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THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AND SEGREGATION

**PROTESTANT CHURCH AND SEGREGATION; Thiele; B.D., 1961**

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  
Karl Thiele  
June 1961

Approved by: [Signature]  
[Signature]

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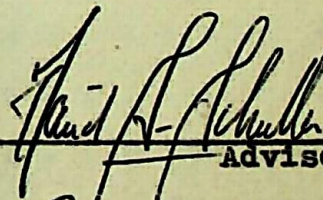
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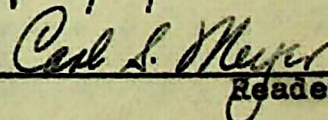
**by**

**Karl Thiele**

**June 1961**

**Approved by:**

  
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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The title of this study may immediately bring a question to the mind of the reader: Why is not the title "The Protestant Church and Integration" instead of "The Protestant Church and Segregation?" The answer is that racial segregation, rather than racial integration, is the accepted condition. Segregation is the rule and integration is the exception.

This study rests on the assumption that a racially integrated society is the ideal for which the sociologically minded person must be striving. This study rests on the firm conviction that a racially integrated society is God's ideal for which the Biblically minded person must be striving.

The three terms with which we are most concerned and which need to be defined are "segregation," "integration," and "desegregation." Segregation is defined by W. D. Culver as

the physical separation of groups for the purpose of maintaining social distance . . . to keep at a physical and social distance, and judge them to be somehow "inferior."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>W. D. Culver, Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1953), p. vii.

Integration, says J. Oscar Lee, is a

relationship in which persons of different racial groups interact in a process aimed at the development of a cohesive grouping in an institution or activity which is focused around some common interest. In the movement from a segregated society to a non-segregated one integration and segregation are complementary processes.<sup>2</sup>

Lee defines desegregation by saying,

It is used to mean the removal of barriers which are used to impose segregation. Such barriers may be laws, policies adopted and enforced by organizations or governmental agencies and customary group practices.<sup>3</sup>

The problem is segregation. This problem makes integration a problem. The integration of people, Negro and white, on the level of religion, its churches, its beliefs and practices is the broad scope of this study. Many people are acquainted with the problem from experience. Many are unaware of the implications of the problem. Others recognize it but fail to see the importance of the problem. Many have written about it and some have conscientiously studied the problem with its various implications. From one who has studied the problem we have this as his conclusion:

If one were to write a history of Protestantism's relations to Negroes the balance sheet would be on the debit side. Protestantism arose in the time of

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<sup>2</sup>J. Oscar Lee, "Status of Racial Integration in Religious Institutions," Journal of Negro Education, XXIII (Summer, 1954), 230.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 231.

European exploitation of non-white people. It blessed slavery. It sanctified a caste system with its stamp of inferiority on a whole race . . . although protestantism, by its policies and practices is still actually contributing to the segregation of the Negro Americans, there is some ground for confidence that the intelligence and devotion of these pioneers will show a way. Let us hope that it may be sooner than we think.<sup>4</sup>

"Segregation is the characteristic of the Protestant Church," says Loescher.<sup>5</sup> It is not unusual to hear Protestant leaders say today, as Harry Emerson Fosdick said in 1950, "Race prejudice is as thorough a denial of the Christian God as atheism, and a far more common form of apostasy!"<sup>6</sup> It is impossible to deny the factual charge of Walter White that only the "die-hard segregated schools of the most reactionary of the southern states" surpass the church in the separation of the Negroes and whites. What is so strange about the charge is that it is made against the institution of the church which teaches the "brotherhood of all men enunciated by Jesus."<sup>7</sup>

How can Christian churches justify their segregation which is opposed to the basic beliefs of the Christian religion? There are others who are asking the question.

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<sup>4</sup>Frank S. Loescher, The Protestant Church and the Negro (New York: Association Press, 1948), p. 117.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>H. E. Fosdick, "Friends of the American Way of Life" (n.p., 1950).

<sup>7</sup>Walter White, How Far the Promised Land (New York: Viking Press, 1956), p. 194.

One of these is a Southerner, J. M. Dabbs, who is a South Carolinian by birth and residence:

All thoughtful people will admit, I think, that the system [segregation], at least in some details subjects the Negro to humiliations . . . difficult to justify in the light of the Judae-Christian tradition. Now have we justified our treatment of the Negro under slavery and segregation?

The first thing to realize is that we have tried to justify it . . . we have never tried to justify our race relations in the full light of the Christian Scriptures: the light, that is, which shows in the face of Jesus. A second indication of our lack of belief in our justifications is our tendency to grow shrill in their presentation. . . .

This basic unbalance between love and justice results in sentimentality; that is, unjustified emotion. It has been with us a pleasant task to deceive, if possible, the Negro, but more importantly ourselves; to hide from ourselves the fact that we were denying to the Negro the basic, general obligation of justice, while proffering him the personal gift of love. It is insulting to offer gifts while refusing obligations. Love can never be offered in place of justice; it may be offered in addition to justice.<sup>8</sup>

Other voices from pew and pulpit in Southern churches are responding:

God made white people and black people and it's unchristian to try to correct a mistake of God's. The Supreme Court didn't change the principle of the church. It brought out the negligence of the church.<sup>9</sup>

The weaknesses of the church are most embarrassing when people find that the contradictions are in the realm of

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<sup>8</sup>J. M. Dabbs, The Southern Heritage (New York: Alfred M. Knopf, 1958), pp. 234-243.

<sup>9</sup>James Dykeman and Wilma Stokley, Neither Black Nor White (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1957), p. 278.



religion. The Bible Belt with its "more church memberships, higher percentages of attendances . . ." is spoken of by a Kentucky minister:

For years, generations, we Southerners abstractly said one thing and daily, with as little consciousness of it as was possible, did another. But the Supreme Court decision brought word and act together. "In the beginning was the Word. . . ." Well, we've had the words a long time, now we've got to live up to them. More than that, this decision has brought the Southerner's dichotomy into the open and made him verbalize it. This is the most unforgiveable thing of all.

This dichotomy is not new. While Charlotte, North Carolina, was building its reputation as one of the most church-going cities in America, it was also making statistics in having one of the highest crime rates in the country, and this paradox was not uncharacteristic of the region as a whole.<sup>10</sup>

But there are many who do not see or refuse to recognize the paradox. It is not difficult to find references to the church, religion, Christianity and Christian duty in the writings of the extreme segregationists. Only in their "physical strength and their natural capacity as entertainers" are the Negroes superior to whites, is the feeling of Robert Patterson, founder of the White Citizens Council movement.<sup>11</sup>

While in the early years of the twentieth century the major denominations were waking to the paradox and the

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<sup>10</sup>Dykeman and Stokley, op. cit., pp. 263-264.

<sup>11</sup>Hodding Carter III, The South Strikes Back (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1959), p. 107.

voices of dedicated leaders were beginning to be heard,<sup>12</sup> there were still those, who in the name of Christianity, promoted the superiority of the white race:

Negroes must recognize the supremacy of the white race and be willing to be a good second. White people will welcome all the progress and all the good that the race may achieve, but as conditions now stand and as far as the future can be forecasted the Caucasian race seems destined to lead all other races.<sup>13</sup>

There is no doubt, the paradox does exist. This paradox is that of what the church stands for and what the church practices. It is the purpose of this study to investigate the factors in our society, secular and religious that have contributed to and maintained the paradox and thus make it possible for us to better be able to eliminate this absurdity. Needless to say, it is impossible to discuss all the factors relating to this paradox, but those factors affecting and primarily related to the church are treated.

Factors which are not treated in detail in Chapter IV which have no direct implications to the church are treated in Chapter III. This is not to say that the factors studied in Chapter III have no implications in the position of the Protestant denominations, the attitudes of its members

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<sup>12</sup>Andrew Schulze, My Neighbor of Another Color (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1944).

<sup>13</sup>L. D. Smith, Christianity and the Race Problem (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1922), p. 47.

and leaders, and their actions within the church or society.

The neglect of scientific sociological studies in the area of the Protestant church and segregation is immediately recognized. Those references which treat the subject in an objective scientific manner are the references which carry the greatest weight.

slavery in the early his-  
tory of our nation. The first Negroes brought to the new  
world were distinguished by class and not by race. They  
were subject to the same conditions as those of the inden-  
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It is interesting to note that the first legal case, grant-  
ing one individual the right to "own" another, involved  
Negroes as plaintiff and defendant.<sup>1</sup>

In the ordinary course of the Indian wars, Indian  
slavery began to be practiced. The sanctioning of this  
kind of slavery led to sanctioning of Negro slavery even  
though the Negro never fought against the early settlers  
of the new world. A pattern had now been set and it  
needed to be defended. The defense was found in the word  
of God:

<sup>1</sup>Dr. George Leisay, "The Ethno-Cultural Revolution  
in American Race Relations," Speech given at the Associa-  
tion of Council Secretaries, Williams Bay, Wisconsin,  
June 12, 1956.

## CHAPTER II

### BASIC HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

#### Pre-Civil War Period

Without any doubt, the roots of the segregation controversy go back to the time of slavery in the early history of our nation. The first Negroes brought to the new world were distinguished by class and not by race. They were subject to the same conditions as those of the indentured servants from England. By the year 1635 Negroes began to be designated as "servants" or "Negro servants." It is interesting to note that the first legal case, granting one individual the right to "own" another, involved Negroes as plaintiff and defendant.<sup>1</sup>

In the ordinary course of the Indian wars, Indian slavery began to be practiced. The sanctioning of this kind of slavery led to sanctioning of Negro slavery even though the Negro never fought against the early settlers of the new world. A pattern had now been set and it needed to be defended. The defense was found in the Word of God:

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. George Kelsey, "The Ethico-Cultural Revolution in American Race Relations," Speech given at the Association of Council Secretaries, Williams Bay, Wisconsin, June 18, 1956.

The New England Calvinist considered that he was God's elect and that to him God had given the heathen for an inheritance, and by enslaving the Indians and trading them for Negroes, he was doing nothing more than entering into his heritage.<sup>2</sup>

But the logic and the medieval theory that slavery should be confined to the heathen demanded that the slave be set free after he became a Christian. The defenders of slave interests enacted laws which held "that a slave's conversion to Christianity did not change his status since continuation of his bondage enabled his owner to continue Christian instruction."<sup>3</sup>

Two handicaps of the Protestant churches were the ignorance of the slave and the fact that the slave-owners were hostile toward Christianizing of the Negro.<sup>4</sup> At first the defenders of slavery opposed baptism of Negroes. By 1667 the Virginia Assembly passed a law declaring:

Baptism doth not alter the condition of the person to his bondage or freedom; in order that diverse masters freed from this doubt may more carefully endeavor the propagation of Christianity.<sup>5</sup>

Maryland passed a similar law. Later laws were passed to

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<sup>2</sup>William W. Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 285.

<sup>3</sup>Walter White, How Far the Promised Land (New York: Viking Press, 1956), p. 195.

<sup>4</sup>Leonard L. Haynes, Jr., The Negro Community Within American Protestantism (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1953), p. 76.

<sup>5</sup>Kelsey, op. cit., p. 2.

make all non-Christians, converted or unconverted, to be slaves who entered the colony.

Three other factors, important to the early history of slavery, are: (1) the need for a labor force, (2) the time of slavery of the mother was extended with the birth of each child, and (3) the 1662 doctrine that required the child to follow the status of the mother.<sup>6</sup>

The development of the Negro status from class to slave continued for over a century before the evils of this system began to be proclaimed by often unheard voices. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century John Woolman spoke against slave ownership and slavery. With his voice the anti-slavery influence of the Quakers, to become the important religious group of the Abolition Movement, began to be sounded.

In 1769 Dr. Samuel Hopkins of the First Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode Island, preached against, not slavery, but the evils of the slave-trade. The only colonial religious group which had a definite program as far as mission work among slaves and Negroes was concerned was the Anglican Church. Nowhere, however, do we find this institution denouncing the institution of slavery.<sup>7</sup>

The early period of slavery is today sometimes

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Sweet, op. cit., pp. 286-287.

defended on the ground that it was necessary for a number of reasons and that slavery really was not bad. C. F. Marden makes it clear that the position of slaves in our nation was worse than that of slaves in Latin American countries:

In the American system the slave had practically no protection at all by law from the arbitrary exercise of authority by the master. He had no property rights, married partners could be separated, and children from their parents.<sup>8</sup>

Subjection of humans to that of mere cattle seems brutal to us.

NEGROES FOR SALE. A negro woman, 24 years of age, and her two children, one eight and the other three years old. Said negroes will be sold SEPARATELY or together, as desired. The woman is a good seamstress. She will be sold low for cash, or EXCHANGED FOR GROCERIES. For terms, apply to MATTHEW BLISS & CO., 1 Front Levee.<sup>9</sup>

There is more than adequate evidence to show that slavery with its many practices gave reason for the Christian voice to speak.

In addition to the voice of the Quakers, there were other religious groups which made their voices heard, in greater and lesser volume, at the turn of the nineteenth century. Under the leadership of W. E. Channing, the Unitarians made it quite clear, from the beginning, that

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<sup>8</sup>Charles F. Marden, Minorities in American Society (New York: American Book Company, 1952), p. 117.

<sup>9</sup>Frank Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), p. 177.

they were opposed to slavery.<sup>10</sup> The Church of the Brethren, with their ideal of equality in all human relations, opposed the division of society into castes and classes.<sup>11</sup> The Universalists were the first religious body to go on record opposing human slavery in any form.<sup>12</sup> It was primarily through the efforts of the Quakers, however, that the Abolition Movement gained momentum.

In 1821 the Evangelical United Brethren Church prohibited slavery, but sixteen years later the congregations became subject to state laws, thus making it possible for congregations south of the Mason-Dixon line to endorse slavery.<sup>13</sup> Under the leadership of Alexander Campbell, the Disciples of Christ denomination was able to avert any sort of schism in the days of the sectional controversy, but this was due to the fact that Campbell released his own slaves and held that slavery was not forbidden by the letter of the New Testament.<sup>14</sup> In the latter part of the eighteenth century, with the evils of slave-trade becoming increasingly difficult to overlook, there was a wave of

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<sup>10</sup> Vergilius Ferm, The American Church of the Protestant Heritage (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953), p. 149.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.



anti-slavery movements in the Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Methodist Episcopal churches.<sup>15</sup>

In the year 1800 a great change came over Protestantism with the coming of the Great Awakening. Up until this time there was little change in the new country in the realm of religion. The Great Awakening brought with it the "crusade to convert the masses to emotional Christianity."<sup>16</sup> It also influenced the growth of democracy in the Southern region with its central concept "that an individual was not predestinated to hell or heaven, as Calvin taught, but could exercise free will and become 'saved.'"<sup>17</sup>

Following the Great Awakening came a period marked by a more rational attitude toward religion.<sup>18</sup> Until the 1830's the South was extremely tolerant and it is out of this tolerance that the new religious groups came, such as Deism and its ramification and the spread of Unitarianism. By the late 1830's there was a decided change in the South. The pendulum began to swing in the opposite direction. There was no longer the strict dichotomy of religion for the commoners and the aristocrats. Reasons for this were

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<sup>15</sup>Sweet, op. cit., p. 292.

<sup>16</sup>Clement Eaton, A History of the South (New York: Macmillan Company, 1957), p. 485.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

external to religion. The South viewed itself as being under attack (Nullification and the Abolition Society) and it became defensive. Liberalism was not tolerated. Conformity was demanded. Now the Bible became widely used to prove the right of slavery. By this time, the importance of the cotton market had caused the previous discussion of the slavery issue to be hushed. The first thirty years of the nineteenth century were

a period of transition from the early sympathetic approaches of the Protestant community toward the Negro to the period of militant immediate abolitionism . . . the lines were formed, the South against the North. The South holding on to its economic slave liferaft and the North beginning to feel that this liferaft should be punctured.<sup>19</sup>

To those insisting upon slavery, slavery took on a "quality of special goodness because it put man in a situation in which they sorely needed love."<sup>20</sup>

Before the nineteenth century, the Negro worshiped in the white congregations and took part in church life.

There were instances of Negro ministers of white congregations, especially in Baptist and Methodist churches.<sup>21</sup>

It was in the first quarter of the nineteenth century that the "stricter exclusion of Negroes from participation with

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<sup>19</sup>Haynes, op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>20</sup>J. M. Dabbs, The Southern Heritage (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), pp. 234-243.

<sup>21</sup>Haynes, op. cit., p. 76.

whites in religious exercises led to the organization of separate Negro churches and religious institutions."<sup>22</sup>

Before the Civil War there were scattered Negro churches,

usually the result of resentment of free Negroes of the North at segregation and other discriminatory practices. But it was not until after the war that independent Negro churches emerged on a large scale.<sup>23</sup>

Haynes draws three conclusions from the history of American Protestantism as related to the Negro community during this period of history: (1) the eighteenth century gave rise to the caste status of the Negro; (2) the Protestant groups were the first to show any signs of sympathy and understanding toward the Negro; and (3) the separate Negro churches arose out of the class caste status of the Negro because Protestants accepted this status as the place for the Negro.

#### The Schisms

By the year 1860 the South had become ultra-conservative in religion and it showed the caste bias. Many aristocrats were the "neuvo riche" and a "gentleman" was either a Methodist or Baptist. "Nearly three-fourths of the Southern church goers in 1860 were Methodist or Baptist."<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Dr. John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 223.

<sup>23</sup>Will Herberg, Protestant--Catholic--Jew (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1955), p. 127.

<sup>24</sup>Eaton, op. cit., p. 493.

It was only natural then that the controversy of slavery would most affect the churches most adequately distributed throughout the nation, North and South. Thus it was the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians who felt the strains of separation at the time previous to, during, and after the Civil War.

In the triennial convention of 1841, a convention of Baptist churches throughout the country, slavery was the prominent issue. Southerners thought that they were "safe" and the issue had been settled, but at the next triennial convention in 1844, there was increased agitation by Northern Baptists.<sup>25</sup> This convention brought the withdrawal of the "southern association from the Old Board of Home Missions supported by the Baptists in the South."<sup>26</sup> The following year found the Southerners meeting at Augusta, Georgia, and for the sake of peace and harmony they separated themselves from the Northern division.

As early as 1840 there was conflict between Southern radicals and Northerners in the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the General Conference of that year the matter of slavery was not discussed, for the Abolitionists feared the danger of losing the decision and wanted to wait for a better time. This was done, to the regret of the radicals,

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<sup>25</sup>Sweet, op. cit., pp. 298, 299.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

who had not enough power to have the matter discussed. In 1844 the General Conference met again. The debate centered around Bishop James O. Andrew of Georgia, who by his second marriage had become the possessor of a few household slaves, and thus the first slave-holding bishop. It was the decision on this matter, that is, that the bishop relinquish ownership of his slaves, that caused the separation of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bitterness was on the increase between the two bodies of Methodism from that time until the Civil War.<sup>27</sup>

The dispute in the Presbyterian Church was involved in that of doctrine and social issues. The controversy arose in 1837 when the Old School or Old Lights accused the New School or New Lights of being too liberal in doctrine and too involved in social issues, including slavery. This conflict, primarily between Northern liberalism and Southern conservatism, was enough to bring about final legislation of schism in 1857. The New School was dominated by Northerners and was primarily Abolitionist. This position of the New School Presbyterian Church drove the Old School Presbyterian Church to the opposite extreme, that of pro-slavery. It is out of the Old School that some of the ablest defenders of slavery, on Biblical grounds, were born.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Fern, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>28</sup>Sweet, op. cit., p. 308.

## Post-Civil War

From the time of the Civil War, until recent decades, there has been, generally speaking, an "air of quietness" in the white-dominated Protestant churches. If there have been any policies or practices (before 1920) they have been of little help to the Negro, but have instead contributed to the segregation of the American Negro. Since 1921, but more specifically with greater emphasis since 1940, there has been an increasing awareness on the part of Protestantism of their lack of putting into practice what they have been preaching. It was the second World War, with all its implications, that brought Protestantism to the real awareness of racial discrimination.<sup>29</sup> Herberg says that "religious segregation of white and colored Protestants, within the same church as well as between churches," is being "denounced by Protestant spokesmen with growing frequency as a 'sin' and a 'scandal.'"<sup>30</sup>

Life magazine, in its series on segregation, concluded a debate of leading church leaders by saying:

There seems to be no question from the facts presented here that progress in the field of race relations in the South prior to the Supreme Court decision was under-way toward the eventual solution of this whole

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<sup>29</sup>Frank S. Loescher, The Protestant Church and the Negro (New York: Association Press, 1948), pp. 15-50.

<sup>30</sup>Herberg, op. cit., p. 128.

problem of Negro-White relationships and that the Church was in the forefront of this advancement.<sup>31</sup>

In spite of the careful wording, if this sort of optimism, as shared by these religious leaders, were completely true, and if the statement could have been made previous to the Supreme Court decision of 1954, we would certainly not have the many problems facing us today in the area of human relations.

The lack of putting the Biblical principles of brotherhood into practice, by the Protestant bodies, has had an equally detrimental effect upon the Negro church bodies. The constant coercive pattern of the land-owners during the days of slavery certainly had its influence on Negro churches. Under this sort of coercive arrangement it was natural that a stress on "other-worldliness" should come about. This, then, has been the "characteristic pattern of Negro preaching and belief in most churches up to the present day."<sup>32</sup> Receiving the sanction of the Southern Caucasian (and Northern), the Negro church has become an institution to modify the harshness of segregation and has helped to solidify the Negro.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>"A Round Table Has Debate on Christian's Moral Duty," Life, September 24, 1956, p. 162.

<sup>32</sup>R. A. Schermerhorn, These Our People (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1949), p. 103.

<sup>33</sup>Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 862.

In their new freedom after the Civil War, the Negroes were enthusiastic for education and religion.<sup>34</sup> The free Negro now carried out his work of separation with a great deal of energy and a great amount of success.

The colored members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South left in vast numbers to join the African Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal Zion Churches which had been formed as small groups in the North in 1816 and 1821 respectively. Of the 208,000 Negro members of the Southern Methodist Church in 1860 only 49,000 remained in 1866, and of those some departed to form a Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. Another Negro church came into being from the division of the Presbyterian and still another with the separation of the Baptist, both in the decade and a half after the Civil War. The Northern Methodist Church and the Episcopal Church resisted division but could not avoid a greater measure of inner segregation.<sup>35</sup>

The Negro churches have increased in membership under their new system of segregation. "They provide the best example of bi-racialism, that is, of social order divided in all its functions along caste lines."<sup>36</sup> Liston Pope says confidently, on the basis of statistics, that the Negro churches, entirely American to start with, still stand outside the system of the church just as in other areas of American life.

Less than one percent of the white congregations have any Negro members (and each of these generally has only two or three), and less than one-half of one percent of the Negro Protestants who belong to white

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<sup>34</sup>Sweet, op. cit., p. 330.

<sup>35</sup>Herberg, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

<sup>36</sup>Dollard, op. cit., p. 223.



denominations worship regularly with white persons.<sup>37</sup>

Dollard points out that it is religion that has made life for the Southern Negro tolerable and that Christianity, although used against them by Caucasians, is still carried on as one of their prized institutions.<sup>38</sup> This is substantiated by Sweet: "The church has meant more to the Negro than any other institution, since only in his church has he had an opportunity for self-expression."<sup>39</sup> Myrdal points out that the "Negro church fundamentally is an expression of the Negro community itself."<sup>40</sup> Therefore, it may most emphatically be said, on the basis of the above statements and similar statements by other researchers, that the Negro churches have had a profound effect upon the Negro community and vice versa.

The above statements point out most certainly one of the factors affecting the growth of the Negro churches which has been perhaps more rapid than other Protestant churches.

About 1953, reports indicate, there were 7,600,000 members in nine all-Negro Baptist denominations; 2,500,000 in six all-Negro Methodist denominations;

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<sup>37</sup>Liston Pope, "Religion and the Class Structure," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1948, p. 90.

<sup>38</sup>Dollard, op. cit., p. 247.

<sup>39</sup>Sweet, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>40</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 877.

and 90,000 in three all-Negro Presbyterian denominations; and 12,000 in the Negro Lutheran Mission. This would make something over 10,000,000 Negroes in well-established Negro churches. In addition, there were about 900,000 in more or less mixed churches (including about 350,000 Roman Catholics), and an uncertain though not inconsiderable number in small, unaffiliated churches of the "fringe" type. All in all, available figures suggest a total of over 11,500,000 Negro church members in the United States, apparently around 75 per cent of the 15,500,000 Negroes in this country reported in the 1950 census.<sup>41</sup>

According to the statistics reported in the 1955 Yearbook of American Churches, there were 55,837,325 Protestants in the United States and 31,476,261 Roman Catholics.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Herberg, op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>42</sup>Leo Rosten, Religions in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955), p. 196.

### CHAPTER III

#### IMPORTANT FACTORS AFFECTING RELIGIOUS POSITIONS

To say that one lives entirely by his religious convictions is not only being unrealistic but false. Within every Christian congregation there are those who are striving for the ideal example with greater and lesser degrees of persistence. We are influenced by the world around us. This chapter deals with important factors which affect the attitudes and actions of individuals and our society, thus affecting the position of the churches. After treating the more personal factors attention will be given to the broader fields of education, legislation and politics, economic and housing factors. It will be noted that these factors give support to the existing paradox--support which is not needed.

Most researchers on the subject of segregation treat the subject in four general areas: economic, political, social, and legal. It must not fail to be noted, however, that under these general categories every aspect of life may be included, even the religious which is usually included under the social. It is true that "in almost everything he does and everywhere he goes, from birth to death, in sickness or in health, the Negro is confronted with the color line," and the authors continue by saying that this

includes religion.<sup>1</sup>

In the case study of Negroes in the United States by Wagley and Harris, four divisions of discriminations are made: economic, educational, religious, and social. The authors are quite optimistic about the Negroes' progress since World War II in the areas of education, politics, economy and social standing, but the religious area is not treated when citing optimism in other areas.

C. S. Johnson says that the Negroes, as a group, "experience the most persistent and most persuasive forms of segregation based upon economic, social, traditional, and legal considerations."<sup>2</sup> It must be noted that these are the areas in which the Negro has most often sought to be accepted on an equal basis, while in religion the Negro has often chosen to remain with his own group.

#### Tradition--Status Quo--Change

Modern science has contributed inestimable amounts to combat the pattern of segregation. However, with the beginning of biological science came the classification of animals into higher and lower forms. The public mind

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<sup>1</sup>Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, Minorities in the New World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 143.

<sup>2</sup>Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943), p. 202.

grasped this order in the animal world and applied it to man. From this concept came the development of the concept of biological races and the differences between people.<sup>3</sup> This development came about during the time that the slavery issue was being solidified in the eighteenth century. These racial beliefs and practices, which have developed over three centuries, cannot be expected to be dissolved within a decade.

The basis of many of our racial problems today is in the concept of biological races, and the Negro's being traditionally associated with "slave." These beliefs and practices of long time standing are not affected by reason; they are non-rational. They cannot be immediately dissolved by any humanitarian doctrine. The forces which are most likely to affect changes is the force of law which gradually erodes custom and the idiosyncracies of racial etiquette.<sup>4</sup>

Life for the Negro today is miserable because of the traditional ideologies which have been associated with him-- not as an individual, but as a group. He is often judged immediately, not upon his individuality, but upon his being a Negro. This is stereotyping. He is still conceived

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<sup>3</sup>Arnold Rose and Caroline Rose, America Divided (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 40.

<sup>4</sup>Johnson, op. cit., p. 193.

as being a servant. He is expected to labor with less pay, to be submissive, to be a follower, to be less than what the Caucasian has made himself to be. This fact is often emphasized by Negro writers and sympathetic Caucasians.<sup>5</sup> It is not difficult to recognize immediately that stereotyping lessens the worth of the person being typed. It is also immediately recognizable that stereotyping is contrary to the basic democratic philosophy and the Christian ideal.

While there are those who sincerely try to remove the Negro stereotype, there are others who wish to promote it.

If you have had a negro mammy take care of you and keep you from eating dirt; if you played with negro boys when a boy; if you have worked with and among them, laughed at their ribald humor; if you have been stunned by their abysmal vulgarity and profanity; if you can find it in your heart to overlook their obscenity and depravity; if you can respect and love their deep religious fervor; if you can cherish and love their loyalty and devotion to you, then you are beginning to understand the negro.<sup>6</sup>

Notice that the writer makes no exceptions for a "different kind of Negro," which is done by some charitable segregationists. Notice also how he prescribes the area in which the Negro may live. By eliminating the potential of even a single Negro, he sets the maximum bounds for all.

Traditions do not change easily. The traditional

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 195-196.

<sup>6</sup>Hodding Carter III, The South Strikes Back (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1949), p. 107.

stereotype of the Negro is being changed slowly. Since change occurs slowly, it is difficult to see.<sup>7</sup> The continued change of this stereotype will mean the changing of many attitudes, beliefs, and practices. With these changes come social changes which are naturally resisted. All change is attended by emotional strain. Humans seem to be made up of the certain something that "what we feel strongly what is, is right." When change comes, there are reactions which are often unusual. This is a subtle type of reaction upon the individual--often happening without his being aware of it. It is under this type of condition and also under the extreme changes, war, floods, etc., that confusion and rumors are added, and superstition flourishes.<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, there seems to be a natural resistance to change.<sup>9</sup> The status quo becomes the ideal for which men strive, possibly unrecognized by the individual and society, and thus the cultural lag. In Senator T. G. Bilbo's book, published shortly before his death, the defense of the status quo is that if two races are brought together, there can be only two possible outcomes--mongrelization or segregation. The concrete evils of mongrelization are

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<sup>7</sup>Rose and Rose, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>8</sup>Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954), pp. 224-225.

<sup>9</sup>Rose and Rose, op. cit., p. 28.

many. Nor is this defense limited to the majority group. There are also members of the minority group who seek to justify the status quo which binds them.<sup>10</sup>

But changes do occur. There is no doubt that the attitudes, beliefs and practices of the American public are changing. There is little doubt that they shall continue to change. These words of optimism are verified by C. S. Johnson in the year 1943.

Such a status quo, however, cannot be maintained indefinitely. The process of acculturation will inevitably cause a disturbance of fixed racial roles; for the influences of penetrating economic, political and religious forces cannot be isolated; nor can these elements of a dominant culture divorce themselves from others which are bound up in the web of personal relationships. There is no avenue of escape from the social and biological consequences of contact.<sup>11</sup>

### Prejudice and Ignorance

It is natural for us to feel kindly disposed to those who are nearest us. In the in-group we feel most at home. When we get outside of this in-group, into city, state, nation, racial stock, and mankind, our associations become more complex and more difficult.<sup>12</sup> As we come into contact with the out-group, rarely do we have a position of

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<sup>10</sup>Brewton Berry, Race Relations (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951), p. 9.

<sup>11</sup>Johnson, op. cit., xv-xvi.

<sup>12</sup>Allport, op. cit., p. 43.



neutrality toward the group, for we have usually been "prepared" by others or ourselves, consciously or unconsciously, for such contacts. Prejudice is the personal aspect of how an individual feels toward the group, whereas segregation and discrimination are the social aspects of prejudice which may be seen in inter-group relations.<sup>13</sup>

For a more definite definition:

Prejudice is an emotional, rigid attitude (a predisposition to respond to a certain stimulus in a certain way) toward a group of people. They may be a group only in the mind of the prejudiced person. . . . Prejudices are thus attitudes, but not all attitudes are prejudices. They both contain the element of pre-judgment, but prejudiced attitudes have an affective or emotional quality that not all attitudes are prejudices.<sup>14</sup>

One important aspect of prejudice (stereotyping) has been touched in the previous pages. The socio-psychological aspects of prejudices are a complete study in themselves. Greater emphasis is being placed upon the psychology of prejudice today. Deutsch and Collins in their study of "Interracial Housing" are careful to point out that prejudice may be viewed and studied from two approaches, the psychological and the sociological, but the two cannot

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<sup>13</sup>Stewart G. Cole and Mildred W. Cole, Minorities and the American Promise (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 81.

<sup>14</sup>G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), p. 13.

be separated, they are complementary.<sup>15</sup>

For the purposes of this study it must be noted that prejudices "may be acquired early in life through indoctrination of the social surroundings," or, the other main source of prejudice, the needs of the individual personality.<sup>16</sup> We have a number of theories, old and new, on the sources and nature of prejudice, and with few exceptions all are agreed with the basic statement above.<sup>17</sup>

In speaking of religion and prejudice, Allport leads us to another paradox: "The role of religion is paradoxical. It makes prejudice and it unmakes prejudice."<sup>18</sup> The author gives adequate evidence to support the paradoxical statement. But Allport does more than to make the statement and substantiate it. In his The Individual and His Religion he gives us some very serious thoughts about the origin of such a paradox. In speaking of "reflective articulation" in the development of religious sentiment he

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<sup>15</sup>Morton Deutsch and Mary E. Collings, Interracial Housing (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951), p. 132.

<sup>16</sup>Charles F. Marden, Minorities in American Society (New York: American Book Company, 1952), pp. 476-479.

<sup>17</sup>For additional information on this subject refer to G. W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice; B. Berry, Race Relations; Arnold Rose and Caroline Rose, America Divided; M. Rose, editor, Race Prejudice and Discrimination; G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities.

<sup>18</sup>Allport, op. cit., p. 444.

says:

Now evidence shows that the very subjects who accept religion unreflectively and uncritically tend to react in an equally unreflective way to their parents, to political issues, to social institution. Their sentiments seem uniformly immature. They are found usually to have many repressed conflicts. In them, hostility, anxiety, prejudices are detectable by psychological methods. Recent investigations for example, have uncovered the fact that among people with strong religious sentiments race prejudice is often marked. Closer analysis indicates that religious sentiment in these cases is blindly institutional, exclusionist, and related to self-centered values. Among people with reflective and highly differentiated sentiments, race prejudice is rarely found.<sup>19</sup>

He continues to point out that belief normally develops in three states. The first is that of "raw credulity." The second is a disruption of the first through doubt. The third, "mature belief . . . grows painfully out of the alternating doubts and affirmations that characterize productive thinking."<sup>20</sup> The important fact to be noted from these words then is that the person who unconditionally accepts the practices and beliefs of segregation and discrimination, usually does so simply by believing what he has been told and learned to accept, without any reflective thinking. This person then, may be a Christian, but is more likely to be more prejudiced than the person who has been led to do some reflective thinking in the matter of segregation.

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 122.

The lack of reflective thinking, which we often call ignorance, is therefore another barrier to be overcome. Negro writers have pointed out that they have been amazed at the ignorance of the majority group, and that white people have been surprised at their own ignorance. This ignorance is best illustrated by this letter written by a Negro girl in our nation's capitol:

I have come to the conclusion that White people are just unbelievably ignorant about Negroes. All the time I was there (the only Negro girl in a White "front office") the other girls would ask me questions or do things that seemed silly to me. First, I remember, they wanted to know about my hair. What did I do to it? Did I get a permanent, etc.?--And they weren't satisfied until they had touched it. And then they were surprised that it was "so soft." One girl went to the beach and came back with a nice dark coat of tan. I put my arm beside hers and said, "See all the trouble you go to to get your skin the same color as mine?" and one of them piped up, "Janet, can you get sunburned?" I said, "Don't you suppose the sun affects your skin the same way it does mine?"

Then one day a group of us were downtown and we all got weighed. I took a little time on the scale, and one of them said, "Get off that scale, girl, and let me on." And she pulled my arm to get me off. Then she stopped in surprise and said, "Why your arm is soft!"

After a while, I guess all of us were a little conscious of what was happening. One day when three of us were riding home from work together, one of the girls said: "Here's a Catholic, a Jew and a Negro and we all like each other. Isn't that terrible!" Questions became less frequent, and we did more things together, and we talked about more ordinary things, the many things we really had in common by then.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capitol, Segregation in Washington (n.p., 1948), pp. 73-74.

But people do not wish to remain ignorant, when they realize that they are ignorant to the problems faced by Negroes in our nation. The sin is one of indifference. It is a sin of omission rather than commission--of omitting to find out the problems of others. In the final analysis, however, this may be classified as ignorance.

### Fear, Intermarriage, Sex and Guilt

Even though the fears of the segregationist are ungrounded, these fears are very real to the person who holds them. In some areas of the South the whites are outnumbered and have been able to hold power through threats, economic or political, and thus the minority is still called the majority because they hold such power. The very fear that the whites have instilled in the Negro is the fear from which the whites feel they will have to flee if the Negro gains power. It is not unusual for an outsider to characterize such a region of the nation by the word "fear."

Intermarriage has been overemphasized to the extent that it has become a concrete fear in the minds of many people. There are indications, however, that there need not be this great alarm. Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, minister of a large church in Harlem, who marries as many as one hundred couples a year, has had only four interracial marriages in his twenty-seven years as minister to that

congregation.<sup>22</sup> Intermarriage rates in New York, Boston, and Los Angeles in which Negroes participate appear to be declining. The rate has never been over five per cent.<sup>23</sup>

In spite of the fact that statistics prove that Negroes generally marry within their own race, the "bar against intermarriage and sexual intercourse involving white women" ranks highest in the order of discriminations in the South.<sup>24</sup>

The ban on sex relations between Negro men and white women has the highest place in the white man's rank order of social segregation and discriminations. This gives a central position to the concern for "race purity," since the offspring of such unions are children of Negro "blood" obviously born to white women, and there is danger that they may be accepted as members of the white "race." There is no danger in sex relations between white men and Negro women, since the children stay with the mother and paternity cannot be proved. That is, it cannot be proved if there is no formal marriage. Thus, intermarriage--which in the South is considered to be the same as extramarital relations between a Negro man and a white woman--is the strongest of all taboos.<sup>25</sup>

Johnson gives evidence that the extramarital relations are still practiced in the South. He cites cases where white men have a second wife who is Negro. In some instances the second wife may have a Negro husband, but the

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<sup>22</sup>J. M. Dabbs, The Southern Heritage (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), p. 91.

<sup>23</sup>Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 495.

<sup>24</sup>Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 80.

<sup>25</sup>Rose and Rose, op. cit., pp. 155-156.

latter is unable to do anything about it. This occurs in rural areas of the deep South.<sup>26</sup>

There are a number of theories that have arisen from the area of sex and intermarriage related to prejudice.<sup>27</sup> The classic example is that of Lillian Smith in her book Killers of the Dream. She leans heavily on the theory that sexual exploitation of the Negro woman by the white man explains much of the Southern white man's fear of the Negro.

What a strange ugly trap the white race has made for itself! Because these slave holders were "Christians," they felt compelled to justify the holding of slaves by denying these slaves a soul, and denying them a place in the human family. Because they were puritan, they succeeded in developing a frigidity in their white women that precluded the possibility of mutual satisfaction. Lonely and baffled and frustrated by the state of affairs, they had settled in their own homes and hearts, they could not resist the vigor and gaiety of these slaves. And succumbing to desire, they mated these dark women whom they had de-humanized in their minds, and fathered by them children, who, according to their race philosophy, were "without souls"---a strange exotic new kind of creature, whom they made slaves of and sometimes sold on the auction block. . . .

The race-sex-sin spiral had begun. The more trails the white man made to the back-yard cabins, the higher he raised his white wife on her pedestal when he returned to the big house. . . . Guilt, shame, fear, lust spiralled each other. Then a time came, though it was decades later, when man's suspicion of white woman began to pull the spiral higher and higher. It was of course inevitable for him to suspect her of the sins he had committed so pleasantly and often . . . in jealous panic began to project his own sins on to the Negro male. And when he did that,

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<sup>26</sup>Johnson, op. cit., pp. 147ff.

<sup>27</sup>Rose and Rose, op. cit., pp. 290ff.

a madness seized our people.<sup>28</sup>

To support Lillian Smith's observations, a Southern psychiatrist says:

We know that sex outside of marriage, particularly in the puritanical religious environment, created feelings of guilt. And to that was added the guilt, in many cases, of knowing that the white man's attentions had been to some extent forced on the Negro woman. Add to that the guilt stemming from contact with a being believed to be something less than human, and you have a powerful dose of it.<sup>29</sup>

It is no wonder, then, that Lillian Smith says in speaking of the Ku Klux Klan that its activities are "a complete acting out of the white man's internal guilt and his hatred of colored man and white woman."<sup>30</sup> Some have even suggested that the bed sheets and pillow cases of the Klan are unconscious symbols of the very problem.<sup>31</sup>

Again we must admit that the subject of intermarriage is not a rational one. Intermarriage would mean the abolition of prejudice and therefore it is so strongly fought.

The reasoning seems to be that unless all forms of discrimination are maintained, intermarriage will result. The same argument was used to defend slavery. Nearly a hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln was forced to protest against "that counterfeit logic which presumes that, if I do not want a Negro woman for slave,

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<sup>28</sup>Lillian Smith, Killers of the Dream (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1949), pp. 116-117.

<sup>29</sup>William Peters, "The Story Nobody Tells You," McCalls, September, 1958, p. 124.

<sup>30</sup>Smith, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>31</sup>Peters, op. cit., p. 124.



I do necessarily want her for a wife."

The purpose of this argument by the segregationist is to confuse the opponent.<sup>32</sup>

### Education

The wisdom of the legal enactment to break down the "separate but equal" legal standing in the field of public education, rather than attacking segregation in the field of economics, political, social, and/or religion, cannot be overemphasized. The problem of the vicious circle, of which Myrdal speaks, had to be broken.<sup>33</sup> The most practical way to break this circle was to desegregate in an area where the Negro could be improved, then after improving the standards of the Negro in this area, expect the force of desegregation to carry over into other fields. The field of education afforded such an opportunity for making it legally and socially possible with few violent reactions.

With the enactment of the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, the Christian denominations were challenged. Practically all positive Christian denominational statements have come since that time. As integration moves more rapidly in other institutions, the challenge for the

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<sup>32</sup>Allport, op. cit., p. 377.

<sup>33</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 75-78.

Christian churches, both white and Negro, is going to become still greater.<sup>34</sup>

The process of education of the American public to the idea of integration had begun before the Supreme Court decision. The integration that had taken place in the Armed Forces of our nation has had untold effect upon the processes of integration in areas other than the military.<sup>35</sup> Integration had been successful in industry and housing without adverse effects. The inequality of voting rights, especially in densely Negro populated areas, had been denounced by many even before the Supreme Court decision.

Barriers to Negro education antedate the Civil War in both the North and the South. The South had, and has, greater problems in this area because public education for all was a development in the North, whereas the South held that education was private responsibility and thus for the elite and aristocratic who could afford such education.<sup>36</sup> The half-hearted attempts of the South to educate Negroes have been exposed.<sup>37</sup> The plight of the Negro in education

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<sup>34</sup>J. Oscar Lee, "Status of Racial Integration in Religious Institutions," Journal of Negro Education, Summer, 1954, p. 234.

<sup>35</sup>Peters, op. cit., p. 124.

<sup>36</sup>Clement Eaton, A History of the South (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), p. 70.

<sup>37</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., pp. 879ff. See also Maurice Davie, Negroes in American Society (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949), p. 139.

is now quite widely known.

Negro schools throughout the South suffer in comparison with white schools in terms of physical plant, students per classroom, and quality and quantity of pedagogical equipment. Negro teachers are paid less than white teachers, and there is considerable disparity between the amount of money spent on Negro pupils and on white pupils. Discrimination on the basis of race in the apportionment of educational funds has been most glaring in the appropriation of state funds for the assistance to land-grant colleges. . . . In graduate and professional schools, strict discriminatory policies are followed throughout the nation.<sup>38</sup>

Laws which affected public education were also applied to private (often religious) institutions of learning also.<sup>39</sup>

The Supreme Court decision has not, to say the least, solved all the problems in the area of education. The Deep South Says "Never" by J. B. Martin, and Hodding Carter's The South Strikes Back both indicate the organized and effective resistance to the Supreme Court decision in the deep South. Some states have tried to avert integration in the schools through legal enactments, willing even to abandon their public school systems rather than desegregate. Segregation in public schools can easily be accomplished in most American communities "without legal provisions simply by virtue of the prevalence of residential segregation and exercise of zoning powers on the local

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<sup>38</sup>Wagley and Harris, op. cit., pp. 141-142.

<sup>39</sup>Johnson, op. cit., p. 12.

level."<sup>40</sup>

More optimistic is the noticeably increasing gap between the parents and children on the subject of race relations.

At the University of Virginia, polls of students over a period of nine years has shown larger and larger majorities favoring the admittance of Negroes to the University's professional and graduate schools. In dozens of other Southern colleges similar polls have brought similar results.<sup>41</sup>

The recent, and most helpful, study of Melvin Tumin cannot be omitted here. In his study of the factors which influence attitudes, he concludes that there are four factors which need emphasis in the study of attitudes. They are: education, occupation, exposure to mass media and income.<sup>42</sup> In his chapter entitled "Education and Attitudes: Other Factors Constant," he draws these conclusions:

1. A number of factors, principally, education, occupation, income, and exposure to mass media exert a positive influence on the development of favorable attitudes toward Negroes and School Desegregation.
2. None of these by itself is as strong in its influence as when it is supported by at least one other.
3. The effect of a high level of any one of the factors can be virtually eliminated if it is found in association with a low level of any other.
4. The strongest single factor is college level education. Its effects tend to persist even under adverse circumstances.
5. College education may therefore be said to be

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<sup>40</sup>Wagley and Harris, op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>41</sup>Peter, op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>42</sup>Melvin Tumin, Desegregation (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 80.

generally required but by itself not sufficient to produce favorable attitudes toward the Negro.<sup>43</sup>

A fertile field for needed scientific study today is the effect of mass media--press, radio, television and motion pictures, on education. Even though education is usually incidental, with entertainment being the primary objective, the force of education through such mass media is becoming more important.<sup>44</sup> White notes that a number of his close friends in the film industry are highly sensitive to the damage done by radical stereotypes and that the year 1948 marked a sharp change from the previous treatment of stereotypes by the major film companies.<sup>45</sup> Tumin concludes his study of mass media:

We had continuously verified for us the previous contention that the combination of high status, high income, high education, and high exposure are powerful in their influence in readiness for desegregation and in the development of a more favorable image of the Negro. Any two of these factors together yield our expected findings more readily and more clearly than any one factor alone.<sup>46</sup>

Needless to say, integration in education, formal and informal, is going to demand our attention during the coming months and years. The study of desegregation in

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Cole and Cole, op. cit., p. 230.

<sup>45</sup>Walter White, How Far the Promised Land (New York: Viking Press, 1956), p. 100.

<sup>46</sup>Tumin, op. cit., p. 126.

education is one of the most optimistic and encouraging aspects in the entire subject of racial integration.

### Legal and Political Factors

The second most widely used and most effective way for the caste system, in addition to withholding education, is that of withholding political power and the power of the ballot.<sup>47</sup> But this, too, is an area which points to optimistic advances and will demand our attention in the future. The recent civil rights bill passed by Congress is important not only for the fact that it guarantees Negroes additional voting rights, but also because it marks the beginning of the end of the fast declining power of the Southern minority in the political structure of our nation.

The enactment of laws dealing with slavery had and has an immense significance for race relations in our country. The arguments of troubled Christians concerning slavery were answered by the justification that slave holding made it easier to teach the African Christianity. This justification was translated into law.<sup>48</sup> Where law and human reason failed to justify the holding of slaves, slavery

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<sup>47</sup>Berry, op. cit., p. 376.

<sup>48</sup>White, op. cit., p. 194.

<sup>50</sup>Johnson, pp. 213, pp. 157-158.

was justified on the grounds of racial inferiority.<sup>49</sup>

Concepts of the social institutions and racial traditions developed out of the economic and social stratification of the slave economy and these concepts were quite adequate for dominant groups until emancipation. This kind of social order was enough to keep the Negro "in his place" until the time of the Civil War. The first instance of the law supporting group sanctions was the prohibition of intermarriage in the state of Tennessee in the year 1822.<sup>50</sup> Legislation to enforce customs really had its beginning during the first period of reconstruction, 1865-1867. During this time laws were enacted to "continue the subordination of the Negro despite his technical emancipation." These laws are often called the Black Codes. There were laws to restrict the Negro in almost all areas of life: from selling drugs, regulation of occupational pursuits, movement from state to state, stringent vagrancy laws, behavior in courts, intermarriage, no equal vote, segregation in schools, and in Florida in 1865 a law was passed making it a "misdemeanor" for a person of color to "intrude himself into any religious assembly of white persons, or for

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<sup>49</sup>Dr. George Kelsey, "The Ethico-Cultural Revolution in American Race Relations," Speech given at the Association of Council Secretaries, Williams Bay, Wisconsin, June 18, 1956.

<sup>50</sup>Johnson, op. cit., pp. 157-158.

any white person to intrude upon the assemblies of colored persons."<sup>51</sup>

The second state of reconstruction began in 1867 and lasted for nine years. Other restrictive legislation was passed during this period to "limit the elective franchise to the whites" which brought about the enactment of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.<sup>52</sup>

The right of the Negro to vote is an area in which the greatest gains have been made over the shortest period of time, in spite of the sad history. Negro suffrage had its beginnings with emancipation, although the Negro played an important part in the legal and political aspects of our nation from the very beginning. The slave was not a citizen, therefore unable to vote, and even the free Negro "suffered many disabilities and only in some Northern states was he permitted to vote."<sup>53</sup>

After the Civil War the Democratic party, victorious in every Southern state, began to build the "Solid South."

The affairs of the freedmen were once again in the hands of those whose principal social objective was to "put the Negro in his place" and "redeem" the South for the white man.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Berry, op. cit., p. 379.

<sup>53</sup>Maurice R. Davie, Negroes in American Society (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949), p. 135.

<sup>54</sup>Wagley and Harris, op. cit., p. 129.



New state constitutions were adopted and legislation began to define the status and position of the Negro more and more specifically. The South tried to circumvent the Constitution and to keep the Negro from using the ballot. The restriction of the franchise came about by the grandfather clause (1898), requirement to read and interpret the Constitution (1890), the poll tax, and property prerequisites.<sup>55</sup> Most devastating of all, the white primary, which kept the Negro vote out of the primary in a one party system.<sup>56</sup> The "Jim Crow" legislation, restricting physical and social contacts between races, developed since 1890.

Myrdal points out that to understand the Southern illegalities we must remember that the actual trickery, cheating, and intimidation was carried on by only a few and that these illegal practices had the sanction of tradition.<sup>57</sup>

In recent decades the Negro has begun to play a more important part in state and national politics. The Negro vote is becoming increasingly important. Prior to 1912 no serious effort was made to secure the Negro vote.<sup>58</sup> In 1948 the Negro vote in the presidential election was estimated at 700,000 compared to 250,000 in 1940. The struggle

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<sup>55</sup>Johnson, op. cit., pp. 165-166.

<sup>56</sup>Wagley and Harris, op. cit., p. 141.

<sup>57</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 449.

<sup>58</sup>Davie, op. cit., p. 282.

for the right to vote continues yet today. Negroes themselves have recognized the importance of the ballot and have tried, with greater success in recent years, to have greater numbers of the Negro community register and vote. In a recent editorial of the Christian Century the statement is made that,

three million Negro voters could participate in the 1960 national election if the 1,700 Negro ministers of the South, following the suggestion of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, can persuade every church member to register.<sup>59</sup>

The statement "integration cannot be legislated" is often made. This statement may have some truth in it, but it is constantly being disproven. If segregation can be imposed by law, and it has, then it is also true that desegregation can be imposed by law. The double standard of justice, one for Negro and another for whites, has long been recognized.<sup>60</sup> The success of the Civil Rights Commission established by President Harry S. Truman cannot be overlooked. It is the opinion of a Southern lawyer, Charles L. Black, Jr., that the arm of the law cannot be used too strongly to impose justice in the South.<sup>61</sup>

It seems, then, that the soft approach to desegregation

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<sup>59</sup>"Assistance Requested in Registering Negroes," The Christian Century, LXXVII (January 13, 1960), 37.

<sup>60</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 551.

<sup>61</sup>Cole and Cole, op. cit., pp. 233ff.

throws away our most valuable asset--Southern respect for law.

It confuses and weakens religious and ethical impulses toward change. It places the man who wants peace in the camp of the clammers-down of the lid. The firm approach, on the other hand, presents the respecter of law with an unequivocal duty and with a concrete means of showing his respect.<sup>62</sup>

It is the opinion of William T. Gosset, legal council for the Ford Motor Corporation, that law does bring about a change in human conduct, discrimination is restrained, and prejudices are lessened. At the same time, he recognizes the fact that law cannot eliminate fear, distrust, hatred, and insecurity. He continues,

It is a serious mistake to assume that we must make a choice between law on the one hand and voluntary action on the other.<sup>63</sup> Evidence shows that "the attitude of prejudice, or at least the practice of discrimination, can be substantially reduced by authoritative order."<sup>64</sup>

We can be quite certain that legislation is going to have an equally great part in the improvement of Negro-white relations--equally as great as it has had in segregation.

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<sup>62</sup>Charles L. Black, Jr., "Paths to Desegregation," The New Republic (n.p., 1957), reprinted by the N.A.A.C.P.

<sup>63</sup>Speech given by William T. Gosset at the N.C.C.J. Brotherhood Citation dinner, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, January 28, 1960, pp. 9-11.

<sup>64</sup>Arnold M. Rose, Race Prejudice and Discrimination (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), p. 546.

## Economic Implications

The following is an analysis of the roles of minorities in the American economy by Simpson and Yinger:

Among the most important indications of the status and power of a group is its place in the economic structure. Nowhere are prejudice and discrimination more clearly shown than in the barriers to economic improvement that are thrown in the way of minority group members. Job opportunities are important, not only in the narrow economic sense, but also in terms of their influence on the whole style of life of individuals and on the institutional structure of groups. The political influence of a group, its family patterns, religious beliefs, educational ambitions and achievements, even the possibilities of good health and survival cannot be understood until the place of that group in the total economy is studied. The relationship is, of course, reciprocal: political, familial, religious, and other institutional patterns also affect the economic situation.<sup>65</sup>

The interrelations between the factors treated in this chapter and those to be treated must be emphasized.

The pessimistic tone of Myrdal's chapters on the subject of economics can be easily understood after making a rapid survey of the advances of the Negro in the nation's economy before the second World War. The Negro wage earner has had a great deal of competition--competition with the white wage earner who had almost all of the advantages on his side. During the early years of the twentieth century the plight of the Negro in economics seemed to be getting worse instead of better. By 1929 the color line had

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<sup>65</sup>Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 352.

become entrenched in employment. "The whole economic, political and social structure of the South dictated and supported" this color line.<sup>66</sup> The fact that most Negroes were agricultural workers, dependent upon the agricultural economy of the South did not help. The social stigma of slavery was still carried with him no matter where he went. He was expected to labor for less.

During World War I the Negro population began to move to the industrialized North. At the same time, the South became more industrialized and the Negro workers were employed in the expanding industrialization of the nation. But the depression caused the loss of almost all the Negro had gained in employment.<sup>67</sup> Those losses in employment were not fully regained until the second World War.

With the depression came the organized labor movements. The failure of the American Federation of Labor to organize semi-skilled and unskilled workers led to the establishment of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The latter employed large numbers of Negroes, having an anti-discrimination policy from the beginning. With the exception noted above, and a few other exceptions, the Negro has had little reason to trust the unions to improve his condition.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Rose, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

<sup>67</sup>Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 362.

<sup>68</sup>Davie, op. cit., p. 128.

In speaking of labor unions, White concludes:

It took seven decades for the labor movement to shake off its prejudices and to realize as long as Negro labor was denied its rights, white labor could never be free. But the past two decades have seen greater growth and progress by labor unions on the rights of minorities than has any earlier period in American history.<sup>69</sup>

Myrdal feared that the advances made in Negro employment during the early years of World War II would not continue. His fears were not well grounded, for the proportion of Negroes in industry was about the same in 1947 as it was during the war. Employment in the skilled crafts and in positions as foreman seem to have declined, however.<sup>70</sup> Favorable legislation and the establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Commission secured the gains which had been made.<sup>71</sup>

A rapid comparison of medial income for Negroes and whites in the year 1945 shows the income of the former to be lower than the whites in every region of the nation. The median income per white family was \$2,718 and for the Negro family \$1,602.<sup>72</sup>

Proportionately, the number of Negroes employed in agriculture, domestic, and personal services, and unskilled

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<sup>69</sup>White, op. cit., p. 193.

<sup>70</sup>Marden, op. cit., p. 298.

<sup>71</sup>Cole and Cole, op. cit., pp. 234ff.

<sup>72</sup>Davie, op. cit., p. 108.

employment is still much higher than the white population.<sup>73</sup> But the recent Negro migrations to the North has increased the occupational differentiation among Negroes.

The process [of occupational differentiation] continued until at present in the North Negroes are found in most of the occupations. Even in the South where the process has been much slower, because of the lack of political power and employment opportunities, education has provided the Negro with knowledge and skills to serve the Negro communities.<sup>74</sup>

As a result, Frazier notes, the interests of the Negro are coming closer to those of the white community and there is more interaction.

In industry today the cry is, "It's good business to hire the best qualified regardless of race, creed or color." Segregation has proven to be costly.

Discrimination is an expensive indulgence of the American people. Its economic, psychological and moral costs are staggering. From the inception of industrial capitalism it has been an integral part of the American economy and has added unnecessary burdens to production.<sup>75</sup>

Thus industrialization has had a salient effect upon the Negro and his ability to improve his condition, but just as important, industry has taught the American public that integration can be accomplished successfully. One of the critics of the segregated society in the South, Harry

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York: Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 691.

<sup>75</sup>Cole and Cole, op. cit., p. 82.

Ashmore, has said,

Southern leaders who are working, with marked success, to industrialize the region, are undermining the system of segregation so many of them so passionately defend.<sup>76</sup>

Successful integration experiences have taken place in quite a number of industries. Labor leaders are speaking more pointedly against discrimination in employment. The strife in Little Rock, Arkansas, has caused businesses and industries to move from that city.<sup>77</sup> The success of the Negro boycotts, withholding patronage from segregated institutions whatever they may be, points up the fact that the economic ability of the Negro is becoming an important factor in the non-violent battle for equality.<sup>78</sup> All these recent indications show the increasingly favorable attitude of the economic system of our nation. "Urbanization and industrialization have contributed immeasurably to the gradual disintegration of certain features of prevailing custom."<sup>79</sup> The changes in industry and continued urbanization will have its effect upon the churches. After the Supreme Court decision of 1954, and even before that time,

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<sup>76</sup>Dabbs, op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>77</sup>T. W. Kheel, "Gains of Democratic Employment," The New York Times, January 17, 1960, Section 10, p. 7.

<sup>78</sup>L. D. Reddick, Crusader Without Violence (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 132.

<sup>79</sup>Johnson, op. cit., p. 319.



far-sighted denominations spoke out for increased employment opportunities for minorities in our nation.<sup>80</sup> Needless to say, these pronouncements usually occurred after advances in employment had been made. There is adequate reason to believe that continued industrial and economic advancement shall have its effect upon the Church and integration within the Church.

### Housing

Considering all aspects of Negro-white relations and comparing the South with the North, there are few areas in which the South may boast to be as good as the North. Neither the North nor the South is able to boast about housing for minority groups, and generally speaking, the North has been as neglectful as the South in housing. In the South Negroes lived behind the white man's houses. Southerners have had other effective ways of enforcing separation, but the North has had to maintain separation through residential segregation. It may be "less intentional" than the Southern kind of segregation; nevertheless, it does exist.<sup>81</sup>

As early as 1917, in Kentucky, residential segregation was declared illegal. Segregation in housing has taken

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<sup>80</sup>"Employment and the Church," Interracial News Service, XXVIII (January-February, 1957), passim.

<sup>81</sup>Rose and Rose, op. cit., p. 160.

many forms since that time. Negroes must pay higher rent, they are restricted from buying property by being unable to secure loans, and if loans are available, restrictive covenants often become the barrier. Prior to 1948 restrictive covenants could be enforced by law, but in that year the Supreme Court declared such private agreements unconstitutional.<sup>82</sup> Loans have been more accessible since the new policies of the Federal Housing Authority have been in effect since 1949.<sup>83</sup>

In spite of the positive legal governmental enactments and support it is still true that housing has been a field in which little progress has been made.<sup>84</sup>

Very important to the study of housing are the works of Charles Abrams, Forbidden Neighbors, and the careful study of Morton Deutsch and M. E. Collins, Interracial Housing. An important emphasis to be noted from Abrams' work is that when a community becomes enlightened to the real meaning or the actual situation of segregation in housing, that community will react to solve the problem.<sup>85</sup> The study of Deutsch and Collins involves many psychological

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<sup>82</sup>Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 444.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>" . . . love . . . in deed and truth," Interracial News Service, XXXI (January-February, 1960), passim.

<sup>85</sup>Charles Abrams, Forbidden Neighbors (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955), p. 220.

factors. It is their contention that favorable racial attitudes are more greatly affected by the experiences of living in a bi-racial housing unit than by such factors as education, religion, or political attitudes.<sup>86</sup>

Frazier makes the inevitable comparison between inferior housing and inferior health standards. In urban areas the housing available to Negroes is inferior to whites in all statistics. The delapidated houses in rural areas, especially in the South, have the same consequences upon health as the crowded slums of the North, although the disease may take on different forms.<sup>87</sup>

Some researchers in the problems of integration concluded that segregated housing has been the strongest deterrent to an integrated society. There is little doubt that segregated residential housing of minority groups has helped to make segregated churches.<sup>88</sup> In a study of Protestant churches of Cleveland, Ohio, this conclusion was drawn:

As long as housing segregation exists, it will be difficult for some churches to become truly inclusive and, therefore, all churches need to work more

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<sup>86</sup>Deutsch and Collins, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>87</sup>Frazier, op. cit., pp. 582-583.

<sup>88</sup>Liston Pope, The Kingdom Beyond Caste (New York: Friendship Press, 1957), p. 119.

energetically to end such discrimination.<sup>89</sup>

This same study encourages the breakdown of segregated housing by encouraging members to sign covenants of open occupancy, to sell only under such conditions, encouraging investment firms to make loans regardless of race.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>"How Racially Inclusive Are Cleveland Area Churches?" (Cleveland, Ohio: Social Welfare Department, Cleveland Church Federation, 1958), p. 18.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

#### The Bible as Authority

It has been said that the Bible is used to support anything and everything. That the Bible has been used and is being used to support integration and at the same time

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Wolfe, *Sociology of Religion* (New York: Doubleday Press, 1958). R. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture in History* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1957).

## CHAPTER IV

### RELIGIOUS IMPLICATIONS

It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the religious implications in segregation and integration. There are five major areas which will be treated: the Bible as authority, church polity, policies and the roles of the majority and minority ministry. Again, it must be emphasized that there is a constant interaction between the factors studied in the previous chapter and those directly related to religion. A growing concern today in the studies of sociology of religion is how much does society influence the Church and how much has the Church influenced society. The important fact to be recognized is that society has influenced the Church in almost every major aspect of religion.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Hault, Sociology of Religion (New York: Dryden Press, 1958). H. Richard Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Meridian Press, 1956).

to support segregation is without question.<sup>2</sup> For an extreme use of the Bible in support of segregation, the pronouncements of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa afford an excellent example. In speaking of the policies of this denomination regarding racial segregation, Dr. Homer A. Jack says, "The printed summary indicated a clear endorsement of social, industrial, and territorial apartheid, and for Biblical reasons."<sup>3</sup> The statement was so strong that even Dr. Daniel F. Malan, ex-Prime Minister, criticized it. But this should not surprise us, for in the history of our nation, the Bible was used to support slavery. Oscar Handlin in his Race and Nationality in American Life relates that the topic of slavery was openly discussed until the year 1840. Then, because of the Abolition Movement, the promoters of the institution of slavery began to use the Constitution and the Bible to prove their position.

The majority of Southern whites could describe the blacks as the descendants of Cain or of Canaan, or of Ham; but they could not escape the Christian doctrine of a single ultimate progenitor, created in the image of God.<sup>4</sup>

The reasons for the separate racial churches in the South

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<sup>2</sup> Everett Tilson, Segregation and the Bible (New York: Abingdon Press, 1958), pp. 15-17.

<sup>3</sup> Homer A. Jack, "Under the Southern Cross," The Christian Century, LXIX (October 8, 1952), 1158.

<sup>4</sup> Oscar Handlin, Race and Nationality in American Life (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1957), p. 42.

were to make an opening wedge to social equality impossible.

It is explained in other instances that the Bible insists upon racial integrity. In Moses' time, according to one informant, this was a principle of both the laws and the religion, and it was a cardinal sin to associate with other tribes. "Christianity," one zealously religious woman declared, "sometimes puts a strain on our southern way of life. God knows the darky has his place and we have ours."<sup>5</sup>

It is out of this history of the Bible being used in support of slavery and segregation after emancipation, that the Biblical support of segregation today flows.

In a recorded interview with Rev. Pat Murphy of the Highland Missionary Baptist Church, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, the question was asked whether in his study he had found where, when and how the Biblical sanctions of segregation were first used. His response indicated that this would be unnecessary for "the Biblical principles never change."<sup>6</sup>

In a study made of the Little Rock, Arkansas, ministers at the time of the school desegregation conflict it was found that the twenty-four Baptist ministers who led the pro-segregation group had strict fundamentalist orientations.<sup>7</sup> L. K. Northwood points out that there is a limited

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<sup>5</sup>Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943), pp. 198-199.

<sup>6</sup>Tape-recorded interview with Rev. Pat Murphy, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 26, 1959.

<sup>7</sup>Ernest Q. Campbell and Thomas F. Pettigrew, Christians in Racial Crisis (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959), p. 64.

correlation between the "modernist" and desegregation and the "fundamentalist" and segregation.<sup>8</sup> When we look at some denominations the correlation seems to be present; however, it does not hold true in all instances. It is a "limited" correlation. Other important variables which must be considered in this connection are those of the polity of the denomination and the denominational position on the doctrine of the Church.

The understanding of racial separation in the Old Testament seems to be the basis of segregationist conviction. Rev. Murphy was asked the question: "You believe that desegregation is contrary to the will of God?" To it he responded, "Yes, I do." He had stated his Biblical basis earlier by saying:

It has always been debatable where the Negroid race had its origin, but I've always thought that in the Book of Genesis, in the story of the three sons of Noah, and whatever the curse was there has come down through the years the black man. And the statement was made in Scripture, "servant of servants shall he be." When Abraham picked out a wife for Isaac he was careful to select the one that he should marry. And there is discrimination . . . but in the Book of Acts there is another statement that God has set the "bounds" of their habitations and there certainly has, down through the years, come a great difference in the nations of the world. . . . Unless the white man had gone or some others had helped them out, why what a state of backwardness they had been in through the years!<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Lawrence K. Northwood, "Ecological and Attitudinal Factors in Church Desegregation," Social Problems, VI (Fall, 1958), 155-156.

<sup>9</sup>Tape-recorded interview with Rev. Pat Murphy, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 26, 1959.



Later Rev. Murphy spoke of the harmful effect of race mixing and mongrelization. According to E. Tilson there is one other major argument, based on the Bible, which has not been mentioned here and that is the incident of the Tower of Babel.<sup>10</sup>

In speaking of inter-group conflicts Arnold and Caroline Rose point out that one form is religious tensions, the most ancient of the three types they mention.

Religious hatred between groups is based upon beliefs that those who are of a religion different from one's own are guilty of sin, blasphemy, heresy, atheism, or diabolism. They are believed to reject God and to be agents of the devil. To persecute them is to do service for the Lord. Religious bigotry in this way appears to have been the major source of intergroup conflict and persecution of minority groups in ancient and medieval times. It exists in contemporary America . . . it no longer exists in its pure form, but easily becomes contaminated with the third type of intergroup opposition, racism.<sup>11</sup>

It is possible for this sort of "narrow-mindedness" to be based on Scripture; however, this narrow approach cannot be maintained unless society influences the person more than Scripture--unless the person wants to find Biblical grounds for his pre-conceived ideologies.

The New Testament offers slight comfort to those who approach it in search of a doctrine of brotherhood with which to shore up the cause of segregation. It provides much more comfort for the advocates of the

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<sup>10</sup>Tilson, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

<sup>11</sup>Arnold Rose and Caroline Rose, America Divided (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 22.

elimination of every sort of invidious discrimination.<sup>12</sup>

The position of the desegregationists is very well stated by Liston Pope. He explains three dangers in an effort to understand the Biblical teaching about race:

(1) that of the selective misuse of the Bible to support a preconceived theory about race; (2) that of regarding Israel "as a racial group in the modern sense of the term;" (3) "to assume that the message of the Bible is irrelevant to the modern situation because it does not address itself directly to questions of race as currently conceived."<sup>13</sup>

Although it is implied in the statements above, it must be emphasized that the rules of hermeneutics become very important when seeking what Scripture has to say about segregation and integration. Most important of all, the purpose of Scripture must be kept in mind, "to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Jesus Christ."<sup>14</sup> When the "rationality" of Scripture is devoid of Christ the rationality is no longer Biblical.

Very often the appeal for better racial understanding in Protestant churches is based on purely humanistic reasons: "it is the only democratic thing to do." The

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<sup>12</sup>Tilson, op. cit., p. 68.

<sup>13</sup>Liston Pope, The Kingdom Beyond Caste (New York: Friendship Press, 1957), pp. 145-152.

<sup>14</sup>2 Timothy 3:15.

difference between these denominations and the "Bible-based" fundamentalist denominations is immediately recognizable. It is here that the Evangelical Lutheran churches have a position which is not equaled in many other denominations.<sup>15</sup>

The vast difference between the position of segregationists<sup>16</sup> and the position of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,<sup>17</sup> becomes immediately apparent to the objective or subjective observer. It is not difficult to recognize that the appeal of the former has been influenced by many factors other than the Bible, whereas the appeal of the latter is Biblically substantiated.

In theory, at least, the Biblical support of the paradox is being eliminated. This is shown by the many positive (and often Biblically based) articles and editorials in The Christian Century and Christianity Today, both

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<sup>15</sup> Alf M. Kraabel, "Grace and Race in the Lutheran Church" (Chicago, Illinois: National Lutheran Council, 1957); William J. Danker, "Integration--Guidelines for Study," The Lutheran Witness, LXXIX (March 22, 1960), 135; Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, "Proceedings of the Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations" (Valparaiso, Indiana: Valparaiso University, 1950-1959); Harold Floreen, "The Lutheran Approach to Minority Groups," Augustana Seminary Review, V (Third Quarter, 1953).

<sup>16</sup> The Missionary Baptist Searchlight, XXII (July 10, 1959), passim.

<sup>17</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), pp. 102-107.

non-denominational Protestant magazines with wide distribution. The most prevalent view in Protestantism today is summarized in Life:

The first conclusion on which I think we have reached agreement, is that whatever argument may be advanced for enforced segregation because of race, there is not Biblical support either in the Old Testament or the New Testament for that position. . . . The second related fact seems to have emerged, namely that the religious message of the Old Testament and even more emphatically that of the New Testament enjoins all Christians to practice in their relationships a Gospel of Love regardless of race.<sup>18</sup>

It is interesting to note that the Bible seems to have caused division even in the White Citizens Council organization. Senator Sam Englehardt, organizational head of the White Citizens Council in Macon County, Alabama, and Ace Carter, White Citizens Council leader from Birmingham, could not agree for various reasons, but one reason was:

Englehardt accused Carter of anti-Semitism because to join Carter's Councils one had to believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ. "We can't fight everybody," Englehardt said. Carter said belief in Christ's divinity is still a condition of membership, not to exclude Jews but "because we believe that this is basically a battle between Christianity and atheistic communism. . . ." <sup>19</sup>

#### Church Polity and the Doctrine of the Church

In order better to understand the position of the

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<sup>18</sup>"A Round Table Has Debate on Christian's Moral Duty," Life, September 24, 1956, p. 162.

<sup>19</sup>John B. Martin, The Deep South Says "Never" (New York: Ballantine Books, 1957), p. 108.

Protestant Church on this subject it will be helpful to contrast the general Protestant teaching of the doctrine of the Church with that of the Roman Catholic Church, out of which Protestantism has grown, and some implications of these positions. The position in doctrine affects the organization of Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches.

This, in turn, affects the position and policies of the denomination with regard to the subject of segregation.

The primary interest is the source of authority in the doctrine of the Church. The Roman Church has left little doubt on this matter.

Without doubt Christ could have given His Church a democratic form of government. We are not interested, however, in what He could have done, but in what He actually did. As Catholics we are convinced that Christ established His Church on a monarch with St. Peter as its first supreme ruler.<sup>20</sup>

The Catholic Encyclopedia points out that the power has come from above and not from below. The pope and the bishops, as successors of Christ, exercise their power from the Shepherd and not from the sheep.<sup>21</sup> On the basis of Matthew 28:18-20 Christ intended

to prolong the exercise of His prophetic kingship and His priesthood by means of His disciples. It is Christ Himself endowed with all authority who will

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<sup>20</sup>Joseph H. Cavanaugh, Evidence of Our Faith (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1952), p. 236.

<sup>21</sup>"Church," Catholic Encyclopedia, edited by Charles G. Herbermann, et al. (New York: The Bilmory Society, 1913), III, 754.

henceforth teach by means of His disciples and who will baptize by means of them.<sup>22</sup>

With this power to teach and baptize comes the power of jurisdiction.<sup>23</sup> There are three elements which constitute jurisdiction: legislative power, judicial power and coercive power.<sup>24</sup> Specifically then, the authority and power of the Catholic Church is to "teach, to sanctify and to govern the faithful in spiritual matters."<sup>25</sup> This authority is given to a bishop in his dioceses as well as to the pope in the entire church.<sup>26</sup>

The Protestant reformation meant the breakdown of this authority of the clergy, not to teach, but to sanctify and to govern. In Protestantism today the authority is, generally speaking, the laity. The Church is the Body of Christ which is made up of all who confess Him as the Head and believe in His atoning work. The authority is Christ and He gives it to the individual. The individual carries out this authority in the Christian congregation.

The Protestant has recourse to two sources which he

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<sup>22</sup>Charles Journet, The Primacy of Peter, translated from the French by John Chapin (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1954), p. 16.

<sup>23</sup>Francis J. Connell, Baltimore Catechism (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1959), p. 81.

<sup>24</sup>"Church," Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 755.

<sup>25</sup>Connell, op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>26</sup>Cavanaugh, op. cit., p. 237.

may draw upon for his authority: the Bible and the history of the Church, both of which he will evaluate in his own way.<sup>27</sup> Since history or tradition of the Church is linked with the "evils" of the Roman Church, the latter is usually eliminated. Thus, the Protestant Church is left without an authority outside of the individual:

Protestantism has no central authority to which it can appeal for clarification of theological or ethical issues, nor does it have any rigorous discipline by which to compel the conduct of individuals or churches.<sup>28</sup>

To simplify, no doubt at the expense of over-generalization, this topology may prove helpful:

	<u>Roman Catholic</u>	<u>Protestant</u>
1. The Church	The clergy	The congregation
2. The Authority rests on	Priesthood of the clergy	Priesthood of the individual
3. Forgiveness comes	Through clergy	Direct from God
4. The Appeal	To brotherhood--orders from hierarchy	To brotherhood--may or may not be taught
5. The Power to enforce	Excommunication, thus damnation	None--may join another congregation or denomination

It is quite evident then that there should be differences in policy and practice between the Roman Catholic and

<sup>27</sup>Pope, op. cit., p. 145.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 140.

Protestant Churches in the area of segregation-integration.

In addition to the hierarchical structure of the Roman Church, Jaroslav Pelikan, quoting Niebuhr, attributes the success of the Roman Church in integration to the fact that it is an inclusive community

sacramental rather than a chummy fellowship. The fellowship of the Protestant Church is always degenerating into a sanctified sense of kind, whether of race or class or neighborhood. . . . As Professor Niebuhr comments, a liturgical and sacramental orientation is a genuine asset in meeting this cultural and social challenge.<sup>29</sup>

It is with this same emphasis that Loescher quotes W. W. Alexander in speaking of the difference between the Roman and Protestant Churches:

The difference is to be found in the fact that, in most cases, a Protestant church is to some extent a social organization as well as a place of worship. The Catholic church, with its emphasis on worship is more nearly an altar before which all men are equal.<sup>30</sup>

The distinction between the Roman and Protestant Churches on this subject must also recognize the fact that there are "their different historical and psychological patterns rather than their moral purposes." There were few Negro Roman Catholics at the time of the Civil War and today 95 per cent of the Christian Negroes are Protestant,

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<sup>29</sup>Jaroslav Pelikan, The Riddle of Roman Catholicism (New York: Abingdon Press, 1959), p. 171.

<sup>30</sup>Frank S. Loescher, The Protestant Church and the Negro (New York: Association Press, 1948), pp. 81-82.



with two-thirds living in the South.<sup>31</sup> Wagley and Harris attribute the more equal status of the slave in Latin America (more equal than the slave in the United States) as relating, in part, to the "moral and ethical climate associated with Protestantism on the one hand and Catholicism on the other" showing that Calvinism provided a rationale for the sub-human treatment of slaves.<sup>32</sup>

On the basis of these factors, we can readily understand why it was the Roman Catholic Commonweal that was one of the first religious publications to condemn segregation in a title of an article as early as 1845.<sup>33</sup> We can also readily understand the collapse of rebellion on the part of Roman Catholics against integration in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1950,<sup>34</sup> in Newton Grove, North Carolina, in May 1953<sup>35</sup> and other instances.

But to complicate the matter still more, there is within Protestantism a wide variation of the teaching of

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<sup>31</sup>Stewart G. Cole and Mildred W. Cole, Minorities and the American Promise (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 193.

<sup>32</sup>Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris, Minorities in the New World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 126.

<sup>33</sup>G. H. Dunne, "Sin of Segregation," Anatomy of Racial Intolerance, edited by George de Huszar (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1946), p. 106.

<sup>34</sup>Walter White, How Far the Promised Land (New York: Viking Press, 1956), p. 195.

<sup>35</sup>Cole and Cole, op. cit., p. 199.

the doctrine of the Church. It is upon the particular denominational emphasis on doctrine that the organizational structure of the denomination is built. Thus we have positions of politics ranging from the most democratic on the one hand to the most authoritarian in some of the Protestant sects.

This wide variation, together with the lack of central authority over members in the voluntary organizations of the Protestant churches, makes it a simple matter for a person to become a member of another congregation and/or denomination if the one of which he is a member does not meet the needs of the position which the individual holds. He may do so without losing his social status or endangering his ultimate salvation.

There is a notable difference in the position of the sect and the denomination. In speaking of this difference with regard to racial practices Northwood states:

In both samples, larger proportions of denominations than sects have effected some racial integration. However, the patterns of integration differ sharply. Sects which begin to desegregate are more likely to go the whole way, whereas the typical pattern for denominations is partial integration. The majority of both church types follow the dominant societal pattern of racial segregation.<sup>36</sup>

In the study of the Little Rock churches and ministers Campbell and Pettigrew found that there are opposing church

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<sup>36</sup>Northwood, op. cit., p. 156.

groups within Protestantism--a marked difference between the position of the sect and the denomination.<sup>37</sup>

Even within the same denomination and within the same congregation there are variations of position and opinion. A classic example of this is the position held by Rev. W. A. Criswell, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Dallas, Texas, who has publicly stated a pro-segregation position: "Desegregation in the church is not acceptable either in the north or south." Evangelist Billy Graham, well known for his positive views on desegregation, holds membership in the same congregation.<sup>38</sup>

It is evident from the material here presented that the observer must be very careful in making sweeping generalizations regarding segregation in the Protestant Church. The material here presented must make the observer aware, in attempting to explain the paradox of segregation in the churches, that the problem becomes more complicated when considering all the variations and the factors which are involved.

#### Policies--National and Local

The Protestant churches have been and are being

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<sup>37</sup> Ernest Campbell and Thomas Pettigrew, "Men of God in Racial Crisis," The Christian Century, LXXV (June 4, 1958), 41-48.

<sup>38</sup> The Oklahoma City Times, February 22, 1956.

challenged to find effective ways of dealing with segregation. In spite of the voluntary nature of membership, the challenge is to make the way of desegregation as effective as that of the less voluntary institutions of society.<sup>39</sup>

A few denominations accepted the challenge of doing something about the violence against Negroes before 1929; however, it is surprising that so few did speak out. In addition to these few, a pointed statement was made by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.<sup>40</sup>

It is, however, only within the last ten to fifteen years that the churches have begun to face the problem of segregation.

Though the churches have passed many resolutions on "equal rights" for Negroes, it is only in recent years that they have begun to face the problem of segregation. During the first few decades of the present century, denominational pronouncements centered their attention on secular practices and were directed toward obtaining maximum opportunities for Negroes under a system of segregation.<sup>41</sup>

Since World War II the denominations have become more aware of the problem and have addressed their pronouncements to economics, politics, housing and other areas of society.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>A. Kramer, "Racial Integration of Three Protestant Denominations," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXVIII (October, 1954), 59.

<sup>40</sup>Loescher, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

<sup>41</sup>Dwight T. Culver, Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), pp. 11-12.

<sup>42</sup>Loescher, op. cit., pp. 41-45.

The March, 1946 resolution of the National Council of Churches "has set a timely precedent for all Protestants."<sup>43</sup>

At the present time every major denomination has issued a statement pertaining to the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision or a more general and/or specific statement regarding discrimination in the churches.<sup>44</sup>

The effect of these pronouncements, in terms of results, have been slight. Condemnations directed toward the lack of concern for putting the policies and principles into practice have come from church leaders and from students of the problem. "Should the church simply reflect the social attitudes of the community in which it finds itself?" asks C. S. Cartwright. His answer is from the early history of the Church and the New Testament where we find that the Church considered the attitude of the world and its ways to be the very antithesis to that for which it stood.<sup>45</sup> Culver points out that sociologists have placed the Church in the same category with other social organizations and that the practices of the churches in segregation confirm the conviction of the sociologist to do so. He

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<sup>43</sup>Cole and Cole, op. cit., p. 196.

<sup>44</sup>See Appendix for a listing of these denominations and sample statements. See also recent issues of Inter-racial News Service.

<sup>45</sup>C. S. Cartwright, "The Church, the World, and Race," New South (Atlanta, Georgia: Southern Regional Council, 1956), p. 10.

states that in spite of the fact that more and more Christians are adopting the integrationist position, the churches still "remain among the most segregated institutions in America."<sup>46</sup> Simpson and Yinger give a keen, concise and condemning analysis.

Although the Protestant churches stress the (1) dignity and worth of the individual and (2) the brotherhood of man, the racial behavior pattern of most church members have not been substantially affected by these principles. With the exception of the financial support which white churches have contributed to Negro secondary schools and colleges, the Protestant denominations have given very little attention to the American racial situation. For the most part, they have issued pronouncements, passed resolutions, conducted "interracial Sunday" once a year, held occasional conferences, sponsored summer camps, and work camps with interracial aspects, published a number of pamphlets, and used racial or interracial themes in study groups.<sup>47</sup>

Kramer is certain that national policies are helpful, but there is a greater possibility for differing racial groups to be represented in the local churches if the local church makes it clear that it is in favor of the national policy.<sup>48</sup> He concludes that the churches in his study developed a "front room type" of integration and that integration in the local churches proceeds at a slower rate than in national and regional organizations. Nor is there

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<sup>46</sup>Culver, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

<sup>47</sup>G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 546.

<sup>48</sup>Kramer, op. cit., p. 68.

much difference between the North and the South. Segregation is still "the overwhelming pattern that prevails in local churches."<sup>49</sup> Emphasizing the importance of the minister as pertaining to the local and national policies, Campbell and Pettigrew aver:

The local sanctions are stronger than the national sanctions, and the weight of the professional sanctions points toward passive conduct on the local level.<sup>50</sup>

Another factor which has many implications is brought out by Simpson and Yinger: the fact that the national policies are "noble acts" which represent a minority opinion only.<sup>51</sup>

Under the subject of religious stratification, Hoult is sure that a strictly sociological explanation of the predicament of Protestantism cannot be given because of the many psychological factors which are operative in this situation. Nevertheless, his two conclusions give little comfort: (1) If religion rejects the social stratification, it will remain a minor religious body, and (2) power considerations and "socio-cultural compatibility" are more important than religious ideals.<sup>52</sup>

Kramer, Lee, and Northwood are the most optimistic observers. Their studies, the most recent, indicate a slow

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<sup>49</sup>Pope, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>50</sup>Campbell and Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 91.

<sup>51</sup>Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 547.

<sup>52</sup>Hoult, op. cit., p. 290.

movement toward integration. In comparing his study of Des Moines, Iowa churches, admittedly a select sample, Northwood indicates that his findings do not wholly support the findings of Loescher and Culver. He takes issue with Loescher's statement:

If there are very few Negroes in the neighborhood, integration may occur. If there are many, segregation occurs, both in neighborhood and the Church. This generalization, which may apply in some small towns and cities (in the North), is not true of Des Moines. . . . If the Des Moines study had been restricted to the twenty-seven local churches of the seven denominations studied by these authors, similar conclusions might have been derived.<sup>53</sup>

Another note of optimism comes from a recent study made of the churches in Cleveland, Ohio.

Despite the hesitancy and slow-moving of some churches, at least in Cleveland, we can say that the charge is no longer true that "the most segregated hour of the week is 11:00 on Sunday morning."<sup>54</sup>

The fact remains that when there is progress toward integration, it is thought to be unusual enough to make news stories and sometimes headlines.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Northwood, op. cit., p. 159.

<sup>54</sup>"How Racially Inclusive Are Cleveland Area Churches?" (Cleveland, Ohio: Social Welfare Department, Cleveland Church Federation, 1958), p. 18. (The names of inclusive churches are given and their denominations. These are the denominations: Baptist, Community, Congregational, Disciples of Christ (Christian), Episcopal, Evangelical and Reformed, Evangelical United Brethren, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other minor groups.)

<sup>55</sup>"Success of Rev. P. T. Seastrand of the Augustana Lutheran Church in Houston, Texas," Time, May 28, 1956, p. 76; "Man of God in Old Mystic," Life, October 31, 1955. Rev. S. T. Montgomery is pastor of a white Methodist Church



The positive national policies have been made; however, from what has been said, these policies are generally not being carried out. There are reasons for this lack of application: Stewart G. and Mildred W. Cole believe that the opinion of Liston Pope is important.

If the [white] churches attempt to abolish racial segregation within their fellowship, it is probable that many whites having missed or rejected the import of Christian teaching about race will repudiate their membership. It is more likely, however, that they will attempt to preserve their dominance in the churches and to oppose all attempts at racial integration.<sup>56</sup>

Kramer agrees and adds five other factors: (1) voluntary nature of churches, (2) problem of meaningful communication, (3) factors other than national policy are more directly operative, (4) local church policy is a strong determining force in the lives of people, but national policy cannot be overlooked, (5) more about the "how" of integration is needed,<sup>57</sup> (6) the inter-actions of persons accepted as local leaders in the congregation.<sup>58</sup> Northwood adds another: the ministry is ignorant of the national policy.<sup>59</sup>

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in Old Mystic, Connecticut.

<sup>56</sup>Cole and Cole, op. cit., p. 194.

<sup>57</sup>Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, "A Survey of Techniques used by Integrating Congregations" (Valparaiso, Indiana: Valparaiso University). (Mimeographed.) This is noted because it is one of only a few sources on techniques.

<sup>58</sup>Kramer, op. cit., pp. 62-68.

<sup>59</sup>Northwood, op. cit., p. 157.

Lee is convinced that segregation is hard to overcome because it is so deeply imbedded in "almost every aspect of the organization."<sup>60</sup> There are fears to be recognized also. The fear of (1) loss of members, (2) hostile community attitudes, (3) hostility on the part of agencies serving Negroes and other minority groups may cause competition. There are also factors which confuse progress, thus hindering the integration process.<sup>61</sup>

It will be noticed from the foregoing that the lack of application of integration policies is due, to a large measure, to the minister. With growing frequency and with greater vehemence, the cause of such failure is laid upon the ministry. The minister, an important factor in the process of integration, is the subject of the next section.

### The Dominant Ministry

That the ministry is an important factor in segregation and integration of the local congregation is without question. The role of the local pastor has probably not received the concentrated attention in this matter that it should. Nation-wide denominations which have made positive statements have found that the statements are not enough

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<sup>60</sup>J. Oscar Lee, "Status of Racial Integration in Religious Institutions," Journal of Negro Education, XXIII (Summer, 1954), 231-240.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

and they have begun to look for reasons that these policies have not been carried out. Attention will be given to the role of the minister as leader and the factors which contribute to his stated or silent position. It must first of all be recognized that the minister is in a predicament.

Shall I say what I believe is true about justice for all in our society, and complete acceptance in the church, in attendance, in membership, in participation at the Lord's altar, and in the outreach in the community, or shall I merely hint at the truth? Should the Christian minister temper his witness according to the degree of acceptance or that witness anticipated by him or should he make a completely honest and forthright witness according to the dictates of his conscience and the known needs of the times and of his hearers?<sup>62</sup>

If a figurehead or sincere shepherd, he is caught in the dilemma of how far to pursue Christianity with effectiveness and where he must withdraw for the sake of expediency.

There seems to be some question as to the importance of the minister in attempting to give an answer to the existing paradox. A leader of Virginia's pro-segregation Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties says:

The worst obstacle we face in the fight to preserve segregated schools in the South is the white preacher. The patriots of Reconstruction had the preachers praying for them instead of working against them.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>"On Being a 'Moderate,'" The Vanguard, VI (November, 1959), 2.

<sup>63</sup>James Dykeman and Wilma Stokely, Neither Black Nor White (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1957), p. 265.

Martin Luther King, Jr., is of the opinion that

If ever the white ministers of the South decide to declare in a united voice the truth of the gospel on the question of race, the transition from a segregated to an integrated society will be smoother.<sup>64</sup>

Northwood feels that the minister is a "strong factor in affecting the group decision, especially the minister of the sect."<sup>65</sup> Kramer also recognizes the minister's role as important, but in a more limited way. The most authoritative study on this subject is that of Campbell and Pettigrew who made a study of the ministers in Little Rock during the crisis of school desegregation. In an article published by The Christian Century in June, 1958, they conclude:

Throughout the South the role of the clergy will continue to be crucial in achieving harmonious racial integration. The relatively more influential position they occupy in community affairs compared to that of the clergy in other regions, plus the failure of progressive political and civic leadership to come forward in the South, make this a certainty. Little Rock's men of God provide a case study of how Southern ministers met a crisis in integration, and of their potential for achievement in similar situations.<sup>66</sup>

A year later a book was published by these men. In this volume they seem less positive that the minister will play a crucial role. The book has as its purpose

to predict the Southern ministry's role in future integration efforts . . . a desire to learn more about

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<sup>64</sup>King, op. cit., p. 210.

<sup>65</sup>Northwood, op. cit., p. 158.

<sup>66</sup>Campbell and Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 665.

the seldom examined ministerial role of the social reformer.<sup>67</sup>

They make this limiting observation:

[Ministers] do not have as preeminent a position as they did thirty years ago; they do not directly make crucial decisions of public policy . . . but the historic central role of religion in Southern culture makes it certain that the repeated protests of the clergy are heard and are disquietingly effective in establishing moral doubt.<sup>68</sup>

This is said under the chapter title "The Greatest Threat to Segregation." In their conclusion they point back to what has been said in the first chapter, "An aroused Southern ministry . . . could become the next decade's most important agent of social change. But will it?"<sup>69</sup> Doubt is also expressed by two witnesses who have traveled extensively in the South:

Few who have spent much time recently in the Deep South would deny that on the racial question the ministers occupy an ever-narrowing beachhead. It would seem that the immovable object is being confronted by the irresistible force, and those who counsel in wisdom find themselves in perpetual quicksand.<sup>70</sup>

In trying to arrive at an answer as to how important the role of the minister is, there are a number of important variables which must be considered. Rev. Pat Murphy, who had spoken of Negro inferiority and mongrelization,

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>70</sup>Dykeman and Stokely, op. cit., p. 274.

was asked, "If you had been born and reared in Minnesota do you think you would feel as you do?" Laughingly, his answer was, "I realize that has a lot to do with it."<sup>71</sup> Campbell and Pettigrew discovered, as might be expected, that the pro-segregation group of ministers in their study had been raised and educated in the South and that among the non-silent integrationists were found the younger men who had been educated in the North and who came from outside the state of Arkansas. Therefore:

The freedom of the minister to defend desegregation is more restricted if he was born and educated outside the South than if he is a social and educational product of the region.

The minister is less likely to support desegregation during a crisis period if he is over fifty than if he is under forty.<sup>72</sup>

The factors of age and education seem to be very closely linked.

When 1,005 Baptist pastors were recently polled in Tennessee, only thirty-nine per cent favored integration. That figure rose sharply, however, among those who had Bachelor of Divinity degrees, with seventy-nine per cent of this group favoring public school integration. In the group with an eighth grade education or less, only nine per cent favored integration. The younger men agreed with the better educated: sixty-one per cent of the pastors twenty-nine years of age or less were for integration; compared with sixteen per cent who were between fifty and fifty-nine years old.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Tape-recorded interview with Rev. Pat Murphy, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 26, 1959.

<sup>72</sup>Campbell and Pettigrew, op. cit., pp. 123-124.

<sup>73</sup>Dykeman and Stokely, op. cit., p. 268.

A study of Methodist ministers in Indiana reveals similar conclusions. Ministers over forty-five were more willing to accept the status quo than men under forty-five who would eliminate all race lines.<sup>74</sup> Campbell and Pettigrew believe that it was the lower educational standards, together with other factors, of the pro-segregationist group in Little Rock which aided their solidarity.<sup>75</sup> It is interesting to note that in the matter of education Culver's footnote explains why he uses a small "n" in the word Negro when quoting an original source. "This procedure," he says, "will make it possible for the reader to see how capitalization of the word is correlated with the integrationist and segregationist position."<sup>76</sup>

The pattern of segregation in the Protestant educational institutions follows that of the other educational institutions.<sup>77</sup> More recent studies, however, point to the fact that integration has moved faster in the theological seminary than the state universities in the South.

At least twelve theological seminaries located in Southern cities now admit Negroes, and at least three

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<sup>74</sup>A. K. Waltz and R. L. Wilson, "Ministers' Attitudes Toward Integration," Phylon Quarterly, XIX (Second Quarter, 1958), 198.

<sup>75</sup>Campbell and Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 43.

<sup>76</sup>Culver, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>77</sup>Loescher, op. cit., p. 105.

theological seminaries which hitherto have trained only Negro students now admit white students.<sup>78</sup>

In addition to these factors, one must consider the minister in his particular situation. If a minister has previously avoided speaking on the subject of integration and then takes a position of moderation or pro-integration he is in danger of losing his position. Silence indicates agreement. When the minister becomes aware of the social change and then speaks, he is put into a position which may mean his removal in the South or in the North he may become an ineffective leader.<sup>79</sup> It is very important that the minister have a set of principles to follow. If these principles are positive, in other matters as well as in segregation, his chances to be more effective are enhanced.<sup>80</sup>

The study of Campbell and Pettigrew is extremely helpful when considering the minister in his particular situation. They state these important conclusions:

The more popular the denomination in the local area, the less likely are its ministers to defend positions not accepted by local public opinion.

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<sup>78</sup>Lee, op. cit., p. 238.

<sup>79</sup>Ralph McGill, "The Agony of the Southern Minister," New York Times Magazine, September 27, 1959, Section 10, pp. 16, 57-60.

<sup>80</sup>A. W. Trinklein, "The Role of the Pastor in an Interracial Community," Proceedings of the Valparaiso University Institute on Human Relations (Valparaiso, Indiana: Valparaiso University, 1953), pp. 25-27.



These are the ministers who have the greatest amount of influence, yet they are unwilling or are the least likely to attempt to exercise this influence.

The minister whose orientation is primarily to his parish is less likely to support desegregation than the minister who is orientated to the community at large.

Admittedly, this statement is an over-simplification.

There are those who feel that it is not their place to become involved in social issues. This is a parish-orientated minister. Those who feel otherwise are more likely to speak and act for the cause of integration.

The more stable the membership of his church, the less likely is the minister to support desegregation during a crisis period.

In the parish where there has been the development of the sense of "our church" the minister will not be able to act on his own, but must recognize the leadership within his congregation and through them attain his goals.

Ministers in the small, working-class sects will support segregation, and many will be publicly active in its defense.

The measure of his support will be determined by the forces in the local community. In Little Rock the political forces were on the side of segregationists, thus giving support to segregationist ministers, thus encouraging them to oppose desegregation publicly.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Campbell and Pettigrew, op. cit., pp. 122-126.

The minister operates within the framework of three important reference systems: self reference system, which consists of the "demands, expectations, and images the actor carries regarding himself"; professional reference system, "the sources mutually related to his occupational role as minister yet independent of his congregation"; and membership reference system, that of the congregation.<sup>82</sup>

The first two of these systems have been treated. Attention must now be given to the membership reference system, or to use a more subjective phrase, the vested interests of the minister. To be more interested in one's own parish rather than going all out for the national policy seems only natural. There is greater need for a more widely accepted view of the ideal. The agreement to the ideal of integration must precede the integration process before the ideal will be put into practice at the expense of vested interests. But it is the vested interests of the minister which hinder or prohibit him from agreeing with or practicing the ideal of integration. This psychological, yet very real, vicious circle must be broken. The minister may know the national denominational policy, but feel justified in not fulfilling its demands because of his particular situation.

The following insights of Campbell and Pettigrew are

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 87.

valuable in pin-pointing the problem:

The support of desegregation is less in times of racial crisis than in times of non-crisis.

Because of public sentiment, within and/or outside of the congregation, there is the greater danger of suffering abuse. At the time of crisis the members of the community have taken a position, negative or positive, which they feel they must defend.

With an increase in the number of years that the minister has served his congregation, there is a decrease in the probability that he will support desegregation during a crisis.

As the mold becomes more firm, the pastor feels an increasing obligation to follow the wishes of his parishioners.

The new minister, on the other hand, has not become so deeply involved and is more likely not to be influenced by this kind of subtle pressure.

The minister's support of desegregation is less if his church is engaged in a membership drive, a building program, or fund-raising campaign than if it is not so engaged.

There are certain times when a minister feels that he needs the entire support of his membership. At times like these (mentioned above) he will be willing to overlook things in order to gain the entire support of his membership.

Success (speaking numerically and financially) in the ministry is negatively related to the probability of strong advocacy of unpopular moral imperative during a crisis.

The greater the "investment" the minister has at stake, the less likely will he take a position which endangers his

losing what he has accomplished. Those who defended desegregation were younger men, ministers of less prominent churches, who did not have as much to lose.<sup>83</sup>

In the light of these important factors, we are better able to understand and evaluate, for example, the position of Rev. Robert Graetz in Montgomery, Alabama, who was the only white person supporting the bus boycott. His membership was entirely Negro. We are also able to understand his lack of success in seeking other Caucasian ministerial support for the cause of the Montgomery Improvement Association.<sup>84</sup>

If the goals of the vested interests continue to play such an important part for the ministry, the minister will not become the force which he may become in the battle for desegregation in the community and the church. The selfish goals of more members and more money must be at least minimized, if not eliminated, if Protestantism is to take its place, as it could and should, in the integration which is to follow desegregation.

This, then, is the predicament in which the minister finds himself. He must define the problem, whether it is religious or not. If it is, he must decide what kind of

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<sup>83</sup>Ibid., pp. 122-125.

<sup>84</sup>L. D. Reddick, Crusader Without Violence (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 123-124.

social system is in keeping with the Christian ethic.<sup>85</sup> Then he must determine how to communicate his convictions to others, or if he will at all. In each of these decisions he is liable to contradiction. He realizes that the effectiveness of his work may be ruined by speaking his convictions. He should realize that the effectiveness of his work may be ruined by his silence. It is no doubt the fear, anxiety and indecision of not knowing what is the most proper alternative that keeps many from acting at all. There are few who have adopted the policy, "I would rather be sinning in doing something rather than doing nothing at all."

There are a number who have acted according to the ideal. Some of them have accomplished the desired end.<sup>86</sup> Some of these have become "displaced parsons." They come "from towns scattered throughout the South: the one thing they have in common is their crime--stating an unpopular viewpoint on race."<sup>87</sup> Practically all of them find another church and many of them have found churches in the South.<sup>88</sup>

Concrete solutions have not been given, but valuable suggestions are being offered. Culver suggests that ways

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<sup>85</sup>Campbell and Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>86</sup>William Peters, "The Story Nobody Tells You," McCalls, September, 1958, p. 127.

<sup>87</sup>Dykeman and Stokely, op. cit., p. 275.

<sup>88</sup>Peters, op. cit., p. 122.

and means be found to get more ministers to accept the ideal, for he found that the statement "colored ministers prefer to worship in churches separate from whites," to be the most widely held belief of the Methodist ministers.<sup>89</sup> To these ministers, and to all others who make similar unfounded judgments, Kramer charges that they have stifled themselves "with a serious bit of stereotype." He suggests that there is a great need for further self-examination on the part of the ministers.<sup>90</sup> Another suggestion is to act in time. The banding together of Protestant ministers as in Dallas where three hundred Texas ministers, before any sort of violence or crisis loomed near, went on record as appealing to the people for law, order, and love to put the Christian principles into practice for the good of the entire community.<sup>91</sup> Another example is that of the ministerial association in Gainesville, Hall County, Georgia, which published a Christian guide in order to help their members in improving their attitudes.<sup>92</sup> When such statements as these are issued it shows unity. It has a positive effect upon the membership of the Protestant denominations. Probably the greatest value is that it makes the

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<sup>89</sup>Culver, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>90</sup>Kramer, op. cit., p. 68.

<sup>91</sup>New South, June, 1958, p. 6.

<sup>92</sup>New South, May, 1958, p. 11.

individual membership less voluntary. The protestor of such statements and action will find less solace for his feelings of wanting to quit his particular church to join another, for the other may also hold the same position. There is a danger, however, that the banding together may be motivated by the desire to keep the status quo rather than the sincere desire to do the will of God.

### The Minority Churches and Ministry

Many of the same complex factors previously treated must be considered when studying the minority ministry and churches. In the following pages special attention is given to the factors which give added support to the existing paradox.

The Negro religious development is marked by three states: the "inceptional state" which is characterized by supernaturalism, simple ornaments of Christianity and emotionalism; the "developmental stage" (1863-1914) which brings the shift from emphasis on freedom to civil and social rights and active participation in government; the "transitional stage" (1914 to present) which is characterized as a crisis period for those who wish to retain extreme religious practices and the waning of traditional religious attitudes.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>93</sup>Ruby F. Johnston, The Development of Negro Religion (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1954), p. 72.

The growth of the Negro denominations has been quite rapid, considering the relatively short period of time.<sup>94</sup> Ninety per cent of the Negro churches were in the South in the year 1936 and more than three-fourths of the churches in the North were in cities.<sup>95</sup> Ninety-five per cent of the total of Negro church members are Protestant.<sup>96</sup> Many of those who migrated North, finding no acceptance in established denominations, became members of sects and cults.<sup>97</sup>

Even though the Negro church has followed the general institutional patterns of the white churches, it has developed some distinctive features. These features, in many cases, are the "residual elements of the revivalism of an earlier day."<sup>98</sup> Twenty years ago the Negro churches could be described as centering their attention on the "next world," but this generalization may not be made today.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>94</sup>Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1945), p. 261.

<sup>95</sup>E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949), p. 353.

<sup>96</sup>Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., p. 240.

<sup>97</sup>Frazier, op. cit., p. 356.

<sup>98</sup>Will Herberg, Protestant--Catholic--Jew (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1955), p. 128.

<sup>99</sup>R. A. Schermerhorn, These Our People (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1949), p. 91.



"The Church has meant more to the Negro than any other institution, since in the church he has had an opportunity for self-expression," says Sweet.<sup>100</sup> This self-expression has taken many forms. Myrdal is aware of this when he says, "the Negro church fundamentally is an expression of the Negro community itself."<sup>101</sup> It is the contention of Kyle Haselden that the church is the social institution which most significantly influences the total life and development of the Negro.<sup>102</sup> His view is supported by practically all researchers on this subject. Woodson relates the process of the socializing of the Negro church.<sup>103</sup>

It is in the church that the Negro has been given the opportunity for leadership and leadership training. Within the denomination he was able to display political leadership which has become so very useful for him today.<sup>104</sup> It is not surprising then that we find the ministers who are leading in the battle for full equality, as exemplified by the Montgomery bus boycott. Negroes have been and are being trained for leadership in the churches and the fact of

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<sup>100</sup>William W. Sweet, "The Protestant Churches," The Annals of Political and Social Sciences, CCLVI (March, 1948), 43-52.

<sup>101</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 877.

<sup>102</sup>Kyle Haselden, The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 80.

<sup>103</sup>Woodson, op. cit., pp. 242-260.

<sup>104</sup>Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., pp. 523-524.

trained personnel is a sociological asset.<sup>105</sup>

What has happened in recent years makes doubtful the pessimism displayed by Myrdal when he gives little hope of the church becoming a leader in the improvement of the Negro community.<sup>106</sup>

The statement in support of segregation, "Negroes want to stay in their own churches" is often made. Any truth in this statement exists because of the fact of segregation itself. It is true that some Negroes do "feel uncomfortable with persons of other races and therefore prefer being isolated."<sup>107</sup> It is, no doubt, also true that

To many Negroes there is something incongruous in having a representative of the dominant white race preach brotherly love and Christian humility and offer them the solace of religion in sickness or bereavement . . . they feel that only a black minister, who has the same peculiar relation to God as they themselves, can give help and comfort.<sup>108</sup>

However, to hold to integration in one area of life and to be against it in another is still more incongruous. It has been demonstrated among Negroes that twenty-seven out of forty Southern college students, twenty-six out of forty-three Southern church members, and thirty-one out of

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<sup>105</sup>Dr. John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 223.

<sup>106</sup>Myrdal, op. cit., p. 250.

<sup>107</sup>Johnston, op. cit., p. 175.

<sup>108</sup>Arnold M. Rose, editor, Race Prejudice and Discrimination (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), p. 333.

thirty-nine Northern church members, are advocates of interracial churches and that a little over half of the persons, student and adult levels, in the South favor interracial worship.<sup>109</sup>

Martin contends that the well-informed white Southerner will readily recognize that Negroes do not favor segregation.<sup>110</sup>

It is natural that many Negroes should develop an attitude of hostility toward white churches. If not hostility, an attitude of indifference, because the institution in our society that ought to be practicing the principles of brotherhood and equality has failed them. It is, however, more difficult to explain the Negro attitude toward Negro churches. Many Negroes, especially those in urban areas, hold critical attitudes toward Negro churches.<sup>111</sup>

The major criticisms in Chicago include: (1) the church is a "racket"; (2) there are too many churches; (3) they are too emotional; (4) they are hypocritical; (5) they waste money; (6) there are hypocritical ministers; (7) the ministers fail to preach against "sin"; (8) money is emphasized too much; and (9) Negroes are too religious.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>Johnston, op. cit., p. 175.

<sup>110</sup>Martin, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>111</sup>Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., pp. 433-534.

<sup>112</sup>St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1945), p. 419.

When speaking of the Negro churches, the ministry cannot be minimized. In fact, up until the first quarter of the twentieth century one has to deal primarily with religious leaders in the writing of Negro history.<sup>113</sup> As leadership opportunities have increased in areas other than religious, the church has begun to attract fewer of the best able men in Negro communities.<sup>114</sup> Generally speaking, it may be said that the farther back in history one delves, the more impressed he is with the Negro clergy. This may be the reason that Woodson speaks so well of the clergy and Frazier, who has concentrated on more recent history, seems to minimize the importance of the clergy. Bardolph seems to support this conclusion as he speaks of the past and more recent Negro clergy.

Since the ministry was the first Negro profession to gain recognition, it is only natural that the role of the minister was much more important than it is today.<sup>115</sup>

Educationally and numerically, the Negro ministry is in a deplorable state.

According to the best statistics, there are about 50,000 Negro churches in the United States and there are 40,000 Negro ministers. To staff Negro churches with fully trained pastors would require a minimum of

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<sup>113</sup>Richard Bardolph, The Negro Vanguard (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1959), p. 105.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>115</sup>Simpson and Yinger, op. cit., pp. 528-529.

1,500 trained pastors a year as replacements. Scarcely more than 100 are graduating annually from fully accredited seminaries, plus a comparable number from seminaries and Bible Schools which lack full accreditation. These figures are startling, but the situation is most dramatically pointed up by the appalling fact in the denomination which claims the adherence of ninety per cent of all Negro Protestants, ninety-one per cent of the ministry has less than a high school education.<sup>116</sup>

Keeping this in mind, the accusations that are made by church members against the clergy may often be well grounded.

Integration in the Protestant churches cannot be achieved by the dominant churches alone. It will take co-operation of the minority churches and ministry also.

There are indications that the minority ministry is not totally in favor of such integration.

Recently it was suggested in a mid-western city that as a means of breaking down segregation in churches, a white church might take on an assistant Negro minister. The suggestion was immediately opposed by the Negro ministers in the city. Seemingly, they feared that if the plan were carried out, members of the segregated Negro churches would be drawn away into the white churches.<sup>117</sup>

From an Alabaman comes this insight:

Our ministers around here ignore all this race talk. Course the Baptist church is our biggest. The negra Baptist church is their leading one, too, and their preacher, he's too smart to start talking for this integration. He knows he'd just be talking himself out of a job.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup>W. C. Hart, "Toward a Better Negro Ministry," The Christian Century, LXXVI (April, 1959), 474.

<sup>117</sup>Rose, op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>118</sup>Dykeman and Stokely, op. cit., p. 267.

It seems, with the shortage of trained ministers, the inability to attract young men into the ministry, the brotherhood and love which is taught in the Negro churches also, and the battle for integration in other areas of life, that the vested interests of the Negro clergy would be easy to overcome. This seems not to be the case.

Complete integration in churches would mean, as it meant and means in the desegregation of public schools, that the minority is going to lose out in leadership. The fear of losing one's position is a strong motivation to keep the status quo if the status quo means retention of such position.

One note of optimism must not be overlooked. The majority of Negro ministers in the Methodist church seemed to be willing to sacrifice their positions for the sake of desegregation, for Negro Methodists are "almost unanimous in their opposition to segregation. . . ." <sup>119</sup> If similar studies were made in other Negro denominations the chances are very good that the same conclusion would be reached. For the one who realizes what freedom really means (the Negro realizes this more fully than the Caucasian because he has been denied his freedom) is going to be willing to give up more for that freedom than one who does not realize complete equality.

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<sup>119</sup>Culver, op. cit., p. 172.

Rose predicts that the breakdown of the color line in secular life will precede the elimination of segregated Negro churches.<sup>120</sup> Herberg comes to the same conclusion:

Religious desegregation, however, will probably lag considerably behind the desegregation of other aspects of American life, since influential groups of Negroes have themselves developed a strong interest, emotional and social, in the maintenance of separate Negro churches, and these churches play a more creative role in the lives of the masses of Negro Americans than does any other segregated institution. In any case, the existence of the Negro Church, as a segregated division of American Protestantism constitutes an anomaly of considerable importance in the general sociological scheme of the "triple melting pot."<sup>121</sup>

It is rather useless in attempting to solve the problem of the paradox of segregation, to place blame on anyone, for the problem exists and it must be solved. But if anyone is apt to place the blame on the Negro for the condition of the Negro ministry and churches, he is immediately silenced by Haynes. The problem faced today has grown out of the arrogance and superiority complex of the dominant group. "It is this group, therefore, that must solve the caste status of the Negro community within American Protestantism. Hence, the problem is a white man's problem."<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup>Rose, op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>121</sup>Herberg, op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>122</sup>Leonard L. Haynes, Jr., The Negro Community (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1953), p. 217.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paradoxical situation does not lead itself to a simple summary or conclusion. The complexity ranges from the very general nation-wide scope to the general and more specific implications for the Protestant Church; to the individual with his values, attitudes, beliefs, and practices. Therefore, the summary and conclusions will be given under the three divisions: General, Protestant Church, and the Individual, with the most important conclusions added.

#### General

Deeply imbedded in the problem of desegregation is history--history which cannot be easily forgotten. Its implications keep bobbing up like corks out of water held down by slowly rotting cords. When Christians see these implications surface, they become surprised and use what has happened to support their position, whether positive or negative. It seems almost certain that if minds become blank to the history of our nation, with respect to the paradox, and if there were only the first three centuries of the years of our Lord to contend with, the paradox would be less great. But even within the early Christian Church



the same type of paradox existed. The interactions of people often cause friction. Out of the interactions and the friction sinful situations erupt. Even Christians are not immune to sinful eruptions which seem to make their very lives a paradox.

History has played a trick. It has made it possible for persons even today firmly to believe the Negro is inferior. If the person is not a firm believer in Negro inferiority he may, even though he denies such a belief, find himself acting as though he does believe it. Therefore, it is difficult to admit that the problem we have today is the Caucasian problem and the "Negro problem," most often expressed as a misnomer.

It is important to recognize the complexity of the problem; that is, the interrelations of all aspects of our society which have built and maintained the paradox.

But there are also many forces which are operating to tear down the paradox. Some of these forces are: the teaching of the brotherhood of man, the ideal of democracy, the prosperity of the nation, the progress of the Negro in spite of all handicaps, the watchful eyes of other nations, and the sincere individual's relationship with his Christ.

From these and many other forces, we see progress in desegregation. It has been said that the only difference between our nation and the Union of South Africa today is that the Negro has seen enough progress toward equality in

the United States to give him continued hope for the future without revolt. There is conclusive evidence that segregation is being eliminated. Jim Crow is growing old and will soon retire and then pass away. The economic advancement of the minority group will continue, for many have found that history has played a trick on us. In education, politics, legislation, and all areas of life more and more are becoming aware that what they had been taught is not fact, but fiction. The Negro protests have awakened many fiction-dreaming persons to the reality of fact. At the present time there is no indication that these protests will not continue until the full equality has been granted to the Negro. Not only have protests awakened the white communities, but they have given the Negro communities more courage and their dependence upon the "white man," held so many years, is being removed.

The effects of segregation and discrimination are devastating, not only on the minority but also on the majority group. The blocked aspirations of the Negro have caused his bewilderment, instability, and much of the social disorganization and disunity of our society. Those who insist on segregation have taken on traits of chauvinism and hypocrisy, and have therefore lost much of what they desire most in the Christian ideals and democracy.

## The Protestant Church

The Protestant Church has failed the Negro. In general, the church has failed to act in concrete ways to the ideals which it professes. In spite of this, there is still a natural and very strong link between the Negro and the Protestant Church. With this historical fact in mind, it is possible to say that the cause is not yet lost. Will the Protestant Church take advantage of this natural historical tie? At present the answer must be an almost certain "No!" The Church could have refused to accept the societal caste system of the Negro in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Church chose to accept it. The Church will also, no doubt, "accept" its removal when its removal seems certain that the caste status of the Negro has been removed in other aspects of American life. There is little hope that the Church will take the lead in the battle for integration because the Church has accepted society rather than influenced society.

There is, however, enough progress toward desegregation and integration within the Church to give courage to those who face the opportunity of integration and to prove to the segregationist that he cannot use the lack of integration in the Church as an argument for his position.

The Protestant Church must recognize that this is the white man's problem. Being so, he is obligated to make the

concessions; for example, doing all that is possible to remove any fear that the Negro might have caused by the process of integration. The Church must take upon itself the obligation of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the inequality, not only in the church, but in all aspects of society. This means the thorough study of all factors treated in Chapter III and others which are not treated in this study. The interrelation of all these factors must be seen. Successful integration in education, industry and other fields must be studied to help set policies with concrete ways of putting the policies into practice.

This means education, for its process helps to pinpoint the paradox. Education must be had in order to expose the prejudices and discriminations. Wrong attitudes are taught; right attitudes must be taught. Wrong attitudes thrive on prejudice; right attitudes thrive on education when education is recognized to be more than the mere teaching of knowledge.

The Bible is the authority for practically all Protestants. But the Bible, in spite of its truth, its inspiration, and the Holy Spirit's working through it, has been misused so much in the segregation-integration controversy that it often becomes ineffective as a source of authority. There is no attempt here to discredit the Word of God in any way; however, it seems that in this controversy a greater stress must be placed on the scientific

research done on this subject--more than has been done in the past. The Bible must, and for certain shall, continue to be used as the only authority. But the fact is, it shall continue to be thus used by both the segregationist and the integrationist. It seems certain that if all segregationists would take the time and effort to determine when, where, and how the Bible was first used to support slavery and segregation, they would be more apt to believe and follow the historical and traditional interpretations of Scripture with regard to this subject. The segregationist's misuse of Scripture is just one evil effect that segregation has had upon the Church. There are many other evil effects which segregation has had upon the Protestant Church, but the misuse of God's revelation to man, by rational man, must be one of the evils which hurts our Lord the most.

But the time to study, educate, and find authorities has passed. This is not to say this process should not continue. The time to act in concrete, Christ-centered ways will soon pass by, which would mean an increase of all the evil effects of segregation.

Excellent policies have been made. Now concentration must be given to find more effective ways of putting these policies into action on the local level. This will mean: (1) enlightened researchers to compare success and failure of integration in areas outside the church and apply this

knowledge to the church; (2) enlightened researchers to apply practically the knowledge and experience of convictions, successes and failures in the church; (3) enlightened men and women in interracial work to give leadership and guidance; (4) increased contact between racially separate churches and individuals; (5) a firm, positive conviction stated by churches in a specific city or region, including both racial majority and minority churches and the local individual congregation so that it becomes known that the church is or at least intends to practice what it preaches, thus making membership less voluntary; (6) an enlightened ministry that will firmly make known positive convictions at the expense of loss to himself or the congregation; (7) a more concrete application of the Gospel message by the minister with regard to this subject; (8) the removal of all fears of integration for both majority and minority groups with the willingness to make concrete, stated and agreed upon concessions; (9) to do all of these and more with the motivation from the interest of God's entire kingdom and the glory of His Church, not because of pity or pride.

### The Individual

A sincere re-evaluation of one's attitudes, beliefs, values and motivations is necessary. This needs to be done in the light of God's revelation having removed, or at

least set aside, all preconceived convictions. To guide the re-evaluation, one must have: the open-mindedness to admit that one's convictions may be based on the influence of society rather than upon the influence of the Word of God, the conviction that the use of Scripture devoid of Christ almost always leads one in the wrong direction, the complete submission of all that one is and has in hand and mind to the One who sacrificed His life so that all that is needed may be given to man by Him. Christians are in the world but they are not of the world. There are many who are seriously striving for the ideal, but there are many others who do not see the difference between the "in" and "out" of the world. Guidance is necessary, but guidance cannot be given unless the leader (minister) has submitted himself to the process above.

Some refuse to discuss the paradox because it is not a "religious" matter for them. The interrelation of all the factors in this study must be shown to prove there is nothing in life that is not or should not be religious. This means that one must be willing to subject the principles of Christ to every aspect of life.

Segregation is a sin. It is a sin because it hurts people. The lack of this recognition may mean two things: that the individual has become so accustomed to the sin that he refuses to see it, or he has made himself indifferent to how sin affects our society. The latter is most

often the case. To solve this, one must train himself to look for sin. All one need do is to become sympathetically acquainted with those who suffer from the sin and their needs as Christ commands one to do.

Even at the conclusion there is much too much pessimism. It cannot be otherwise. The paradox has not yet tumbled into wisdom.

#### Summary Statements of Conclusion

1. The individual must align himself with Christ and rededicate himself to living His life in his own life.
2. The Bible has been and will continue to be the authority for segregationist and integrationist.
3. Individuals have been more apt to be influenced by society than the will of God.
4. The interrelationship between the religious and secular factors must be studied to recognize the past and present position of the church in order to clarify the future position.
5. Protestant ministers could become the heroes of the century if some sort of united position and action in community, region, state, and nation were taken. They must be willing to look beyond themselves, their congregations, their denominations so that the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God can be carried out.
6. The Protestant Church has followed, not led in



racial integration. Even in its following, it has often fallen and will no doubt continue to stumble.

7. Protestantism must find a way to overcome the handicap of the voluntary nature of the church to be more swiftly effective in integration.

8. Protestantism must find effective ways of putting its excellent policies into practice.

## APPENDIX A

The following is a resolution written by three men on the National Committee, and adopted by the convention held on July 10, 1959, published in The Missionary Baptist Searchlight.

WHEREAS, the Missionary Baptists have been law-abiding and law-respecting citizens historically wherever they have lived, and

WHEREAS, we believe in rendering to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's, and

WHEREAS, we believe the three branches of our Federal Government to be the best system for us on earth, though subject to error, and

WHEREAS, we believe the United States Supreme Court did err in moral judgment in judicial decree with regard to the law of the case concerning segregation in the public schools on May 17, 1954, and

WHEREAS, we believe judiciary and executive efforts to force acceptance of that case upon our people nationally as the law of the land with disregard for previous judiciary precedents, and

WHEREAS, in the keeping of British common law on which our American law is based, to the effect that a principle of life-long acceptance it has become an established social

pattern, and custom become the common law of the land, and

WHEREAS, segregation of the races in social life in the United States of America in general and the South in particular has become a socially accepted and established pattern of life and at least the common law of the land, and

WHEREAS, executive and judiciary efforts to force the law of the case of said decree upon our people and to change the whole social pattern of American life has caused agitated hate, disunity and bloodshed in our nation to the apparent delight of the N.A.A.C.P. and Communism and God-haters, be it therefore RESOLVED, that

1. We affirm our faith in the loyalty to our country and government and our historic social pattern of segregated life,

2. We express our love and spiritual concern for the salvation of all people of all races,

3. We recognize all men of all races as our neighbors and our brothers only in the sense of their creation in the image of God and that it is wrong before God morally, socially and Biblically to force all races to integrate in social affairs,

4. We express our resentment against and disapproval of any and all efforts of our national judiciary and executive to join hands with the N.A.A.C.P. and communist sympathizers in our nation to force a new social pattern

upon our nation to stir race strife, disunity and bloodshed,

5. We express our fear of increased riots and bloodshed if segregation of the races of an established social pattern which is the common law of the land is further flouted and agitated,

6. We pray our legislators, judiciary and executive leaders to use their influence to halt every effort made to force or influence integration of the races in our public schools and our social pattern of life. That they seek to secure reversal of the decision of the judiciary of May 7, 1954, which has brought so much hurt, hate, disunity, and even bloodshed to our nation,

7. Be it finally resolved that our people as Christian citizens of the state use their influence in every peaceable and legal way that is possible to discourage and prevent social mixing and mongrelization especially with the Negroid race, because we believe it to be against the Word and will of our God by which we shall all one day be supremely judged.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Missionary Baptist Searchlight, XXII (July 10, 1959).

APPENDIX B

The following is a resolution adopted on June 20, 1959, at San Francisco, California, by The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod in its regular biennial convention:

WHEREAS, The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod at its forty-third regular convention in St. Paul, Minnesota, June 20-29, 1946, adopted a clear and evangelical statement on the subject of racial discrimination; and

WHEREAS, It is our belief that the force of this statement would be greatly enhanced by the detailing of some of the practical implications of the Scriptural principles set forth therein; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, in convention assembled in Valparaiso, Indiana, on this twenty-eighth day of July, 1958, respectfully urge our brethren in The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod to continue in the good work that was begun at the St. Paul convention and adopt, at the forty-fourth regular convention of Synod, the following resolutions, numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4, as amplifications of Synod's 1956 statement of principles.

1.

WHEREAS, the Genesis account of creation clearly teaches the unity of the whole human family in that it

ascribes a common ancestry to all men; and

WHEREAS, The prophet Malachi reaffirms this teaching when he proclaims that this is God's world, that there is but one heavenly Father, and that He is responsible for the creation and welfare of all people; and

WHEREAS, It is a defamation of God to treat any of His creatures, especially man, with contempt or to despise any particular race of man as an inferior product of the Creator's design; and

WHEREAS, The divine plan was violated by man's fall into sin with whose evil consequences which are not inherent in the entire human race; and

WHEREAS, God's love is universal in its intent that Jesus Christ should be preached to every creature as the Propitiation for the sins of the whole world; and

WHEREAS, These clear teachings of Scripture are, in effect, being denied by word and deed by many of our fellow countrymen, including unhappily, some who profess and call themselves Christians; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we take notice of the continuing opposition to these Scriptural truths; that, in our preaching, we testify against it with such vigor as may be necessary to exhort and convince the gainsayers; and that we apply these teachings to the eradication of such racial or ethnic antipathies as may still persist in our midst.

## 2.

WHEREAS, Neither Scripture nor science provides us with a clear explanation of the origin of what we call "races"; and

WHEREAS, Idle speculations on this point can be dangerous and misleading; and

WHEREAS, The criteria by which men have traditionally made racial distinctions among human beings are only superficial characteristics, the significance of which has been magnified and grossly exaggerated in the popular mind; and

WHEREAS, The Christian's understanding of nationality and race should be based upon the soundest theological interpretations and the most reliable scientific evidence available; and

WHEREAS, In the present state of our Biblical and scientific knowledge we possess no evidence to prove the alleged superiority or inferiority of Caucasians, Negroes, or Mongoloids; and

WHEREAS, Most tests indicate that the innate intellectual capacity of all races is essentially the same, although there is considerable variation within each race; and

WHEREAS, We must conclude from such knowledge as is available that it is wrong for the Christian to try to justify any kind of racial discrimination on the basis of

unwarranted and erroneous assumptions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we redouble our efforts to combat fiction with reliable facts about race and that we encourage our pastors, teachers, and professors to utilize every appropriate opportunity to combat ignorance and prejudice by stressing in our congregations, schools, colleges and seminaries those truths about race which are in accord with sound theology and true science.

## 3.

WHEREAS, Christian love demands that we avoid using any words or stereotyped expressions that might reflect unfavorably upon fellow human beings, bring them into disrepute, or cause them mental anguish, and

WHEREAS, We should at all times seek to avoid offending our brethren in Christ and those whom we endeavor to gain for Christ; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we exhort one another to be thoughtful and considerate in our use of language involving delicate racial issues, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon all responsible officials and editors in our church to specifically eliminate the following objectionable practices:

- a. the separate listing in The Lutheran Annual, of "pastors and teachers serving in Negro communities"; and
- b. the attaching of racial and ethnic designations to



the names of our churches and missions except where such designations may be justified by the use, in the public worship thereof, of a language other than English.

## 4.

WHEREAS, Synod saw fit to adopt a resolution on race relations at its St. Paul convention in 1956 which, along with a number of other desirable recommendations, "acknowledges our responsibility as a church to provide guidance for our members to work in the capacity of Christian citizens for the elimination of discrimination, wherever it may exist, in community, city, state, nation and world"; and

WHEREAS, It is essential to the effective implementation of this praiseworthy resolution that its implications be explained to our clergy and laity; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the editors of the Lutheran Witness to give frequent and vigorous expression in its editorial columns to the stand which our church has taken on racial discriminations, as set forth in the resolution adopted in St. Paul; and to solicit articles from writers qualified to apply the principles set forth in that resolution to the evil of racial discrimination as it manifests itself in the community, city, state, nation, and world.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Reports and Memorials, Forty-fourth Regular Convention of The Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), pp. 713-715.

## APPENDIX C

The following appears in Hoults's The Sociology of Religion:

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon) is more direct. Its doctrine holds that men live spiritually before their existence and that one-third of humanity (including all Negroes) became, and apparently still become, followers of Satan during their spiritual life. Satan's followers are, say Mormons, rightfully denied full status in the church. One Mormon spokesman explained the situation in these words: "In the Mormon Church the priesthood is conferred on all worthy males, unlike other Christian churches. The Negro, because of action in the pre-mortal life, may not receive the priesthood in mortality; therefore only limited activity is possible for him. . . . Latter Day Saints believe that everyone receives his place on earth, as to race, and color, because of the exercise of free agency in the pre-earth life. Everyone accepted his earthly status, including the Negro, as to the priesthood. Therefore, the Mormon teaching is in accord with justice."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas E. Hoults, The Sociology of Religion (New York: Dryden Press, 1958), p. 286, quoting a statement by Roy W. Doney, Assistant Professor of Religion, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, in The Nation, CLXXV (August 16, 1952).

#### APPENDIX D

The following is taken from The Christian Century in an article compiled by the editors entitled "Protestantism Speaks on Justice in Integration." The article gives statements made by the following denominations regarding the Supreme Court verdict of May 17, 1954. The date after the denominational name is the date the favorable resolution was adopted:

The African Methodist Episcopal Connectional Council -- June 1954  
The African Methodist Episcopal Zion, Board of Christian Education -- August 1954  
American Baptist Convention -- 1956  
The American Lutheran Church -- June 1954  
Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church -- June 1956  
Christian Methodist Episcopal Church -- 1955  
Church of the Brethren -- 1954  
Congregational Christian General Council -- June 1954  
Cumberland Presbyterian Church -- June 1955  
International Convention of Disciples of Christ -- 1954  
Evangelical and Reformed General Synod -- 1956  
Evangelical United Brethren Church -- November 1954  
Methodist General Conference -- 1956  
National Baptist Convention USA Inc. -- 1954  
Presbyterian, US, General Assembly -- 1954  
Presbyterian, USA, General Assembly -- 1954  
Protestant Episcopal General Assembly -- 1955  
Southern Baptist Convention -- June 1954  
United Lutheran Church in America -- 1956  
United Presbyterian Church of North America -- 1956

The following are local or regional groups which made positive statements:

Florida Council of Churches -- October 1954  
Kentucky Council of Churches -- April 1955  
New Orleans Council of Churches -- July 1954  
North Carolina Council of Churches -- January 1956  
Virginia Council of Churches -- January 1956

Washington, D.C., Federation of Churches -- October  
1954  
National Council of Churches, General Board -- May  
1954

As an example of the aforementioned, the following is from  
the Baptist National Convention:

According to Christ and to Paul, there can be no question of race relations, because there is only one race, the human race. Man himself has divided himself on the basis of color. If man would only stop worrying about the petty differences, and concentrate on likenesses, there would be no race problem. The problem is not really race relations, but human relations. Segregation in the church of God is the ugliest thing in the religious world, and a disgrace to a Christian nation.

Here is an example of one not quite so broad in scope, that  
of the North Carolina Council of Churches:

Now that the Supreme Court has spoken, we urge that the churches as represented in the Council accept the decision of the court and the law of the land and endeavor as fully as possible, in the spirit of Christ, to realize an integrated public school system.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"Protestantism Speaks on Justice in Integration," The Christian Century, LXXV (February 5, 1958), 164-166.

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