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INTEGRATION AND THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE SOUTH

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Practical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Divinity

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by

Joseph William Ellwanger

June 1957

Approved by: _____ Advisor

_____ Reader

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the Southern part of the United States it is an undeniable historical fact that the Negroes are pushing for treatment as men, as are the dark-skinned people around the world.

Some Christians in the South think it is part of their Christian life and witness to lead toward a social order in which Negroes are treated as men and not as Negroes.

Other Christians in the South believe that it is part of their Christian life and witness to help keep the segregated society, where Negroes will always be treated as Negroes.

Still other Christians in the South believe that they have no responsibility as a Christian either to defend segregation or to promote integration. They feel that this issue is strictly a matter of personal opinion that has no connection with their Christian faith. They insist, therefore, that Christian congregations have no business discussing it.

And there are many other points of view that Southern Christians have of the process of integration that is taking place in the United States. Lutherans in the South, too, have many different views of integration.

It is the purpose of this paper to analyze the Southern climate in which integration is taking place and to determine what role the Lutheran Church can and ought to play in this process.

The very fact that Christians in the South have so many different views of integration indicates the importance and the need for study in

this area. The author's concern in this vital area of human relations has been sharpened by his experiences among the Negroes and the whites of central Alabama, where the author's home is, and by a year's pastoral interneship in the Negro community of Kansas City, Missouri.

Involved in this study of "Integration and the Lutheran Church in the South" are several large topics such as: the history of the South; the sociology of the South; the psychology of prejudice; group dynamics; the history of the Lutheran Church in the South; the relationship of the church to the social order; the scientific knowledge concerning race. The author does not claim a complete background in these and other related subjects, and therefore, this paper is only a start at an understanding of "Integration and the Lutheran Church and the South."

Since the topic of this paper involves so many large areas of study, the author could not begin to consult all the sources available.

In the area of the relationship of the church to the social order, the major Lutheran source was Edgar M. Carlson's The Church and the Public Conscience. Addresses and essays given at institutes and conventions by other contemporary Lutheran clergymen were also used. The Social Message of the Apostle Paul, by Southern Presbyterian theologian Holmes Rolston, gave explicit application to the Southern situation.

To attempt to understand and to analyze the Southern environment the author consulted current Southern newspapers, especially the Birmingham Post-Herald and the Selma Times-Journal, and various magazines, especially recent issues of Time, Life, and New South. A study was made of all the issues since January, 1955, of Christian Century and of Presbyterian Life to ascertain a picture of the action of various

church bodies in the South concerning integration.

The author's analysis of the Lutheran Church in the South was derived from a study of the following: all the convention proceedings of the Southern District of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (beginning 1882); the convention proceedings of the Southeastern District of the Missouri Synod (beginning 1939); the convention proceedings of the Synodical Conference (since 1938); the convention proceedings of most of the General Conferences of Lutheran Negro mission workers (1941 to 1949); all the Lutheran Witness supplements from the Southern District (beginning 1935) and from the Southeastern District (beginning 1953) of the Missouri Synod; and from various histories of the work of Lutheran church bodies among the Negroes of the South.

Most of the sociological information concerning the South and its racial relations was derived from the basic works of Gunnar Myrdal, John Dollard, Hortense Powdermaker, and Allison Davis. Much of the sociological and psychological facts and theories concerning racial relations, group prejudice, and the processes of desegregation and integration was derived from two issues of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (Controlling Group Prejudice, 1946, and Racial Desegregation and Integration, 1956). The author regrets that he did not have sufficient time to study the psychology of prejudice more thoroughly.

For a scientific and a Christian understanding of race and racial relations the author consulted the proceedings of all the Valparaiso University Institutes on Human Relations (beginning 1950), all the issues of The Vanguard, issues of Concordia Theological Monthly (since

1940), recent issues of The Lutheran Witness and The Walther League Messenger, and various pamphlets and booklets put out by the United States government, by the Roman Catholic Church, and by other church denominations.

To the author's knowledge, no extensive study has ever been made of the role of the Lutheran Church in integration in the South. Church and Community in the South, a Presbyterian-sponsored study of the South and the church's responsibility to the social order, published in 1949, is the closest any church-directed study has come to the subject of church and integration in the South. Margaret C. McCulloch's two works Integration and Segregation, representing the thought of the Race Relations Department of the Congregational Christian Churches, are not directed specifically to the situation of the South, though the South's uniqueness is often referred to. All three of these works avoid a clear analysis of the church's role in changing the social order.

The two Lutheran works in the general area of race relations, The Lutheran Church and the American Negro, by Ervin E. Krebs, and My Neighbor of Another Color, by Andrew Schulze, speak more to a Christian understanding of the Negro than to a Christian understanding of the role of the Lutheran Church in integration.

This paper may be divided into two major sections. Chapters two, three, four, five, and six attempt to analyze the forces at work in the integration of the South. Chapters seven and eight attempt the difficult task of defining the role of the Lutheran Church in this integration and the program of the church, especially the program of the local congregation, in playing this role.

CHAPTER II

THE SOUTH

To begin to understand such a difficult issue as "The Lutheran Church and Integration in the South" means to try to understand the South. Yet this fundamental understanding of the South is often overlooked.

A. The South--Its Dubious Boundaries

What states make up the South? Not even the Civil War was able to define clearly the boundaries of the South. And today yet "the South" is a section of the country with various boundaries.

The eleven states that seceded from the Union in 1860 and in 1861 are nearly always included within the borders of the South: Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee.

The definition of the South used by the Southern Regional Council, an organization which seeks to further better human relations in the South, adds Oklahoma and Kentucky to the basic eleven secession states.[1] Oklahoma, not admitted into the Union until 1907, has usually thought herself a part of the South. And Kentucky, too, though she did not secede, has always lain beneath the Mason-Dixon Line of the Ohio River and has always considered herself part of the South.

This definition of the South, the eleven secession states plus Okla-

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[1] New South, XI (July, August, 1956), inserted map.

homa and Kentucky, shall be used throughout this paper.

Four border states--Missouri, West Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland--are often considered part of the South because they were slaveholding states and their racial complexion and thinking, in many localities, is similar to the South's. Missouri, Delaware, and Maryland were "on-the-fence" borderline states during the Civil War. West Virginia had been part of Virginia until Virginia's secession in 1861. At that time several northwestern counties of Virginia withdrew and were admitted into the Union in 1863 as the state of West Virginia.

B. The South--Its History

Until 1860 great was the glory of the South. Four of the Southern states--South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia--and the two border states of Delaware and Maryland were among the thirteen colonies that drew up and signed the Constitution of the United States. For the first 70 years of these young United States, the South was influential in Congress and in the affairs of the land.

But the balance of power gradually went over to the Northern states as the "western" states gained admittance to the Union. And when the Northern states began to press for abolition of slavery, among other things, the South saw that she could not have her way. Her only recourse, she thought, was to secede and form the Confederate States of America.

Representatives from South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas met in Montgomery, Alabama, on February 4, 1861, and formed the Confederate States of America. The other four

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states of the Confederacy--Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee--were more deliberate in their action and did not join the Confederacy until after the Confederate armies had opened fire on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, and it was clear that a war was unavoidable.[2] This less emotional, more deliberate action of these last four states in joining the Confederacy is still reflected today in the attitude they take toward the integration issue.

After the attack on Fort Sumter, there followed four bitter years of war, 1861-1865. And after the stunning defeat came the humiliating, impoverishing years of Reconstruction, 1865-1877.

Though the North has largely forgotten the strife of 1861-1865, the South cannot forget so easily. For she was the loser. And it was her countryside that was pillaged. It was her towns that were destroyed and burned. It was her land that was occupied by "foreign" troops for twelve years of disorganized, tumultuous government. And these memories are not easily forgotten. They still linger today.

Many of the younger generation in the South today are too far removed from the days of war, defeat, and humiliating occupation, to be much affected by these lingering memories. But the emotional response of suspicion toward the North seems often to have been passed on as part of the Southern tradition.[3] This historical reason for the South's suspicion of the North seems, at least partly, to be at the root of such an

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[2]"Confederate States of America," Encyclopedia Brittanica, VI (Chicago: Encyclopedia Brittanica, 1951), 27-30.

[3]J. Claude Evans, "A Key to Understanding the South," American Lutheran, XXXIX (July, 1956), 12.

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emotion-packed statement as this one made recently by a white woman of Choctaw County, Alabama, concerning integration: "The people up North think they're going to cram it down our throats, but they're not."[4]

The most concrete result of the Civil War and of the Reconstruction Era was the deadening poverty of the South. The Confederate States had emptied their pockets in the "do-or-die" struggle of the war. The money-making industries were being established in the North. The Reconstruction government was chaotic, often corrupt. The soil never had been very rich. And the South, partly as a result of the impoverishing war years and Reconstruction years still has the lowest per capita income of any section of the nation.[5]

C. The South--Its People

The South is often thought to be peopled by men and women who all think alike. No greater mistake could be made. Aside from the fact that each person has his own individual patterns of thinking, it must also be stated that each community plays its own variations on the theme of "the Southern way of life."

There are two basic variations on the theme, however, that can be localized in a general way: (1) the more conservative variation and (2) the more liberal variation.

The Lowland South is the more conservative part of the South in its

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[4]Richard B. Stolley, "A Sequel to Segregation," Life, XLI (December 10, 1956), 78.

[5]Harry S. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 144.

insistence on the segregated "Southern way of life." The Lowland South consists of the Atlantic and Gulf coastal plains, the sand hill areas, and the Delta country of the Mississippi Valley. In this area is the Black Belt, called thus because of its soil as well as its population. (See adjoining map.)

In this Lowland South once flourished the great plantations, and a few are still flourishing. Here the vestiges of feudal society are still plainly visible. Here is the greatest concentration of Southern Negroes. Here are the counties where Negro population often exceeds the white by a ratio of 2-1 or 3-1 or even 4-1.[6]

The more liberal section of the South is the Upland South--the mountainous areas and the smaller strip of Piedmont country which contains most of the region's industrial centers. Negroes have always been fewer here, and local traditions have different roots. There were occasional plantations here, too, but they were the exception to the prevailing pattern of family-worked farms.[7] The proportion of the Negroes in the counties of the Upland South is seldom over 20 per cent and often less than 5 per cent.[8]

Some people, realizing the difference of temperament within the South, often refer to the "Deep South" as the conservative part. This is correct if by the "Deep South" one means the Lowland South. But

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[6]Ashmore, op. cit., pp. 127f.

[7]Ashmore, op. cit., p. 128.

[8]New South, XI (July, August, 1956), inserted map.

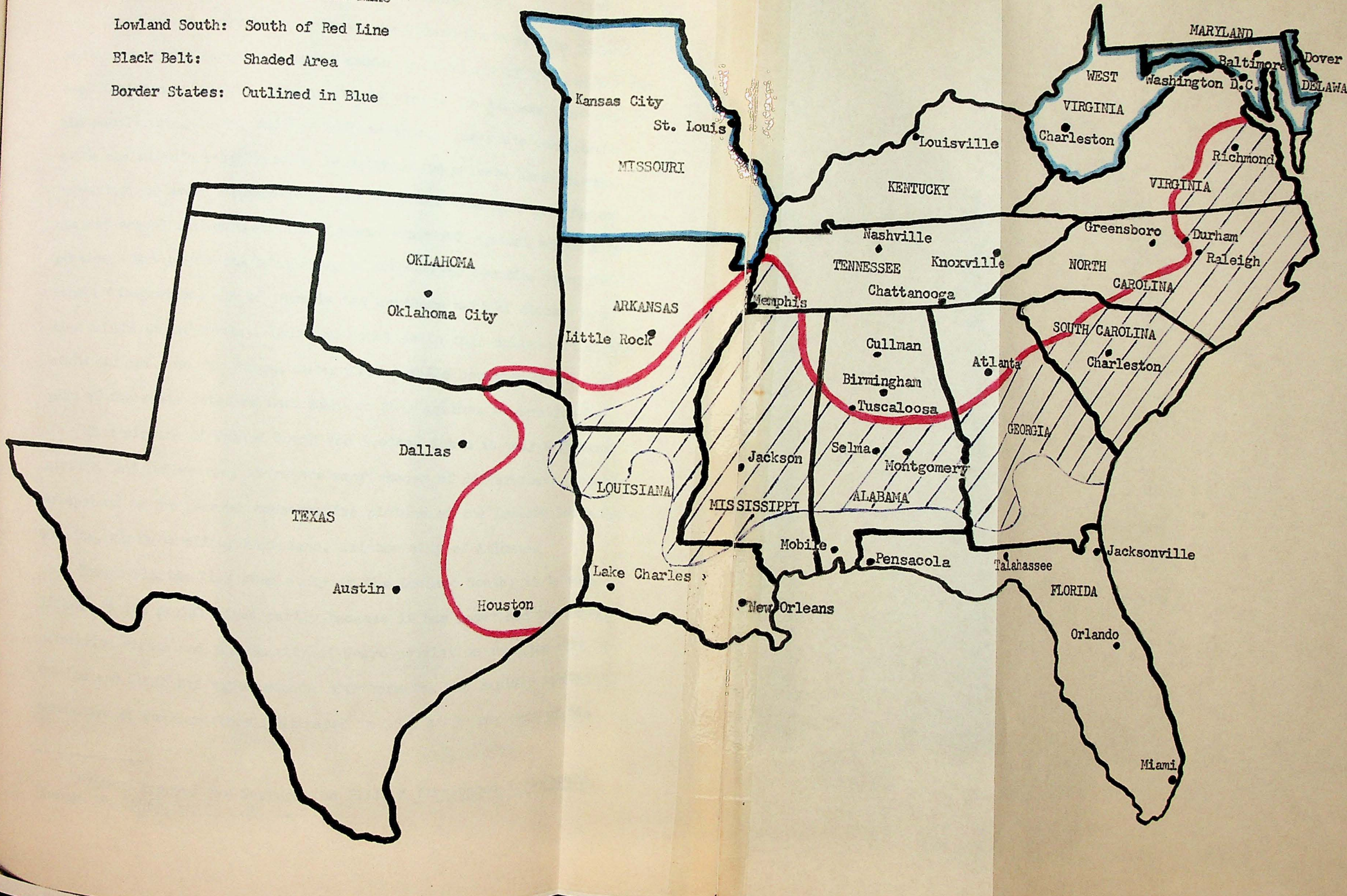
MAP OF THE SOUTH

Upland South: North of Red Line

Lowland South: South of Red Line

Black Belt: Shaded Area

Border States: Outlined in Blue



usually people use the term "Deep South" to refer to the entire states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. And this is misleading.

The line of demarcation between the Upland South and the Lowland South cuts right across the upper middle part of all of these states except Louisiana. And the line is fairly clear. In Alabama, for instance, the people voted in the fall of 1956 to change the state constitution to allow the state's schools to be transferred to private hands and thus, hopefully, to avoid integration. The vote was clearly a vote for or against school integration, and Alabama voted 2-1 against school integration. But twenty-one of Alabama's sixty-seven counties voted for school integration, all of them in the northern part of Alabama that lies in the Upland South. Only two counties in this upland part of the state did not vote for school integration, while counties in the lowland part of the state voted as decidedly as 28-1 against integration.[9]

This picture of Upland South and Lowland South is only a general picture, and, of course, there are many shades of differences. Notable exceptions to the general conservative picture of the Lowland South are: Florida, North Carolina, Louisiana, and the city of Atlanta.

Though Florida lies completely in the Lowland South, it is more liberal in its racial views partly because it has never had the strong plantation system and the density of Negro population that the rest of the Lowland South has experienced. Furthermore, its rapidly increasing percentage of Northern-born (estimated in 1955 at 50 per cent of the

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[9]"Voters Approve Two Segregation Bills," Birmingham Post-Herald, (August 29, 1956), p. 2, col. 1.

total population of 3,500,000[10]) adds no small element of liberality to Florida's thinking.

The strange liberality of Lowland North Carolina is due partly to the fact that it never had as many slaves as the other states of the South and that its plantation economy has been thoroughly superseded because of the state's industrial growth, the most rapid in the Southeast.[11] There is also a strong tradition of liberalism flowing from the state's widely known university at Chapel Hill. Three Negro undergraduates were admitted there in the fall of 1955 without incident.[12]

The slight liberal tinge to Lowland Louisiana's racial views is due almost entirely to the adamancy of the Roman Catholic Church in planning to carry out integration on a full-scale basis.[13] Many would deny that there is any noticeable liberality in Louisiana at all.

In the Upland part of Georgia, just one county removed from the Black Belt, lies the unusually liberal city of Atlanta. In its cosmopolitan air and liberal culture are reflected Northern influences and its own status as a center of higher education for both whites and Negroes. Its colored population includes many intelligent, well-educated, and prosperous business and professional men.[14]

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[10]"Report on the South," New York Times (March 13, 1956), p. S4, col. 6.

[11]"Report on the South," New York Times (March 13, 1956), p. S5, col. 6.

[12]Loc. cit.

[13]Ibid., p. S5, col. 4.

[14]Ibid., p. S7, col. 3.

D. The South—Its Churches

Always a part of the key to a region's thinking is its churches. This is true of the South. People have often said that the South is more "religious" than the rest of the country. It is a state law in many Southern states, for instance, that each day of public school be started with a Scripture reading. And many public meetings are opened with prayer. But statistics reveal that the proportion of church members in the South is no higher than the proportion in the rest of the country.[15]

In the most influential position for leadership in the South is the Southern Baptist Church. In all the Southern states, except for Roman Catholic Louisiana and Texas, the Southern Baptists are the largest denomination by far, often claiming twice as many members as the next largest denomination. If the Negro Baptists are added to the number of white Southern Baptists, it becomes evident that in nearly every state of the South the Baptists comprise 50 per cent or more of all church membership.[16]

In attempting to understand the cautious view that the leading church body of the South takes toward integration, it is helpful to remember that until recently the Southern Baptists had not been stressing the education of their ministers. Furthermore, because the Southern Baptist Church is so concentrated in the South, her pastors are largely

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[15] "The United States," Statesman's Yearbook 1954, edited by S. H. Steinberg (London: Macmillan Co., 1954), pp. 623ff.

[16] Loc. cit.

products of the Southern tradition and of Southern schools and seminaries.

Second in number to the Baptists in nearly every Southern state are the Methodists. Only in Florida and Kentucky the Methodists take third place to the second-place Roman Catholics, and in Louisiana and in Texas Methodists take third place to the second-place Baptists.[17]

Though numerically not as strong as the Baptists and the Methodists, the Presbyterians are a significant force in the Christianity of the South.

The Lutheran Church is extremely weak throughout the South. A more precise picture of its condition will be painted in Chapter V.

The Negro churches follow the same pattern as the white churches. In every state of the South the Baptist Negro churches claim the most members. The Methodist churches are next in the number of members in every state except Louisiana, where the Roman Catholics are second in number.[18]

E. The South—Its Education

After the severe financial bankruptcy suffered as a result of the War Between The States, the South has never been able to bring her school system up to the national standard, not even for the whites. The South is only too aware of this inferiority in its educational system, and many Southern states are now spending proportionately more money of

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[17] Loc. cit.

[18] Religious Bodies: 1936, prepared by T. F. Murphy (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1941), pp. 870ff.

the state's budget for education than most Northern states.[19]

Just how much this lower standard of education contributes to the South's view of integration is impossible to determine. It must be stated that some rather highly educated Caucasians of the South are firm segregationists.

F. The South--Its Politics

The state governments of the South have always been dominated by agricultural, rural representatives who have generally lacked the urban and industrial view required for the modern age. Usually they are provincial and isolationist in all points of view, not only in the area of race relations.[20]

This is the land where demagoguish clans such as the Longs of Louisiana and the Talmadges of Georgia can win elections by landslides. And an outstanding statesman such as Senator George of Georgia has to withdraw in acknowledged defeat from a United States senatorial race with a Talmadge.[21]

G. Summary Picture of the South

The South, comprising thirteen states--or seventeen states, if the four border states of Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware are included--is a section of the country with its own common heritage

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[19]Ashmore, op. cit., p. 144.

[20]Charles S. Johnson, "A Southern Negro's View of the South," New South, XI (December, 1956), 6.

[21]"The Red Galluses," Time, LXVIII (October 15, 1956), 35.

and culture. Slaveholding was once the accepted custom throughout the South. The South not too long ago fought and lost a war together. The South suffered the pains of bankruptcy together, after the war had bled her of men and money. The South underwent twelve years of chaotic occupation by Northern troops and oft-corrupt governments during the Reconstruction period. The South still is the least industrialized region of the nation. The South still has the lowest educational standards of all the regions of the United States. The South's state governments are dominated by rural representatives. The South's leading church bodies in every state but two are the Baptist and the Methodist denominations. The South has always supported racial segregation as a part of its "way of life."

But in spite of all this common heritage, every Southern community has its own variation of this culture. And there are two basic variations: The Upland South, with fewer plantations and fewer Negroes and more family-worked farms, has a more liberal view of integration. The Lowland South, with its many plantations and its high proportion of Negroes, has a more conservative view of integration, as well as of many other things.

CHAPTER III

SEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH

As long as Negroes have the opportunity to go to school, to own property, to make a living, to go to church, why should they care if they are told to go only to the Negro school, to own property only in the Negro residential district, to seek only the jobs open to Negroes, to go only to the Negro church? Are not the whites being restricted in exactly the same way? And is not this fair and equal? This is just the Southern way of life. There is nothing unfair about it. There is nothing unChristian about it. In fact, this is the way God would have it. So goes the Southerner's honest defense of segregation.

But what does segregation really amount to in the South?

A. The Negro Under Segregation

It is possible for white people to mingle with Negroes daily--for white pastors to speak to them the Word of God daily--and still never sense what the Negro under segregation is thinking. A Negro school teacher once told the Southern journalist Robert Penn Warren: "You hear some white men say they know Negroes, understand Negroes. But it's not true. No white man ever born ever understood what a Negro is thinking. What he's feeling. And half the time that Negro--he doesn't understand either."[1]

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[1]Robert Penn Warren, "Divided South Searches Its Soul," Life, XLI (August 21, 1956), 99.

To try to understand the Negro under segregation, therefore, has its limitations. Only a Negro who has lived under segregation can fully understand. And he has difficulty understanding himself.

For the Negro, segregation means much mingling with Caucasians, but with certain restrictions.

The Negro may go to a white man's house for some sort of business--never to pay a social call--and "segregation" requires that he go to the rear door. Or if he dares to go to the front door, he is not to stand at the front door after he has rung the bell, but he is to retreat off the porch at least.[2] In the conversation that ensues, the Negro must be careful to use proper titles for the white man, and he dare never offer to shake the white man's hand.

No matter where the conversation may evolve between a Caucasian and a Negro, the Negro is expected to beat around the bush and never contradict the white man or mention a delicate subject directly.[3] The Caucasian may blow off emotional steam at the Negro. But the Negro dare never blow any back. He is to remain silently submissive.

The Negro may patronize the white man's store--for obvious mercenary reasons. But he can never be guaranteed polite treatment by the white clerk, for the white clerk is on the defensive. He is serving a Negro customer, and this is an inversion of the usual white-colored re-

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[2]Margaret C. McCulloch, Segregation, A Challenge to Democracy (Nashville: Hemphill Press, 1950), p. 11.

[3]Maxwell S. Stewart, The Negro in America (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1952), p. 24.

lationship.[4]

When it comes to securing a job, the Negro in the South dare never consider applying for a job as clerk or secretary in a white store or firm, no matter how refined or how educated the Negro. But that same Negro need not fear to apply at the same stores or firms for a job as porter, messenger, or janitor.[5] In the shining new factories of Mississippi, few Negroes get better jobs than floorsweeping.[6]

When the Southern Negro goes to a movie, he must always sit in the balcony, if it is not a Negro theater. A few cultural activities of the Caucasians may be attended by Negroes. But there, too, the Negro must sit in a segregated position, usually the worst seats, even if he is a cultured Doctor of Philosophy.

And so the picture goes. The Negro goes to the rear of the bus. He sits in the separate waiting rooms at the bus station, at the train station, at the doctor's office. He does not dare to enter certain hotels or restaurants called "white," unless he is cook or porter or janitor. He cannot browse in the city library. He must stay away from the parks and the recreational facilities, except perhaps where there are certain days for the Negro.

When a Negro considers registering to vote, he usually forgets the thought quickly. For he knows that in some Southern counties a handful

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[4]Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class, directed by W. Lloyd Warner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), p. 459.

[5]Ibid., p. 424.

[6]"The Six-Foot Wedge," Time, LXIX (March 4, 1957), 25.

of Negroes are allowed to register, but never more than a handful. It is simply the unwritten rule in most Southern locales that the Negro is not to vote. And the "sensible" Negro will humbly submit to this rule of segregation.[7]

The Negro may be a Baptist minister, but he still dare not go to a "white" Baptist church some Sunday just to visit. He is not allowed. And he is not wanted. The Negro would find this true of practically every denomination in the South, including the Lutheran.

If the Negro high school graduate is especially interested in a field in which the Negro state colleges are weak, he must either take what these Negro colleges have to offer, or he must go North. The "white" undergraduate schools, and most graduate schools, are closed to him. A few Negro children or teenagers may live in the shadow of an excellent "white" school, but must go miles to the "Negro" school.

Hardly a day goes by but that the Negro consciously or subconsciously does not feel the strait jacket of segregation. And how deeply does the Negro feel this segregation? The Southern journalist Robert Penn Warren once asked a Negro college official: "Is there any difference between what the Negro feels at the exclusions of segregation, and what a white feels at the exclusions which he, any man, must always face at some point?" The Negro's concise answer: "Yes, it is different, when your fate is written on your face."[8]

It seems to the casual observer and to the white Southerner that

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[7]Davis, op. cit., p. 486.

[8]Warren, op. cit., p. 111.

most Negroes don't feel these exclusions of segregation. "Racial relations in the South constitute a way of life, acceptable on both sides, and are not aimed at detriment of any group of the citizenry," editorialized the Times-Journal of Selma, Alabama, recently.[9] In an earlier editorial the same paper attributed the present racial tension to "outside pressure." For "before them [the Negroes] are being dangled extravagant promises by agitators and demagogues seeking to further their own purposes."[10] The white South likes to believe that only a radical here and there among the Negroes is really dissatisfied with the segregation of the South.

Some white pastors among the Negroes of the South claim, too, that most Negroes, and especially the Christians, are very happy with the system of segregation. "The Negroes have never mentioned anything about it to me," the pastors say.

But to say that the Negroes are happy with segregation is plainly not confronting the facts. The white man, without being aware of a contradiction, may in one sentence defend the suppression of the Negroes on the ground that they are satisfied with things as they are and in the next explain that the Negroes must be kept down because they are always wanting to be like white people.

William Rotch, editor of The Cabinet, Milford, New Hampshire, had this to say after a recent planned tour of Mississippi: "Was the Negro

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[9]Edward B. Field, "Puzzle for Race Extremists," Selma Times-Journal (March 22, 1957), p. 4, col. 1.

[10]"Now That We Know," Selma Times-Journal, an editorial (September 10, 1956), pp. 1, 4.

content? Emphatically not. What does he want? Three things: economic opportunity, education, and the ballot; in short, to be treated like a man."[11]

The wide Negro support of the recent Negro bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, is often attributed to extremist leadership. But it could not have been 90 per cent effective for over a year, if there had not been a general dissatisfaction with segregation. Otherwise, a large percentage of the Negroes would have declared themselves on the side of the white segregationists just to gain security for themselves.

And even among the Lutheran Negroes of the South it is apparent that this urge to burst the bonds of segregation is strong. In the two extant issues of the 1929-30 Alabama Eagle, student paper of Alabama Lutheran Academy, Selma, Alabama, the discontent with segregation is clearly reflected in one article in each of the issues. This was a period when the paper was being edited under the supervision of a Negro professor.[12]

What Alan Paton says of the South Africans is a striking description also of the Southern Negro: "If I know or understand anything of the African people, it is that they have a fierce hunger to be recognized by the people of the world as their fellows and equals."[13]

Alongside this intense desire of the Negro to break the bonds of

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[11]William Rotch, "Cotton, Cordiality, and Conflict," New South, XII (February, 1957), 10.

[12]J. Wilbur Twitty, "White Defense," The Alabama Eagle, IV (October, 1930), 2-4.

[13]Alan Paton, South Africa in Transition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), pages not numbered.

discrimination and to assert himself as a man there lives an opposite desire—the desire to conform to the wishes of those about him and thus live in outward peace. This accounts for the quiet submission to white-imposed segregation on the part of many Negroes, especially the older generations.

Hortense Powdermaker already in 1939 made a documented study of the Negroes in a small Mississippi town and discovered this general pattern of thinking among them:[14] (1) The older generation, in the seventies and eighties, was so dominated by the desire to conform to the whites' imposed segregation that they actually believed that they were inferior to the Caucasian race. Said one Negro woman of eighty to one of Powdermaker's interviewers: "The whites has always been ahead, and I suppose they always will be. A nigger is a nigger." This same unwitting acceptance of the idea of inferiority by the Negro is reflected in some areas of Negro thinking today: their pride of the light-skinned, straight-haired children who have some "white blood"; their distrust of Negro leadership.[15] (2) The middle generation of Negroes, in their forties, fifties, and sixties, insisted that they were equal to the whites and desired equal treatment. But their desire to conform and to keep things peaceful balanced their desire for freedom from segregation. As a result, they insisted on a very submissive, tactful approach to the whites to gain this freedom. (3) The younger generation desired equal treatment, but they did not possess nor want to possess the tact and

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[14]Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom (New York: The Viking Press, 1939), pp. 326f.

[15]McCulloch, op. cit., p. 16.

diplomacy of their elders.

Thus, the Negro under segregation is pulled by two desires.

The Negro desires to be a man and to be treated as a man. For the unbeliever it may be simply a desire to get ahead in life. For the Christian Negro it is the desire to be the witness Christ wants him to be, to make full use of the gifts God has given him.

And the Negro desires to conform to the social pattern about him. Many a man may desire this simply because it is more comfortable to be dependent upon the whites. Or because it is less painful that way. The Christian desires to conform to the social pattern about him because he wants to remain peaceful with his neighbor so that he might love him with Christ's love and hopefully might be a leaven in the lump of society.

Both desires may be devil-inspired. Or they may both be God-given. But every Negro under segregation has something of both desires, pulling in opposite directions.

B. The White Person And Segregation

One cannot speak of the white man as being "under segregation." Perhaps one could speak of the white man as being "above segregation," for it is he who imposes these restrictions on the Negro.

The white person sees many signs that say "Colored Only." And the white person honors these signs. But he feels no stringent restrictions. He has no desire to break these "bonds of segregation" that keep him out of places designated for Negroes only. For he put up these signs.

There is a multiplicity of reasons for the white man's putting up these signs--a lost war, reluctance to be pressured into anything by the North, etc. Generally speaking there has been no bitter hatred of the Negro by the white. In fact, volumes have already been written describing the tender affection and concern that Southern whites have often shown Negroes.

The Southern Caucasian, like the Southern Negro, is pulled within by two opposite desires. He feels that he must conform to the historic pattern of white superiority which his culture demands. And yet within he also realizes that this is not really "fair" to the Negro.

The first desire--to conform to the historic pattern of white superiority--seems to be the dominant desire at the present in the South.

"The whole motive and drive for segregation," writes Margaret McCulloch, "is the continuation of the white master, Negro servant pattern."[16] It always has been this way--the white above and the Negro below--and it will remain this way, the Southerner argues. This desire to conform to the historic pattern and not to be different is so dominant in the South today that the Southerner in whom this desire is not so strong hardly dare say anything about it.

This historical position of white superiority, it must be emphasized, is not a bitter hatred toward the Negro at all. This historic white-Negro relationship might best be described as "paternal." The Negroes brought to the South before the Civil War were, and still are, regarded as children by most whites. The reaction of the Southern white

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[16] Loc. cit.

now, to the cries for equality and integration by the Negroes, might be compared to the reaction of parents whose children suddenly assert their right to live as independent adults. Some parents react with hurt, some with anger, some try to evade, some try to adjust. A few understand intellectually, but cannot adjust emotionally.[17]

This historic pattern of paternalism is clearly reflected in the reaction of some whites of Choctaw County, Alabama, to Negro Willie Causey when he and his wife recently allowed their desire for integration to be expressed in Life magazine. Said one of the spokesmen of the white group: "I know I have helped Willie, and I know others have helped him. But that wasn't in the magazine. When the article came out we felt as though we had been slapped in the face."[18]

Also a reflection of the Southern white's paternal view of the Negro is seen in the fact the Negro is almost never discussed formally. He is almost never referred to in school or in church. Southern newspapers, with remarkable exceptions, ignore Negroes except for their crimes. For a long time there was an unwritten rule that a picture of a Negro should never appear in print, and even now it is rare.[19] For the Negro, to the Southerner, is only a child, important in his own way, but not really a member of the adult world.

By conforming to this historic pattern of paternalism, the Southern

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[17]"Report on the South: The Integration Issue," New York Times (March 13, 1956), p. S6, col. 1.

[18]Richard B. Stolley, "A Sequel to Segregation," Life, XLI (December 10, 1956), 81.

[19]Stewart, op. cit., p. 4.

white has come to expect and to demand of the Negro the exact opposite of that set of "virtues" that is expected of the white man. Instead of expecting enterprise, initiative, independence, an alert sense of personal freedom and personal honor of the Negro, the white man's paternal view of the Negro demands obedience to command--docile and unquestioning--child-like trust, compliance, servility, and happy acceptance of any fate.[20]

This is the Southern white's historic, paternal view of the Negro, flavored enough by the master-servant view to demand segregation. Needless to say again, the white has an intense desire to conform to this historic pattern. It is "the Southern way of life." To disagree with it is not to be a Southerner. Furthermore, the Negro in this paternal situation usually does act like a child. And so all the more reason to treat him as a child.

But within every Southern Caucasian's heart, dormant or excruciatingly alive, there is the knowledge that the Negro is a man. And there is the desire to treat him as a man.

Again, the Southern journalist Robert Penn Warren describes this inner conflict in himself in the form of an interview with himself:

> The problem is to learn to live with ourselves. . . . I don't think you can live with yourself when you are humiliating the man next to you.
>
> Don't you think the races have made out pretty well, considering?
>
> Yes. By some sort of human decency and charity, God knows how. But there was always an image of something else.[21]

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[20] McCulloch, op. cit., p. 17.

[21] Warren, op. cit., p. 114.

Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish scholar employed by the Carnegie Foundation to make a detailed study of the American race problem, purely from his sociological study discovered this basic inner conflict:

> The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American. It is there that the interracial tension has its focus. It is there that the struggle must go on. . . . "The American Dilemma" . . . is the ever raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call the "American Creed," where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and, on the other hand, the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living where personal and local interests; economic, social, and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses and habits dominate his outlook.[22]

Some people would deny that most Southern Caucasians have any sort of a conflict within them, that they have any sort of a desire to treat the Negro as a man, as a human being. But there does seem to a conflict in most Southern Caucasians' hearts, and a desire to treat the Negro as a man.

The dyed-in-the-wool segregationist editor of the Selma Times-Journal, Edward B. Field, recently wrote an editorial about a ninety-four year old Negro in an adjacent county who had a birthday party and invited both colored and white friends to celebrate with him. Field used this event to point out how "race relations in the South constitute a way of life acceptable to both sides."[23] This was an obvious breach of the regular pattern of Southern segregation. Had the Negro invited his white friends the following Sunday to have dinner with him at his

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[22]Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. xliii.

[23]Field, op. cit., p. 4, col. 1.

table, they might have accused him of "trying to be equal with whites." This event was very definitely a form of integration, but within the scheme of segregation, at the paternal permission of the whites. And at the bottom of Field's superficial defense of the Southerner's "way of life" can be detected the gnawing feeling that things aren't quite as they ought to be. But rather than face reality he keeps trying to prove what he'd like to believe and not what is.

And at the bottom of most Southerners' valiant defense of "the Southern way of life" there must lie the gnawing feeling that maybe this isn't the way of life that agrees with my democratic and my Christian principles. But this feeling is usually submerged and seldom expressed, and instead the desire to conform to the clamoring of those about is the desire that comes to the surface.

C. The Negro and the White and Segregation

A reporter for the New York Times recently made an excellent summary description of the Negro and the white and segregation in Mississippi. It clearly describes the situation throughout the South:

> There is tension in Mississippi. But it is a tension less of interracial animosity than one engendered by parallel frustrations. The white generally are bent on maintaining "their way of life," the Negroes want something better. Neither group has at this juncture the power to secure its desires.[24]

The Southern Negro wants desperately to shake off segregation. But this desire is often kept in check by an opposite desire to keep the peace.

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[24]"Report on the South: The Integration Issue," New York Times (March 13, 1956), p. S7, cols. 8, 9.

The Southern Caucasian wants desperately to maintain segregation as "the Southern way of life." But gnawing at his heart is the "feeling" that this Southern way of life isn't right for the Negro, for any man.

CHAPTER IV

INTEGRATION IN THE SOUTH

A. The Inevitability of Integration

When one considers the conclusions of the previous chapter concerning segregation, one must conclude that either the Caucasians or the Negroes must eventually, perhaps gradually, give in to the other side. Which side will it be? Both sides say they will never give in. But there are many white Southerners, and their number is growing, who say that they know integration is inevitable.

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution wrote already in 1953:

> . . . Segregation has been on its way out for a good long time and has been breaking down at the edges for more than a generation. . . Two great forces have been at work on segregation and the problem of race. One is secular, the other religious.
>
> . . . Segregation is on the way out and he who tries to tell the people otherwise does them great disservice. The problem of the future is how to live with the change.[1]

A United States District judge, Dozier Devane, said recently: "Segregation is as dead as a door nail. And the sooner some of these folks around here realize it, the better it will be for everybody."[2]

Southern lawyer Irving Carlyle recently presented his views to the North Carolina Bar on the inevitability of integration. He stated that

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[1] Harry S. Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 133.

[2] "Unquote," New South, XII (January, 1957), 15.

he was one of several Southern lawyers who believes that the present stand by the Federal government against segregation will never be reversed by constitutional amendments, by federal legislation, or by changes in Supreme Court decisions.[3]

A few of the professional white people of the Black Belt city of Selma, Alabama, have spoken to the Lutheran pastor there concerning integration: "We know it's bound to come. But we sure hate to see it come."[4]

Buford Boone, publisher of the Tuscaloosa News, told a Citizens council in the fall of 1956 that integration at the University of Alabama is inevitable.[5]

Integration, it is agreed by most Southern leaders, is inevitable. But there are many things that impede this inevitable integration.

B. Obstacles to Integration in the South

Margaret McCulloch has listed four obstacles to integration:[6]

1. The heritage of history—the attitudes, circumstances, laws, and practises that have been passed down from generation to generation and now form part of the South's culture.

2. Inertia--the sheer cost and difficulty of making any great social change.

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[3]Irving Carlyle, "Law is to be Obeyed," New South, XII (January, 1957), 13.

[4]From an interview with the Rev. Walter H. Ellwanger, Selma, Alabama, December, 1956.

[5]"Negroes Will Attend Capstone, Newsman Says," Birmingham Post-Herald, January 5, 1957, p. 9, col. 6.

[6]Margaret C. McCulloch, Segregation, A Challenge to Democracy (Nashville: Hemphill Press, 1950), p. 20.

3. Fear—fear of each other, Negro and white, fear of the untried, a vague, undefined but powerful fear in both groups; and particular fears, the fear of punishment by society for breaking the law or custom, fear of losing jobs or friends or family approval.

4. Selfish advantage—economic, political, social. This is the egoism, the self-centeredness that Christians know to be man's basic rebellious sin against man and against God.

These, of course, are not the obvious obstacles to integration. And if one were to ask a Southerner, "Why not integration?" he probably would not mention a one of these basic, underlying obstacles to integration. Rather, he would have a list of comebacks that would only reflect these basic obstacles. To fully see what the impediments to integration are, it is necessary to consider the surface obstacles which block the Southerner's acceptance of integration. And in all of these surface objections, many of them rationalizations, one will see an interplay of the four basic obstacles to integration: the heritage of history, inertia, fear, and selfcenteredness.

1. The fear of miscegenation

The most frequent verbalization of this fear is: "You wouldn't want your daughter to marry a Negro, would you?" Or as Judge Tom Brady put it to the Indianola, Mississippi, Citizen's Council in 1954: "If God in His infinite wisdom had wanted a mongrelized, mixed man, that man would have been on earth."[7]

And then, assuming that integration means rampant miscegenation, the Southerner points to the "deterioration" of the people of Haiti and

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[7]Tom B. Brady, "Black Monday" (Winona: Association of Citizen's Councils of Mississippi, [1954]), p. 14.

Puerto Rico and Cuba and Spain and Italy as a warning against the integration of races. "It is the same old story. The jungle, the black blood, swallows up and with it goes deterioration. It blows out the light within a white man's brain," claimed Judge Brady to the Citizen's Council at Indianola.[8] Even Dr. Holmes Rolston, a Presbyterian theologian, who certainly is not a segregationist, does claim that the superior strength of the English colonies over the French and the Spanish colonies is plainly due to the fact that white settlers in the United States did not give in to miscegenation with the natives.[9]

The very first assumption of this fear of miscegenation is really an unknown: that integration means prolific miscegenation. Where integration is in play in the United States, very little miscegenation has taken place.

Furthermore, it should be noted that segregation does not guarantee against miscegenation. It is estimated that only about 15 per cent of United States Negroes are of unmixed African descent, all others having white, American Indian, or both in their ancestry.[10] And both white and colored persons in a small Mississippi town plainly admitted to a reporter in 1938 that the "good relations" which existed between the castes there was due to the relatively high rate of miscegenation in the

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[8] Ibid., p. 5.

[9] Holmes Rolston, The Social Message of the Apostle Paul (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1942), p. 146.

[10] "The Lineage of a Negro Family," Life, XLI (September 10, 1956), 106.

past and in the present.[11]

But to properly dispel this fear of miscegenation one must understand what race is. The Bible would lead one to believe that all men are descendants of one family, of Adam and Noah. Science would lead us to believe the same thing, that "races" are not really races at all, but are just groupings of people within the one human race.[12] Science has proved that within all three major "races" there are the same variations of height and of the shape of the head; that all three "races" have the same types of blood; and that all three "races" have the same potentialities of color in their skin.[13] The differences apparently developed as a result of climate conditions and as a result of centuries of in-group breeding.[14] Thus, there are no reasons biologically why race mixture should not occur.[15] For all men are of one race.

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[11]Allison Davis, Burleigh Gardner, and Mary Gardner, Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class, directed by W. Lloyd Warner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), pp. 407ff.

[12]Margaret C. McCulloch, Integration--Promise-Process-Problem (Nashville: The Hemphill Press, 1952), p. 10.

[13]Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, The Races of Mankind (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1951), pp. 6ff. Scientists have discovered that skin color is determined by two chemicals. One of these, carotene, gives a yellow tinge; the other, melanin, contributes the brown. These colors, along with the pinkish tinge that comes when the blood vessels show through, give various shades to the human skin. Every person, however light or dark his skin may appear, has some of each of these materials in his skin. The one exception is the albino, who lacks coloring substances--and albinos appear among dark- and light-skinned peoples alike. People of browner complexions simply have more melanin in their skin, people of yellowish color, more carotene. It is not an all-or-nothing difference; it is a difference in proportion. One's skin color is due to the proportion of these chemicals present in the skin.

[14]Ibid., p. 5.

[15]Paul H. Krekeler and others, "What Science Has To Say About Race,"

In fact, it is the opinion of physical anthropologists who have studied the subject, that hybrid groups arising from the different races are not inferior to either of the parent stocks, but frequently--in some respects--are superior to them.[16]

Some Christians have referred to Deuteronomy Seven to prove that miscegenation is a sin. This is the section of the Torah where God forbids the Israelites to marry the heathen tribes of Canaan. But first it must be noted that the Israelites were a nationality, not a race. Thus, if Deuteronomy Seven is interpreted as a commandment against interracial marriages, it would be more precise to interpret it as a commandment against intermarriage among nations. And this would mean that God has forbidden Germans to marry Swedes.

However, God forbade the Israelites to marry into the heathen tribes of Palestine not because intermarriage between people of different nations and races is dangerous and deteriorating and sinful, but because intermarriage between God's people and those who are not God's is dangerous and deteriorating and sinful. God says in Deuteronomy Seven to the Israelites: "You shall not make marriages with them. . . . For they would turn away your sons from following me, to serve other gods." The sin and the deterioration of inter-tribal marriages does not lie in the fact that two people of different tribal stock marry, but the fact that one whose life centers around God marries another whose life centers

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Proceedings of the 1955 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations, July 8-10 (Valparaiso: The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, 1955), p. 21.

[16]Andrew Schulze, My Neighbor of Another Color (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1941), p. 130.

around himself and leaves God out. God's concern is not that the physical blood of the Israelites and the Canaanites will get mixed, but that the Israelites will leave their God. And therefore, Deuteronomy Seven does not speak against inter-tribal or inter-national or inter-racial marriages, but against inter-religious marriages, marriages between God's people and people who are not God's.

To those who point to the Mediterranean countries and to Latin America to prove what miscegenation produces, it is not easy to give a short answer. First, it might be debated how superior the scientific, materialistic United States is to other types of cultures. But granting that the culture of the United States is superior, it seems that it still is impossible to narrow down the cause of a nation's "deterioration" to a superficial cause such as miscegenation. To say that a colony or a nation "deteriorated" because there was no solid family life, because immorality was rampant in all areas of life, because there was no group consciousness or loyalty or integrity, because each man was living selfishly for himself, because God was left out of the picture--this is getting to the bottom of things. But to say that miscegenation is the cause of a nation's deterioration is to be speaking only of a surface symptom that may or may not be a real symptom, depending on the individual case.

All of this discussion concerning the innocency of miscegenation does not prove that inter-racial marriages are advisable, especially in a social order such as that of the United States, which nearly ostracizes such couples. Nor is it implied that rampant miscegenation will follow on the heels of integration. But it is clear from the Bible and from science that miscegenation as such is neither wrong nor harmful.

Therefore, the Southerner's fear of miscegenation has no scientific nor Scriptural basis.

2. The defense of the "separate but equal" theory

This is one of the main obstacles to integration in the South. Many a Southerner is convinced that segregation and equality can exist side by side.

However, the honest Southerner will be the first to admit that nowhere have segregation and perfect equality ever existed together. Some Southerners are hypocritical in their defense of the "separate but equal" theory; they fall back on it only to avoid integration, not because they believe that Negroes deserve equality. Other Southerners are very honest in their defense of this theory and fully intend to make it a reality.

Authorities in various fields, however, have shown that segregation and equality cannot live together.

The Swedish scholar Gunnar Myrdal, in his intensive study of the racial problem in the United States, came to see that segregation and discrimination express the same idea. He wrote: "Social segregation and discrimination is a system of deprivations forced upon the Negro group by the white group.[17] Experience has shown that discrimination is inherent in segregation.

When the Supreme Court handed down the famous school decision on May 17, 1954, it made very clear that even if "separate but equal" were

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[17] Osborn Smallwood, "The Cycle of Limitation," The Christian and Race (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), p. 9.

possible as far as tangible facilities go, this still would not be real equality. In the words of the chief justice: "To separate [Negro pupils] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race, generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way likely ever to be undone; . . . in the field of public education the doctrine 'separate but equal' has no place."[18]

It has very aptly been pointed out that to have segregation and equality would, among other things, require two completely separate governments all the way up to the presidency.

From scientific viewpoints it must be concluded that segregation means discrimination of some sort, never real equality.[19]

3. Fear of tensions resulting from integration

Many a white Southerner may agree that integration is the ideal, but it would never work out. It is not practical. And they fear enormous tensions between races if integration were tried. Largely this is the fear of the unknown.

Chris Heinz, mayor of Selma, Alabama, expressed this fear of tension in a public statement in the Selma newspaper:

> It is my opinion that both races are happier and better under our present segregated system.

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[18] "The School Decision and the South," New South, XI (July, August, 1956), 1.

[19] Alvin Walcott Rose, "Strategies in Racial and Cultural Relations," Proceedings of the 1951 Valparaiso University Institute on Race Relations, July 30, 31 [Valparaiso: Valparaiso University], p. 43.

> It is my opinion that under our present system, each race is free from social discrimination, free from any ill-feeling that would probably exist if our system were to be changed.[20]

A Lutheran teenager from Pascagoula, Mississippi, expressed the same sort of fear in The Walther League Messenger: "No, I don't think that we should have Negroes and whites going to the same school because trouble always starts among the Negroes and the whites."[21]

At the present, the South is "peaceful," says the Southerner. Integration would bring nothing but turmoil.

Actually, to say that the South is peaceful is to misevaluate the situation. "Racial harmony" in the South has been based on the submissive, unprotesting acceptance by Negroes of inferior status.[22] Within the Negro has always been the seething tension and dissatisfaction with segregation that now is beginning to show itself on the surface. "Racial harmony" has existed only on the surface.

It is true that integration involves a great social change and, therefore, may bring some tensions to the surface. But it has been proved that where a positive, well-planned scheme for integration has taken place, no lasting tensions have resulted. And a healthier pattern of human relations, based on mutual respect instead of paternalism, has been laid out for the good of generations to come.[23]

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[20]"Selma Takes Its Stand," Selma Times-Journal [ca. June, 1954], p. 4, col. 1.

[21]"Racial Segregation in the Classroom," The Walther League Messenger, LXV (February, 1957), 10.

[22]"The School Decision and the South," New South, XI (July, August, 1956), 3.

[23]Loc. cit.

A clerk in Baltimore, Maryland, saw this fear of tension and of the unknown in himself in a rather clear light when he said this of integration to a reporter:

> I expect maybe this whole thing's like a piece of new machinery. It's shiny and untested, and you feel strange about it, and don't want it. But you get it set up and oiled and gradually you clear the bugs out of it, and it begins working okay. And you're surprised, and then you get down to work like you've had it all your life.[24]

This fear of tension and of the unknown is a natural fear but has no scientific basis for permanently impeding integration.

4. The belief that the Negro is inherently inferior

This belief is a formidable obstacle to integration. For if one believes that the Negro isn't human, at least inferior to the mainstream of humanity, then it logically follows that such a person shouldn't be treated as a human but should be segregated.

It is clear that the educational level of the Negro of the South is lower than the education level of the Southern Caucasian. But this is explained by the extreme inadequacy of the school system for Negroes until recently and the necessity of many of the children to go to work at a young age. As late as 1920, 85 per cent of all Negro pupils in the South were enrolled in the first four grades, and in 1916 there were only 67 Negro public high schools, with fewer than 20,000 students.[25] Still in 1933 more than 200 counties with Negro populations of 12.5 per

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[24]"Report on the South: The Integration Issue," New York Times, March 13, 1956, p. S2, col. 6.

[25]Ashmore, op. cit., p. 19.

cent or more had no Negro high schools at all.[26] Compulsory school attendance in many rural areas of the South is still unheard of.

The following description of a Negro's difficulties in getting an education in the rural South, reported by a Negro girl in Mississippi to a reporter in 1938, are still descriptive of many rural areas in the South:

> My mother had thirteen haid of chillun', 'n ez soon ez we ol' 'nough tuh work, she har (hired) us out or mek us work with huh in the fiel'. We wuzn' no where near ez big as dat chile (pointing to white girl about ten years old) w'en I left home tuh work. Seven of us harred out--'n' five work on de farm. Ef I coulduh gone tuh school, soon ez I git in school, hit time tuh come out 'n' git tuh work in de fiel's.[27]

Scientific tests have shown that the Negro is as mentally capable of educational attainment as the Caucasian. Negro youth in Ohio, where there are better schools available, measured higher in the comprehensive intelligence tests than white youth of every state in the South except Florida.[28] It must be concluded that the Negro's low educational status does not reflect any mental inferiority, but rather, unfavorable opportunities for education.

Some Caucasians believe that the Negro is innately morally inferior, and they point to the high crime rate among Negroes, the wobbly family foundations, and the gross falsehoods of Negroes. Psychologist Helen McLean points out that because the Negro is so low on the social ladder he has no prestige or security to lose when he attempts to solve his

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[26] Ibid., p. 26.

[27] Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, op. cit., p. 412.

[28] Charles S. Johnson, "A Southern Negro's View of the South," New South, XI (December, 1956), 5.

personal and racial problems in socially unacceptable ways.[29] The Christian must say that the Negro has gone far from God when he lives an immoral life. But neither the scientist nor the Christian can say that the Negro is morally inferior to the Caucasian by birth. Sociologically, it can be said that the low morals of many of the Negroes are due to his low social position, his economic frustrations, and the immoral pattern that was established for him by the plantations during slavery days.[30]

There are several reasons why the white Southerner often instinctively thinks of the Negro as inferior. History has taught him to think this way. The master-servant relationship still carried out today implies the Negro's inferiority. About the only news of the Negro in Southern newspapers is the news of the Negro's crimes. The news of Negro accomplishments is seldom mentioned. The Southern white's contacts with the Negro are almost entirely with the lowest class of Negroes—servants, common laborers, tenant farmers; the educated professional and business class are forced to do all their business with their own race, and furthermore, they try to avoid the white man as much as possible to avert annoying discriminations.[31] Ever since the white man can remember, he has seen the Negro living in shanties, often dirty and in rags, often so uneducated that he can't pronounce his own name distinctly, much less write it. It is no wonder that the Southern white man has of-

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[29]Helen V. McLean, "Psychodynamic Factors in Racial Relations," Controlling Group Prejudice, (The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science), CCXLIV (March, 1946), 160f.

[30]Schulze, op. cit., p. 136.

[31]Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, op. cit., p. 241.

ten drawn the conclusion that this is the way the Negro is, by nature the Negro is inferior.

White Southerners are very rightly afraid of what might happen to their educational standards if complete integration of the school system were to happen overnight. But to say that the Negro is mentally and morally inferior to the Caucasian by birth is untenable. And it is a tortuous logic that would use the tragic results of inequality to establish the need of it.[32]

5. The belief that God made the Negro to be a servant

This obstacle to integration is found especially among Christians.

Christians base this belief on the account of God's cursing of Canaan, Gen. 9:18-27. Many believe that the curse was placed upon Ham. But Scripture clearly says that curse was placed on Canaan. It was to Canaan that Noah said: "A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." And there is nothing in Scripture to justify the position that Ham was cursed.[33]

It is generally agreed among Bible scholars that the Negro is not a descendant of Canaan but of Kush, a brother of Canaan.[34] Therefore, it cannot be said that God cursed the Negro.

Furthermore, the New Testament Christian knows that through the blood of His cross Christ has reconciled all things unto Himself.

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[32]Charles Johnson, op. cit., p. 5.

[33]J. Ernest Schufelt, "Noah's Curse and Blessing," Concordia Theological Monthly, XVII (October, 1946), 742.

[34]Schulze, op. cit., p. 46.

Christ has overcome the curse of sin for men, including the curse on Canaan.

6. The fear of outside pressure

Perhaps this obstacle to integration could also be stated as "The Southerner's revolt against outside pressure."

J. B. Wall, editor of the Farmville (Virginia) Herald, gave expression to this inner revolt against outside pressure recently in these words: "We're not mad with anyone, but we've just been pushed as far as we're going to be pushed, and we're not going to be pushed anymore."[35]

This inner revolt of the white Southerner toward outside pressure in matters pertaining to racial relations dates back to the Civil War. Slavery was done away with by war and by laws imposed and enforced by the victors. Freedom and democracy for the Negroes was something the enemy was trying to force on them. Belief in this new freedom for the Negro became treason to "our Southland."[36]

Judge Tom P. Brady in his address to the Indianola (Mississippi) Citizen's Council in 1954 gives vent to this historical reluctance to give in to outside pressure:

> The Scalawags in the South (they are always Scalawags), the Carpetbaggers, the Northern troops, and the Negroes voted in the Fourteenth Amendment. It was illegally done, and therefore, has never had any moral effect in the South because our fathers knew it was illegal, and their fathers knew it. We know it.[37]

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[35] "Report on the South: The Integration Issue," New York Times, March 13, 1956, p. S8, col. 8.

[36] McCulloch, Segregation, op. cit., p. 18.

[37] Brady, op. cit., p. 8.

It is a natural response to outside pressure to despise it, especially if it necessitates a repentance and an admission of injustice. It is embarrassing, it is hard to bow to authority. One can sympathize with anyone's reluctance to bow to an outside authority or pressure.

But this fear of outside pressure is misleading in two ways. First, it leads the Southern Caucasian to believe that there are none in the South who are pressuring for equality and integration, but that the pressure is coming completely from the North. This is not true. Secondly, it leads the Southerner's view away from the real matter at hand. He begins pondering the men on the Supreme Court or the Northerner instead of the Negro and justice.

Undoubtedly it must be admitted that this is one of the touchiest objections of the Southern Caucasian to integration, one that cannot be underestimated or dealt with lightly.

7. The iron curtain of non-communication

The Southern Caucasian maintains that he knows the Negro, and that if the Northerner knew the Negro, too, he wouldn't consider integration. But actually, segregation has thrown up an iron curtain of non-communication between the Negro and the white. And this is a serious obstacle to integration.

Because of segregation the Southern Caucasian meets the Negro only in formal work or business situations. The segregation principles do not allow for an informal conversation where Negro and white are on an equal basis.

Ludd Spivey, Southern education leader pointed to the danger of

non-communication at an interracial meeting of educators in New Orleans:

> The iron curtain is a hard word for the lack of communication. Wherever there is an iron curtain, be it between nations, classes or races, it creates stagnation. The men suffocate; there hatred and bitterness are generated; there intolerance grows, and fresh ideas die aborning. And there, wars have their origin.[38]

8. Fear of economic and social reprisals

There are many whites in the South who very much favor integration, or at least are willing to go along with it, but fear economic reprisals and social ostracism. This is one of the most forceful obstacles to integration.

In Selma, Alabama, the Rev. J. D. Hunt, a Negro and NAACP chairman, has reported that of twenty-eight Negroes petitioning for school integration in Selma, ten were dismissed from their jobs. Nine more removed their names from the petition. Eight were self-employed--but two barbers had to move their shop. Only one job holder went untouched.[39] This is not an isolated case. And the whites know that such economic and social reprisals would likely be meted against them.

This fear of economic and social reprisals has the end result that in most Southern localities the average Southerner hears only one side of the integration process that is taking place. The pastor often doesn't dare to mention anything about it in his preaching and teaching and daily witnessing. Nor does the Christian layman.

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[38]Ludd M. Spivey, "Bridging Barriers," Discrimination in Higher Education (New Orleans: Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., n.d.), pp. 9f.

[39]"Report on the South: The Integration Issue," New York Times, March 13, 1956, p. S7, col. 1.

This obstacle to integration is another that cannot be brushed aside lightly. One cannot say that a Southerner simply lacks courage and conviction when he is remiss to speak of integration.

More obstacles to integration could be added to this list of eight. All of these forces and others within and without a Southerner are arrayed against integration. The total bundle of these obstacles add up to prejudice. And the Christian must add the underlying cause of all these fears and prejudices: man's sinful flesh, his self-centeredness, his revolt against God.

All these forces arrayed against integration in the South are encouraged in an organized way by White Citizen's Councils, most Southern newspapers, schools, and other organizations.

The White Citizen's Council was born in Sunflower County, Mississippi, the home county of Senator James Eastland, in 1954,[40] and now has about 80,000 members in about 300 chapters in that state alone.[41] Chapters of the White Citizen's Councils or similar councils are now found throughout the South.

The White Citizen's Councils at the outset were rather radical in their support of segregation. On December 6, 1954, at the WCC organizational meeting in Linden, Alabama, State Senator Walter Givhan charged that the ultimate goal of the NAACP "is to open the bedroom doors of our white women to all Negro men." And he declared: "This is a white man's country, it always has been, and it always will be. It is our duty to

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[40]Paul Anthony, "Pro-Segregation Groups' History and Trends," New South, XII (January, 1957), 4.

[41]"Report on the South: The Integration Issue," New York Times, March 13, 1956, p. S1, cols. 7, 8.

train our boys and girls to fight the same battle as we are now fighting."[42]

A Selma spokesman of the WCC declared soon after that: "We intend to make it difficult, if not impossible, for any Negro who advocates desegregation to find and hold a job, get credit, or renew a mortgage."[43]

The WCC clearly defined as one of their goals: to use economic pressure "to the end that those who stir up discontent (active integrationists) may be removed from the community."[44]

Since 1956 "respectability" and "legal" means of action have become the incessant self-description of the group. Many influential, well-respected leaders of communities have become the leaders of WCC. Less has been heard about economic reprisals and disfranchisement--though both have continued in practise.[45] It must be stated that many educated Southern Caucasians regard the WCC as a radical group and will have nothing to do with it.[46]

Southern newspapers have also encouraged the bundle of fears and prejudices that oppose integration, with notable exceptions. Insignificant WCC meetings, interracial incidents, and the like often take precedence over international and national crises of huge dimensions. In-

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[42]Anthony, op. cit., p. 6.

[43]Loc. cit.

[44]Ibid., p. 5.

[45]Ibid., p. 7.

[46]Robert Graetz, "The Montgomery Bus Boycott--My Part in It," Proceedings of the 1956 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations, July 13-15, (Valparaiso: The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, 1956), p. 25.

cidents of smooth-working integration seldom find their way into the papers at all.

Some change has taken place during the past year to somewhat restore the balance of news, but in most Southern cities it still is far from balanced. Notable exceptions to this pattern of disproportionate news coverage are such Southern newspapers as: Tuscaloosa (Alabama) News, Cheraw (South Carolina) Chronicle, Atlanta Constitution.

In many places leaders of the community encourage the bundle of fear and prejudice. Reference has already been made to many Southern political leaders who exert much influence on the people by addresses and proclamations. Judge Tom P. Brady's "A Review of Black Monday," an address in favor of segregation, has had wide circulation in the South. Unfortunately, of course, the issue has been used by some politicians simply as a vote-getting, approval-winning device. Segregation has become a necessary plank for every politician's platform. A notable exception to this rule is present Governor Coleman of Mississippi, who refused to make any statement on the integration issue during his campaign and won the election by a landslide.[47]

Schools often encourage the bundle of fear and prejudice. In 1956 Miss Sara Cobb, Dallas County (Alabama) High School, won $100 in a county-wide essay contest on "Why I believe in Segregation."[48]

But in spite of the many forces that are arrayed against integration in the South, there are many forces working for it.

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[47] "The Six-foot Wedge," Time, LXIX (March 4, 1957), 25.

[48] Arthur Capell, "Violence and Lowered Standards Integration Price at Washington," Selma Times-Journal, May 18, 1956, p. 1.

C. Contributions to Integration in the South

1. The individual conscience, the split heart

In the face of this onslaught of forces encouraging segregation, there is that gnawing feeling in the heart of the Southern white that sometimes comes to the surface: "Are we really treating the Negro the way we ought?" For the upright citizen it is the democratic principle of justice based on the "self-evident" truth that all men were created equal. For the Christian it is the love of Christ in a man's heart, the very Spirit of God, that moves him to seek ways to love the Negro even as Christ has loved him.

2. Outstanding Negroes

When white Southerners take their eyes off the criminal Negroes whom they meet in the papers and notice some of the outstanding Americans who are Negroes--Ralph Bunche, Marian Anderson, and others--and when they see some of the pastors, teachers, doctors, and other leaders of their community, it is a strong force in reminding the Caucasian of the Negro's humanity and of the Negro's potential for service and contributions to society.

It has been noted before, however, that most Southern whites are prevented from meeting Negro leaders by the iron curtain of segregation. And reports of the outstanding Negro leaders are always eclipsed in the newspapers by reports of Negro criminals.

3. Outstanding white citizens

Some Southern whites have spoken out very clearly for integration,

though all of them caution against too speedy an integration. Such Southern authors as William Faulkner and Robert Penn Warren have spoken clearly through their writings. Many political and educational leaders, especially in the Upper South, have spoken and acted decisively in favor of integration.

Seventy per cent of the Southern college teachers who replied to a recent questionnaire, favored the immediate admission of Negro students without segregation to graduate and professional schools.[49]

Ministers have often exerted their leadership to encourage integration. Pastors in Henderson, Kentucky, stood almost alone in opposing the WCC and in spite of tremendous pressures from their congregation were able to lead their town through the tensions of school integration.[50]

When trouble arose over integrating the high school at Matcaha, West Virginia, Don Speerlock, Methodist minister, braved catcalls and a barrage of eggs to plead for a halt to a demonstration which had developed. He finally persuaded a crowd of 300 white adults to break up and to meet later at his church to discuss the problem.[51]

The reaction of the white Southerner to these white Southern leaders who speak out for integration is often one of suspicion. As a Lutheran pastor in Memphis put it: "The emotional appeal to side with

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[49]E. Franklin Frazier, "The Crisis in Negro Education," Discrimination in Higher Education (New Orleans: Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., n.d.), p. 21.

[50]Colbert S. Cartwright, "What Can Southern Ministers Do?," Christian Century LXXIII (December 26, 1956), 1505.

[51]Loc. cit.

and to champion the cause of the underdog and the underprivileged is always a great temptation."[52]

4. Churches in the South

It has been charged that churches have done more to discourage integration than to encourage it in the South. And this would not be difficult to prove. But there are many instances of contributions that churches have made to integration, much of it working unnoticed like leaven in a loaf of bread.

The Roman Catholic Church, though very weak in many parts of the South, has exerted an influence on the South in various places by its firm stand against segregation. The integration of the Negro and white parishes in Newton Grove, North Carolina, was a clear implementation of of the stand of the Roman Catholic Church.[53] As has been noted before, what shades of liberality toward integration exist in Louisiana, are due in large part to the influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

The influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the South is not due simply to hierarchical legalism. A Catholic Committee of the South, comprising Catholic leaders of the region--both clerical and lay--, "has given many Southern Roman Catholics at all levels, a new, American, Christian concept of race and social justice."[54]

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[52]Paul Schmidt, "Segregation in the Church?--Pro," Seminarian, XLVIII (January, 1957), 48.

[53]"Souls Don't Have Color," (Detroit: UAW-CIO Fair Practises and Anti-Discrimination Department, n.d.), pp. 9ff.

[54]Raymond E. Bernard, "Who is the Negro?" (St. Louis: The Queen's Work, 1956), p. 26.

The Presbyterian Church USA is one of the most forthright denominations of Protestantism in working for integration. The church has a special fund set up for aiding Southern whites and Negroes against whom economic reprisals and retaliating lawsuits are leveled because of their stand for integration. When a spokesman for the Presbyterian Church USA met with a group of Christian Negroes near Sumter, South Carolina, who were being retaliated against for requesting integrated schools, he assured the congregation that if any member of the body of Christ suffered, all suffered together; that what had happened to the Sumter group had happened to the whole church; that the just and democratic society sought by the Sumter group was the legitimate goal of the church's mission on earth. And he presented the group with a check for $10,000 to aid them in their court costs.[55]

In early 1957 more than a hundred Negro and white Presbyterians, laymen and ministers, met in a Southern city to discuss a broad question: "How can Southern Christians preserve their principles--and if possible their persons--during this tense period?"[56]

Many of the churches' contributions to integration have been on the level of the local congregation and of the individual member witnessing to his faith working by love.

A few years ago the Lutheran Church in the white community of Lake Charles, Louisiana, received the Negro Guillory family into active mem-

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[55]H. B. Siessel, "Segregation in Sumter, South Carolina," Presbyterian Life, X (January 5, 1957), 34.

[56]"Negro, White Presbyterians Meet in South," Presbyterian Life, X (March 2, 1957), 18.

bership. Since then they have moved to Texas.[57] There are reports of congregations in Little Rock and near Conover, North Carolina, that have had Negro families as active members.[58]

Though the white Lutheran Synodical Conference missionaries among the Negroes in the South have often been criticized for not working more concretely for complete integration, the fact is that these ministers have often been living testimonies to the Southern Caucasians about them that the Negro is a man and ought to be treated as such.

Some of the unique circumstances in which the Lutheran Church lives in the South will be treated in chapter six.

Every major church body in the United States has made some sort of an official stand in favor of integration. These official stands have contributed toward integration in the South, though the implementation of the stands have yet to be worked out by most local churches.

5. The Southern Regional Council

Organized for over twelve years, the Southern Regional Council is the area's foremost interracial organization. With branches in fourteen Southern states it has been conducting human relations sessions to open the doors for moderate views. It also has called on the Southern states' chambers of commerce to urge "sensible" solutions to integration petitions as a matter of long range economic benefit to the

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[57]"A Negro Confirmed in a White Congregation at Lake Charles, Louisiana," Exegetical Studies in Race Relations, III (March-September, 1950), 4f.

[58]Christopher F. Drewes, Half a Century of Lutheranism Among Our Colored People (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1927), p. 7.

region.[59]

The Southern Regional Council's objective is to get Negro and white leaders of a community together to discuss human relations, but in the Lower South it is difficult to get the white leaders to agree to this. In Selma, Alabama, for instance, the Southern Regional Council chapter has only one white member, a Lutheran minister.

The Southern Regional Council works so quietly that many Southerners are not even aware of its existence.

6. The National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People

The NAACP is known everywhere for its determined furtherance of the Negro's cause. Many Southerners who believe that the WCC are extremists on the one side believe that the NAACP are extremists on the other side.[60]

The NAACP is a forty-seven-year-old organization with 300,000 members and 13,000 chapters in 43 states, the District of Columbia, and Alaska. About 90 per cent of its membership is Negro; 62 per cent is situated in the South. About $500,000 is spent from its dues and contributions on legal, legislative, and educational programs.[61]

Often charged with being a Communist-front organization, it has been clearly established many times that this is not true. In 1953 J. Edgar Hoover, FBI Director, heartily endorsed the NAACP with these words: "Equality, freedom, and tolerance are essential in a democratic

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[59]"Report on the South: The Integration Issue," New York Times, March 13, 1956, p. S1, col. 9.

[60]Graetz, op. cit., p. 25.

[61]"Report on the South: The Integration Issue," New York Times, March 13, 1956, p. S1, col. 8.

government. The NAACP has done much to preserve these principles and to perpetuate the desires of our founding fathers."[62] Nevertheless, the grapevine in the South today often claims that the NAACP is communist.

Though the NAACP leaders in the South were found by New York Times reporters to be "patient, understanding, and often anxious to cushion the blow for the white community,"[63] many of the liberal Southerners believe that they are pushing integration too fast.

The legal methods of the NAACP will be discussed in the next chapter.

7. The younger generation

There is a noticeable cleavage between the older and the younger generations in their attitudes. The younger people frequently indicate that they do not regard themselves as having a vested responsibility in the old order of segregation.[64]

Following is part of the report of a newspaperman's interview with some students at Lanier High School, Montgomery, Alabama, the day after the Supreme Court had handed down its important school decision:

> Though they all knew it would come sooner or later, they admit they could not help feeling a strong emotional reaction to the decision. . . .
>
> It was almost unanimously agreed whatever friction might pop up at first would soon die out. . . .

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[62]"NAACP Acclaimed by Distinguished Americans" (New York: The NAACP, 1953), a pamphlet, pages unnumbered.

[63]"Report on the South: The Integration Issue," New York Times, March 13, 1956, p. S1, col. 9.

[64]Loc. cit.

> After thinking it through, virtually all agreed they were less concerned about the ruling and its effects than their elders seem to be.[65]

Whether this liberal, openminded view of the situation will change as the younger generation moves into the mould of its elders is impossible to determine.

8. The broadening horizons of the South

The South is no longer the rural, fenced-in part of the nation that it used to be. Many changes are taking place that are broadening the horizons of the South in all directions, also toward human relations.

Racial integration has taken place at schools in Federal military installations in the South without any untoward incidents. Such integration has provided living examples of working integration for the South.[66]

Likewise, national network television programs coming from the North and the West have reflected on stage and in the audience the integration in effect in those regions and have thus brought working examples of integration into many a Southerner's thinking.

9. Impartial, outside authority

This same point was listed before as an obstacle to integration. But outside pressure and authority also contribute to integration.

Few Southern whites who desire to treat the Negro as a man want

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[65]Jack Freeman, "Students at Lanier Shocked by Supreme Court Decision," Montgomery Advertiser, May 18, 1954, p. 1

[66]"Report on the South: The Integration Issue," New York Times, March 13, 1956, p. S1, col. 9.

personal responsibility among their less liberal friends for advocating integration. It is simpler when the mandate comes from some unchallengeable and objective authority that is stronger than the community itself.[67]

It is for the segregationists that outside pressure is an added obstacle to a change of mind. But for the integrationist, it is a boon.

10. The vote value of the Negro

To date this has not contributed much toward integration in the South. And perhaps it is good that it has not. If Southern politicians were to espouse the cause of integration simply to get the Negro vote, this would be hypocrisy, though it might help the Negro in the end.

Other contributions toward integration in the South could be listed. These are some of the major contributions that may not be felt at the present by the Southerner as much as are the obstacles. But they are making their impact. And their impact seems to be growing.

D. The Status of Integration in the South

To draw a complete picture of the status of integration in the South is impossible in a few brief paragraphs, but it is important for the purposes of this paper to draw at least a general picture of Southern integration.

Though most of the integration in the South has taken place since the 1954 school desegregation decision of the Supreme Court, this is a

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[67]Charles Johnson, op. cit., p. 4.

process that did not begin overnight. Already in the 1930's the legal battle for integration had begun in the courts, though many of the early cases were simply an attempt to achieve equality, such as in teachers' salaries and in graduate school facilities, rather than to achieve integration.

Three of the more important Supreme Court decisions, however, that did lead toward integration before the 1954 school decision: 1944--white primaries declared unconstitutional; 1946--racial segregation of passengers in interstate bus travel decreed illegal regardless of state laws; 1948--restrictive covenants pronounced unenforceable by courts.[68]

The Supreme Court decision on the desegregation of schools, May 17, 1954, is usually considered the pivotal point in the court's decisions because it requires informal integration, not just the formal integration of bus seating and voting, and it unequivocally makes illegal the "separate but equal" doctrine of the South by stating that even if the "tangible facilities" were equal, this still would not be real equality.

Since this crucial school decision, the following rulings have also been laid down by the Supreme Court: the implementation decree for the school desegregation decision on May 31, 1955, declaring that Federal District Courts would have jurisdiction over lawsuits to enforce the desegregation decision; the decree banning racial segregation in publicly financed parks, playgrounds, and golf courses on November 7, 1955. On November 25, 1955, the Interstate Commerce Commission ruled that segregation of races on interstate trains and in waiting rooms of stations

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[68] The Negro Handbook 1949, edited by Florence Murray (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), pp. 48ff.

was unlawful.[69]

Public school desegregation has been accomplished to some degree in nine of the seventeen Southern states: Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware.[70] Only in Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Maryland, however, is the integration anywhere near complete.

Throughout the South denominational secondary schools have integrated here and there. In Alabama, for instance, the Roman Catholic Spring Hill College, near Mobile, and Talladega College (Congregational Christian) in the northern part of the state are integrated.[71]

Golf courses opened on an integrated basis now are in various cities including Atlanta, Georgia; Nashville, Tennessee; and Asheboro, High Point, and Thomasville, North Carolina. All state parks in Kentucky and parks in Knoxville, Tennessee, now operate on an integrated basis.[72]

The following cities suspended compulsory segregation on local buses without the goad of court action: Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Fort Smith, and Hot Springs, Arkansas; Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, and Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Knoxville, Tennessee; San Antonio, Corpus Christi, and Dallas, Texas; and Richmond, Norfolk, Portsmouth, New-

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[69]"Report on the South: The Integration Issue," New York Times, March 13, 1956, p. S1, col. 1.

[70]"The School Decision and the South," New South, XI (July, August, 1956), 2.

[71]"Report on the South: The Integration Issue," New York Times, March 13, 1956, p. S7, col. 2.

[72]"The School Decision and the South," New South, XI (July, August, 1956), 2.

port News, Petersburg, Charlottesville, Fredericksburg, Lynchburg, and Roanoke, Virginia.[73]

Churches in the South that have taken steps toward integration on the congregational level are the Roman Catholic churches and the Unitarian churches.[74]

No records are available which reveal how many, if any, public libraries in the South have been opened to the Negroes. Nor is it possible to determine how many more Negroes are registered voters now than before the desegregation decision of May 17, 1954. But throughout the Lowland South there still are many counties where there are no Negroes registered, and those counties which do allow Negroes to register allow only a handful to do so.[75]

A Gallup Poll taken in January, 1957, compared with previous polls, shows the increased public favor across the nation for integrated schools:

INCREASING PUBLIC FAVOR OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION

	Approve	Disapprove	No Opinion
July, 1954	54%	41%	5%
May, 1955	56%	38%	6%
February, 1956	57%	38%	5%
January, 1957	63%	31%	6%

In isolating the opinion of the Southerners from the January, 1957, poll, it is shown that two out of three Southerners opposed school inte-

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73"Bus Integration Spreads," New South, XII (January, 1957), 14.

74"Create a Climate of Goodwill," New South, XI (October, 1956), 2.

75W. H. Ellwanger, notes taken at a Southern Regional Council meeting held in Selma, Alabama.

gration at that time, and 27 per cent, not even one out of three persons approved integration in the schools.[76]

The editor of the Cheraw (South Carolina) Chronicle set the various types of integration in a proper perspective when he wrote the following concerning desegregation on the buses and the golf courses:

> The matter of desegregation on municipal transit lines, or on public golf courses, actually is a minor matter. A hue and a cry has been raised over a tempest in a teapot. We're making mountains out of molehills.
>
> No question of social significance is created by integration on the city buses. No danger of miscegenation is raised thereby. No real problem exists as it relates to these matters, except the artificial difficulties stirred by troublemakers, or by stubborn, frightened, willful little men, who are not fit for leadership.[77]

But in school integration real social integration is involved, and in this area the South advances slowly.

Integration of golf courses, seating on buses and in stations, integration in theaters, parks, and places of amusement is strictly formal integration, where the Negro and the white will likely seldom integrate in conversation. Yet such formal integration is necessary, and it leads to the important informal integration.

Informal integration begins to take place in church and school integration, in residential integration, and in job integration. This is where the white man is likely to meet the Negro, talk with him, get to know him, and thus become integrated with him in society.

Therefore, it may be concluded that informal integration in the

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76"Sixty-three Per Cent Back '54 Ruling on Segregation," Des Moines Sunday [News], January 13, 1957, p. 2, col. 4.

77"Epidemic to Fear," Cheraw Chronicle, quoted in New South, XII (February, 1957), 13.

South has gotten a good start. The more important informal integration has barely begun.

E. The World and Integration in the South

This matter of the importance of integration in the South to world democracy and world Christianity theoretically ought to be listed under the contributing factors toward integration in the South. When Southerners realize that many of the people in Asia and Africa are becoming suspicious of America's integrity because of racial segregation in the South, it ought to move Southerners to speed up the process of integration. But it is difficult for people to sense their world citizenship, and apparently it is not much of a contributing factor toward integration in the South. Yet the matter is real enough for the uneducated to sense it.

Harry Ashmore, in his book The Negro And The Schools, has painted the picture very clearly of how large this "little racial tension" in the South really looms before the man in India or South Africa or Malaya:

> Communist propagandists have skillfully played upon the sensibilities of the brown and yellow peoples of those areas, arguing that a nation which discriminates against its own dark-skinned citizens can never be trusted with the leadership of Asians or Moslems. And they have succeeded, at least to the point that a minor racial incident in Selma, Alabama, is likely to rate more space on the front page of a Bombay newspaper than the most incisive attack upon the Communist terror by an American delegate to the United Nations.[78]

Lutheran John Strietelmeier in his booklet "God In Our Confused World," points out that the ratio between the "white" and the "colored"

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[78]Ashmore, op. cit., p. 89.

population of the world keeps shifting toward the "colored" side. This would mean nothing if men looked at each other simply as men. But in a world with a color line, it means that the white minority is reaping what it sowed. It means that the "little racial situation" in the South, as well as the "little racial situations" throughout the white world are turning the darker races against the white race. Already in much of the Far East the white man is effectively closed out. And in other areas, especially in Africa, he is being hard pressed.[79]

For Christians, whose basic mission in this world is to "preach the Gospel to every creature," this alienation of the darker people of the world frustrates the preaching of the Gospel. For freedom-loving people this alienation of the darker people of the world jeopardizes democracy for the entire world.

Racial discrimination and segregation in America, therefore, is not something that the South or the North can treat as a minor, local problem. The freedom and the Christianity of the world hangs partly on the solution of the problem in America, in the South, in Birmingham, New Orleans, Atlanta.

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[79]John Strietelmeier, God in Our Confused World (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), p. 11.

CHAPTER V

METHODS OF ACHIEVING INTEGRATION IN THE SOUTH

Many Southern whites and Negroes who favor integration disagree with the methods that are being employed to effect integration. Some Southerners go so far as to say that the cause of integration is being harmed by the methods being used to achieve integration. Thus, the importance of the study of these methods.

This study of integration methods in the South is restricted to the methods used by the state. The church, of course, has a transcendent power that affects and changes men. The methods of the church for other reasons, too, are necessarily different from the methods of the state, which operates solely in the realm of Law, not Gospel. The church's views of integration and methods toward integrating will be discussed in chapters six and seven. In spite of the basic difference between the methods of the state and the church, however, the church can see certain broad psychological principles that may be helpful both to the church and to the state.

A. Integration Methods Initiated by Whites

It is natural that a Caucasian unaccustomed to regarding the Negro as a man is more likely to be influenced by another Caucasian than by a Negro. The most ideal method of effecting integration, therefore, is that initiated by the Caucasian. Any methods initiated by the Negro are immediately under suspect by many whites.

Basic to any plan of action toward integration by whites on any

level is an agreement by the leaders that segregation is discriminatory and that integration is just and necessary. This is why it was necessary for the Supreme Court to hand down its ruling on May 17, 1954. This is why governors of states and mayors of cities have met with state and city leaders and have made public statements supporting integration. This is one reason why every major church denomination has made a statement of agreement and support concerning integration. And this is why integration is not taking place at all in many places of the South.

It is difficult for Caucasians in the South to do much toward integration when their state, city, and local organizational leaders have not agreed that such a plan is necessary. Many Southerners who favor integration say that nothing ought to be done until their leaders are behind them. Others say that something must be done now.

Where there is basic agreement among leaders on integration, the way is open for putting the theory of integration into practise. Where there is no agreement among leaders the way is difficult, but there are methods that can be and have been employed by the Caucasians in either case to effect integration.

1. Exhortation and discussion

Exhorting masses of people to quit segregating and to begin integrating has its place in integration methods, but it has serious limitations.

At Mansfield, Texas, an Episcopal clergyman sought unsuccessfully to appeal to a mob.[1] At Anacostia High School in Washington, D.C., in

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[1]Colbert S. Cartwright, "What Can a Southern Minister Do?" Christian Century, LXXIII (December 26, 1956), 1505.

1954, twenty ministers pleaded on the basis of reason and fair play with students who were boycotting over racially mixed classes. The result was pandemonium.[2]

Segregationists, on the other hand, use exhortation to good advantage in stirring up the people to resist integration.

A general conclusion might be drawn that exhortation works well in strengthening and encouraging people in convictions and attitudes which they already possess. But to attempt to change the convictions and attitudes deeply imbedded in people by the art of exhortation is not so likely. Especially in crisis situations where emotions are high strung, exhortation to a change of attitude is a very unpredictable thing.

Discussion, however, differs from exhortation in that it is a two-way means of communication where there is no one man trying to change everyone else, but where everybody is sharing ideas with everyone else. With a good leader and some well-informed people in on the discussion, there is an opportunity for clarification of erroneous or hazy ideas that people may have concerning race and integration.

Omer Carmichael, superintendent of Louisville's newly-integrated public schools, has noted that study and discussion groups in churches and in other organizations helped create a favorable climate for school integration in Louisville.[3]

The main difficulty in the South is not that discussion does not work where it is tried. But in many communities throughout the South

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[2]Loc. cit.

[3]Loc. cit.

"99 per cent of the people flatly refuse to face the color question from any standpoint,"[4] and a discussion of integration among the Caucasians is seemingly an impossibility.

2. Interracial discussions and activities

Though this method used to achieve integration technically belongs under the previous section, it is of special importance and, thus, is listed separately.

The underlying principle of this method is that getting Negroes and whites together to share with each other their thoughts and questions on an equal basis ought to result in deeper understanding of the problem by both sides. Instead of whites discussing the problem in the abstract, they meet the Negro as a flesh-and-blood person. And the Negro, too, gains much by getting to know the Caucasians as people. It has been stressed that these interracial meetings don't necessarily have to center around the racial question, but that they might well focus on some common interest, e.g., the arts, and thus, in an indirect way the people might get to know and to understand one another better.

This is the method with which the Southern Regional Council has been operating during the past twelve years with some success. It has been noted previously that the chief difficulty, especially in the Lowland South, is to get the Negroes and the whites to come together, even on the leadership level.

Following, however, is the account of how this interracial discus-

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[4]"Negro, White Presbyterians Meet in South," Presbyterian Life, X (March 2, 1957), 20.

sion method did work in Nashville, as related by Dr. A. C. Miller, executive secretary, Commission on Christian Relations, Southern Baptist Convention:

> After the Supreme Court decision we called together a very small group of people in Nashville--two Negroes and three whites. Our purpose was a friendly discussion of the problem that confronted both groups. At the next meeting there were nine of us; at the third meeting, fourteen; at the fourth, twenty-one.
>
> We gradually kept on meeting and enlarging our gathering so that we would get representation from every organization in town involved in this problem. That meant not only the church, but labor, the social agencies, civic organizations.
>
> Finally we held a workshop to consider this problem group by group. More than 500 people came. About 50 per cent white and 50 per cent Negro. We met together at the Jewish Community Center.
>
> Out of this has developed a permanent city-wide organization called "The Nashville Conference on Human Relations," which meets to consider basic principles involved in the problem.
>
> We have said to school board and city authorities: "We are not here to agitate, we are not here to exert pressure, we are not here to ask you to do any specific thing at any specific time. We are here to try to build up a body of opinion in this community which, when you get ready to move, will be prepared to support you in your decisions and the procedures you agree on to implement it.[5]

This interracial discussion group in Nashville, though it represents only a small proportion of the city's population, probably has exerted no little influence toward integration in Nashville, especially among the civic leaders. The group's stated purpose was to effect a favorable climate for integration when it came.

This effecting of a favorable climate for integration is a necessary and invaluable part of the process of integration. It must be noted, however, that this generally is as far as discussion groups can go.

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[5]"A Round Table Has Debate on Christians' Moral Duty," Life, XLI (October 1, 1956), 159.

They cannot, as a rule, set integration into motion in the schools, libraries, and the like.

3. Firm enforcement of integration by the authorities

If discussion, especially interracial discussion, has preceded the enforcement of integration by authorities and a favorable climate for integration prevails, this step of firm enforcement of integration by the authorities takes place as smoothly as can be expected when a hundred-year-old tradition is abolished. A rather smooth process of school integration has taken place when authorities firmly enforced it in western Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Maryland.

Probably in many localities of even these border states there didn't seem to be a favorable climate for integration. Should the authorities wait for a more favorable climate? This is what all the Southern segregationists would say. And many Southerners favoring integration would warn, too, to go slowly. This step of firm enforcement should never be taken, most Southerners feel, until nearly all resistance to integration has died down. And they sometimes doubt the common sense of authorities who firmly enforce integration when the climate seems not to be so favorable toward integration.

However, Herbert Blumer, noted modern psychologist, has pointed out that theoretically, in efforts to change human conduct, it is not necessary to alter individual feelings and attitudes and group values, claims, and expectations which sustain that conduct. For feelings and attitudes have to gain expression in conduct, and the apparatus essential to such expression is itself vulnerable and offers pivotal oppor-

tunities for putting a stop to the final expression.[6]

In terms of the integration issue, Blumer is saying that it is not necessary to first change the racial attitudes of the people before integration is workable. Rather, by ruling out formal segregation, the apparatus that is supporting discrimination between races, discrimination itself will be put to a stop.

This is the same principle by which the state acts in many other instances. When it is clearly seen that cars traveling at a speed higher than twenty-five miles per hour along a certain road would be endangering the lives of people, the city posts signs warning that there is a twenty-five-mile speed limit. And it does all this whether everybody feels that this is necessary or not. The leaders know it is for the ultimate good of the people whether they "feel" it or not.

The Southerner would probably reply that this is a cold theory which forgets that people's emotions are involved very deeply in the integration issue. J. Claude Evans, a Southern Methodist minister, agrees that this emotionalism is strong in the South, so strong that he thinks it has completely controlled the South in the area of racial relations. But he believes that the days of the control of the South by its own emotionalism are numbered, except in "the deep South states and in the rural plantation areas of the other Southern states." There the South's emotionalism will reign "for many more generations."[7]

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[6]Herbert Blumer, "Social Science and the Desegregation Process," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCIV (March, 1956), 141.

[7]J. Claude Evans, "A Key to Understanding the South," American Lutheran, XXXIX (July, 1956), 12.

However, in spite of the highly-charged emotional climate in which integration is taking place in the South, the authorities need not and cannot wait until the emotional air is clear to enforce integration. For it never will be completely clear. Emotions, being what they are, rise and fall very quickly. It has been shown in cases of school integration that high emotions fall in a matter of two or three weeks, after integration is no longer an unknown.

Unorganized emotions, it has been shown in cases of integration, have caused no trouble. But organized emotions can trigger havoc in a community. John Kasper, self-appointed racist, organized the emotions of Clinton, Tennessee, in the fall of 1956 and created pandemonium where otherwise the emotions would probably have died down. In Henderson, Kentucky, a White Citizens' Council, led by out-of-town WCC state officers, organized the emotions of the people and violently upset the town in a vain attempt to stop integration. Here, too, the emotions would undoubtedly have subsided quickly after integration, had they not been organized.

It is clear that officials must use discussions to prepare people for integration; they must be as sure as possible that the emotions of the segregationists will not be organized; but they need not and they must not wait until there is practically no opposition to integration if they are convinced that integration is necessary for the good of society.

B. Integration Methods Initiated by Negroes

It has been pointed out that all the methods used by the Southern Caucasians, if carried out tactfully, are effective in bringing about

integration. But, the Southern Negroes ask, what if the Southern whites do not initiate any methods at all? Or what if discussion is never translated into action? Is there anything that a Southern Negro can do to effect integration? Some Southern Negroes think so.

1. Legal test cases

Negroes may purposely violate a local segregation law and allow themselves to be arrested and tried simply to get the local authorities to make a clear decision for or against integration. If the judge rules the segregation law unjust and contrary to the constitutional rights and privileges of an American citizen, then the Negro has reached his goal. He has initiated a step toward integration.

This is one of the chief methods which the NAACP has employed for years, especially since 1935. Contrary to the beliefs of many Southern whites, the NAACP has mapped out a gradual strategy of litigation beginning at the places and on the issues most vulnerable to change and working into more difficult areas gradually. The first efforts toward equalization and integration came in border states. And the initial step in effecting public school integration, for instance, was the equalization of teachers' salaries.[8]

Legal test cases have worked well in border states of the South. But dynamiting of the homes of Negro participants in test cases in Montgomery and Birmingham, Alabama, is powerful testimony to the fact that

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[8]Charles R. Lawrence, "Significance of the Supreme Court Anti-Segregation Decision," Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Institute on Human Relations Held at Valparaiso University, July 9-11, 1954 (St. Louis: The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, 1954), p. 34.

this method often stirs up the emotions and the animosity of many Southern whites. Margaret McCulloch, in her book Segregation, states that it is dangerous to use test cases in many rural areas and small towns and perhaps in some cities of the deep South.[9]

If legal test cases have to be appealed to higher courts or are gerrymandered by local officials, or if a legal test case is too dangerous, what other method can be employed by the Negro to get the white officials to face the integration issue? The Southern white would say that he should wait until the atmosphere is clearer, and many Southern Negroes agree. But there is one other method that has been used as a last-ditch measure by the Negroes.

2. Nonviolent mass resistance

This method has been used to resist segregation on the buses in Talahassee, Florida, and in Montgomery, Alabama. The nonviolent mass resistance in Montgomery was undoubtedly the better organized, with Martin Luther King at its head.

In an issue of Christian Century, which appeared in early 1957, Martin Luther King analyzed this nonviolent mass resistance method:

> First, this is not a method for cowards; it does resist. . . . This method is passive physically but strongly active spiritually; it is nonaggressive physically but dynamically aggressive spiritually.
>
> A second point is that nonviolent resistance does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and his understanding. The nonviolent resister must often express his protest through noncooperation or boycotts, but he realizes that non-

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[9]Margaret C. McCulloch, Segregation, A Challenge to Democracy (Nashville: Hemphill Press, 1950), p. 29.

> cooperation and boycotts are not ends in themselves; they are merely means to awake a moral shame in the opponent. The end is redemption and reconciliation. The aftermath of nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness.
>
> A third method of this attack is that it is directed against forces of evil rather than against persons who are caught in those forces. . . . We are out to defeat injustice and not white persons who may happen to be unjust.
>
> A fourth point that must be brought out concerning nonviolent resistance is that it avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. At the center of nonviolence stands the principle of love. In struggling for human dignity the oppressed people of the world must not allow themselves to become bitter or indulge in hate campaigns. . . .
>
> When we love on the agape level we love men not because we like them, not because their attitudes and ways appeal to us, but because God loves them. Here we rise to the position of loving the person who does the evil deed while hating the deed he does.
>
> Finally, the method of nonviolence is based on the conviction that the universe is on the side of justice. . . . This belief that God is on the side of truth and justice comes down to us from the long tradition of our Christian faith.[10]

It is clear that King's analysis of nonviolent resistance is strongly influenced by his Christian beliefs, and it might be questioned that a seemingly idealistic plan such as this would actually work out in practise. But accounts of the nonviolent resistance in Montgomery prove that the Negroes did react nonviolently even to some violent acts on the part of whites, such as shootings and cheekslappings. And it did seem to achieve its purpose somewhat—to strike at the South's conscience.[11] Montgomery leaders began to face up to the Negro as a man, and when the final decision was handed down by the courts, ruling out segregation on

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[10]Martin Luther King, Jr., "Nonviolence and Racial Justice," Christian Century, LXXIV (February 6, 1957), 166f.

[11]"Attack on the Conscience," Time, LXIX (February 18, 1957), 17.

the buses, Montgomery complied.

In spite of the nonviolence on the part of the Negroes in a mass method such as this, Southern liberal whites questioned it on several points. Some felt that the leaders of the Montgomery resistance movement were simply publicity seekers. Many were convinced that most of the Negroes who participated in the nonviolent resistance were either "idol-worshippers" of King and other leaders or feared persecution from their own group if they did not go along. Robert Graetz, white American Lutheran pastor in the Negro community and the only white who expressly supported the nonviolent resistance in Montgomery, was labeled everything from "Nigger-lover" to "radical" to "publicity hound."

At least one Negro expressed the fear that King "has Negroes worked up and ready to follow him" but that when violence and reprisals should rob Negroes of their homes and their jobs King would not be around.[12] The Montgomery group, it must be stated, did have adequate financial backing to aid any Negroes against whom reprisals were visited. But this overwhelming fear of what the whites might do to the Negroes if the Negroes resisted en masse is typical of many Negroes, especially the less educated and those living in rather rural communities.

Some Southern whites do not believe that anything should be done by the Negroes toward integration at all, except on the level of discussion, until the white leaders make a firm stand for it. But the Negroes in many localities have tried to discuss and negotiate with the whites for years and have seemingly gotten nowhere. And now many of them feel

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12"King's Line Red, Says Ex-Commie," Birmingham Post-Herald, March 9, 1957, pp. 1f.

that they are justified in using this method of nonviolent mass resistance, about the only peaceful method they have at their disposal.

C. Summary

Discussion is a method of creating a favorable climate for integration and is especially effective if carried out on an interracial basis. If white leaders then firmly enforce integration, initial high-strung emotions soon die down, and a pattern of growing racial respect and integration results.

However, if white leaders are not ready to enforce integration, perhaps not even ready to discuss it, what should the Negro do? He can either wait and continue trying to discuss with white leaders; or he can use a test case; or he can organize a nonviolent mass resistance movement. None of these methods meet with everyone's approval on either side of the racial fence.

CHAPTER VI

SOUTHERN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH INTEGRATION IS TAKING PLACE CONTRASTED TO NORTHERN ENVIRONMENT

Already in the preceding chapters various differences between the Southern and Northern environments have been pointed out directly or indirectly. This chapter is an attempt to pull together these differences and to add some that have not been alluded to before.

A. Small, Personal, Rural Communities of the South

The South's 9,000,000-plus Negroes live largely in rural communities of 25,000 people or less. The North's and the West's 6,000,000-plus Negroes, on the contrary, are concentrated in the large metropolitan centers almost exclusively. This means that in the South integration is a very personal thing with many emotions involved. In the Northern and Western cities, where life itself is a rather mechanical, impersonal thing, it is much easier to deal with the issue of integration impersonally, more objectively. The result is often little more than formal integration, but this is the nature of the big, industrial cities.

B. Southern Civic Leaders Usually Opposed to or Fearful of Integration

In Northern and Western United States there are people who oppose integration, but with little exception civic leaders are in full support of integration. Thus, when individuals and organizations support integration, they can be sure of civic and legal backing.

Such civic and legal backing of integration is not true of most of the South. Reference has already been made to Judge Brady of Mississippi and to other civic leaders of the South who blatantly and forcefully oppose integration.

In March, 1957, a Birmingham municipal judge found twenty-one Negroes guilty of violating the city's bus segregation laws and in his ruling charged that the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States is null and void since it was adopted during the Reconstruction period following the Civil War when Southern states were under military rule.[1]

Mayor Chris Heinz, Selma, Alabama, made a public statement in the city's paper that he would do everything in his power as mayor to keep Selma's schools segregated "so there will be no integration of white pupils in colored schools and no integration of colored pupils in white schools."[2]

When the famous Anglican minister from South Africa, Trevor Huddleston, interviewed Judge Locke of Birmingham, the judge told him: "The South won't have integration. Never."[3]

When the judges and the mayor of a city openly oppose integration, the police follow suit. A Southerner who attempts to push integration in any way is usually bucking against the Police Department and all the civic leaders. This is not so in the North and the West, as a rule.

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[1]"Fourteenth Amendment Ruled Illegal By Recorders Court," Selma Times-Journal, March [20], 1957, p. 1, col. 9.

[2]"Selma Takes its Stand," Selma Times-Journal, [ca. June, 1954], p. 4.

[3]Trevor Huddleston, "The Deep South and South Africa," Presbyterian Life, IX (May 12, 1956), 12.

C. Economic and Political Fears of Both Races

The Negroes' fear of economic reprisals has already been referred to. But it is mentioned here to contrast it with the almost complete absence of such fear on the part of Northern Negroes who actively support integration. Certainly the Northern Negro hardly senses what it meant for the Negro Causey family of Choctaw County, Alabama, to go to the local store to buy gas and food one day and to find that not a store in the whole county would sell them anything because they had expressed their hopes for integration in Life magazine. Yet for the Southern Negro this shadow of crushing economic reprisal always haunts him. Especially the plantation Negro tenant who often buys his spring and summer supplies on credit from his plantation owner literally fears that his daily bread will be taken from him if he should so much as speak for integration. Such haunting fears of reprisal the Northern Negro is hardly aware of.

The Southern white man also knows a fear that the Northern white man knows nothing of. In counties where the population is more than 50 per cent Negro--and there are 165 such counties in the Lowland South--the white man fears what might happen if Negroes were in political power. The law has often been completely in the hands of the plantation owners in the Lowland South,[4] and suddenly for the law to be in the hands of the tenant farmers is unthinkable and abhorrent and frightening to the white planters. Though this is jumping to the conclusions

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[4]Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class, directed by W. Lloyd Warner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), p. 55.

of integration, it is a latent fear of the Southern white, especially in the rural areas. And it is a fear that the Northern white knows nothing about.

D. The Influence of Extreme Racists

Though the North and the West have had their share of extreme racists in the past, these sections of the country have known little of their debilitating influence since the Second World War. The South, on the other hand, still has more than its share.

The Dixie-American, now in its sixth year of publication, is a monthly five-column paper published in Birmingham, whose extreme racist views and whose inferior journalism are clearly reflected in these last two stanzas of a poem that appeared in their August, 1956, issue:

> One who throws the light away
> Shall lose the blessings of the day;
> Deserve the curse of every man
> For disruption of God's Holy Plan.
> Once the black engulfs the white--
> None shall ever know the light.
> So damned be he who first shall stain
> What a million years cannot regain!
>
> Let them rot in dishonored grave,
> Who shall sell his son to be a slave.
> No sin of man can e'er surpass
> The degradation of their craven class--
> Who retreat before the stygian horde
> And let proud blood go by the board.
> No epithet can ever be so vile--
> On all the earth, as "Negrophile."[5]

Not only are there extreme racists in the South. But they also gain their followings. John Kasper gained enough of a following in

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[5]"When Darkness Comes," Dixie-American, VI (August, 1956), 2.

Clinton, Tennessee, to necessitate the National Guard to quell his following. Here is a sample of the thinking of Kasper, who still is making his rounds through Southern cities and towns:

> What we are trying to do is regain local control of local affairs and it is local government--local corruption--that we must deal with first. You can hardly expect to have a choice between the hollow pumpkin--the hollow pumpkin who is on a pole in the White House--and the man who ran against him in the recent national election, two men, both of them dedicated to stupidity and treachery. . . . They are just sworn enemies of the American public, sworn enemies of the Constitution, do everything in their power to destroy.[6]

There are other extreme racists, some of whom are leaders in the White Citizens' Councils. Such extremists the North and the West have forgotten.

E. The South's Christian Appeal for Segregation

There was once a time when the North and the West had a "Christian" clamor for segregation. But where people in the North and the West still believe that "God intended the Negroes and the whites to be separate," they at least do not express such views very frequently any more. From the South, however, comes a fervent Christian appeal to keep the races separate.

Of course, even the godless hatemongers claim that God is on their side, such as the writer of the poem quoted previously from the Dixie-American.

But many seemingly devout believers in Christ, including Christian ministers, also claim God's support in their stand for segregation.

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[6]Arthur Gordon, "Intruder in the South," Look, XXI (February 19, 1957), 31.

Rev. Warren, Baptist pastor in Orrville, Alabama, addressed a Dallas County White Citizens' Council meeting in Selma, Alabama, in May, 1956, and recommended a "Christian compromise" as the only solution to the race problem; a compromise in which Negroes and whites "agree to disagree" and continue to live together in the South on a segregated basis.[7] Rev. Warren also attempted to marshall biblical support of segregation when he said that the Negro race is "a stranger at the gate" and does not understand that the constitution of the United States "was not written for him or for any other colored race."[8]

Some 250 Methodist laymen and ministers from five Southeastern states met in Birmingham, Alabama, in December, 1954, to lay plans which they hoped would block an attempt within the Methodist Church to remove the racial barrier. Dr. G. Stanley Frazer, of Montgomery, Alabama, lamented that the principle of integration had exerted its influence on the teaching of their Methodist colleges and seminaries and had directed the tone of the editorial pages and news columns of many of their church publications.[9] No statement of reasons for their stand on segregation was given in the lengthy newspaper article covering the conference.

The Presbyterian presbytery of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, one of five presbyteries in Alabama, gave clearer expression to their thinking when they met in July, 1954, to counteract the stand of their denomination in support of racial integration. These Presbyterians gave five concise

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[7]Arthur Capell, "Violence and Lowered Standards Integration Price at Washington," Selma Times-Journal, May 18, 1956, p. 2.

[8]Loc. cit.

[9]Emmett Weaver, "Methodists Pledge Fight For Church Segregation," Birmingham Post-Herald, December 15, 1954, p. 1.

reasons for their unequivocal rejection of their 1954 General Assembly's recommendation against race segregation:

> Whereas by the action of the 1954 General Assembly, when less than 300 ministers and elders assumed the prerogative of advising three quarters of a million Southern Presbyterians as to their Christian duty in the matter of race segregation, thus creating a gross public misunderstanding and a feeling of resentment on the part of thousands of Presbyterians, and
>
> Whereas the modern agitators of this question, which is so full of dynamite in Southern society and tradition have no Biblical grounds for their pious conclusions, else far wiser theologians, Biblical interpreters, and noted evangelists would have made the discovery long ere this, and
>
> Whereas to disrupt our Southern pattern of race segregation would ultimately result in race mongrelization, which result would become a "stench in the nostrils" of all true lovers of race purity, and
>
> Whereas with good will, kindly feeling, and charity to all races, especially that of the Negro race, which under the past hundred years under Southern influence and kindly aid and sympathy has made more progress in religion, education, and commercial advancement than has any other race in the history of the world in the same length of time, and
>
> Whereas the acceptance of such advice as recently handed down would create a spirit of ill feeling between both races which does not now exist and would give the Negro race a setback in progress that would require another century to overcome, therefore,
>
> Be it resolved. . . that this presbytery unequivocally reject the recommendation of the 1954 General Assembly on race segregation as being ill-advised and thus in error. . . .[10]

The Tuscaloosa Presbytery approved this resolution by a 3-1 vote. This resolution does not attempt to prove from Scripture that segregation is Christian, except negatively by claiming that integration cannot be proved as Scriptural. Nevertheless, these Presbyterians assumed that segregation is Christian, so Christian that they must take a firm stand

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10"Presbyterians of Area Stand Firm for Segregation," Selma Times-Journal, July 22, 1954, p. 1.

in favor of it and against integration.

Thus, the South is constantly appealing to the Bible and to Christianity in its support of segregation. In the North this cry is not heard very often any more.

F. The Proportionately Small Lutheran Church in the South

In the Northern United States the Lutheran churches are sometimes in first or second place in terms of denominational membership. In North Dakota, for instance, where Lutherans are greater in number than any other church denomination, 29 per cent of the state's population are Lutherans, 4 per cent, Missouri Synod Lutherans. Other states with a high percentage of Lutherans: Minnesota, 25 per cent; Wisconsin, 21 per cent; South Dakota, 21 per cent; Nebraska, 14 per cent; Iowa, 12 per cent.

Such is not the picture of the South. Though the Lutheran Churches have always had congregations sprinkled throughout the South, all the Lutheran bodies together total a relatively small proportion of the population. Approximately nine out of every one thousand Southerners is Lutheran.

The border state of Maryland is the only Southern state with any sizeable Lutheran population, claiming 5 per cent of the state's population. Seventy per cent of these Maryland Lutherans are members of the United Lutheran Church. The border state of Missouri is 3 per cent Lutheran.

Of the really Southern states, three have a 2 per cent Lutheran population: Texas, South Carolina, and North Carolina. In Texas, Mis-

souri Synod Lutherans form the majority of the Lutheran population, while in North Carolina and South Carolina United Lutherans are in the majority.

The three states of Florida, Oklahoma, and Virginia each have about a 1 per cent Lutheran population. In Florida the Missouri Synod Lutherans and the United Lutherans are about equal in number. The United Lutheran Church claims the majority of Lutherans in Virginia, while the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod claims the majority of Lutherans in Oklahoma.

Lutheranism in the seven remaining states claims less than one-half of one per cent of the states' population. These states are Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Mississippi, where only one person out of every 1,000 is a Lutheran, has the smallest proportionate Lutheran population of all the forty-eight states. Consult Appendix A for a more detailed picture of Lutheranism in the South.[11]

The historical reason for the sparse Lutheranism, of course, is the fact that the South was settled largely by the English and the Scots, who brought with them their Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican, and Congregational beliefs. And the slaves, if they accepted Christianity at all, usually followed the denominational stripe of their master.

The Lutheran Churches that do exist in the South have often grown

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[11]Armin Schroeder, compiler, Statistical Yearbook of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod 1955 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), pp. 170f.

up around the nucleus of a Scandinavian or German settlement, such as the congregations in Cullman, Foley, Elberta, and Mobile, Alabama; and New Orleans, Louisiana. And many of the Lutheran congregations in the South that cannot be traced to older settlements of Germans or Scandinavians but have been started recently still have as the core of their membership German or Scandinavian Lutherans, many of whom did not grow up in the South at all.

Since, therefore, the proportion of Lutherans in every Southern community is very small, and since many Southern Lutherans do not have their family roots in the South, making the witness of the Lutheran Church felt in the South is not as easy as in the North.

Though the smallness and the apartness of the Lutheran Church in the South seems to be a handicap in giving a clear witness to integration, these very same liabilities can be assets. Many Southern Lutheran congregations with a strong representation of people raised outside the South, do not have the historical, cultural obstacles to overcome, in facing the process of integration, that most Southerners do.

In spite of this little potential asset in the smallness and apartness of the Lutheran Church of the South, the greater significance of these characteristics seems to be on the side of the liabilities inherent in them. But it is in this environment of a proportionately small Lutheran Church that integration is taking place in the South. In most places of the North this is not the case.

G. The "Synodical Conference Complex"

A difference in Northern and Southern atmosphere unique to only a

part of American Lutheranism is the "Synodical Conference complex" of the Synodical Conference[12] churches in white communities of the South. This "complex," removed only recently and only to a certain extent from most Synodical Conference churches in the North and from some in the South, consists in the belief that the Negro really is not the responsibility of the local congregation or of the district, but of the Synodical Conference Mission Board. The result of such thinking, of course, has meant a narrowing of personal, congregational, and district missionary responsibility and a widening of a gulf between Caucasian Lutherans and Negro Lutherans of the Synodical Conference. This "complex," which has been only partly erased in the North, is being erased even more slowly in the South and thus creates a different atmosphere for integration there.

The Lutheran Synodical Conference, a confessional federation of several independent Lutheran synods, was the first body of Lutherans to launch a mission program to reach into Negro communities of the United States. J. F. Doescher was commissioned as the first missionary to Negro communities in 1877. A clear indication of the intense missionary zeal of most of the Synodical Conference leaders and missionaries is found in the fruit of their labors: Over 15,000 of the nation's some 21,000 Negro Lutherans are members of Synodical Conference congrega-

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[12]The Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America is a federation of synods comprising four synodical groups at the present time: (1) The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod; (2) the Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States; (3) the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church of America; (4) the Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church. The Synodical Conference was organized in 1872 and was composed at that time of the synods of Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Norwegian, and Minnesota.

tions, and seventy-five of the eighty-five Lutheran congregations in Negro communities of the South are Synodical Conference churches.

But along with this intense concern for the Negro on the part of the Synodical Conference leaders and missionaries there came the growth of the "Synodical Conference complex." The Caucasian Synodical Conference Lutherans everywhere began to think of the young Negro mission congregations as "Synodical Conference" congregations that were to be kept completely separate from Missouri or Wisconsin Synod congregations. And they thought of Negro communities usually as mission fields for the Synodical Conference Mission Board. Since the Wisconsin, Norwegian, and Slovak Synods of the Synodical Conference were situated almost entirely in Northern communities where there were no Negroes, it is in the Missouri Synod congregations of the South and of the Northern urban centers with their Negro communities that this "complex" had the greatest effect.

The Synodical Conference Mission Board did not work through the mission boards of the constituent synods and their districts but carried out the mission program to Negro communities independently. The result was that the officials, pastors, and lay members of the constituent synods felt only a distant responsibility toward the mission work and toward the Negro, even though the program of evangelism was going on in their midst. The young Negro congregations usually had no expressed fellowship with fellow Caucasian Lutheran churches in the same area. And the Synodical Conference missionaries, likewise, felt their responsibility toward the Synodical Conference Mission Board, not toward the fellow Lutherans in their area.

The paradox lies in the fact that all these Caucasian and Negro churches were members of the Synodical Conference, but because each synod of the Synodical Conference independently administers its own church program, and the Synodical Conference does not have a unified, full-fledged church program, the Negro congregations under the Synodical Conference Mission Board "did not belong." In effect, the Negro congregations were treated somewhat as a separate "Negro Synod," though they were not self-governing and were not organized in any way and were not accorded the level of pastoral and congregational fellowship with "sister synods" which the constituent synods were exercising among themselves. All of this is stated not to criticize the Synodical Conference Mission Board of the Synodical Conference itself, which set up such a policy. But it is stated to point out the strange "complex" which arose as a result of the policy.

When in 1946 the Synodical Conference urged its constituent synods to receive into membership the Synodical Conference Negro congregations within their geographical scope and to consider all the people within their respective districts as people to be reached with the Gospel, then this strange "complex" had to be overcome. Since 1946, therefore, all the Synodical Conference Negro congregations have been received into district membership of the Missouri or Wisconsin Synods, except for the Negro congregations within the Southern District of the Missouri Synod (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and the Pensacola area of Florida).

This means that many Caucasian Lutherans in the North and the West have begun to consider, more so than before, that the Negro is a man to whom they need to proclaim salvation in Christ or that he is a Christian

brother who needs to be strengthened and encouraged by them. No more is the Negro Lutheran in these districts regarded as the responsibility of the Synodical Conference Mission Board. Instead he is a fellow Lutheran with all other Caucasian Lutherans. He attends conferences, conventions, and joint meetings with them. Though there is much to be learned by many Lutherans of both races in the area of fellowship and mission responsibility, at least the Negro is not relegated to a "Synodical Conference world" rather separate from any of the "synodical worlds" all about him.

In the South, especially in the Southern District of the Missouri Synod, the "Synodical Conference world" and the "Missouri Synod world" are still very distinct, however. Though there are a few more Synodical Conference Negro Lutherans in Alabama than there are Missouri Synod Caucasian Lutherans, the colored Lutherans have never attended Missouri Synod pastoral conferences or delegate conventions of any sort--not because there is any friction between the groups, but partly because the Negro Lutherans live in the "Synodical Conference world" under the Synodical Conference Mission Board, and the Caucasian Lutherans live in the "Missouri Synod world."

To indicate how separate these two worlds in the Southern District have been at times, from 1913 to 1952 no mention of the Synodical Conference work appears in the proceedings of the Southern District conventions, though lengthy reports and pleas for Caucasian missions throughout the South appear in every convention proceedings. One of the Synodical Conference missionaries may have been there to give a brief report, but the fact that the report was not included in the proceedings, if

this was the case, indicates the rather strict dichotomy between Missouri Synod churches and "Synodical Conference" (Negro) churches, between Caucasian and Negro, in the minds of white Southern District pastors and lay people.

Though steps are being taken by the Southern District eventually to receive the Negro congregations in their area into full membership, the goal still lies in the future. And more important, it will take several years for the Southern District to overcome the historical "Synodical Conference complex" that has been with them so long--just as it has taken the Northern districts a few years to overcome the same complex.

The Southeastern District of the Missouri Synod (Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and northeastern Georgia) received the Synodical Conference Negro congregations within its boundaries into full membership at the beginning of 1955.[13] Other Missouri Synod districts in the South that had preceded the Southeastern District in this integration of Negro congregations within their district boundaries: Texas District, Oklahoma District, Western District (Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee), and Central District (Kentucky, West Virginia, Indiana, Ohio).

The Florida-Georgia District did not have any Negro congregations within its limits until 1955, when the Synodical Conference Mission Board started missions in Jacksonville and Orlando, with the hope of quick expansion. Apparently the Florida-Georgia District is working

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[13] Proceedings of the Eleventh Convention of the Southeastern District of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, April 18-21, 1955, n.p., n.d., in Pritzlaff Memorial Library, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri.

closely with the Synodical Conference Mission Board in the outreach to the Negroes in its district and will receive the congregations into membership soon after they are organized.

Though largely gone from the North, the West, and a few parts of the South, the "Synodical Conference complex" is still a part of the environment in which integration is taking place in much of the South. "The Negro is the responsibility of the Synodical Conference Mission Board, not our responsibility," many white, Southern, Missouri Synod Lutherans are still saying.

CHAPTER VII

THE ROLE OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE INTEGRATION OF THE SOUTH

The white man has put up innumerable signs requiring the Negro "to keep in his place." This is segregation.

The Negro, and many a white man with him, is asking that the signs be taken down and that he be treated as any other man. This is integration.

It has been noted that there are many historical reasons for the Southern white man's reluctance to treat the Negro as any other man. Several environmental factors unique to the South have been described in contrast to the Northern environment.

Now comes the question: What role should the church, specifically the Lutheran Church, play in the process of integration in the South? And by "the church" is not meant the officials of a denomination, but the believing people who are the church, with Christ as their Head.

Some Southerners who are members of a Christian congregation believe that the role the church should play in Southern integration is, at best, one of neutrality. For they see no connection between God and the church and integration.

A Lutheran couple in Jackson, Mississippi, recently canceled their subscription to The Lutheran because the publication had the policy of printing pictures of Negroes and using the salutation Mr. and Mrs. with the Negroes' names. The couple explained their action this way in a letter to the editor:

We here do not consider the Negro our equal, regardless of what you

> may think about it. We believe that the effort on your part to force it upon us is only doing harm to the Negro through the antagonism caused by it.[1]

This Lutheran couple felt that a Christian magazine ought not even to reflect integration. Certainly it ought not actively encourage integration. Apparently these two Lutherans were convinced that the church has no role in integration, and they seemed to see no connection between God, their fellowship with Him in the church, and integration.

Edwin Jones, a lay executive committee member of the World Methodist Council, stated recently at a round table discussion his inability to see the connection between his Christian faith and integration:

> To me and the ministers here--who know ten million times as much about it as I do--being a Christian is accepting the Lord Jesus Christ as my personal Savior, to save me from the sins I can't save myself from. And just because I don't want my granddaughter to go to school with a Negro boy, I don't see what it has got to do with my being a Christian or not. I think Christ will save me from my sins, and I hope I won't commit any more. But I expect I will and He will save me again.[2]

A more precise statement of this view that the church has no involvement in such a social change as integration was made recently by a Southern pastor and represents the thinking of many Lutheran pastors in the South:

> As we in the Lutheran Church scan the pages of history we find that the minister of Christ has had to serve during periods of social upheaval; but because he knew his calling as a servant of Jesus Christ, he was not sidetracked from his great calling to build the kingdom of Christ by a temptation to become involved in a social problem which at best could mean only a temporary benefit to a people. Compared to the eternal welfare of human souls, all earth-

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[1]"Letters to the Editor," The Lutheran, XXXI (November 16, 1949), 34.

[2]"A Round Table Has Debate on Christians' Moral Duty," Life, XLI (October 1, 1956), 145.

ly and worldly advantages are but small in comparison.[3]

Some Christians have stated very clearly that "the church as such has no call to join in any legislative or sociological program of color integration."[4] And it seems as though they are saying that there is no connection between the church and a program of national integration. But these people will later say that "individual Christians or associations of Christians may well lend their weight to healthy social and economic movements of better race relations. In fact, they should do so wherever possible."[5] It seems as though such people are saying that denominational officials, or maybe they mean denominational bodies acting through these officials, ought not embark upon any sort of crusade for integration. But they do not deny that individual Christians and groups of Christians, who are the church in their community, have a very direct responsibility to work for healthy race relations. So that actually such people are not emphatically saying that there is no connection between the church and integration.

In the face of these Southern Christians, who either more emphatically or more cautiously state that there is no connection between one's fellowship with God in the church and the process of integration, there are those Southern Christians who claim that there is a very real obligation laid upon the Christian church to give guidance and impetus to the process of integration. There are Lutheran Christians in the

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[3]Paul Schmidt, "Segregation in the Church? Pro," Seminarian, XLVIII (January, 1957), 48.

[4]Carl M. Zorn, "Evangelical Integration of Color," Concordia Theological Monthly, XVIII (June, 1947), 431f.

[5]Ibid., p. 436.

South who feel this way also.

To consider the views of those Christians who believe that the church has a very positive role to play in the process of integration in the South, the church shall be considered from two viewpoints: (1) the church and its own inner life apart from the world's social order; (2) the church confronting the world in the world's social order.

A. Integration and the Southern Church's Own Inner Life

In the church's own inner life, where Christian worships God with fellow Christian, where brother encourages brother, where believer partakes of his Lord's body and blood with fellow believer, where every person recognizes his sinfulness before God and is wholly dependent on Christ's forgiveness, here is a different order from the world's social order. In the church all are on the same level of unworthiness, and all have the same one Lord, Jesus Christ.

In the Southern church's own inner life, it would seem there would be no racial barriers, no segregation. For the church's inner life is not lived in the world's social order. But as Holmes Rolston, Southern Presbyterian theologian put it:

> In the South today we face not a theory but a fact. In the process of history the races have become segregated into racial churches. And this fact confronts us as an order of society, which cannot be altered at once. Perhaps it is best that it should not be.
>
> A Christianity that is not vital enough to build churches that bridge effectively the chasms of class within the white race could hardly be expected to build churches that bridged the deeper chasm of race.[6]

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[6]Holmes Rolston, The Social Message of the Apostle Paul (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1942), p. 152.

Thus, Rolston does not try to say that segregated churches are the way God would have His church. Rather, he says that segregated churches show a lack of vitality, a weakness, sin. A Lutheran pastor in the South explains segregated churches there in a different way: "The fact that I may belong to one local congregation, and another belongs to another local congregation, and that I receive communion at one congregation, is a matter of decency and order, and not a denial of membership in the body of Christ."[7] But the pastor does not explain why it is "decent and orderly" to tell the Negro he can't come to a "white" church. He seems to imply that it is to keep outward peace, though he does not explain whether he expects the uproar from the white Christians or from the whites outside the church.

In comparing the Southern fact of race churches with the New Testament picture of an all-inclusive church, the same Lutheran pastor quoted before admitted that the segregated churches of the South are not according to the pattern of the young churches which Paul nurtured, including Jew and Gentile, bond and free. But this pastor wonders "if provisions had been made for segregated congregations, whether or not more Jews would have been won for Christ."[8]

This idea that there should be special churches for certain ethnic and cultural groups used to be common among churches. It was not too many years ago when some German-speaking Lutherans would form a congregation and consider their mission field all the Germans who moved to

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[7]Schmidt, op. cit., p. 53.

[8]Loc. cit.

that community. This today is considered unevangelical, for the church's mission is to reach every person in the community.

Dr. Richard Caemmerer once pointed out in an address:

> The New Testament does not analyze the nature of races or recommend their several excellencies or even attack race prejudice as an entity. It simply denies that race has any significance in the mind that is truly led by the Spirit of God and in the person who is in the church of Christ.[9]

And thus, every church truly led by the Holy Spirit asks simply: Does that man need Christ or need to be strengthened in his faith? Never: Is he Negro? Or is he white? For this has nothing to do with the mission and message of the church.

Dr. Karl Kurth stated to the Synodical Conference Convention of 1952 how unnecessary it is to speak to a congregation of integration, if the congregation is aware of its Life and its mission:

> When a congregation has grasped the real significance of its solemn obligation over against all men and is motivated by love to Jesus, Who has paid such a tremendous price for man's redemption, to love the brethren; when members of a congregation realize that they should not only "work out their own salvation with fear and trembling," but that they also have a solemn duty to labor for the soul's salvation of others so that they, too, with them may share the blessings of the Gospel, then the "integration problem" should offer no difficulties.[10]

Perhaps most Southern pastors would agree that the ideal church would know no racial barriers. But they would answer with Judge Hugh Locke, of Birmingham, when Trevor Huddleston asked him: "But as a Christian, would you find it contrary to your very conscience to kneel in a

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[9]Richard R. Caemmerer, "Race Relations—The Christian Directive," Proceedings of the 1951 Valparaiso University Institute on Race Relations, July 30, 31 [Valparaiso: Valparaiso University, 1951], p. 20.

[10]Proceedings of the Forty-Second Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference, August 12-15, 1952 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), p. 132.

church beside a Negro?" Judge Locke weighed the question a moment and answered, "It's not practical, Father, it's not practical."[11]

The Southern pastor and the Southern Christian are so aware of the social order and the emotional environment in which they live that it is difficult for them to vision a church on earth that transcends the social order. And, as Rolston has said, such a situation that has existed for a century "cannot be altered at once."[12]

But the church's own inner life is apart from the social order and far different from its standards. In the church all men are on the same level: all are sinners and all have received the gift of forgiveness in Christ and all are aware that their task in the world is to speak and live this message of forgiveness in Christ to one another and to all men. For in Christ and in His Church there is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, professional man nor factory worker, intellectual nor illiterate, Negro nor white. For they are all one in Christ.

Though the church may have serious questions as to what extent and in what way it ought to affect the social order in the matter of integration, there is no question about its own inner life and integration. Here there cannot, by the very nature of the church, be any putting up of signs. The question of taking down the signs in the church is not an either-or, but a how. And in the South, this how is a big question. A few attempts at answering this question will be included in the next

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[11]Trevor Huddleston, "The Deep South and South Africa," Presbyterian Life, IX (May 12, 1956), 12.

[12]Rolston, op. cit., p. 152

chapter.

B. Integration and the Southern Church's Life in the Social Order

A church that is too weak to take down its own signs of racial discrimination can hardly be expected to consider very seriously urging that the signs be taken down in the social order. And until the church takes down its own signs it can do little to affect the social order.

In Georgia, Roy Harris, campaign manager for racist Gene Talmadge, recently stopped the mouths of some ministers who opposed Talmadge's platform of race hatred: "When those ministers are ready to open their churches to Negroes and seat them beside whites, I will listen to them. Until then they are not worth listening to."[13]

With this reservation in mind, that the church cannot urge upon society what it does not practise itself, it still is necessary to speak of the church's relationship to the social order in which it lives.

1. The reluctance of the church to face a social problem such as segregation

The researchers working on the Presbyterian-sponsored study of the church and the South made surveys of many communities and congregations in the South and the tendency that pervaded the congregations as well as the community leaders was "to avoid the race question." The attitude in one specific meeting was definitely that one should let sleeping dogs lie and that the less said about race relations in Southern communities

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[13]Robert Roth, "Georgia Liberals Botched Their Campaign to Beat Talmadge for Governor," Philadelphia Record (September 11, 1946), p. 12.

the better.[14] There seemed to be a real tension and a fear that the lid might blow off any time, and yet race relations was almost never selected as a problem for study.

Apparently the Lutheran Church in the South has followed the same pattern of reluctance to talk about this social issue. No conference paper or discussion topic of the Southern District conventions since 1882 until the present has ever touched the social problem of segregation, or any other social problem. Pastoral conferences, likewise, have reportedly steered clear of this social issue.

Several reasons may underly the church's reluctance to face and discuss such social issues. The fear of the unknown, inertia, the difficulty of getting anywhere in such massive problems involving the whole social structure--all play their part in this reluctance.

For some Christians it may be sincere conviction that Christianity has nothing to say about people's physical welfare, but is interested only in their spiritual welfare. This seems to have been the reason why some ministers at a recent pastoral conference labeled segregation and integration as adiaphora.[15] Likewise, another minister, writing in a theological magazine, stated that integration of color is to be faced as a reality and a natural, sociological development after the Civil War and as a purely economic and social problem is not in the province of

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[14]Gordon W. Blackwell, Lee M. Brooks, and S. H. Hobbs, Jr., Church and Community in the South (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1949), pp. 146f.

[15]Ralph L. Moellering, "Toward an Enlightened Christian Social Conscience," Proceedings of the 1956 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations, July 13-15 (Valparaiso: The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, 1956), p. 75.

the Gospel.[16]

Probably some of these Christians who are adverse to speaking of social problems and the Christians' responsibility toward them are thinking that the only way in which the church can tackle a social problem is by urging legislation and the like. And of this they want nothing.

Some Christians have felt that all these reasons for reluctance are insufficient and misleading. Dr. Richard Caemmerer said recently in an address at Valparaiso:

> It should not be said that the Christian faith and Gospel make no contribution here because race relations are a political or biological or economic problem. For whatever goes on in human hearts, and particularly human hearts concerned for other people, is the business of the Christian faith and Gospel.[17]

Another Lutheran voice urging a facing of social issues by the church is John Strietelmeier, Valparaiso University, who warns that we cannot divide our lives into two areas, the sacred and the secular.[18] A Lutheran pastor in Chicago warns, too, that "there dare be no dichotomy in our approach to people, as though we can make a neat division between the physical and the spiritual."[19] Thus, there are some leading Christians who believe that the church has a decided responsibility to study and to act on social issues because social issues are inextricably tied up with the "issue" of man and man's salvation. They think that

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[16]Zorn, op. cit., p. 431.

[17]Caemmerer, op. cit., pp. 19f.

[18]John Strietelmeier, God in Our Confused World (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), p. 24.

[19]Moellering, op. cit., p. 82.

the church should not think only in terms of helping the spiritual part of man, but his whole being, the spiritual and the physical.

Harold Floreen, of Augustana Seminary, said recently that the Lutheran Church's reluctance to face the problems of minority groups is due partly to "our own lethargy, which is not unusual with Lutherans, our occupation with our own adjustment to the American scene and with the ministry to immigrants, and our location principally in the North and largely rural areas."[20]

A Lutheran--Missouri Synod pastor in Chicago, Ralph Moellering, traced as one of the causes of Lutherans' reluctance to face social issues the former seminary training that seemed to stress: "the business of the church is to preach the Gospel . . . as though we had some spiritual message which was entirely devoid of social implications."[21]

The reluctance of the church in the South to face social issues is due partly to the belief that the church ought not meddle in such things, which are considered as "strictly political matters," according to a Lutheran pastor in Montgomery. A strange twist to this belief, the pastor noticed, is that there is no objection to pastors' speaking out in behalf of segregation; this apparently is not "political," but integration is.[22]

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[20]Harold Floreen, "The Lutheran Approach to Minority Groups," Augustana Review, V (Third Quarter, 1953), 28.

[21]Moellering, op. cit., p. 72.

[22]Robert Graetz, "The Montgomery Bus Boycott--My Part in it," Proceedings of the 1956 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations, July 13-15 (Valparaiso: The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, 1956), p. 31.

A sociologist, studying the Southern caste and class system in Mississippi, gave her own objective reason for the church's reluctance and failure to affect race relations there: "It appears that widely accepted social dogmas such as these ("the brotherhood of man") have a purely symbolic value for men, with little effectiveness as control upon overt behavior and social relationships."[23]

The Southern Presbyterian theologian Rolston points up a very basic reason for the reluctance of the church to face the issue in the South when he says: "If the church in the South is willing to attune its witness so as not to come into conflict with the demands of the ruling classes, the church can live at peace with the social order."[24] And Rolston goes on to clearly etch the danger of such an alignment of the church with the social order: "Those who control the social order prefer such a league, if possible, because through it they gain the appearance of the support of the Christian faith for their view of society."[25]

Thus, many are the reasons for the church's reluctance to face such a social issue as the discrimination of segregation. Two of the chief reasons seem to be: (1) a conviction on the part of some Christians that the proclaiming of the Gospel has nothing to do with social relationships; (2) the extreme desire to "keep peace" with the existing social order.

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[23]Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Color, directed by W. Lloyd Warner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), p. 229.

[24]Rolston, op. cit., p. 24.

[25]Ibid., p. 25.

In addition to these reasons for a reluctance to face the issue, there is on the part of many Christian pastors and teachers a real desire to do something about this social issue of race relations, but they know not where to begin nor quite how to defend their position for suggesting that the Christian church speaks to the social order. Thus it is important to consider:

2. The church's relationship to the social order

A very concise definition of a relation between the church and the social order is given by Edgar Carlson in his recent volume The Church and the Public Conscience:

> Unless one is prepared to argue that no act can be conscientious unless it is an act of revolt against the moral standards of a culture, one must be ready to ascribe a positive meaning and value to these general perspectives of right and wrong which constitute a part of the environment within which the individual lives and acts. It is also clear that to whatever extent the church is concerned with individual conscientious decision it must seek to affect the general moral climate of every age.[26]

The truth of this relationship between the church and the social order can hardly be denied. The church's proclamation of the Gospel and of the will of God and the church's witnessing one to the other is to save men from their sin, to make them God's, to keep them God's; and whatever may hinder a man's believing in Christ or his staying in faith, the church will work to remove. The moral climate, part of the social order, the church will attempt to affect where it hinders its purposes.

Halford Luccock expressed his idea of the relationship of the church to the social order in these unmistakable terms: "One truth has

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[26]Edgar M. Carlson, The Church and the Public Conscience (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1956), p. 5.

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been more than amply demonstrated. Unless there is a clear and emphatic teaching on social questions, a church develops pernicious anemia."[27] Luccock bolstered this strong statement by pointing to the church of Germany that seemed to fall apart before the Nazi oppression, except for the Confessional Church, because "so many had withdrawn from the life around them and were concerned only with questions of doctrine, piety, and polity."[28]

Several theologians of the present day have warned the church against an emphasis on individual morality at the expense of blinding Christians to the possibilities of corporate sin. Underlying this firm warning is the plain fact that Christians, because of their membership in the social order, are proportionately responsible for the evils of society; and because of their dual membership in the church of Christ, which lives by the rule of love, are more than proportionately responsible for the evil of society.

Rolston, in describing the relationship of the church to the social order, goes beyond the static, theoretical description of this relationship when he writes:

> On the one side, we see Christianity moving as a revolutionary force in social life, a force that has been most effective in destroying those things in the social order which were not Christian. On the other hand, we see Christianity moving as a conservative force that recognizes the orders of society and urges obedience to them as the will of God for society.[29]

This, of course, clearly reflects Paul's view of the church's rela-

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[27]Halford E. Luccock, Communicating the Gospel (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p. 156.

[28]Loc. cit.

[29]Rolston, op. cit., p. 56.

tionship to the social order. For Paul, the church's inner life was to be lived in the new order of Christian love, which loves men not because they are nice to be around, but because God loves them and gave His Son for them. This is why Paul addressed all of his letters to "the saints at Philippi," or whatever the place was; for there was no difference in the church. They were all saints. In the social order, however, Paul's view was that the Christians should remain in their slot. Thus, the church, by living the new life of agape in their own inner life, became a leaven for society.

This sort of a description of the church's relationship to the social order taught by Paul and described by Rolston means that the church is not true to her inner life "when she has ceased to be in tension with that in her environment which is not Christian."[30]

This tension description of the church's relationship to society makes decisions difficult. The church must at the same time know the sinful reality of the social order and the ideal which God would have. The decisions must be made in the social order with both sinful reality and holy ideal clearly in mind.

Rolston puts this tension description of the church-society relationship into the framework of the Southern atmosphere when he writes:

> Before the church there must be Paul's vision of a Christian society in which man is accepted as man, a society in which the distinction between privileged and unprivileged races has dropped out. At the same time there must be in the life of the church a knowledge of the actual conditions of that world of sinful reality within which the church must live.
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> The agony of the church is that she knows both the ideal and the

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[30] Ibid., p. 153.

> real and that between the two she must seek to understand the will of God for her. Woe to the church that does not understand something of this agony.[31]

In summary, it may be said that the church must constantly be affecting the social order; yet it is not an unmindful bombardment, but a tense leavening action.

3. Reasons for the church's affecting the social order for encouraging integration

Why should the church seek to affect the social order? Does God bring men into fellowship with Himself as a means of producing an ideal society? Hardly. This is what the church condemned in Walter Rauschenbusch's and Walter Shailer's messages.

Carlson clearly enunciates the opposite when he says that God uses all possible means, even an ideal society, if such is available, in order to bring men into fellowship with Himself.[32]

To explain why an ideal society is useful to the church's saving purposes Carlson further explains:

> Whatever there is about the social order or the relationships of men therein which obscures the demand which God is making upon those who live within it, makes the task of the church more difficult. Disorder, corruption, and injustice are evidence of the devil's interference in God's world and tend to deceive men into believing that not God but his enemy is in charge of the world. It is only by continuously and effectively challenging this demonic activity that the true dominion of God becomes evident.[33]

This is the negative part of the church's purpose in affecting the

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[31] Ibid., p. 154.

[32] Carlson, op. cit., p. 62.

[33] Ibid., p. 66.

social order, and specifically, in encouraging integration: to remove the injustice, and whatever else inheres in segregation, which weakens the Christian's witness to the Gospel to another man.[34]

Some Southern pastors who work in Negro communities believe that the evils of segregation don't really hinder the Negro from accepting the church's message of salvation in Christ. They say that they have never met a Negro who ever indicated this in his conversation.

It is true that for many Negroes in the South the segregated way of life is such an accepted fact that many do not seem to let it affect them. But it is impossible to determine how many Negroes have unconsciously been drawn from God partly by the deprivations and evils of segregation. And furthermore, there are Negroes who clearly state that the evils of segregation are a hindrance to their acceptance of the message of God's love and salvation, such as the Negro who gave this reply to a Lutheran pastor's invitation to come to church:

> Look, it's not you or your church that makes me hesitate. It's that I wonder about God. How can He allow this sort of thing to go on? He must see that we're kicked around, treated as inferiors and contaminated animals, often unable to get good jobs, compelled to live in inferior buildings, and all the rest of it. I sometimes wonder if there's a god at all, if He'll let such injustice continue."[35]

And as further proof that the evils of segregation do hinder many Negroes from believing the church's message of forgiveness in Christ, it may definitely be pointed out that churches which honestly attempt to

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[34]Caemmerer, op. cit., p. 29.

[35]Herbert Lindemann, "All Creatures of our God and King," Proceedings of the 1951 Valparaiso University Institute on Race Relations, July 30, 31 (Valparaiso: Valparaiso University, 1951), p. 33.

knock down the barriers of segregation and to help the Negro overcome the cycle of limitations and injustices of segregation find a readier audience for their message. During the past five years, for instance, the Negro membership of the Roman Catholic Church has increased about 55 per cent, and Christian Century writer Reuben Speaks attributes much of this increase to the Roman Catholic Church's interracial practises, parochial schools, employment programs, and other programs which unmistakably are aimed at helping the Negro in his struggle for betterment, economic, educational, and otherwise.[36]

Thus, removing the injustices and evils of segregation that the impact of the church's message might be less impeded is an important part of the church's purpose in opposing segregation. And the real positive part of the church's purpose in affecting the social order, of encouraging integration, is to love, to show concern, to witness to the faith to him who has not been loved.

This positive love which the church is exerting when it affects the social order is the horizontal part of the Gospel. According to O. P. Kretzmann, Valparaiso University, the vertical, the believing in God, is one and the same thing with the horizontal, the establishment of the right relationship with the brother.[37]

This positive love is spelled out explicitly in the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod's "Race Relations Pronouncement":

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[36]Reuben L. Speaks, "Will the Negro Remain Protestant?" Christian Century, LXXI (June 2, 1954), 668, 669.

[37]O. P. Kretzmann, "Education Without Discrimination," Proceedings of the 1950 Lutheran Institute on Race Relations, July 18, 19 [Valparaiso: Valparaiso University, 1950], p. 48.

> 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, world.[38]

Thus, the church would encourage integration in the South, not simply to produce a more ideal society on earth, but to thwart the devil, to remove a hindrance from the church's witness to God's love in Christ and at the same time to show that love to men.

This means that the Southern Christian who is furthering integration for the deepening of his witness to Christ and out of love to men for whom Christ died, may be working alongside a Southern liberal with other motives, perhaps the civic motive that he wants to see everybody get "a fair break." But this does not vitiate the Christian's witness.

Many Southern Christians agree that a Christian and a group of Christians may have a proper motive for encouraging integration, but they wonder whether certain groups of Christians in the South who are working for integration really have these motives. Questions are raised, for instance, concerning the mass resistance movement in Montgomery, Alabama, where the Negro churches and pastors gave practically all the leadership and guidance. Here it must be stated that it is not possible to judge motives, though it is true that Martin Luther King in published statements doesn't seem to go much beyond "a struggle for human dignity" and a determination "to defeat injustice."[39] The humble,

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[38]The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, Proceedings of the Forty-Third Regular Convention of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, June 20-29, 1956 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), p. 759.

[39]Martin Luther King, Jr., "Nonviolence and Racial Justice," Christian Century, LXXIV (February 6, 1957), 166.

nonretaliatory way in which the resistance movement was conducted can be credited to the Christian spirit that seemed to prevail among the resisters. The entire bundle of questions--what were their motives, why did they use the method of approach that they did, why did they decide to do it at the time they did--is all a matter of an ethical decision tied up with history upon which it is impossible for anyone who was not there to pass a judgment. And this question concerning the motives of other Christians can often be seen to do little less than to take the eyes of those who asked from off themselves.

C. Summary

In the church's inner life there can be no question about integration, for there can never be any prohibitive signs up where men recognize their sinfulness and trust Christ as their Savior. The church's role in affecting the social order becomes effective only when its own inner life is in accord with God's plan, and its attack on the evils of the social order is not a thoughtless bombardment, but a tense leavening. Thus, the Lutheran Church's role in the integration of the South follows this pattern, each Christian, each congregation and district making its own decisions according to the situation, the denominational conventions and leaders lending unflinching support and educated guidance. Always the church is mindful that it furthers integration to remove injustices of segregation that hinder Christian witness and to show positive Christian love--to the end, above all, that men might be brought into fellowship with their God.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PROGRAM OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE INTEGRATION OF THE SOUTH

Henry Nau, tireless missionary of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, once said: "Race problems will not be solved by much theorizing but only as we gird ourselves with the towel of humility and go out in helpful service and living."[1]

This chapter is aimed at laying down some guidelines for the congregation, the individual Christian, who has girded himself up to go out to serve and to live helpfully among all men.

This chapter will deal mainly with the church's program in the integration of its own inner life; for only as the church's inner life transcends the discrimination of the social order can the church hope to take the lead in affecting the social order like leaven in a lump.

A. Knowing the Climate

Essential to any program of action on the part of a Christian congregation, a Christian pastor, or an individual Christian is a knowing and sympathetic awareness of the racial climate in that locality.

The racial climate of a locality cannot be determined by the amount of conversation that favors segregation. Those who favor integration usually do the least amount of talking.

A rather objective way of finding the racial climate is by observ-

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[1]Ervin E. Krebs, The Lutheran Church and the American Negro (Columbus: Board of American Missions, American Lutheran Church, 1950), p. 3.

ing the voting ratio in matters that hinge on the integration issue. On the basis of the Alabama school decision in the fall of 1956, for instance, the Lutheran churches in Cullman could deduce that well over half of their county had little against integration. Whereas the Lutheran Churches in Dallas County, where the vote was 23-1 for segregation, and in Wilcox County, where the ratio was 28-1 for segregated schools, could deduce that about 95 per cent of the Caucasians in those counties look with disfavor at integration.

Knowing the climate of the congregation, as well as of the locality, is also important. The climate of the congregation should differ from that of the community, though in many older congregations whose members have grown up in the South, the climate may be very similar to that of the locality.

The racial climate will partly determine the speed of the program and the methods used.

The Southern Methodist minister J. Claude Evans explained the importance of knowing the climate of a community and of a congregation this way:

> To the outsider who does not see that the key to understanding the South is its emotionalism, this apparent pussyfooting of Southern liberals will continue. But the Southern liberal knows the key! He may have had to learn it the hard way, namely: acting like a Northern liberal, attacking the issues from an absolutist position letting the blows of prophetic insight fall where they may. He wakes up minus a pulpit, or discharged from a professor's chair, or out of a job, or ruined in business. In short, his intellectual polemic caused nothing but an emotional explosion.[2]

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[2]J. Claude Evans, "A Key to Understanding the South," American Lutheran, XXXIX (July, 1956), 12.

B. The Pastor--Key Man

As in many other spiritual matters of the church, where the pastor does not set a clear pace in the integration of the inner life of the church, the members themselves likely will not set the pace.

Though there are no records of Lutheran pastors in the South who have some sort of a program outlined for leading their people to an active love for all men regardless of color, there are indications that some pastors do have a general plan for themselves and their congregation.

A survey made by the Miami Herald recently, showed that the most outspoken of all Protestant pastors in favor of integration were the Lutheran ministers of that city. One of the Lutheran pastors' statements:

> I personally will welcome happily the day when we can drop all this silly business of racial segregation. . . . But my congregation as a whole feels otherwise, I am rather sure. . . . The implementation of the principle will mean suffering economic loss to some and a patient bearing with differences of opinion. But this is precisely what the Christian Gospel is meant to do: through suffering love to change unChristian situations.[3]

Though this statement does not reveal any program for his congregation's inner life, it does show that this pastor has done some concrete thinking on the matter and is not afraid to witness to all men the Christian necessity of ending segregation. Very likely the pastor does have a broad plan for bringing his people to see the bearing of the Christian Gospel on race relations. And other Lutheran pastors in the South do also.

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[3]Martin Scharlemann, "A Look Around," The Vanguard, III (January, 1956), 2.

Those pastors who have the greatest responsibility in guiding their congregation toward loving integration are those pastors whose congregations are situated in a community with many Negroes living within close radius of the church. Here the pastor and the congregation are confronted with the inescapable charge to witness to Christ to these people in their community. Here the pastor finds it difficult to wait a few years until his plans have gelled.

David S. Schuller, speaking at Valparaiso University, described two possible reactions of pastors facing this urgent challenge. One pastor may say that it is a social problem and not one of souls. Another pastor faces the challenge, works with it, studies the area of racial relations, works patiently with the congregation, until after two or three years the congregation agrees to face the challenge, too. The pastor credits time and "living with the problem" to the change that occured. This pastor suggests to others who face the same challenge that this whole subject be discussed only on the basis of Scripture; that, above all, people with deep-seated or extreme opinions on either side be respected for their feelings, but not condemned.[4]

Thus, as it has been pointed out in many other issues, probably the most important step in solving the integration "problem" is to decide to face it and work for a solution. And it is the pastor who usually has to make the decision first, then carefully, lovingly guide the congregation to make the decision also.

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[4]David S. Schuller, "The Problem of the Pastor," Proceedings of the 1955 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations, July 8-10 (Valparaiso: The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, 1955), pp. 11f.

A very important factor in determining the speed at which the pastor will guide his congregation and the methods he will use is the spiritual status of the congregation. A pastor whose congregation is filled with people whose living faith witnesses daily to their Lord Christ, will probably have little trouble in convincing these people that they ought to witness also to the Negroes who live and work around them. But a congregation for whom Christ does not seem to mean much in daily living and who seldom witness to their faith will be slow to see that they ought to witness to the Negro.

It is not only for the sake of the Negro living around the church, but also for the sake of the congregation that the pastor leads his people to take the segregation signs down. Augustana Lutheran Harold Floreen writes:

> a true pastor cannot afford to ignore prejudices in the hearts of his people, knowing that such attitudes are a cancer which ultimately destroy the souls of his sheep. If ordinary warnings do not avail, the preaching of the Word of God might have to become comparable in severity to the drastic surgery to which a physician will resort in dealing with a deadly malignancy.[5]

Some Southern pastors believe that integration is a touchy problem that immediately stirs up emotions. So they decide simply to preach the Gospel, but never to mention integration. And they believe that the Gospel will eventually work things out in people's lives as God would have it. This sort of avoidance of the issue may be justified under certain circumstances, such as a young mission congregation where the Gospel is just beginning to pull people together into the church. But

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[5]Harold Floreen, "The Lutheran Approach to Minority Groups," Augustana Seminary Review, V (Third Quarter, 1953), 14.

persistently to avoid applying the Gospel to the real problem of racial relations is avoiding the pastor's task.

This task of specifically applying the Gospel to life situations, of making the Christian truth relevant to everyday problems is the job of all pastors and Christian educators, according to O. P. Kretzmann.[6]

The pastor must study the issue of integration and be well versed on race so that he can squelch all the folk tales concerning race in his own mind and in the minds of his people. He must know all the historical and cultural reasons that are pulling people along with segregation. He must be sensitive to the racial climate in his community. But he must never forget that underneath all these reasons for racial prejudice and separatism is the root sin of egocentricity.[7] Even a group of civic leaders in human relations who wrote a pamphlet for the general public attributed racial prejudice to the instincts of man's "lower nature," but they soothed their readers by asserting that man has been so created "by our common Father that he possesses the potential to conquer the easy inclinations of his so-called 'lower nature'."[8] The Christian pastor knows, of course, that only the Gospel can really change men's hearts after the truth has cleared men's minds of misconceptions. But the sin must be diagnosed and the Gospel remedy applied.

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[6]O. P. Kretzmann, "Education Without Discrimination," Proceedings of the 1950 Lutheran Institute on Race Relations, July 18, 19 [Valparaiso: Valparaiso University, 1950], p. 47.

[7]Floreen, op. cit., p. 22.

[8]"America's No. 1 Problem . . . Group Relations" (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, n.d.), p. 2.

C. The Program on Synodical, District, and Area Level

Church leaders are the first to agree that church denominations and synods must make clear pronouncements concerning the Christian teaching on racial relations. But they are also the first to agree that until the local congregation of believers accepts these principles and acts upon them, the official decrees amount to little.

Nevertheless, much can be achieved on the synodical, district, and area level to guide pastors and lay leaders in their thinking.

All the major Christian denominations in the United States have made clear stands against discrimination against any race or minority group either in the church or in society. Some church bodies have established Race Relations Departments to study the problems, to publish guidelines for congregations and individual Christians. Other bodies have specifically designated this task for the Home Missions Committee.

In the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod a group of concerned pastors and laymen have banded together in the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America. Through their annual institutes at Valparaiso University, their bi-monthly publication The Vanguard, and their various chapters throughout the nation, they offer much guidance in the field of human relations.

Several Christian colleges, universities, and seminaries have included in their curriculum a course on the Christian approach to race relations.

Concerning the approach of a denomination to race relations in the church in the South, a Lutheran pastor in the South urges that "we ought to have confidence that the men we have sent into the South are working

as best they know how under difficulties little understood by others."[9]

More concrete programming concerning racial relations can be done on the regional or district level than on the denominational or synodical level. For here the pastors and laymen can discuss the matters in terms of their own situation.

The Southeastern, Central, Western, Oklahoma, and Texas Districts of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod have received the Negro congregations within their bounds into full membership. The Southern District has a regional committee composed of pastors from the Southern District and from the Negro congregations within the Southern District's bounds which is laying long-range plans for eventual acceptance of the Negro congregations into the Southern District.

However, neither the Southeastern nor the Southern Districts have ever discussed racial relations at district conferences, nor apparently at pastoral conferences, though there is no record of all the various topics discussed at the circuit and district pastoral conferences.

The closest the Southern District came to hearing of race relations in their district conventions was in the brief reports by the Synodical Conference missionaries to the Negroes, given from 1901 till 1913. After 1913 the reports suddenly disappear from the district proceedings until 1952. Some of the defensive statements of the missionaries' reports indicate the need for discussing race relations:

> We have the Negro-mission before our eyes. If we are not warm in this matter, we don't have to consider why our Christians in the

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[9]Paul Schmidt, "Segregation in the Church? Pro," Seminarian, XLVIII (January, 1957), 54.

other districts also are not stirred up for the Negro-mission. (1901)[10]

If we want zeal and love for the Negro-mission (and this is necessary if we want to carry on this mission properly), then we must learn to look at the Negro as our neighbor. If we recognize the Negro as our neighbor, then we must next come to know that he is a human on a level with other humans and that he, like all men, has received his mind, body, and soul from God. (Karl Kretschmar, 1903)[11]

One often hears such words as these: "The Negro really isn't human." And in that way one also throws out the command to love one's neighbor--as far as the Negro goes. . . . So we would in real Christian neighbor-love go forward in our mission work among the Negroes. The Negroes need our love and help; they are in need, in great need. (1903)[12]

The race question during the last year has again come into focus of the general interest. "What does the white man owe the Negro, and what does the Negro owe the white? How should and will they both treat each other in the future?" These and similar important questions agitate souls and are answered differently from different sides.

As Christians and members of a rightly-believing church body, we are all faced by a question of equal importance: "How have we, as stewards of the godly mysteries, treated the Negro?" In the answer to this question no difference of opinion is allowed; for we must all be of one mind. Here our behavior is not determined by whether we live in the South or the North, whether we are well acquainted or poorly acquainted with the relations, whether our previous experiences in connection with the colored are of a sad kind or of a happy kind; but on the contrary, our behavior is determined only by the equally authoritative command of the Lord at His ascension: "Teach all things that I have commanded you." In this, thank God, we are all of one mind and of one thinking. Of that our mis-

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[10]Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the Southern District of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States, February 6-12, 1901 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1901), pp. 78f.

[11]Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the Southern District of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States, February 18-24, 1903 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1903), p. 108.

[12]Ibid., p. 109.

sion work among the colored of our land is witness. (1907)[13]

> If we Christians, however, allow ourselves to be influenced through such prejudices against the Blacks, then it can only mean that we do not consider our Savior Jesus Christ's love for sinners sufficient, that we do not consider whose children we are. Whenever we really come to realize that Christ is the Savior of the world, the one Savior of all men, then all prejudices against races of mankind, any particular folk of the South, must collapse. When we take this rightly to heart, God will also show us Christians of the South that we can call no humans, not even the Blacks, common or unclean. (1913)[14]

It is clear by these reports that the missionaries to the Negroes in the South felt that their fellow Caucasian Lutheran Christians were not concerned for the Negro as they ought to be and sometimes did not even seem to regard the Negro as human. Yet this subject of race relations never entered into the topics or essays presented at the conventions.

A church body that has met regionally to discuss the question of race relations is the Presbyterian Church USA. Early in 1957 Negro and white pastors and laymen of that church met together in an unnamed city of the South for a two-day conference to discuss the racial issues in the light of the church's teachings and mission. Delegates came from over sixty-two Presbyterian congregations in the South.[15]

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[13] Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Southern District of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States, February 6-11, 1907 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1907), p. 51.

[14] Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention of the Southern District of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States, April 16-22, 1913 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1913), p. 54.

[15] "Negro, White Presbyterians Meet in South," Presbyterian Life, X (March 2, 1957), 18.

The ministers talked about whether they ought to raise the color question in a church where there was no immediate difficulty except remarks betraying latent prejudice. They discussed the difficulty of holding together in Christian relationship parishioners who espouse widely different views on race. Both pastors and laymen sought ways of practising Christian compassion toward persons with unchristian racial feelings.[16]

The Assembly of this Presbyterian Church USA already in 1956 had taken note of the boycotts and other punitive reprisals directed against some Southerners supporting the Supreme Court's decision regarding segregated public schools. They took action that "assures members of our presbyteries and churches, who may be under persecution, of the corporate support of our church, and directs the Stated Clerk to give them encouragement, counsel, and other assistance as he may judge to be appropriate."[17] The church has granted large sums of money to groups of Presbyterians in South Carolina who have lacked the court costs to defend themselves against various reprisals.

Apparently churches are just beginning to utilize regional institutes and conferences on racial relations. Their effectiveness, therefore, still remains to be seen.

D. The Program on the Congregational Level

As important as all the synodical, regional, and district discus-

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[16] Ibid., p. 20.

[17] H. B. Siessel, "Segregation in Sumter, South Carolina," Presbyterian Life, X (January 5, 1957), 34.

sions and pronouncements are, it is the local congregation that either puts these principles of integrating agape into practise or leaves them dormant.

There are two types of "white" churches in the South. The one is in an exclusively Caucasian community, and the other is in a community with many Negroes relatively near the church. These two types of churches will necessarily have somewhat different programs of integration.

The church in the exclusively Caucasian community which faces the integration challenge will want their Negro brethren in the city to know that they are concerned for them. If there is a Lutheran congregation in the Negro community and in the white community, as is the case in many Southern cities, the congregations certainly should invite each other to various church services and functions that would be interesting and edifying for fellow Christians. Ladies aids, men's clubs, and other organizations within the congregations might well have special joint meetings where a topic or a speaker is of special significance. Whenever area church committees are set up, the Negro Lutherans should be invited to shoulder part of the responsibility.

This sort of brotherly concern for one another and for the work of the church has been shown to a certain extent by the Lutherans of both races in Selma, Alabama, and in New Orleans, Louisiana, where interracial services and functions have been held. But only a beginning has been made throughout the South among the "white" Lutheran churches to show that they regard the Negro as their brother in Christ or as one who needs to be brought into fellowship with Christ.

The Lutheran church in an exclusively Caucasian community of a large city with sizeable Negro communities that have no Lutheran churches might well show their agape for the Negro by starting a mission in one of the colored communities. This sort of a plan in the South, of course, often seems an impossibility when the "white" church in the city is so weak and struggling. And where a "white" church starts such a mission, it should be on more of a brotherly basis than on a distant paternal basis.

The "white" church which is in a community with Negroes living here and there in it, within one or one and a half miles of the church building, has the more immediate responsibility of witnessing of Christ to them.

In the South, where the color line is so sharp, this obligation of speaking Christ to the community, an inherent part of the church's life, seems impossible. But the Augustana Lutheran Church in Houston, Texas, right at the edge of Lowland South, showed in 1956 that it can be done. Following is the account which appeared in Time:

> A Negro couple and their two children sat proudly among their white neighbors at regular Sunday services in Houston's Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church last week.
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> . . . . . .
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> Though he had been their pastor for six years, the congregation had a lot to learn about Massachusetts-born Pastor Seastrand, 40. Many a Southern pastor who thinks church segregation unChristian is afraid to buck his all-white flock to budge it. Not so Pastor Seastrand. "God and one," he said, "are a majority." Amid some ominous grumblings he began a persistent campaign to persuade his congregation to "meet this challenge of integration." He preached the Christian view of equality. "It is not my purpose to force on you my own convictions," he said, "but to endeavor to lead you into the Word of God." Then he passed the word to a parish worker to invite two Negro women to Sunday services.

> Pastor Seastrand was bitterly criticized for his attitude, and some angry talk broke out at church meetings. There were dark rumors--half of the congregation would leave; the church would not get financial support. To every protest, Pastor Seastrand gave a gentle but firm rejoinder. When his congregation talked of moving the church, he warned: "We can't move ourselves away from moral and spiritual responsibilities."
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> . . . Eighteen members left the church in protest against Pastor Seastrand's stand, but his methods have won over many of the congregation, and twenty-six additional whites have joined the church since the interracial policy became known. Said a Texas-born deacon at a church meeting: "No one has a more difficult job battling this problem than I. But thank God that I now not only recognize what is the right thing to do but am willing to accept it."[18]

In most such cases of integration in the church's inner life, a certain period of months was spent in educating the congregation, and then came the time for putting the evangelical principles into practise, regardless of how many were "going to leave the church." The end result has nearly always been that only a handful, if that many, leave the church, and the members are happier afterward that they came to know Christian agape in a deeper measure.

Probably for the present, communicant integration is most easily achieved in the larger towns and cities of the South. And since this is where most of the Southern Lutheran churches are situated, the Lutheran churches are at an advantage in effecting integration.

Probably the thorniest job in the task of convincing a congregation that they are to witness to all men in their community, is the job of showing the Christian necessity for this to "those who won't budge."

In an address at Valparaiso University, Richard Caemmerer points up the need and the method for working with such prejudiced people. He

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18"God and One," Time, LXVIII (May 28, 1956), 76.

points out that if a brother Christian is an alcoholic,

> we do not help him bear his burden by simply allowing him to drink. When a brother Christian is beset with prejudice, hatred, or neglect in any form, we help him to bear his burden, never by simply granting him the right to go his way, but we must seek to cure him of his malady.[19]

And the method, the power, for changing such people is not telling them what they are doing wrong, not merely the diagnosis of their faults and frailties in conversations, Caemmerer says, but by bringing one another under the influence of the Word of the Gospel, by gathering about Word and sacrament, by applying to one another the power of love through the mutual consideration of God's love in Christ Jesus.[20]

A danger in an integration program anywhere, according to Margaret McCulloch, is that integration may be sponsored for the sake of integration.[21] Though this probably is not too much of a danger in the Lutheran Church in the South, it can never be stressed too much, that integration within the church's inner life or in the social order is always for the sake of people and for the sake of God's kingdom, not for the sake of the principle.

E. The Church's Program in Integration of the Social Order

The last paragraph of the "Race Relations Pronouncement" passed by the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod in 1956 acknowledges "our responsi-

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[19]Richard R. Caemmerer, "Race Relations--The Christian Directive," Proceedings of the 1951 Valparaiso University Institute on Race Relations, July 30, 31 [Valparaiso: Valparaiso University, 1951], p. 26.

[20]Ibid., p. 27.

[21]Margaret C. McCulloch, Integration: Promise--Process--Problems (Nashville: Hemphill Press, 1952), p. 46.

bility 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."

Accordingly, it is the church's responsibility to lend encouragement and guidance to its members so that they might intelligently and patiently engage in the democratic process of their own community for the purpose of "preserving justice and creating a climate of mutual relations in which their own witness to the Gospel will be fruitful" and the purpose of their lives in this world be realized.[22]

The program carried on by the individual congregation to encourage its members to speak up by word and action for the Negro and for treating him as a man, can be carried out in many ways, usually with not much success, however, until the congregation has taken down its own signs of segregation.

The men's clubs, ladies' societies, young people's societies, elder boards, social welfare committees, and other such groups are ideal for discussions and projects encouraging individual and group action on behalf of the Negro and his integration into society. Margaret McCulloch, in her book Segregation suggests that families be urged to have fellowship with Negroes.[23] In most parts of the South this is very possible to do without fears of reprisals.

An excellent outline of how the individual Christian can affect the social order's segregation patterns and help Negro-white relations was

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[22]Caemmerer, op. cit., p. 30.

[23]Margaret C. McCulloch, Segregation: A Challenge to Democracy (Nashville: Hemphill Press, 1950), p. 35.

included in the American Lutheran Church's "Race Relations Resolution," passed in 1948:

1. Give moral and financial support and service to movements and organizations aiming to provide for Negroes adequate facilities and programs of various kinds--economic, social, recreational, medical, legal, governmental, educational, and religious.

2. Give encouragement and practical assistance to sound policies and to intelligently directed programs of action relative to adequate and well-located homes for Negroes available at current prices.

3. Give practical and persistent aid to the following means, among others, of reducing Negro delinquency and disease: religious training for Negro youths, wholesome recreation, fair trials, economic and educational opportunities, delinquency prevention conferences and projects.

4. Show unassuming, unpatronizing, and genuine politeness and friendliness in all contacts with Negroes.

5. Encourage and make intelligent and increasing use of sources of fair and correct information about Negroes, such as periodicals and books, and denounce and counteract, as far as possible, unfair presentations concerning Negroes in publications, songs, movies, and pictures, and in private conversations.

6. Take keen interest in available and effective means of creating interracial understanding and cooperation, such as conferences and forums, and interracial committees and local branches of interracial organizations national in scope.

7. Make constant and sincere use of the moral and spiritual resources of the Christian Church, realizing that the fundamental, the indispensable, means of improving race relations is the regenerating power of Christ.[24]

The interracial organizations national in scope which Christians might well be urged to participate in are especially the Southern Regional Council, the NAACP, and the Urban League. In some few places in the South it may be dangerous to join the NAACP. But Christians should not be discouraged from joining the NAACP because not all of the NAACP's

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[24]Krebs, op. cit., p. 94.

methods are Christian. Rather, this should be a reason for a Christian's joining the organization. And since few Caucasians in the South have tried to help lead in the NAACP, any intelligent white who does show an interest in the goals of the NAACP is able to exert a powerful influence.

The many civic organizations, such as Optimists, Civitans, and others, could well be steered by Christians to discuss race relations intelligently and to lend support to local leaders. In Henderson, Kentucky, when the Ministerial Alliance in that town supported the school board's decision to integrate the schools, not a single other organization came to their side.

Not only must the church in the South give guidance to its members on what ought to be done in the social order to show love to the Negro and to encourage integration, but the church must lend moral support and tangible aid to those who are being persecuted for their firm stand.

Presbyterian Life recently reported that "white Presbyterians whose speech or action reflected their convictions have been subjected to 'telephone campaigns'--the incessant ringing of their phones at home from midnight until 4:30 a.m., night after night." And Negroes have had to study how to respond to personal threats and intimidation without, on the one hand, compromising their Christian principles, and on the other, without touching off a flash-flood of violence.[25]

In practically every Christian congregation in the South, according to Robert Graetz, American Lutheran pastor in Montgomery, Alabama, there

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[25]"Negro, White Presbyterians Meet in South," Presbyterian Life, X (March 2, 1957), 20.

is a small group of members who have come to see the evils of segregation. But they are afraid to speak up for fear of reprisals, ostracisms, persecutions.[26] Such people need the strong, firm support of Christian pastors and congregations and districts.

F. Summary

The program of the Lutheran Church in the South toward integration must be geared to the racial climate of the area. The denominational pronouncements are necessary, but the most effective program on the upper levels is the regional or district level. In congregational integration of its own inner life, which is the place where all true integration must start, the pastor is the key man. And the church in the South must encourage and support individual Christians in their leavening of the lump of society.

The program must always be evangelical, for only the Gospel truly changes men's hearts and gives them the virile courage to actively love the Negro in a social order that despises a "nigger-lover."

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[26]Robert Graetz, "The Montgomery Bus Boycott--My Part in it," Proceedings of the 1956 Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations, July 13-15 (Valparaiso: The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, 1956), p. 32.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this paper has been to analyze the atmosphere of the South in which integration is taking place and to determine what role the Lutheran Church can and ought to play in that process. Though both of these purposes have involved many subjective judgments on the part of the author in his use of evidence and quotations, the general conclusions of each chapter, which follow in summary form, are rather clear.

Chapter II, The South: The South is not a monolithic culture, but has many shadings and varieties. The two basically different cultures in the South may be found in the Upland South, which has fewer Negroes and is less conservative in racial matters, and in the Lowland South, which has a greater proportion of Negroes and is more conservative. The South's history of a lost war and a chaotic occupation period has affected its thinking, its education, its churches, its politics, its whole way of life to the present. And as a result of its culture and its history, the South still nurtures segregation as a part of its "way of life."

Chapter III, Segregation in the South: Though the Southern Caucasian musters many defenses for the segregation system, no objective observer of the system can conclude that the Negro has equal opportunities with the whites. Segregation in the South seldom involves hatred on the part of the whites toward the Negro. Rather, it generally means treating the Negro as a child, never as a man. The result is that a few Negroes are embittered toward the whites. A greater percentage feel frus-

trated, but are resigned to their fate. Some enjoy the luxury of living carefree, dependent lives as "children." But scarcely a Negro who speaks his heart, whether it be a self-centered heart or a God-centered heart, will deny that someday he hopes to be treated as a man. And hardly a Southern white man, on the other hand, who really speaks his heart will assert that the Negro under segregation is being treated as he ought.

Chapter IV, Integration in the South: The pulse of the world and of the nation is directing things, it seems, so that someday soon the Negro's hope will be fulfilled and he will be treated as a man. Integration, even to the thinking Southerner, seems inevitable in the South. Many forces are arrayed against it: folk tales, rationalizations, fears, racial non-communication, historical pressures, reluctance to confess wrong, stubborn sinful flesh. But there are forces aligned pushing for integration: the white man's conscience, the churches, the younger generation, the broadening horizons, the pressure of the rest of the nation and of the world. The tension between these forces is rather great in places in the South. But integration seems to be winning.

Chapter V, Methods of Achieving Integration in the South: Where the white leaders have made a firm stand in favor of integration, the process has taken place rather smoothly. But where the Negroes saw that the Caucasians intended to do nothing to abolish segregation and then took steps of their own toward integration, there tensions seemed to mount. Whatever method has been used to achieve integration in the South, it seems, has created tensions. And this is unavoidable, for integration rolls back over a hundred years of history in a few moments.

Chapter VI, Southern Environment in which Integration is Taking Place Contrasted to Northern Environment: The South is not the only area of the nation undergoing the tension of rolling back years of history. The North and the West are integrating, too. But the environment of the South differs greatly from that of the North and the West. In the South integration is taking place largely in small, rural, personal communities; civic leaders are usually opposed to it; Negroes and whites fear reprisals; extreme racists poison Southerners' minds; some preach that segregation is God's way; struggling, small, and somewhat apart in this milieu is the Lutheran Church of the South; and affecting part of Lutheranism in the South is the "Synodical Conference complex."

Chapter VII, The Role of the Lutheran Church in the Integration of the South: Could the Lutheran Church--or any Christian Church--have any sort of a role in this process of integration, of treating the Negro as a man? There can be no doubt but that the church in its inner life ought to transcend man's signs of segregation. And it is here that the church must start her Operation Love for the Negro: in her own inner life. Then she may tackle the other matter of discrimination against the Negro in the social order. The social order is the church's to affect where she can, that the devil might be thwarted and that through a more godly social order men might more easily see their God and be brought into fellowship with Him. Especially is this the case in a nominally Christian democracy such as the United States, whose social order the world identifies as Christian and whose people have the power and the responsibility to carry out social justice. And so the Lutheran Church in the South, as she can, will be seeking to oust segregation

that her witness to the Negro might be more winsome, and she will be seeking to support integration that she might actively show her whole love of God in Christ to the Negro.

Chapter VIII, The Program of the Lutheran Church in the Integration of the South: The actual program for carrying out this role is not easy to set up. In every locality each congregation must make its own decisions in the face of the environment in which God has placed it. Denominational, regional, and district church leaders may well help with suggestions and institutes, but the congregation is the church in the place that must work out its program that it might be godly leaven in its community. The program will permeate the whole congregation and will include education on the basis of Scripture and, where possible, actual mutual associations with Negroes in worship services and in discussions and meetings. Key man in the program is the pastor, who will expect to meet with opposition, but who will seek to melt opposition by a patient, firm, Christ-centered approach. Through it all, from the beginning program in the congregation's inner life to the program that reaches into the community through individual citizens, the motive must be to love the Negro with God's love in Christ and to build God's church.

Among the various things that such a study as this teaches one: Where sin distorts things, there is no easy solution. Making the Gospel of Jesus Christ relevant to the Negro-white problem of the South requires earnest study of the problem and of God's Word and will. This study is only a beginning.

Several aspects of this study were touched on only lightly and deserve much more study. Two aspects of the study that were not delved

into at all and which merit consideration are: (1) An approach to civic and church leaders who refuse to discuss the issue of Negro-white relations in the South; (2) The relationship of the theology of the dominant church denominations in the South to the racial thinking in the South.

APPENDIX A

Statistics of the Lutheran Church in the South by States--1955

States	Mo Synod			ULC		ALC		Syn Conf		Totals		
	Congregations	Baptized Members	Members per 1,000 Pop.	Congregations	Baptized Members	Congregations	Baptized Members	Congregations	Baptized Members	Congregations	Baptized Members	Members per 1,000 Pop.
Ala.	15	3,362	1.1	9	1,647	9	1,109	38	3,450	71	9,568	2.0
Ark.	27	6,331	3.3	1	157	1	281	--	--	29	6,769	3.5
Fla.	46	10,542	3.8	25	9,437	9	3,535	--	--	80	23,514	9.4
Ga.	9	1,056	.3	37	10,142	--	--	--	--	40	11,198	3.3
Ky.	12	3,018	1.0	24	8,985	1	145	--	--	37	12,144	4.1
La.	35	13,523	5.0	3	262	5	1,409	10	2,498	53	17,692	5.9
Miss.	10	1,121	.5	11	1,239	1	91	1	73	23	2,524	1.1
N. C.	41	10,718	2.6	170	60,877	7	2,892	--	--	218	74,487	18.3
Okla.	72	15,259	6.8	4	1,499	8	1,648	--	--	84	18,406	8.2
S. C.	6	645	.3	129	41,561	--	--	--	--	135	42,206	19.9
Tenn.	22	4,386	1.3	35	7,223	1	174	--	--	58	11,783	3.6
Tex.	220	59,636	7.7	41	13,249	212	74,492	--	--	463	147,377	20.1
Va.	17	4,660	1.3	149	32,994	8	2,918	--	--	174	40,572	12.3
Total	532	134,257	2.7	638	189,272	262	88,694	49	6,021	1,465	418,240	8.6

APPENDIX B

Negro Church Membership in the United States--1950[1]

Baptist church bodies	4,500,000
Methodist church bodies	2,500,000
Roman Catholic Church .	137,000 to 345,000
Presbyterians	35,000
Episcopalians	30,000
Congregational	30,000
Church of God	25,000
Lutheran church bodies	21,000
Total	7,486,000
Unchurched Negroes in 1936 . . .	7,000,000[2]

[1]Ervin E. Krebs, The Lutheran Church and the American Negro (Columbus: Board of American Missions, American Lutheran Church, 1950), p. 19.

[2]Negro Year Book 1952, Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, editor (New York: Wm. H. Wise & Co., 1952), p. 254.

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