongly antagonistic circulars originated from Hamilton, New York.

It did not take long before the telephones began to ring and the wires to hum and the typewriters to click--issuing all kinds of advice and protests to especially the president of the league, Mrs. Arthur Preisinger, and the president of the Missouri Synod, Dr. John W. Behnken. There lies before us at the time of writing a sizeable folder detailing some of the happenings from April the twenty-fifth to the sixth of May, but we must make a long story short. At any rate, and it is the results which count, on May 6, 1955, the Department of Public Relations of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod issued the following release:

The convention committee of the New Orleans Zone of Lutheran Women's Missionary League announced today that it had withdrawn its invitation to hold the national convention of the women's organization in New Orleans July 12-13, 1955.

.

"Local customs of segregation make it impossible for the New Orleans Zone fully to entertain the International Lutheran Women's Missionary League in a manner characteristic of this organization," the committee statement said.¹³

In a mimeographed letter dated May 10, 1955, to certain individuals Dr. John W. Behnken, president of the Missouri Synod, reviewed some of the factors involved and commented:

It is to be regretted that some of the letters and telegrams breathed a spirit which should not be found among church members. Some expressed sentiments which questioned the Christianity, the charitableness and the spirit of love of our New Orleans Lutheran Women's Missionary Leaguers. The one or the other even contained a threat of boycotting [sic] the convention. Our fellow-Lutherans in New Orleans were very eager to entertain the convention of the Lutheran Women's Missionary League. They were very conscientious in their preparations and had already put forth real efforts to do so. The situation which confronted them was not of their making. They certainly should not be judged and condemned nor should any of their motives be questioned. They simply faced a situation which they were not able to change.¹⁴

The cancellation of the convention meant that also the white members of the Lutheran Women's Missionary League did not "enjoy the wonderful hospitality which the New Orleans Zone was eager to offer them." In addition to the publicity

¹³News (Release), The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, Department of Public Relations, LC-MS 55/23 xlm p y.

¹⁴In the possession of the writer.

value, there were other blessings inherent in the cancellation. Let us listen to the voices of The Cresset and The American Lutheran speak.

More and more religious, civic and charitable organizations are making it a matter of practice not to schedule their national conventions for any community which would limit the freedom of the accommodations of their non-white members. This, we think, is fair enough. A genuine sympathy for another man's weaknesses or failings does not require that one imitate or adjust to them. One of the most eloquent warnings one can deliver to an erring brother is to refuse to partake in his sins, however "understandable" those sins may be.¹⁵

The New Orleans decision, however, is a landmark in the history of this question, pointing to the fact that never again in our Lutheran Church will a national meeting be held that does not permit all members of our church to attend on an equal basis, no matter what their disabilities may be. That this decision should be reached so amicably by all concerned constitutes another landmark in the steady progress of the church.¹⁶

Concordia Seminary Students of St. Louis, Missouri

Before we close this chapter on "Affiliated and Subsidiary Organizations" we want to call attention to a few works by students of Concordia Theological Seminary at St. Louis, Missouri. Strictly speaking, of course, we are not dealing with a formal organization here. However, some significant articles and papers were written by seminary students and we feel that they are important enough to be noted some place

¹⁵"Eloquent Witness," The Cresset, XIX (June, 1955), 9.

¹⁶"A Landmark in Desegregation," The American Lutheran, XXXVIII (June, 1955), 4.

in this paper.

A bold article titled, "Facing the Issue in the Negro Question," appeared in the November, 1943, issue of The Seminarian, the students' publication at Concordia Seminary. Evidently because the writing was very frank and pointed out some of the sins in the church, it is preceded by a note from the dean of students, Richard A. Jesse, which states:

The undersigned does not believe the following article to be a complete statement of the case. Nor does he agree with the wisdom of the staff's desire to print the article as an offering of the Seminarian. After considerable study of student problems involved in granting or refusing permission to publish it, it is, however, in his judgment, advisable to permit this expression of opinion. He believes, as the editor has suggested, that further study and articles should follow.--Richard A. Jesse.¹⁷

Here are a few choice quotations from the article:

"A recommendation in the minutes of the Board of Directors of Synod, adopted May, 1938, advised that no Negro students be permitted to enter our synodical colleges.

.....

No Negro congregation holds membership in Synod. Why is this the case? . . .

.....

Our Synod in its official statements must support the principle of race equality.¹⁸

The article is factual and it presents some embarrassing truths. This writer was a member of the student body at

¹⁷The Seminarian, IV (November 17, 1943), 4.

¹⁸Ibid., 5-6.

that time and recalls the students' struggle and the administering authorities' reluctance to allow the article to be printed.

The March issue of The Seminarian in 1949 devoted most of its issue to articles touching on the Negro and the race question. In the first item members of the Human Relations Society discuss "Myths and their Meanings."¹⁹ Donald Meyer composed "The Enemy of the Times and the Self-Examination of the Church."²⁰ Professor Richard Caemmerer in "Race and Class Prejudice and the Koinonia" declares that because the koinonia is wrecked by discrimination and segregation the true Christian witness is wrecked.²¹ The Rev. Mr. Howard Kunkle contributed "They Are Willing to Learn" and he shows how Negroes can be assimilated into the Lutheran fellowship and how they learn and observe distinctively Lutheran customs.²² The final article of the series is by Vern Schreiber and bears the title, "The Issues Involved."²³

¹⁹The Seminarian, XL (March 30, 1949), 8.

²⁰Ibid., 9.

²¹Ibid., 10.

²²Ibid., 12.

²³Ibid., 13.

For the February issue of 1953 two pastors collaborated on "From Every Kindred." The one pastor, The Rev. Mr. Walter Heyne, who graduated in 1926, contends that interest and concern over winning the Negro for Christ and for The Lutheran Church was slight during his seminary days. The second, The Rev. Mr. Richard Klopff, a graduate of 1947, offers a real challenge to the Christian Church and to future pastors.²⁴

The April issue of 1953 offers a summary of this writer's "Report to St. Louis City Lutherans." This report will be considered in the next chapter.

Under the title, "God and Segregation," the April, 1956, issue of The Seminarian comments:

We could go on to wag a finger of shame at the churches in the south. But let's go no further south than St. Louis. For it is a little beyond irony that we seminarians should send two of our students to bring the fellowship of Christ to black people in Africa, while the same fellowship is denied black people in St. Louis.²⁵

"The Race Question and An Unhindered Gospel" is written by Maynard Dorow from a young pastor's viewpoint and calls attention to many questions and problems involved on this issue in the Christian ministry.²⁶

²⁴The Seminarian, XLIV (February 18, 1953), 6ff.

²⁵The Seminarian, XLVII (April, 1956), 4.

²⁶The Seminarian, XLVII (May, 1956), 27-29.

During the past few years a number of theses submitted as partial requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity to the faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary of St. Louis, Missouri, touched upon the Negro or race relations. The first paper, by Hubert R. Hasskamp, is Religion in the Negro Spiritual. This paper offers little concerning our general subject and the writer betrays ignorance concerning the problems of Negroes as the following quotations show:

This paper will, we hope, prove the Negro's [sic] Christianity or at least cause the reader to have a more lenient [sic] view toward the Negro slave.²⁷

Out of the 500 or more of these songs [Spirituals] that have been collected, not one of them shows resentment or breathes revenge. This is particularly characteristic of the Negro in America.²⁸

The second paper under consideration is Harry N. Huxhold's The Race Question in the Light of the Una Sancta. From this we learn that inasmuch as our Lutheran theology teaches that there is no difference among believers in the invisible church so there should be no differences in our relations with people of color in the visible church.²⁹

²⁷Hubert R. Hasskamp, Religion in the Negro Spiritual (Unpublished Bachelor's Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1943), 4.

²⁸Ibid., 99.

²⁹Harry N. Huxhold, The Race Question in the Light of the Una Sancta (Unpublished Bachelor's Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1947).

In 1948 Howard Armin Moellering submitted his thesis, Principles Applicable to Racial Problems Enunciated by Selected Lutheran Theologians. The thesis, according to chapter headings covers the following subjects: The Universal in Creation, The Universal in Sin, The Universal in the Communion of Saints, The Universal in Christian Love, the Missionary Obligation and Certain Objections Anticipated. There is no concluding chapter.³⁰

Walter Lang's chief conclusion of his study, The Race Relations Problem of Today in the Light of St. Paul's Letter to the Ephesians is

that the best way to consider the problem of race relations is from the viewpoint of unity. Unity is the real theme of the book of Ephesians, both in the doctrinal and the practical part.³¹

The Missionary Approach of the Roman Catholic Church to the American Negro by Lester Messerschmidt has no direct bearing on our topic, but we believe that it should be mentioned because the writer displays a fine interest and understanding of the Negro and racial problems.³²

³⁰Howard Armin Moellering, Principles Applicable to Racial Problems Enunciated by Selected Lutheran Theologians (Unpublished Bachelor's Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1948).

³¹Walter Lang, The Race Relations Problem of Today in the Light of St. Paul's Letter to the Ephesians (Unpublished Bachelor's Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1953), 94.

³²Lester Messerschmidt, The Missionary Approach of the Roman Catholic Church to the American Negro (Unpublished Bachelor's Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis 1954).

CHAPTER VI

THE LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

In this thesis, Attitudes and Policies of the Lutheran Church Toward the Negro, it is appropriate that we devote a chapter to the organization which has done so much to foster and to promote better human relations especially between Negroes and whites, namely, The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America. We propose in this chapter to chronicle its formation, to review its activities, to call attention to its publications and official organ, The Vanguard, and to mention briefly its affiliated chapters.

General Statement of Principles

An early formal statement issued by the organization is a little eight-page tract titled "Questions About the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America Answered." The first question, "On What Principles is it Organized?" is answered: "(1) That the Lord Jesus Who died for all men wants His Gospel shared with all." and "(2) That the Lord Jesus--Who asked that His followers love one another--wants every vestige of lovelessness removed from our lives."¹

¹"Questions About the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America Answered." Tract issued by The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America. In the possession of the writer.

The second question, "What Needs Are to be Met?" is replied to by the following three statements:

1. There are in many communities Negroes and members of other minority groups to whom we have as yet made no effort to bring the Gospel.
2. There are many people within the membership of our churches who still need help in developing a full heart of love towards all men.
3. The Church is equipped as no other institution in today's society with the potential to help effect harmony among the peoples of the world. Laymen and clergy alike must be inspired to greater vision and courage that the Church might fill this role.²

In the bulletin, "A Statement of Principles and Functions of the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America,"³ the first paragraph on "The Fellowship of the Church" and the second titled "Concerning People" state the need for the Association's program, namely:

We condemn as sin every teaching and every practice which denies to ANY Christian the full exercise of those rights, privileges and responsibilities which belong equally to all Christians.

And we commit ourselves to the use of every evangelical means for the eradication of such sins from the thinking and the practice of the Church.

In defining its program the bulletin declares:

We Hold it to be the Responsibility of the Church (1) to remove all restrictions on her fellowship based upon race or ethnic origin; (2) to deal in the spirit of evangelical admonition with the sin of prejudice as she deals with other sins which bring the Gospel into disrepute and offend people for whom Christ died; (3)

²Ibid.

³In the possession of the writer.

to remain and serve in communities and neighborhoods where the Holy Spirit has presented her with opportunities to witness to large and cosmopolitan audiences large numbers of whom have been hitherto starved for spiritual nourishment.⁴

Valparaiso University Institutes

Since the organization and the development of the Lutheran Human Relations Association is closely related to the annual race or human relations institutes at Valparaiso University of Valparaiso, Indiana, we shall consider these institutes first.

In the year of 1949 Mr. Herbert Knopp, Director of Public Relations at Valparaiso University and Dr. A. M. Rehwinkel of Concordia Theological Seminary of St. Louis, Missouri, discussed the possibility of conducting an institute on race relations at Valparaiso University. This suggestion was brought to the St. Louis Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations and that organization resolved to co-sponsor an institute at Valparaiso with the cooperation of the Chicago Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations and Valparaiso University. In January of 1950 the Chicago society resolved to participate in sponsoring the institute.⁵

⁴Ibid.

⁵Letter from Andrew Schulze to G. H. Liebenow dated January 20, 1950. In the possession of the writer.

The committee for the first Institute on Race Relations held at Valparaiso University was composed of The Reverend Mr. Andrew A. Schulze of Chicago and The Reverend Mr. George Hans Liebenow of St. Louis. The committee and those who attended the institute were most deeply indebted to Valparaiso University's Director of Public Relations, Mr. Herbert Knopp, and its president, Dr. O. P. Kretzmann who offered valuable counsel and encouragement.

The first Institute on Race Relations at Valparaiso University was conducted on July 18-19, 1950. Seventy-eight lay and clerical leaders, mostly from the Synodical Conference, participated in the sessions. Among the resolutions adopted the following is significant.

Whereas the Scripture teaches the unity, equality and dignity of man in creation, as expressed in the first article of the Christian creed; and

Whereas the Scriptures teach a universal redemption and Christ our Lord made no racial distinctions, as we confess in the second article; and

Whereas the Scriptures teach a doctrine of the Church which is international in character as we declare in the third article (of the creed;) and

Whereas the racial practises in many places are contrary to the Bible's teaching on Christian love and violate the principles of Christian citizenship; therefore

Be it Resolved

1. That we declare ourselves against racial pride and race discrimination as being contrary to the will of God; and

That we encourage our churches to prepare their people with the clear statements and implications of Scripture regarding race so as to base our practise on sound moral and spiritual principles; and

That we petition the Board for Parish Education of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod to make available guidelines for an objective study of Christian race relations in the near future.⁶

The addresses and lectures of the first Race Relations Institute at Valparaiso University were published under the title, Proceedings of the 1950 Lutheran Institute on Race Relations. The following listing of the table of contents gives a good idea of the subjects discussed: "Toward Christian Thinking In Race Relations," "Equal Facilities [Opportunities] in Employment and Housing," "The Ultimate in Christian Race Relations--Communicant Integration," the banquet address, "We Have So Much in Common," "The Christian and the Race Problem," "Civil Rights Legislation--Good or Bad?" "Education Without Discrimination," "Equal Opportunities for the Use of Public Facilities," and "A Plan of Action."⁷

Soon after the close of the first institute, on August 12, 1950, a meeting was held in St. Louis to lay plans for the second institute. The Reverend Mr. Walter Heyne was chosen to serve as the institute chairman for 1951.⁸

⁶"Recommendations of the Resolutions Committee at the Institute on Race Relations held at Valparaiso University on July 18-19, 1950," Mimeographed. In the possession of the writer.

⁷George Hans Liebenow, editor, Proceedings of the 1950 Lutheran Institute on Race Relations, Held at Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana, July 18-19, 1950, 5.

⁸Anita Stuth, secretary, "Minutes of the Race Relations Meeting" (August 12, 1950, St. Louis, Missouri).

The second Institute on Race Relations at Valparaiso University was held on July 30-31, 1951. Over one hundred persons were in attendance. It has been the custom that at least one of the essays or lectures delivered presents the Scriptural teaching and the Christian motivation in human relations. This essay, "Race Relations--The Christian Directive," was read by Dr. R. R. Caemmerer, professor at Concordia Theological Seminary of St. Louis, Missouri.⁹

The program of the 1951 institute differed from that of 1950 in this respect,--instead of having a number of speakers on the agenda most of the lecture time was given to the chief essayist, Dr. Alvin Walcott Rose, Professor of Sociology of North Carolina College. In a most interesting manner Dr. Rose expanded the subjects: "Emerging Patterns in American Race Relations" and "Strategies in Racial and Cultural Relations."¹⁰

The three above-mentioned essays together with the banquet address, "All Creatures of our God and King," by the Reverend Mr. Herbert Lindemann and the Compline Meditation, "This Black Christ," by Professor John L. Strietelmeier of Valparaiso University are found in the "Proceedings

⁹Proceedings of the 1951 Valparaiso University Institute on Race Relations. (Held at Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana, July 30-31, 1951). 19-30.

¹⁰Ibid., 5-18 and 39-44.

of the 1951 Valparaiso University Institute on Race Relations.

The third institute at Valparaiso University was termed an institute on human relations rather than race relations, because the newly adopted term was deemed more comprehensive and more appropriate. The dates of convening were July 28-30, 1952. The main features of the institute were the address, "Here I Stand," delivered by Dr. Arthur Carl Piepkorn of the Concordia Seminary faculty of St. Louis and two workshops on integration.

Dr. Piepkorn's inspiring message is found in the booklet, Here I Stand, the "Proceedings of the 1952 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations."¹¹ In his essay Dr. Piepkorn reviewed the racial situation in America, specifically calling attention to points and areas of progress during the years of 1951 and 1952. He referred to several advances made in our own church body.

In his final chapter the author declares specifically how we can remedy unfavorable situations. He begins the chapter, saying:

¹¹Arthur Carl Piepkorn, Here I Stand, An Essay on The Church and the Negro in 1951 and 1952 (Cover Title), Proceedings of the 1952 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations (Valparaiso, Indiana, Institute on Human Relations, Valparaiso University, 1952), 5-31.

Here then is where we stand. What shall we do next?

Obviously, repentance is in order first of all. But let it be a real, honest, relevant kind of repentance for our sins, not a synthetic remorse for the sins of our forefathers and our forbears. . . .¹²

We can allow ourselves to realize that by creating, or continuing, segregated churches we who are white have only evaded the real problem. We have not solved it. We are still one body with our Negro Christian brothers, for we are one body with them in faith, in Christ, in Holy Baptism, and in the participation in the same loaf in the Holy Eucharist (I Corinthians 10, 17). In the Most Venerable Sacrament of the Altar their identity with us has been established beyond our power to destroy. . . .

We can think in terms of a Scriptural doctrine of the Church free of some of the distortions that have corrupted our vulgar conviction and practice. We can stop thinking of absolutely sovereign congregations. The individual congregation is not wholly autonomous. Its autonomy extends only to those things concerning which God has not pronounced. . . .

Again, we can stop thinking of the individual congregation as a sociological phenomenon, as if it were actually called into being by an organizational decision, augmented by a growing membership roster, and depleted by a decline in statistics. The individual congregation is part of the Church, the Body of Christ. . . .

Least of all can we let ourselves forget that we are instruments in the Lord's hands, that we are doing His work. We must use His means, not ours: "Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit." The grace of Christian charity on the part of both Negroes and whites, without which the assault on segregation is merely a matter of civic justice and civil righteousness, comes only through the Holy Ghost. He must be besought in effectual fervent prayer for ourselves and in effectual fervent intercession for one another. He can be sought only in the means of Grace.¹³

¹²Ibid., 25.

¹³Ibid., 28.

The Reverend Mr. Andrew Schulze presided over the communicant workshop sessions at the 1952 institute. Participants were the Reverend Mr. Herbert Lindemann, the Reverend Mr. Richard Klopff, the Reverend Mr. Merlin Clark of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago's Bureau of Research and Planning and Mr. Donald Cox, Director of Education of The First Baptist Church of Chicago.

Formation of the Association

Until 1952 the human relations institutes at Valparaiso University were conducted jointly by the St. Louis Lutheran Society for Better Human Relations, the Chicago Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations and the Valparaiso University's summer institute program. In that year a progressive resolution was adopted, empowering the officers of the first two mentioned sponsoring groups to form a national organization and to create the office of a full-time executive secretary.

To give the reasons for the same we quote from the resolution:

Whereas the problem of racism is still acutely troubling our land, . . .

Whereas we detect with gratitude to God a growing awareness within the Church of the need to solve the problem of discrimination and to free the Church of the stigma of racism, and

Whereas God has blessed the efforts of us His unworthy servants to be of aid to the Church in meeting the problem. . . .

Therefore Be It Resolved, That we who are assembled here at the 1952 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations:

1. Continue and increase our efforts, with greater zeal, to emphasize and make known the will of God in human relations both in the treatment within the Church as well as in the community, state, nation, and the world of all people for whom Christ died,
2. Make of this Institute an annual event as long as our voice is needed to be heard, . . .
3. Instruct this Interim Committee to look into the advisability and possibility of creating a full-time executive office,¹⁴

The editor of the Proceedings of the 1953 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations wrote in the foreword: "A momentous decision was reached to form a new society, The International Society for Better Human Relations."¹⁵ Though the name was changed later to The Lutheran Human Relations Society of America, the founding of this national body occurred during the fourth Institute on Human Relations at Valparaiso University held July 24-26, 1953.

The formation of the national organization and the adoption of its constitution were certainly the high-lights of the fourth annual institute, but these actions were not

¹⁴Ibid., 32-33.

¹⁵George Hans Liebenow, Editor, Proceedings of the 1953 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations (Valparaiso, Indiana: Institute on Human Relations, Valparaiso University, 1953), 2.

to overshadow the stimulating and beneficial program, which was keynoted with Dr. Martin H. Scharlemann's essay, "Human Relations According to 'Ephesians'."¹⁶

On September 1, 1953, the entire executive committee elected by the members of the institute met at The Lutheran Building in St. Louis, Missouri. The committee elected its own officers by secret ballot, the results declaring the Reverend Mr. Andrew A. Schulze as president, the Reverend Mr. Walter Heyne as vice-president, Mr. John C. Ballard of Chicago as secretary, the Reverend Mr. Martin E. Nees as treasurer, and the Reverend Mr. M. S. Dickinson, the Reverend Mr. G. H. Liebenow and Mr. Paul Simon as board members.¹⁷

The next several months found the board members and editors busy preparing the first edition of its official organ, The Vanguard. Professor Victor Hoffmann of Valparaiso University served as the first editor-in-chief with the Reverend Mr. Walter Lang of Winslow, Nebraska, the Reverend Mr. Walter Heyne, Dr. Martin H. Scharlemann and Dr. Andrew Schulze serving as associate editors. More information on The Vanguard will be presented later in the chapter.

¹⁶Ibid., 4-11.

¹⁷John C. Ballard, secretary, Minutes of The Executive Committee of The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, St. Louis, Missouri, September 1, 1953.

On February 4, 1954, Pastors Heyne and Liebenow and Mr. Paul Simon signed the incorporation papers of The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America at East St. Louis, Illinois. These papers were duly registered and filed with the Secretary of State of Illinois.

The First Executive Secretary

For several years leaders and members of the executive committee of the association had been planning to employ an executive secretary for the organization. At the board meeting on May 7, 1954, in St. Louis, it was resolved that a committee "composed of Pastors [Ralph] Moellering and [Walter] Heyne meet with Dr. O. P. Kretzmann regarding the establishment of the office of Executive Secretary in cooperation with Valparaiso University."¹⁸ During the entire time of planning this endeavor the committee and all concerned received the inspiration and cooperation of the president of Valparaiso University, Dr. O. P. Kretzmann. Without his guidance and leadership it appears that such an ambitious effort to employ an executive secretary would not have succeeded.

¹⁸Martin E. Nees, Secretary, Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting of The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, St. Louis, Missouri, May 7, 1954.

The executive committee of The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America and Valparaiso University called Dr. Andrew Schulze to serve as its first executive secretary. On June 16, 1954, Dr. Schulze wrote the members of the executive committee: "Having received a peaceful dismissal from the pastorate of the Lutheran Church of Christ The King, I do herewith officially accept this call."¹⁹ During the fifth annual Human Relations Institute, on July 10, 1954, the Reverend Mr. Andrew A. Schulze, LL.D., was installed as the first executive secretary of the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America in Immanuel Lutheran Church at Valparaiso, Indiana.

Speakers highlighting the 1954 institute were a man and wife team, Dr. Charles Lawrence and Dr. Margaret Morgan Lawrence. Dr. Charles Lawrence is a member of the department of sociology and anthropology at Brooklyn College and lectured on the two topics: "Shelter: America's Number One Human Relations Problem" and "The Significance of the Supreme Court's Anti-Segregation Decision." Mrs. Margaret Lawrence, Ph. D., who is a practicing psychiatrist, spoke on "The Psychiatrist Looks at Prejudice." The entire program is listed in the Foreword of the Proceedings of the

¹⁹Letter by Dr. Schulze to board members, June 16, 1954. In the possession of the writer.

Fifth Annual Institute on Human Relations.²⁰ The Reverend Mr. William Hillmer, secretary for Missions in North America of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, was the moderator for a panel which discussed the subject, "Giving the Gospel to the Man Next Door."

As usual, the sixth Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations offered a stimulating and educational program. Rather than simply list the topics and speakers, we would refer those interested readers to the Proceedings of the 1955 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations. However, we do feel that parts of the special "Statement Adopted by the Institute" should be inserted here because it reveals the high Christian motive, the sincerity of purpose and the urgency which permeates all the actions of the organization. The philosophy expressed is basic to the entire movement. It reads in part:

With respect to the special bonds which bind together Christians in the Holy Christian Church, the Scriptures clearly teach

- 1, that there is no distinction among Christians on grounds of race or nationality (Col. 3:11);
- 2, that the unity of the Christian Church is not a mere unity by consent, but an organic unity (I Cor. 12:12-31);
- 3, that the true fellowship of the Church requires that we accept our brethren in Christ fully, as they are and wherever they are (James 2:1-9; Acts 10:9ff; Romans 15:5-7... . . .

²⁰The Vanguard, I (September-October, 1954), 3-4.

Finally, it is not permitted to Christians to follow a policy of "temporizing." The Lord Whose command to follow Him allowed no time for burying one's father (Matt. 8:21-22), has warned us through His servant James that we "know not what shall be on the morrow," so far as each of us is personally concerned, nor do we know the day or the hour wherein the Son of Man cometh (Matthew 24:42). His commands require immediate and total obedience.²¹

A joyous and thankful note prevailed at the seventh Institute on Human Relations at Valparaiso University in July of 1956 because the attendants' parental body, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, in official convention a month prior adopted a significant and positive resolution on human relations. As Pastor Walter Heyne intimated in the foreword of the Proceedings for that year the convention acted largely on the recommendation of people who were closely connected with The Lutheran Human Relations Association.²² Those attending the Institute adopted appropriate resolutions concerning the Synod's action, thanking God, commending the Missouri Synod and urging the full implementation of the Church's resolutions. The four points of the resolution are herewith printed in full:

²¹"Statement Adopted By The Institute," Proceedings of the 1955 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations (Valparaiso, Indiana: The Lutheran Human Relations Association, Valparaiso University, 1955), 4.

²²Proceedings of the 1956 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations (Valparaiso, Indiana: The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, 1956), 3.

Resolved that we thank God for this His evident guidance, and be it

Resolved that we commend The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod for the forward step it has taken, and be it further

Resolved that we urge, wherever possible, organizations and congregations prayerfully to study the resolutions of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod and discuss their implications for the Church, the local congregation, and the individual Christian, and be it finally

Resolved that we commend this matter to all persons attending this Institute and especially to all members of the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America for their personal prayers, that God may grace these resolutions with rich and abundant blessings, to the end that the Church may more and more establish a pattern of fellowship within its congregations that transcends the barriers of racial or ethnic origin, and that "Christian citizens may work for the elimination of discrimination wherever it may exist in community, city, state, nation, and world."²³

While it is difficult to evaluate fairly the influence of an organization like The Lutheran Human Relations Association, we nonetheless can see the effects of some of its own and its members' work in the adoption of the resolution by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.

An interesting feature of this institute (1956), the last one to be considered in this paper, was the personal account by the Reverend Mr. Robert Graetz, a pastor of the American Lutheran Church, of his experiences in the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott.²⁴

²³Ibid., 86.

²⁴Ibid., 23-33.

At the close of 1956 the following serve as officers of the association: President, the Rev. Mr. Walter Heyne; Vice-President, the Rev. Mr. Karl E. Lutze; Secretary, the Rev. Mr. Martin E. Nees; Treasurer, Mr. Ernest Williams; Directors, the Rev. Mr. M. S. Dickinson, Mr. Paul Simon and Mrs. Lillian Hatcher. Through the courtesy and co-operation of Valparaiso University and its president, Dr. O. P. Kretzmann, the Rev. Mr. Andrew Schulze, LL. D., serves as part-time executive secretary for the organization.²⁵

Thus ends our review of the organizing and early years of The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America and of the first seven Institutes on Human Relations held at Valparaiso University. We now propose to give a brief resumé of the literature issued by that organization.

Publications and The Vanguard

Even before The Lutheran Human Relations Association was organized and before the release of its official organ, The Vanguard, a booklet on each of the annual institutes was produced. These booklets were termed "Proceedings," but actually they contain the lectures delivered at the institutes and in some cases recordings of the resolutions

²⁵Ibid., 89.

adopted. These "Proceedings" contain from thirty-four to ninety pages and offer material for all Christians interested in human relations. Thus, to 1956, seven booklets have been issued. All of them have been listed previously in this chapter in their proper chronological order.

We already have referred to the genesis of The Vanguard as the official organ of The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America. The first issue bears the date line of January-February, 1954, and it was sent to all the pastors of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.

The Vanguard carries the subtitle, "The Church in Human Relations," and, as its name implies, the editors urge the Church to lead in the field of good human relations. Most of its articles serve to promote this objective. The bulletin also carries news items and naturally supplies information concerning the Association's program and institutes. At the beginning of 1957 the executive secretary, Dr. Andrew Schulze, serves as the editor, and the editorial staff is completed with The Rev. Mr. Walter Heyne, The Rev. Mr. Walter Lang and Dr. Martin Scharlemann.

In addition to supplying The Vanguard and the "Proceedings" of the seven institutes to its own religious body, as well as to others, The Lutheran Human Relations Association has released a number of helpful mimeographed publications. These include a four-page "Statement of Principles and Functions of The Lutheran Human Relations

Association of America," a three-page letter dated March 20, 1956, on the Association, a two-page "Guidelines for Organizing a Lutheran Human Relations Society" and a one-page bulletin titled "Service Rendered by the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America." A Bibliography on Race Relations For Pastors and Laymen consists of eleven pages and was released in 1955.²⁶ The Church and The Race Problem in the United States of America, originally presented by Elmer Ellsworth Flack at the 1954 Lutheran Social Ethics Seminar, was duplicated and published by the Association in July of 1955.²⁷

It has been a basic principle of the Association to get its literature into the hands of fellow pastors and the laity, of all who need it, at a low cost, or even without charge. Thus we see that the Lutheran Human Relations Association has served its own church and other Christian people by supplying a steady stream of positive literature.

Affiliated Chapters

Inasmuch as the Lutheran Human Relations Association

²⁶A Bibliography On Race Relations (Valparaiso, Indiana: The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, 1955).

²⁷Elmer Ellsworth Flack, The Church And The Race Problem in the United States of America (Valparaiso, Indiana: The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, July, 1955).

of America is a serious missionary movement to influence as many as possible toward good will and social justice that the Kingdom of Christ be expanded it works through and with local chapters throughout the country. Some of the older local chapters attract hundreds at their institutes and seminars; others are relatively small groups acting as a wholesome leaven in their respective communities.

The oldest Lutheran Human Relations group is the St. Louis Lutheran Society for Better Human Relations. We propose to consider this society in the chapter on Lutherans and Human Relations in St. Louis.

The Chicago Lutheran Society for Better Human Relations was organized in the late forties upon the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Andrew A. Schulze. This group experienced steady growth in membership and activities, and seems to have been particularly successful in sponsoring institutes. Institutes and seminars have always proved an excellent medium to bring the matter of Christian human relationships before Lutherans as well as the general public.

Following the shameful riots at Cicero, Illinois, in the summer of 1951, the theme of the institute held at Concordia Teachers College in River Forest, Illinois, on January 27, 1952, was "Christ Looks At Cicero." This writer was present and remembers several hundred earnest Christians assembled "to focus the Gospel of Christ on the pattern of the community life which made the Cicero incident possible

and to find out what implications are involved for the Christian way of life."²⁸

The year of 1953 saw the Chicago society sponsor three successful institutes; on January twenty-fifth at Lutheran High School South, on February seventh at Concordia Teachers College and on November twenty-second at Lutheran High School North.²⁹

As indicated previously, the Chicago Lutheran Society for Better Human Relations was one of the co-sponsors of the first four institutes at Valparaiso University and was active in the formation of the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America. At this date of writing (March, 1957) it is one of the most active chapters and staunchest supporters of the national body.

The Lutheran Race Relations Society of Texas was organized in February of 1948. Programs of the society indicate that the organization was active from 1948 to 1950 and sponsored interesting annual banquets during those years. However, our limited research fails to reveal a continuation of the society.

²⁸"Christ Looks At Cicero," Program. In the possession of the writer.

²⁹Programs, "The Changing Community Challenges The Church," "Tensions Everywhere!" and "When the Community Changes Racially." In the possession of the writer.

The New York chapter is presently engaged in attempting to secure the establishment of a District Commission on Human Relations in the Atlantic District of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.³⁰

Professor Karl Keller, who is the president of the Portland, Oregon, chapter, shows how even a new and relatively small group can be a leaven for good in the community. In a letter to the Association headquarters he wrote:

Our Society has gained the reputation in Portland of being the specific representative of Lutheran churches with regard to race relations. Recently our Chapter was asked to appoint a member to the Co-ordinating Committee on Minority Housing with the specific hope that we might be able to present the Lutheran point of view at the meeting of the Committee and serve as a channel through which the problems of the Committee might be brought to the attention of the various Lutheran congregations in the area.³¹

The January, 1957, issue of the "Chapter Bulletin" of The Lutheran Human Relations Association quotes a long letter regarding the program of the Twin Cities (St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota) chapter. Activities of other societies in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Kansas City, Kansas, and Davenport, Iowa, are also mentioned.³²

³⁰Chapter Bulletin (of the) Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, No. 4 (January, 1957), 4. In the possession of the writer.

³¹Ibid., 2.

³²Ibid., passim.

After reviewing the history and examining the program of The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, we offer the following conclusions. Because of problems created by those who make a distinction between people of color in the work of the church, which problems caused a serious breach in the body of Christ, there was a need for a group to re-study and to re-examine the Scriptural principles involved. The Lutheran Human Relations Association, in part, has filled this need. The Association and its chapters, their individual members and associated groups, have made the Missouri Synod (officialdom and members) aware of these problems through word of mouth, seminars and institutes, many articles in our official and unofficial periodicals and through a free flow of pertinent literature. God blesses the Seed which is being sown and people's hearts are changing. As evidence of this, and as evidence of some tangible fruit of the work of the Association, we refer to two parts of the excellent resolution adopted by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod at its forty-third regular convention June 20-29, 1956, at St. Paul, Minnesota:

That all congregations of Synod regard all persons regardless of race or ethnic origin living within the limits of their respective parishes, and not associated with another Christian church, as individuals whom God would reach with the Gospel of His saving grace through the ministry of the local congregation;

.

That since Christians are constrained to do justice and love mercy, we acknowledge our responsibility as a church to provide guidance for our members to work in the capacity of Christian citizens for the elimination of discrimination, wherever it may exist, in community, city, state, nation and world.³³

³³ Proceedings of the Forty-Third Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (Saint Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), 759.

CHAPTER VII

ST. LOUIS LUTHERANISM AND THE NEGRO

In our study of Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro we want to give specific attention to one locale, namely, St. Louis, Missouri. Since St. Louis is located geographically approximately between the North and the South one might expect its general ideologies and racial attitudes to be of a varied nature. Outside of the fact that the writer lives in St. Louis and has information readily available, this community is significant for our study because it houses the headquarters, a publishing house and a seminary of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, and as such, it may have some influence on other communities and other Lutheran churches. We are again confining our study to Lutheranism of the Missouri Synod since the comparatively few non-Missouri Synod churches would not change our picture.

The St. Louis Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations

The formation of a Lutheran race relations group was discussed already in 1942 by the Rev. Mr. Andrew A. Schulze and Mr. E. G. Steger. In 1943 a number of interested persons gathered together and formed a society with Pastor

Schulze serving as a temporary chairman. At the meeting on September 22, 1944, Dr. A. M. Rehwinkel was elected to serve as the first president of the organization. The group met monthly and increased steadily in membership. Its organization and early meetings were reported in The Lutheran Witness¹ and The American Lutheran.²

The original purpose of the organization was to promote education on the subject of race relations (especially as it pertained to the church) by means of informative programs of speakers and the dissemination of the total program through sponsorship of institutes.

The first institute sponsored by the St. Louis Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations was a three-day affair on May 17-19, 1946, and convened at St. Matthew's Lutheran Church.³ Speakers included Dr. Henry Nau, Professor O. H. Theiss and the Rev. Mr. Clemonce Sabourin.

The second institute was held the following year, May 16-18, at Lutheran High School. The Rev. Mr. Herbert Lindemann of St. Paul, Minnesota, was the main speaker at the Sunday afternoon rally.⁴

¹The Lutheran Witness, LXIII (March 28, 1944), 108; LXIV (March 27, 1945), 109; and LXIV (June, 1945), 204.

²The American Lutheran, XXVIII (May, 1944), 17.

³The St. Louis Lutheran, I (May 19, 1946), 1-2.
Hereafter referred to as St. L. Luth.

⁴St. L. Luth., II (May 18, 1947), 1.

When the matter of receiving Negro congregations into the Western District arose in 1947 and 1948 the St. Louis Lutheran Society played an active part in working for their reception into the district.

During the years from 1952 to 1954 emphasis was placed upon one-day institutes or seminars. The St. Louis Lutheran reported on April 26, 1952: "More than 325 people attended the one-day seminar on human relations at Grace Lutheran Church April 20."⁵ Speakers were the Rev. Mr. Alfred P. Klausler, Dr. Karl Kurth, Mr. Richard K. Fox and the Rev. Mr. George Hans Liebenow. Similar conferences were held in 1953 and 1954 at Grace Lutheran Church.

The society was comparatively inactive during 1955, but in 1956 regular meetings were scheduled every two months and a successful seminar was held at St. Peter's Lutheran Church on March eighteenth. It was here that the organization adopted a resolution urging The Lutheran Church --Missouri Synod "to take prompt, active and positive steps, looking toward complete racial desegregation and racial integration in all aspects of the Church's life and activity, at the earliest feasible date."⁶

⁵St. L. Luth., VII, (April 26, 1952), 2.

⁶Proceedings of the Forty-Third Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, assembled in St. Paul, Minnesota, as the Twenty-Eighth Delegate Synod, June 20-29, 1956 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), 757.

Lutheran Race Relations Bulletin

The Lutheran Race Relations Bulletin was a small monthly bulletin issued by the St. Louis Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations. From August of 1951 until February of 1950 forty-one bulletins were published. The format of its first thirty-four issues was eight pages measuring four by nine inches. Issues thirty-five to thirty-eight appeared under the title of Focus. The last three issues again bore the original name with the format consisting of 6 pages measuring five and one-half by eight and one-half inches.

As the subtitle to the Bulletin indicates, it was "Devoted to the Discussion of Race Relations from the Evangelical Christian Viewpoint." During the nine years of its existence it presented valuable information to Christians on the race question, offering stimulating editorials, news and book reviews.

The reasons for discontinuing the bulletin were stated by Dr. Oscar Feucht in the last issue:

Many of our own church periodicals are now giving space to the problem of Christian race relations. The public press is conveying much more helpful and constructive thought on the subject; and this is having its influence upon the thinking of clergy and laity. Our regular church periodicals have a much

wider circulation than the Race Relations Bulletin could perhaps ever attain. Special education of this nature is most effective when it is a part of our general reading and of the regular educational processes.⁷

The Commission on Human Relations of the Council of
Lutheran Churches

In February of 1951 the Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations of St. Louis adopted a resolution requesting that Council to form a commission on Human Relations. This was promptly submitted to the president of the Council and three years later the Commission On Human Relations of the Council of Lutheran Churches was organized (May 20, 1954).⁸ Our study reveals that the only activity of this commission was the formation and issuing of a four and one-half page mimeographed bulletin titled, "What the Bible Teaches of Human Relations."⁹

The St. Louis Lutheran Pastoral Conference

When the Rev. Mr. Walter Heyne, pastor of St. Philip's Lutheran Church, questioned the advisability of ignoring

⁷Lutheran Race Relations Bulletin, No. 41 (January-February, 1950), 1-2.

⁸The Council of Lutheran Churches of Greater St. Louis, Minutes of the semi-annual meeting held at Lutheran High School on September 27, 1954, 2.

⁹In the possession of the writer.

the colored people in the Lutheran Hospital efforts for its new building, it was resolved that one of the conference members bring in a carefully worded resolution on this and related matters and present it to the conference.¹⁰

This action was fulfilled and led to the formation of a Committee on Questions and Problems of Racial Relations and Fellowship in our St. Louis Churches. Pastors Elmer Maschoff, John Oppliger and Theodore Schroeder composed this committee. On October 27, 1952, they submitted their first detailed report. On February 23, 1953, the same committee brought in a set of eight resolutions which were adopted. We herewith print three of the resolutions:

2. that churches with only individuals in their community be encouraged to practice or work towards evangelical integration; Church worship is open to all--but we advise to progress in fellowship in such a way as to achieve the greatest blessing for all;
4. that we encourage general agencies of our church in St. Louis, which have been established to serve our entire constituency, find evangelical ways and means to serve our entire constituency;
5. that each congregation be encouraged to consider seriously its mission obligation to all in its territory.¹¹

¹⁰Minutes of the St. Louis Lutheran Pastoral Conference, October 22, 1951.

¹¹Recommendations of the Committee on Questions and Problems of Racial Relations and Fellowship in our St. Louis Lutheran Churches, February 23, 1953. In the possession of the writer.

The final resolution was to encourage the Council of Lutheran Churches to establish a Commission on Human Relations. On May 23, 1955, the St. Louis Lutheran Pastoral Conference approved the "Report of the Human Relations Commission of the Council of Churches," titled, "What the Bible Teaches of Human Relations."

The St. Louis Lutheran

Since 1945 The St. Louis Lutheran has served Lutherans in and beyond St. Louis by reporting news of interest to Lutherans in this center of Lutheranism. Through the years this fortnightly paper has reported faithfully not only on major events pertaining to Negroes and race relations, but also has contributed sound editorials and special studies on these subjects.

Naturally, The St. Louis Lutheran publicized important events like the admission of the first Negro congregation into the Southern Illinois District and the reception of the first Negro congregations into the Western District,¹² as well as seminars and institutes which have been referred to earlier.

We should like to quote a few samples of The St. Louis Lutheran's editorials on the general subject of human relations:

¹²St. L. Luth., IV (June 25, 1949), 1.

Tolerance Or Love? Outdoor advertising, pleading for tolerance, has made its appearance in St. Louis for Brotherhood Week. It is well that Americans remind each other of the obligation to bear with each other.

But tolerance will not satisfy Christians.

Tolerance can be hate "with the controls on," as some-one has put it. There is a quality of dishonesty about tolerance from which Christians shrink. In fact, tolerance can be wrong; if it sacrifices truth, it is wrong.

Far better than tolerance is love. Love is free of bitterness. It knows how to speak without hurt; therefore it can speak the truth.

Speaking the truth in love is the best kind of Americanism, as it is also the best kind of Christianity.¹³

A long editorial on "Brotherhood" appeared in the March 1, 1952, issue of The St. Louis Lutheran.¹⁴

Prior to the first school term following the historic decision of the Supreme Court of May 17, 1954, The St. Louis Lutheran in an editorial "The Real Test" declared in part:

Next week hundreds of thousands of children will return to school for the first time in their lives to find Negro pupils sitting next to them in the classrooms.

.....

One congregation in St. Louis last week voted to exclude Negro children from its school. On the other hand, a number of churches in this area have already decided they would not bar admission of Negro children to their schools.

¹³"Tolerance Or Love?" St. L. Luth., V (February 18, 1950).

¹⁴See also "Opportunity in Disguise," XI (March 10, 1956), 4 and "The Christian Heart Decides," XI (October 6, 1956), 4.

.....

The St. Louis Lutheran believes that every individual as well as every congregation should have the right to express and enforce its own opinions--except where these opinions are contrary to Scripture.

Integration is not a subject that can be resolved by argument. It must be resolved by prayer.

We hope the action taken in this isolated instance will be only temporary and that it will be correctly resolved before the entire action is blown up out of proportion, doing irreparable harm both to the congregation and the entire Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.¹⁵

The St. Louis Lutheran also gave reports on the annual human relations institutes at Valparaiso University. The report on the first one bears the caption, "Church Must End Race Segregation, Institute Declares."¹⁶ The last institute in 1956 was described in the article, "Record Attendance at Valpo's Human Relations Institute," and enhanced with a picture of delegates at the registration desk.¹⁷

The cause and interest of human relations was further sponsored by The St. Louis Lutheran in giving space to interesting items. The August 18, 1951, issue noted that Mr. Richard K. Fox, a Negro member of St. Philip's Lutheran Church, was named to the Board For Foreign Mission of the

¹⁵St. L. Luth., IX (August 28, 1954), 4.

¹⁶St. L. Luth., V (August 19, 1950), 1.

¹⁷St. L. Luth., XI (August 11, 1956), 2.

Missouri Synod.¹⁸ The following issue carried an interesting write-up on Pastor Paul Juergensen's association with the National Conferences of Christians and Jews' Commission on Religious Organizations.¹⁹

Integration and Segregation in St. Louis Lutheran Congregations

As in most large Northern cities the racial complexion of St. Louis has been changing rapidly during the past few decades. The following chart shows the year, the number of Negroes living in the city of St. Louis and the percentage of Negroes to the City's total population.²⁰ Please note that this pertains to the City of St. Louis only; the county is not considered here.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Negroes</u>	<u>Negro percentage</u>
1900	35,516	6.2
1910	43,960	6.4
1920	69,854	9
1930	93,580	11.4
1940	108,756	13.3
1950	154,588	18.

¹⁸St. L. Luth., VI (misdated August 4, should be August 18, 1951), 3.

¹⁹St. L. Luth., VI (September 1, 1951), 4.

²⁰A Report to St. Louis Lutherans Regarding Our Lord's Great Commission As It Pertains to St. Louis, and Specifically, to over 155,000 Negroes in the City of St. Louis, 4. In the possession of the writer.

At the end of 1956 Negroes comprise approximately twenty-five per cent of the city's population.

Naturally, this movement and change of population has affected a number of our congregations. The white Lutherans have moved away and Negroes have moved into the localities of Lutheran churches. A Statistical and Comparative Survey in 1950 showed that not only did a number of congregations decline in net membership, but that two years, 1948 and 1949, showed an actual decline of net membership in the total of all of St. Louis City's Lutheran churches.²¹ Some consider this fact alarming and therefore we will attempt to give an account of what some of the churches have done to bring the Negroes into their churches.

St. Louis' oldest Lutheran Church, "Old Trinity," is located in an area which is approximately eighty-eight per cent white and twelve per cent non-white.²²

During World War II many Negroes moved into the vicinity of Immanuel Lutheran Church located at Marcus and Lexington Avenues. The St. Louis Lutheran reports:

²¹Ibid., 4.

²²St. L. Luth., X (January 1, 1955), 6.

Assessing the situation, the church in the fall of 1952 decided to take action. At the time a three-point resolution was adopted. Included in the resolution were proposals (1) to intensify the local work, (2) "to investigate," as Pastor Oppliger puts it, "every opportunity to bring the Gospel to the influx of people into the community," and (3) "to explore the possibilities of continuing a thorough Christian education through whatever agencies are feasible to those who are moving out."²³

In the year of our Lord, 1954, Immanuel Lutheran Church proposed to begin a segregated mission for Negroes in a store front! The reasons for their request to begin this mission were stated by them in a bulletin bearing the caption "Church Work Among the Concentrated Negro Population in St. Louis As It is Viewed by Immanuel Church" and follows:

- a. Christ's command to preach the Gospel to every creature. (Here is a new community of some 60-80,000 primarily Negro;
- b. Love for souls: The method of an integrated church from base on up will win souls while the church and society is working out an amicable solution to the racial problem; (Let us talk more to and with one another, less about one another.
- c. experience of past: the method of distinct Negro churches has won millions of Negro souls in the past and need not be discarded;
- d. the pattern of American society as a democracy favors this procedure;
- e. this method is Biblical, honors the church (let all things be done decently) honors the Negro--honors our Lord.²⁴

²³St. L. Luth. X (January 29, 1955), 7.

²⁴"Church Work Among the Concentrated Negro Population in St. Louis As It Is Viewed by Immanuel Church." Mimeographed. In the possession of the writer.

The first reason is quite valid because it is taken from the Holy Scriptures. The date of this bulletin is 1954.

According to the pastor of Grace Lutheran Church, in 1947 the area east of Grand Avenue between St. Louis and Cass Avenues was ninety-five per cent white and now (1955) it is ninety-five per cent Negro.²⁵

Mount Calvary Lutheran Church, located at Union and Wells Avenues, has an interesting story on its program of integration. After the congregation refused to admit a Negro girl into its school in the summer of 1954, it reversed its decision on April 18, 1955. A detailed article titled "This Is How A Congregation Resolved the Problem of Race Relations" in the May 7, 1955, issue of The St. Louis Lutheran tells the story of Mount Calvary Lutheran Congregation and an editorial, "Methods and Motives" comments on the congregation's action.²⁶ In the "Progress Report on Integration" in October of 1956, we are informed that Mount Calvary has Negro children enrolled in its parish school and Sunday School and that Negroes attend church services regularly.²⁷

²⁵St. L. Luth., XI (September 24, 1955), 7.

²⁶St. L. Luth., X (May 7, 1955), 4ff.

²⁷St. L. Luth., XII (October 6, 1956), 5.

Our Savior Lutheran Church is located near a racially mixed area. The pastor of the congregation, who serves as the chairman of the Missionary Board of the Synodical Conference which supervises the mission program in far-away Africa and in some of the Southern States admits: "The church is conscious of the changes taking place in the neighborhood." Whereupon The St. Louis Lutheran writes:

Discussions have taken place between members and with neighboring churches in the area and the pastor has mentioned the subject in sermons.

But the congregation has taken no official position on racial integration or segregation. Instead, the people prefer to make decisions as situations develop in the normal course of events and at the present time there has been no situation calling for a decision.²⁸

Though most opportunities to serve Negroes are found in the City of St. Louis, one of the county Churches, Luther Memorial Church of Richmond Heights, has an interesting story of integration. We shall let The St. Louis Lutheran report:

There, Professor David S. Schuller of Concordia Seminary, formerly pastor of the church, said, the issue "was first raised about seven years ago." At that time a Negro Lutheran woman asked permission to enroll children in the Sunday School.

.....

²⁸St. L. Luth., XII (September 8, 1956), 7.

The Rev. Herbert Hohenstein, present pastor of the church, said that "healthy" relations exist with the two Negro families which now hold membership in the congregation.²⁹

Since 1948 some churches have shown considerable losses in net membership. Bethany Lutheran Church dropped from 863 baptized members in 1948 to 612 in 1955; Christ Lutheran Church, located at Caroline and Theresa Avenues, dropped from 536 to 440 in the same time.³⁰

A rather unique story of integration is that of Holy Cross Lutheran Church for the Deaf. Since June of 1952 the Rev. Mr. William Reinking served as pastor for two congregations, one of Negroes and the other of whites. Members of the congregations met from time to time and early in 1956 they decided to consolidate the two parishes. At the time of the merger there were sixty-four white and sixteen Negro communicants with a grand total of 185 baptized members.³¹

The last congregation to be reported on in this section is that of St. Stephen's Lutheran Church. The congregation

²⁹"Progress Report on Integration," St. L. Luth., XII (October 6, 1956), 5.

³⁰1955 Statistical Yearbook of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), 158-59; and Statistical Yearbook of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod for the Year 1948 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1949), 136.

³¹"Local Deaf Congregations Lead Way in Integration," St. L. Luth., XI (December 31, 1955), 3. St. L. Luth., XII (December 15, 1956), 9.

was founded under the leadership of the sainted Dr. Walter A. Maier in 1930. Already at that time the neighborhood was in a rooming-house and somewhat blighted area. The new congregation of St. Stephen's acquired a former Episcopal Church which had left the community. St. Stephen's Lutheran Church has had an "open-door" policy for years and in a quiet but effective manner serves people of any and all races from the neighborhood. The St. Louis Lutheran reports:

The members are convinced that the church's task is to serve the neighborhood. "There has never been any effort to restrict attendances or membership," the Pastor stated, and indicated that the policy was set by the members themselves. People of other races are welcomed and served as naturally as any others.³²

In St. Louis there are four traditionally Negro Churches, namely Good Samaritan, Holy Sacraments, St. Philip's and Transfiguration, with a combined baptized membership of 1,543.³³

An analysis of the congregations reviewed lead us to the conclusion that a slow beginning has been made in the process of integration, but that there remains much to be accomplished.

³²"Church Gears Its Program to Its Unusual Opportunities," St. L. Luth., XII (December 29, 1956), 7.

³³1955 Statistical Yearbook of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), 159.

To complete the picture of attitudes and policies toward the Negro from the viewpoint of St. Louis Lutheranism it would be necessary to conduct a survey of all Lutheran agencies, but we regret that lack of time prevents this. However, we should like to mention a few agencies which follow the policy of non-discrimination and integration, and to our knowledge actually involve Negroes in their membership, services or employment: The Lutheran Ladies' Aid for Neighborhood Missions, The Lutheran Business Women, The Lutheran Community Center, the local Walther Leagues, The Lutheran High School Association and the school itself, Concordia Seminary, The Lutheran Hospital and their School of Nursing and the offices of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Probably others could be added. On the other hand, there are also some Lutheran agencies which still follow discriminating practices.

As we review this chapter of Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro on St. Louis Lutheranism we note that the picture is a diverse one, particularly on the pastoral and congregational level. Some pastors and congregations welcome the opportunity to bring Negroes into their fellowship; and others deny Negroes fellowship by erecting an artificial barrier. Quite a number of Lutheran organizations and service groups operate on a non-discriminatory basis; yet a few practice discrimination against Negroes.

We offer the conclusion that advances in racial equality and integration among Lutheran agencies and congregations in St. Louis have been due to The St. Louis Lutheran Society for Better Human Relations and the positive influence of its leaders.

to Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro, we want to make a brief summary of our methods employed. This paper is essentially a review of important periodicals of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. We have thoroughly reviewed the official magazines, The Concordia Theological Monthly and Today, and the unofficial periodical, The American Lutheran. Other magazines partially reviewed are The Lutheran Witness, The National League Messenger and The Crosset. We have recorded our findings on attitudes and policies towards the Negro as the literature has expressed the same.

To correctly evaluate the attitudes and policies of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod we believe that careful attention should be given also to that which was left unsaid or unprinted. We feel that often the subjects of the Negro or race relations were avoided either because of negative attitudes or because of a laissez-faire approach to the problem of human relations.

On the basis of the material presented in the preceding 200 pages we are ready to offer a few conclusions.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Now that we have finished our research and the collation and analysis of hundreds of references in regard to Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro, we want to make a brief summary of our methods employed. This paper is essentially a review of important periodicals of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. We have thoroughly reviewed the official magazines, The Concordia Theological Monthly and Today, and the unofficial periodical, The American Lutheran. Other magazines partially reviewed are The Lutheran Witness, The Walther League Messenger and The Cresset. We have recorded our findings on attitudes and policies towards the Negro as the literature has expressed the same.

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On the basis of the material presented in the preceding 200 pages we are ready to offer a few conclusions.

The early attitude prevailing in The Missouri Synod that she should bring the saving Gospel to the Negroes, but that the church should not bring the Negro too closely into fellowship (with all the privileges and rights pertaining thereto) is still prevalent.

The Missionary Board of The Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America, which has been entrusted with the apostolate to the American Negro attempted to direct the "mission" program, often in a condescending and dictatorial manner, and refused to consider programs for better relations among Negroes and whites.

After the Synodical Conference in 1946 adopted the plan to integrate the Negro congregations into existing districts, it was readily put into practice so that to date there remain only two districts that are not supervising the work among the Negroes and two districts that are not fully integrated.

In 1938 the Board of Directors of the Missouri Synod decided against the admission of Negroes into its theological institutions, and though some of its colleges and the seminary at St. Louis had admitted Negroes, the policy of discrimination persisted for at least another decade at the Springfield, Illinois, seminary. This is one example showing that the general body did not adopt or strictly enforce any particular policy.

Compared with most other large Protestant Church bodies The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod steered clear of becoming involved with political, civic and social issues. (This may have been due to its background; in Europe, specifically Germany, the State was regarded as the father and custodian of the citizen's entire life, even in the religious field). An additional reason for the Missouri Synod's reticence to become involved with these issues may lay in its reaction to the so-called "social gospel." Leaders who were fearful that they might corrupt the doctrine steered clear of social issues almost entirely.

When The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod realized that the race question was not only a social, but a moral issue it was ready to take a stand and to speak out. This was done when the Missouri Synod in official convention in July of 1956 adopted the resolution on Race Relations in National and World-Wide Church Work.

A review of two of the Missouri Synod's official publications, the Concordia Theological Monthly and The Lutheran Witness, shows that

- a. until 1940 hardly any articles were devoted to the topic of race relations;
- b. generally, in the decade from 1940 to 1950, following the publication of Andrew Schulze's My Neighbor of Another Color and the organizing of the St. Louis Lutheran Society for Better Race Relations,

interest increased and articles on the general subject began to appear; and

- c. the period from 1950 on, especially 1955 and 1956, produced many excellent articles and items stressing the Christian's proper relation to the Negro.

When we examine the unofficial publications like The American Lutheran and The Cresset we note a more progressive spirit, and that not so much in time as in the tenor of its articles. The policies and expressions of affiliated groups like Valparaiso University and the Walther League have considerably enhanced and advanced the synod's attitudes and policies.

In 1953 a special organization, The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, was formed to promote and to foster Christian attitudes and policies toward the Negro. As the case often is, a smaller unofficial body, devoted to a specific cause, can move more rapidly than a large official body. In this way, The Lutheran Human Relations Association is fulfilling its task. This organization and its affiliated chapters have proved a wholesome leaven throughout the Missouri Synod.

Our study shows that during the past fifteen years tremendous advances have been made toward proper attitudes and policies regarding the Negro and other minority groups. Particularly significant, we feel, is the ever increasing literature advocating a positive Christian solution to the

various problems from official sources. The plan of the Synodical Conference to integrate the Negro congregations into the established districts was a great step in the direction of equality and full fellowship in the church.

Unfortunately, the general policy of receiving and integrating Negroes into the communion and fellowship of congregations who have Negroes as neighbors is not yet realized. Even more unfortunately, there are those pastors and congregations who seem to glory in denying the Gospel and the Christian fellowship to those of color, as the Lutheran pastor in St. Louis who feels that the Negro is served best by a segregated church and who

insists that integration in the public school nearby has "opened new doors" to the Gospel, as parents who prefer segregation now bring their children in increasing numbers to his segregated Lutheran school. . . .¹

We submit a few suggestions for further study relating to our general topic. We believe that a survey on integration conducted among the pastors and congregations of The Missouri Synod would be extremely helpful to determine more accurately the "Attitudes and Policies of The Lutheran Church Toward the Negro." Another interesting study might be made on the relation of a church body's theology to its practical participation in social (even civic and economic) affairs. Questions like the following might be investigated,

¹St. L. Luth., XII (October 6, 1955), 5.

"Is it true that a theologically liberal church body is more progressive in certain areas of 'practical Christianity' than a 'fundamental church' like The Missouri Synod?"

Further studies might be conducted on a practical level. "How Can A Pastor and The Congregation In a Multi-racial Area Be Convinced to Serve Its Entire Neighborhood?" might be a good topic. A study of congregations who have revitalized their ministry by adopting an all-out program of integration might prove to be an inspiration to pastors and congregations.

Remembering the words of the Lord: "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples," (Isaiah 56:7), we close with these words from our Savior's Sacerdotal Prayer:

I do not pray for these only, but also for those who are to believe on Me through their word, that they may all be one; even as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they may also be one in us, so that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me. (John 17; 20-21).

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