

MINUTES
OF THE
NINETY-FOURTH
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

IN THE UNITED STATES

PART I. JOURNAL
WITH AN APPENDIX

ANDERSON AUDITORIUM
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been enrolled in the place of Mr. T. P. Hartness, Presbytery of Enoree.

The Assembly granted permission for the transcription of the remarks of Rev. Donald Miller relative to segregation.

SPECIAL ORDER

Rev. Marshall C. Dendy presented Rev. Lawrence I. Stell, a member of the Board of Christian Education. Dr. Stell addressed the Assembly briefly, speaking words of appreciation for Dr. Edward D. Grant, former Executive Secretary of the Board. In this connection, a plaque duplicating the one in the new book store at Montreat was presented to Dr. Grant. The Assembly was visibly moved as Dr. Grant responded in accepting the citation.

Rev. Fred V. Poag, Chairman, presented the report of the Special Standing Committee on Christian Relations.

[Editorial notes. Sections 2 and 3 of this report were of particular significance. An effort to docket recommendation 2 for the 1955 Assembly failed. A motion to table the same recommendation failed by a vote of 165 to 239. Recommendation 2 was ultimately adopted by a vote of 236 to 169. A motion to hold recommendation 3 in abeyance did not pass. A motion to amend this recommendation by "receiving" the supplementary report instead of "adopting" it prevailed. As noted in the report itself, the recommendation was adopted and the entire report was recommended for careful study throughout the Church. For the first time in the memory of those present, an effort was made to have the vote on the adoption of the full report taken by roll call. This effort was defeated. Stated Clerk.]

The report was adopted, as amended, and is as follows:

REPORT OF SPECIAL STANDING COMMITTEE ON CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

The Special Standing Committee on Christian Relations received from the General Assembly the following:

- (1) Recommendation 24 from the Board of Church Extension.
- (2) Report of the Council on Christian Relations as printed in the Blue Book, pp. 124-131.
- (3) Supplementary report of the Council on Christian Relations entitled "A Statement to Southern Christians."
- (4) The letter of Mrs. D. M. Lucas to the General Assembly.

We have considered the above matters and make the following recommendations:

1. That the General Assembly adopt the recommendation of the Board of Church Extension, as follows:

COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

(1) Composition

14 members elected by General Assembly; three on nomination of Board of Church Extension (Division of Christian Relations); three on nomination of Board of Christian Education and one each on nomination of Board of World Missions and Board of Women's Work; and six by Committee on Nominations of General Assembly.

The Secretary of Christian Relations in the Board of Church Extension shall be an *ex officio* member of the Council of Christian Relations.

(2) Function

- a. To bring to General Assembly an annual report with recommendations in field of Christian Relations.

To make such studies or reports as may be assigned to it by either the General Assembly or the Board of Church Extension through its Division of Christian Relations.

b. To point out existing evils and unwholesome conditions which endanger the spiritual or moral welfare of individuals or groups or nations.

c. To direct attention to measures or methods proposed for the cure of these evils or the alleviation of these conditions.

(8) Reports

The annual reports of the Council of Christian Relations and its reports on all matters referred to it by the General Assembly shall be made to the General Assembly directly, and referred by the General Assembly to the Standing Committee on Christian Relations.

2. That the General Assembly adopt the report on "The Church and Segregation" including the recommendations. (See Appendix, page 187.)

3. That the General Assembly receive the supplementary report entitled "A Statement to Southern Christians," and adopt the recommendation and the additional recommendation: We recommend this report for careful study throughout the church. (See Appendix, page 194.)

4. That the General Assembly adopt the report on "The Christian Faith and Communism." (See Appendix, page 197.)

5. That the General Assembly answer the letter of Mrs. D. M. Lucas by reference to the reports of the Council on Christian Relations adopted herewith.

6. That the General Assembly extend the privilege of the floor during the discussion of this report to the Chairman of the Council on Christian Relations, Mr. George H. Wright.

Respectfully submitted,

REV. FRED V. POAG, Chairman

REV. CONNOLLY GAMBLE, Secretary

The following requested that their names be recorded as being opposed to the adoption of the above report, recommendation 4: R. B. Porter, W. Frank Wood, W. H. Bruce, H. J. McCorkle, I. E. Wallace, J. Marion Burke and Samuel J. Allen.

Rev. Frank W. Price, Chairman, presented the report of the Standing Committee on Bills and Overtures. The report was adopted, and is as follows:

REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON BILLS AND OVERTURES

We have been given overtures 1-5 and 61-63, together with recommendations of the Permanent Judicial Committee regarding some of these overtures and matters referred to them by the 1953 General Assembly.

We recommend that this be answered in the affirmative with the following revision:

Overture 1 requests the General Assembly to harmonize definitions of "Temporary" and "Occasional Supply" in the amendments to Paragraph 126, Book of Church Order. in Paragraph 126, Sentence 2, substitute "Occasional Supplies" for "Temporary Supplies", thus making the paragraph to conform with the 1953 amendment (General Assembly Minutes 1953, page 64.) The sentence will read: "All of these shall be ordained Ministers, except that Presbytery may approve licentiates, candidates, or laymen as Occasional Supplies."

This amendment is hereby approved and sent to the presbyteries for their advice and consent.

Overture 2 requests the General Assembly to consider apparent contradictions in the Book of Church Order, Paragraphs 154-157, regarding the term of office of Ruling Elders. We recommend that this be answered in the negative, following the recommendation of the Permanent Judicial Committee. We see no contradiction in the present statements in the Book of Church Order, because no change has been made

Rowley, D.D., F.B.A., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature at Victoria University, Manchester, England.

V. MID-CENTURY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

The Mid-Century Campaign of Union Theological Seminary came to a successful conclusion with a final campaign in the city of Richmond early in the spring. This brought the total pledges to \$2,620,977.90, of which three-fifths has been paid to date. These gifts are already bearing useful fruit. Five new faculty homes were occupied in December; a 24-unit apartment building for married students will be ready for use at the beginning of school this fall; Melrose Hall is now being converted into a dormitory for married students, with accommodations for 15 couples.

For many years the Ginter Park Presbyterian Church congregation has worshipped in Schauffler Hall on the seminary campus. On May 30th they are moving to their new building, constructed a block away from the seminary. Schauffler Hall will be converted to the full-time use of the seminary, with an audio-visual educational center on the ground floor; the church auditorium on the main floor will be preserved and enlarged in seating capacity; the educational portion of the building will be used for seminary classes and by professors for conference rooms. It is hoped that these changes can be completed by fall, also.

A contract has been let for the enlargement of the Library building at a cost of \$165,000. Nine study rooms will be provided for men engaged on special projects. There will be 50 carrels for use by the students, and book capacity will be increased by approximately 30,000 volumes. In addition, the east wing of the building will be re-arranged to provide more space for reserve book reading.

The 18,000 people who have had a part in this great undergirding of the work of the seminary can indeed be pleased with what has been accomplished already. More importantly, the additions to the endowment funds of the seminary will enable an early increase in the faculty and better training for more students.

VI. FORWARD STEPS

Apart from the campaign, there was added to our capital funds during the past year \$28,655.53.

We look forward with confidence that in the Providence of God Union Theological Seminary will be able to do its part in training the greatly increased number of ministers who will be needed by our Church during the years immediately ahead.

Respectfully submitted by order of the
Board of Trustees,
M. W. NORFLEET, JR., *Secretary*

VII. DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

The report of the Council of Christian Relations to the 94th General Assembly is composed of two parts. The first part is a study entitled "The Church and Segregation" with recommendations. The second part is a statement entitled, "The Christian Faith and Communism," for the consideration and action of the General Assembly.

I

THE CHURCH AND SEGREGATION

The 93rd General Assembly placed in the hands of The Council of Christian Relations a resolution offered by Rev. Jack W. Ewart relative to segregation in church-controlled institutions. The General Assembly directed that the Council study the resolution and report to the 94th General Assembly. The resolution reads as follows:

RESOLUTION

"1. That the General Assembly in carrying out the implications of this action (adoption of Section III, Race Relations, report of Division of Christian Relations)

shall direct the trustees of all its institutions of higher education to open its doors to all races;

"2. That the General Assembly strongly recommends the same action to synods and presbyteries;

"3. That the local churches be directed to examine their own life, and practice no discrimination within its fellowship or outreach."

After careful study the Council of Christian Relations offers this report with recommendations. The report consists of three parts: I. The Bible and Human Relationships. II.. Racial Integration. III. The Position of the Church.

I. *The Bible and Human Relationships*

Any study of relationships involving people of different cultural and racial background is essentially a study of human relationships. It is important in such a study to recognize the authority of Scripture. Attention is called to the following basic truths relevant to our study which are taught in Scripture:

1. *The Sovereignty of God*

The first of these truths is that God is One and He is Ruler over all creation. His will is right and shall be done in heaven and in earth. This truth is set forth in striking terms by John on the isle of Patmos when he had a vision of God's judgment upon the evil forces of the world. "And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth." Revelation 19:6. God being sovereign Ruler of the universe "man's chief end is to glorify God and enjoy Him forever."

2. *The Dignity of Man*

A second basic truth found in Scripture relevant to our study is that every person is of infinite value and has infinite possibilities. This truth is set forth principally in the doctrine of creation; in the doctrine of the Incarnation; and in the doctrine of redemption. Scripture teaches that man was created *in the image of God*. It is believed that this has reference to man's capacity to think, to feel, to will—a spiritual being who can know God, love Him and communicate with Him.

The dignity of man is further set forth in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. Said the writer of the Fourth Gospel: "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." John 1:14. In Jesus we behold the perfect man, "the image of the invisible God." In Him we see God's ideal for man.

The infinite value of every person is finally and completely demonstrated in the sacrificial death of Jesus Christ. "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." John 3:16.

3. *The Oneness of Mankind.*

A third basic truth is the oneness of mankind. This truth is supported in Scripture by five facts. The first of these is the fact of creation. The story of creation as given in the Book of Genesis shows the common origin of man.

The second fact in support of man's oneness is the Providence of God. The Hebrew people were chosen by God not because they were better than other peoples, but that He might use them in revealing Himself to the world. His blessings are poured out upon all people. It is significant that in Scripture the usual division between peoples has to do with the two groups, Jews and Gentiles, or believers and non-believers.

The third fact is that God's plan of redemption applies to all people alike. The circumstances of one's birth do not affect God's will to redeem that individual. It is God's will that all should come to a knowledge of the truth. Said the apostle Peter: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." Acts 10:34, 35.

The fourth fact is that God's law for human relationships, the law of love, applies to all people alike. Jesus in the parable of the Good Samaritan indicates that one's cultural and racial background is not to be determinative in the application of this law. The Christian law of love transcends the barrier of race.

The *fifth* fact supporting the oneness of mankind is that God's judgment upon people is impartial. His judgment is based upon moral principles and not upon externalities. In the Parable of the Judgment, Jesus warned that all nations would be gathered before the Son of Man to be judged. The basis of the judgment would be their relationship to Him manifested in their behavior toward their fellowmen.

CONCLUSIONS

Five conclusions concerning human relationships are reached from a careful study of the Bible. 1. God is the sovereign Ruler over all Creation. Man's chief end therefore is to glorify Him. 2. God in His concern for, and in His dealing with man, is no respecter of persons. The people of Israel were chosen for His instrument in the salvation of all people which points up this truth. Since Christ died for all, Christians are constrained to look upon all people as those for whom Christ died, even as the apostle Paul said: "Henceforth know we no man after the flesh." 2 Corinthians 5:16a. 3. Every person is of infinite value, and therefore of equal value in the sight of God. In His sight there is no "superior race." Rather all people have been created in His image and are to be treated as such. 4. People while differing in outward appearance are essentially *one*. They have fundamentally the same needs, aspirations, hopes and fears. God in Christ is the goal of their life and their souls are restless till they repose in Him. 5. It is God's will that the law of Christian love be operative in all human relationships. Guided by this law Christians recognize and meet need apart from the circumstances of one's birth and culture.

People are to be looked upon and treated as people. Whatever injures or prevents the growth of human personality is contrary to the law of love. The Christian's conduct toward others must be guided by the law of neighborliness which seeks the welfare and happiness of all people.

II. *Racial Integration—Experience in Certain Areas*

In considering the policy to be followed by the church with reference to segregation, it should be helpful to discover the extent of integration and how it has worked in certain areas.

1. *Higher Education*

(a) *Church Colleges*

From a study made of one hundred and sixteen white colleges representing twenty denominations in sixteen southern states and the District of Columbia in 1951, fifty-nine colleges reported 311 students who belonged to racial minority groups and were permanent residents in the United States. These groups were represented as follows: 13 Japanese-American students; 13 Chinese-American students; 13 Indian-American students; 124 Mexican-American students; 31 Puerto Rican students and 58 Negro-American students. Six of these colleges reported enrollment of Negro students. Of these, two operated on a segregated basis. The four non-segregated colleges were located in Texas, Missouri and West Virginia.

Nine colleges reported that their practice of not admitting Negro students was based upon the behavior patterns of the population in the geographical area in which they were located.

Generally speaking, there were no great problems confronted on the campus or classroom in those colleges accepting minority groups. Said one report: "We have had Negro-American students in our college and would again consider such students for admission." This represents the opinion of the other institutions. In those colleges where minority groups have not been accepted, two opinions prevail. One is represented in the statement: "It does not seem to be the policy of southern schools other than state institutions to admit Negroes." The other is represented in the statement: "We have no regulation against the admission of Negro students. We have not had applications from Negroes. Although their admission might create some problems, we would nevertheless live up to our Christian profession and act on such an application in the same way in which we would act on the application of a white student."

More recent studies indicate that thirty-four church related or private institutions now admit students on an inter-racial basis. Of this number, twenty-one are Roman Catholic.

(b) *Theological Seminaries*

In a recent study of thirty white Protestant theological seminaries and schools of religion in the south, representing ten denominations, one interdenominational and four nondenominational groups, it was discovered that 117 Negro students have been enrolled. Of these students, 65 were undergraduates. Of the total enrollment, institutions in four states accounted for 112 students. These states were Texas, Missouri, Kentucky and Virginia. Application for admission from Negroes to theological seminaries in the south is comparatively recent. In 1935, Negro students were first admitted to two white Protestant seminaries. Ten seminaries in the last five years have received Negro students. (Our four seminaries and the General Assembly's Training School receive Negro students. Ten of these accept such students on a fully integrated basis. Other institutions observed certain restrictions such as "no dining-room facilities" or "lack of dormitory space."

Practically no difficulties have arisen in those seminaries where Negro students have been admitted. There have been no "incidents." Typical of the experience of seminaries are the following statements from officials in these institutions: "Our students have reacted favorably to their presence (Negro students) on our campus and have accepted them the same as they would the 'white brethren'."

"For the most part, the Negro students became well adjusted to their environment."

"So far as I am aware, there were no tensions, strained relations, or embarrassments in this first effort of this seminary to adjust itself to an inter-racial situation."

"We have had no problems of any kind connected with Negro students and the almost unanimous opinion of our students is that if qualified Negro candidates of our own Church apply to this Seminary, they should be admitted without discrimination."

Five of the thirty institutions included in the study up to the present time have not accepted Negro students. Reasons for not accepting these students are found in such statements as the following:

"There is a fully accredited seminary (Negro) belonging to the denomination where all the Negro students attend."

"It is our policy to work within the framework of the prevailing policies of segregation which exist in the state . . . nor do we expect to admit Negro students until the policies regarding segregation in the state may be so modified as to make such admission of Negro students in conformity with the general practice throughout this area."

"Since traditionally we have not received Negro students, we deem it wise not to change our policy."

(c) *State Universities*

During the past four years, more than one thousand Negro students have been enrolled in state universities in the south. At the beginning of the 1953 term, only five state universities had not opened their doors to Negroes. The policy of accepting such students has usually resulted from court action. In June, 1947, the Board of Trustees of the University of Arkansas voluntarily ruled that any qualified Negro student would be admitted to courses not provided by the state-supported Negro college at Pine Bluff. The first Negro to enter a state university in any of the Southern states since Reconstruction days was admitted to the School of Law of the University of Arkansas on February 1, 1949. Within five years, twenty other institutions had followed this pattern.

Admission of Negro students to state universities is usually limited to graduate and professional courses. The University of Louisville, a municipally supported institution,

Study made by Secretary of Division of Christian Relations.

³It should be noted that there is an annual enrollment of 700,000 students in schools of higher learning in the south.

which in 1951 absorbed a city-supported Negro college, at least in effect integrated the two undergraduate student bodies.

Official reports from those institutions where Negro students have been admitted indicate that there have been no serious problems. In general, both faculty and student bodies have accepted the transition in the best democratic manner.

2. Armed Forces

Since 1948 it has been the policy of the Department of Defense to have equality of treatment and opportunity for all personnel of the Armed Forces without regard for race. Executive Order 9981 issued July 26, 1948 stated: "It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale."

The most recent published report indicates that in the Army, approximately 90% of the Negro soldiers are serving on an integrated basis; the Navy is making considerable progress in opening specialist ratings to colored personnel; and in the Air Force more positions with command responsibility are being made available to Negro officers.

The policy has proven its merit. The President's Committee stated in its findings in 1950: "As a result of its examination into the rules, procedures and practices of the armed services, both past and present, the committee is convinced that a policy of equality of treatment and opportunity will make for a better Army, Navy and Air Force. It is right and just. It will strengthen the nation.

"The integrity of the individual, his equal worth in the sight of God, his equal protection under the law, his equal rights and obligations of citizenship and his equal opportunity to make just and constructive use of his endowment—these are the very foundations of the American system of values."

States James C. Evans, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense: "Possibly the outstanding aspect of this development of the armed services . . . relates to the fact that there have been no untoward incidents as equity of opportunity has been more generally extended to all who wear the uniform of the United States of America."⁶

In his book, "Break Through On the Color Front," Lee Nichols speaking on the practice of integration followed by the Armed Forces in the Korean War concludes: "The new policy had been tried in the fire of battle in Korea and officially was recorded as a success. Leading officials of all services who had seen it work said almost unanimously, 'We will never go back to segregation'.⁷

From conversations with officials at Army installations in the South the following seems to be their general observation:

"In keeping with established Department of Defense policies there is no discriminatory segregation. Negro soldiers have and exercise the same privilege as soldiers of other races. It is not enough to contrast the colored soldier with his white contemporary because the Army installation is truly a cosmopolitan community. Every major race, creed and color is represented. This cosmopolitan atmosphere made segregation an anomaly even before official steps were taken to abolish discrimination.

"Military men have for years recognized that segregated units are an inefficient use of the Negro manpower available for the defense of the country. The performance of all-Negro units was often sub-standard primarily because of relative educational and environmental factors.

"The comradeship of the battlefield has developed a great and abiding moral opposition to any artificial social stratification of human beings. Two men who have faced

⁶In letter to Secretary of Division of Christian Relations dated January 26, 1954.

⁷Lee Nichols, "Break Through On the Color Front," Random House, N. Y. 1954, pg. 6.7. This book is commended by James C. Evans, Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense.

death together, often in mutual trust, are not likely to take kindly to a social distinction which robs their combat experience of its dignity or worth.

"Military men have a continuing responsibility to develop to the maximum the military potential of all subordinates. Segregation made this obligation difficult to discharge.

"So for reasons primarily of self-interest to the military, segregation was legally abolished in the Armed Forces. The results in Army installations have been unspectacular—but not disappointingly so. Non-segregation is an accepted fact legally and is rapidly being accepted without animosity emotionally and socially. Colored soldiers compete freely for positions of leadership and trust.

"The post social community has accepted with varying degrees of individual suspicion and trepidation the results of official non-segregation. Many persons resent Negro patronage of clubs and facilities formerly for other than Negroes only. The ever-present semi-official nature of Army social life plus the sincere desire of people of good will to conform to the spirit as well as the letter of the law, however, has acted as an effective curb to acts of hostility.

"To summarize: Non-segregation is a fact in Army installations and an official success. It is not an unqualified social success. The discipline of Military intelligent, self-interest plus the efforts of dedicated persons of 'good will serve to create a favorable climate for better relationship."

One Army official, a Presbyterian elder, makes the following arresting statement:

"If there was a similar factor of discipline, such as the discipline of Christian churchmanship, in civilian communities, I feel that the same non-segregation steps could be taken with the same chance of success."

3. Other Areas

In many other areas there is a trend toward a policy of no racial discrimination.

Among such areas are the following:

(1) Industry—In industry there are cases in increasing numbers where the policy of no discrimination in employment is being practiced. For example, when International Harvester Company establishes a new plant, as in Louisville and Memphis, this policy is explained thoroughly to the community and to those who apply for jobs. Upgrading and promotion to better jobs are done on the basis of seniority and ability. Another industry reports no trouble whatsoever where white people work with two minority groups.

(2) Labor—A number of labor unions are working toward the practice of no discrimination in their activities. The type of industry to some extent determines the practice of the labor union. When a large per cent of the workers are Negro, it is not likely that labor unions will show any discrimination. It has been estimated that out of a total of 2,750,000 members of labor unions in the South, 700,000 are Negroes.

(3) Elective and Appointive Officers—Indicative of the spirit of the times is the election of Negroes to places of responsibility in community life. Five cities in North Carolina last year elected Negroes to their city councils, namely, Wilson, Gastonia, Chapel Hill, Durham and Greensboro. The city of Atlanta last year elected Dr. Rufus Clement to be a member of the city school board. He was the first Negro since Reconstruction Days to be so elected. Dr. Clement, president of Atlanta University, carried 40 out of 58 precincts, including a majority of the white precincts. The practice of using Negroes as policemen and in other appointive offices has proven very satisfactory in many cities. A report recently released by the Southern Regional Council makes encouraging reading. In a survey of 16 southern cities, the council found a total of 6,487 Negro workers employed by the municipalities. While 5,590 of these are in service and unskilled classifications, 468 others are employed in professional and managerial positions, 71 are semiprofessionals and 358 are skilled and semiskilled employees.

(4) Library Service—Studies made last year show that in fifty-nine cities and towns of the South, Negroes have free use of the main public library in that community. Twenty-four communities give limited service to Negroes in the main public library. Eleven communities give equal service to Negroes in their main library. In three library systems, Negroes are represented on their boards.

(5) Public Transportation and Meeting Places—Knoxville's City Council recently voted unanimously to end racial segregation in the privately operated Municipal Airport. The Virginia Council of Churches has been urging the abolition of segregation on common carriers and in public meeting places. Similar action has been taken by the Richmond and Lynchburg Ministerial Associations, both of which are interracial. A number of cities are considering the setting up of a Racial Committee or a similar one for the study of such problems.

(6) Public Worship—Churches of various communions are giving careful thought to their practice of segregation in public worship. Notable was the statement of Most Reverend Vincent S. Waters, Roman Catholic Bishop of Raleigh, issued in a pastoral letter read at all Masses in his Diocese on June 21, 1953, abolishing segregation. One paragraph in his letter is especially pertinent. Said he: "The Church does not propose tolerance which is negative, but love which is positive. If Christ said love your enemies, we certainly can love our friends. These (Negroes) are our friends and members of our own body, the Church. It is our duty, as Christians of the early day, not only to love them but to serve them, to help them. We need to help them get better educational facilities, better opportunities for culture, better living conditions, better jobs, better pay, better homes and families, better civic representation and better friendliness in the community and all of this presupposes the right to worship God freely with us in the Church anywhere."

III. The Position of the Church

Since segregation of the white and Negro people continues to diminish it is time to determine the Church's relationship to this trend. This state of flux is due to two dynamic forces at work, the Federal Constitution and the Christian conscience, the one legal and the other spiritual, the one finding expression in statutes and court decisions, and the other in personal conduct, in the voice and policies of the Church. If it be judged that segregation is not merely the separation of two peoples, but the subordination of one people to another, we can, on good evidence, observe that the courts have shown more sympathy toward the Negro than has the Church. The Church would then find itself in the embarrassing position of having to adjust its sense of morality to measure up to the mores of the state. This would belie its pristine nature. Our Christ was and still is ahead of the times; the customs, traditions, and laws of it. The Church must strive to keep apace of its Master or become bereft of His spirit.

Our religious convictions form the dynamic for the making, amending and repealing of laws. We recognize three levels of relationship, the legal, the ethical and the spiritual. A law is the least common denominator of human behavior. It is a restraint so generally acceptable that it can be enforced without curtailing freedom. Behind every set of laws is a code of ethics which contains the unwritten laws of corporate life. Unwritten laws, as they become generally taught and observed, are subsequently codified. Behind every code of ethics is a concept of God so that ultimately, every human relationship, whether it be voluntary or prescribed by statute, is determined by what a man believes about God. It will be a sad day for the Church if these three levels of relationship should be inverted, that is, if our belief in a personal God should permit us to foster a relationship inferior to that which impersonal law demands. If this should happen, the Church would lose its status as the conscience of society, its intangible, controlling and quickening force.

With special reference to the resolution placed in the hands of the Council of Christian Relations by the 93rd General Assembly for study and recommendations the Council recognizes that in Presbyterian procedure, the General Assembly does not *direct* that certain changes in educational and cultural patterns be adopted. On the other hand, the Council understands that the General Assembly may properly *urge* the adoption of such changes in the practices of the Church. In keeping with this procedure, therefore, the following recommendations are offered:

1. That the General Assembly affirm that enforced segregation of the races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics and that the Church, in its relationship to cultural patterns, should lead rather than follow.

2. That the General Assembly, therefore, submit this report for careful study throughout the Church, and that it especially urge:

(1) That the trustees of institutions of higher education belonging to the General Assembly adopt a policy of opening the doors of these institutions to all races.

(2) That the synods consider earnestly the adoption of a similar recommendation to trustees of institutions under their control.

(3) That the governing bodies of the various conferences held throughout the Church consider the adoption of a similar policy.

(4) That the sessions of local churches admit persons to membership and fellowship in the local church on the Scriptural basis of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ without reference to race.

(5) That in this time of crisis and concern, we commend to all individuals in our communion and especially to all leaders of our churches the earnest cultivation and practice of the Christian graces of forbearance, patience, humility and persistent good will.

A STATEMENT TO SOUTHERN CHRISTIANS

For many Christians of the South, disturbed already by signs that segregation is on the way out, the recent decision of our Supreme Court has sharpened the horns of an old and painful dilemma. With one voice the Court has declared that sooner or later, by one means or another, segregation in our public schools must end. This ruling has come at a time when many Southern leaders are questioning the rightness of segregation on Christian grounds. Yet in spite of these judgments that point toward the ideal, and which call for still greater changes in our social patterns, the fact remains that thousands of these Christians have their doubts. And their fears.

Some of these folk are white, some are Negroes. They are not enemies of one another. It would not be fair to call them even opponents of one another. Whatever their differences, they have for the most part lived side by side for years in mutual respect and good will. They would like to go on living together in harmony and dignity and justice, as good Christians and good Americans. Yet they are troubled. Many are deeply troubled.

The mood of many might be summed up in this question: Granting that segregation falls short of perfection, will the Christian way, the more democratic way as some describe it, really *work* at the present stage of our development as a region?

There are some who go further. "In view of the hard and stubborn realities of our social situation," they say, "can we *ever* really conform and adjust to what our American and Christian creeds are said to demand?"

It is this conflict between the ideal and the actual, or what some might call the Utopia and the possible, that creates for countless members of our Southern churches one of the most difficult set of alternatives they have ever faced.

As Southerners who are also Christians, how shall we meet this situation?

Let us look first at what is perhaps the most serious and influential doubt in the minds of many of the white members of our churches. This doubt, which might be called the crux of the segregation question for many white Southerners, is at its core religious and theological. It is a doubt as to the soundness of the Christian doctrine of man. It springs, in effect, from a certain view of the nature and worth and status of the Negro as a human being. This view holds that Negroes, though truly human and members of the family of God, are nonetheless inferior beings who belong to an innately inferior race.

But how sound is this view? How well does it fit in with the Christian teaching about the nature of man?

As those whose faith bids us "prove all things and hold fast to that which is good"—good by the standards of our faith—it should help us in meeting our present situation if we remember just when this view of the Negro arose, and why it was advanced. The belief that some people are inferior to others because of their race or ancestry is nowhere supported by the Bible. It is nowhere set forth in the teachings of our Lord Jesus Christ, or Paul or those of the great fathers of the Church. Like

Hitler's "master race" theory, the doctrine of Negro inferiority is a purely secular doctrine. It arose and gained favor in our country partly as a result of the slave system.

This fact should give us pause. May it be that some in our region are fearful of integrating all our children into a single school system because of notions which are plainly out of place in a Christian mind and heart? Humility bids us raise the question, and growing numbers of our people are saying that, for themselves at least, their earlier view on this matter must be given up.

Two things in particular have played a part in this change of outlook. One is the testimony of our present-day scientists whose specialty has been the study of the races of mankind. The old idea that Negroes are by nature inferior to Caucasians has no standing whatever among the recognized anthropologists of our day. Their finds show that while there are good and bad "strains" in all branches of the human family—the Caucasoid, the Negroid, and the Mongoloid—the common contention that one particular branch is inherently superior to the others is not supported by the facts. As one American anthropologist puts it, "There are only superior individuals, and they are members of all races."

A second thing that is leading many among us to a different point of view is the impressive and notable record of progress which our Negro people themselves have made. What science is teaching in words, many Negroes are demonstrating in life and deeds. In its 1949 report to the General Assembly, entitled "States Rights and Human Rights," your Council on Christian Relations drew attention to the fact that although "a host of able and cultured Negroes remain unseen and unknown by white people, yet this rapidly growing group—teachers, editors, artists, poets, scholars and statesmen—today enrich our common life with . . . a multitude of personal and social achievements. They are proving that, given the chance, Negroes can take as high a polish as any people among us . . . and if as a race they give us any cause for wonder, it is not that so many of them, with little but their bootstraps to lift themselves by, still remain backward. The wonder is that so many others, against enormous odds, have gone so far and accomplished so much."

The meaning of such facts, if signs can be believed, is not being lost today on the minds of many thoughtful Southerners. More and more, they are realizing that the Christian doctrine of man applies equally to all races, and that persons whom our faith does not put asunder in its teaching, man must not put asunder at the level of practical living. They are realizing that the old dogma of Negro inferiority must be laid aside and that Negroes must be judged, like all the children of God, on the basis of their character and ability as individual men and women. And by the acceptance of this new spiritual position they have cleared the ground, in many minds, for the acceptance of the *idea of non-segregation* at least.

The question then comes, What about the practical problems which will attend the change from a segregated to a non-segregated society? This is a serious question and as we face it many fears are being felt.

Let us begin with the fear that with the disappearance of segregation Southern white people will be forced against their will to accept as social intimates or companions persons whose fellowship at this level they do not desire.

This fear should be examined with care. For if the setting aside of our present system actually made such results inevitable, the very prospect of the change might well give us pause. The wish to be free to pick one's friends and associates socially is normal and understandable. No person of feeling wants to be compelled to do otherwise. Any social arrangement that violates the individual's right to personal privacy would be unjust and offensive, and any state that tried to bring it about would expose itself to the charge of tyranny.

A careful look at the facts, however, should make it plain that no such dire developments will occur. Consider the situation socially within the white group alone. Within this group, under a policy of free association uncontrolled by law, no individual is compelled to extend social privileges to anybody else regardless of his personal desires and preferences. His home he need not open to anyone he wishes to bar from his door —his home is still his "castle." His social circle he can make and keep as exclusive as he pleases. His amusements and recreations within that circle can be restricted to

those with whom he finds himself congenial. What is more, the average white citizen today is completely free from any fear that his rights in this field will ever be challenged by another white person whose social fellowship he does not desire.

In short, what we have within the white group now is what might be called a pattern of voluntary separation and voluntary intermingling on the basis of personal tastes and common interests. It is a pattern of freedom that we not only accept as normal and wise but which all citizens would defend, if need be, with zeal and vigor.

As our present racial system gives way to a different order, therefore, it seems reasonable to believe that what has always been possible among white people will also be the prevailing pattern among whites and Negroes, and that this situation will prevail in our schools as it does now, and will continue to prevail in all other areas of life. Indeed, in view of what has already taken place in areas where segregation is not required, there is no sound basis for the belief that any different situation will ever come to pass in the South.

After many years of working with Negroes in all parts of the country, Dr. Will W. Alexander, a native Southerner with wide experience in this field, declared: "American Negroes are not seeking an opportunity to mingle with whites. They desire freedom and opportunity to live as Americans." Reasonable Negro leaders not only agree with this—they have spelled out the fact in unmistakable terms. In concluding a book of essays by various writers entitled *What the Negro Wants*, its editor, Rayford W. Logan, said:

"In the name of democracy for all Americans we ask these irreducible fundamentals of first-class citizenship for all Negroes:

1. Equality of opportunity
2. Equal pay for equal work
3. Equal protection of the laws
4. Equality of suffrage
5. Equal recognition of the dignity of the human being
6. Abolition of public segregation"

The phrasing of this last goal, which accords with general Negro sentiment, is both significant and reassuring. It is "public segregation," along with the civil inequalities to which segregation often leads, that Negroes wish to see abolished. To suppose that they are pressing for such changes in order to force themselves upon persons who would resent or resist such intermingling is not only to misunderstand their aims and motives—it is also (perhaps without realizing it) to offend their common sense as well. As public segregation disappears we may safely assume that as long as the attitude of many white Southerners remains what it is, Negroes will not wish to associate with them. Far from needing laws to keep Negroes from pushing themselves into circles where nobody wants them, any such artificial behaviour would be equally distasteful to both races.

This fact has a vital bearing upon another fear—the fear that doing away with segregation will lead to widespread intermarriage. Perhaps no phase of our problem is more highly charged with emotion or more in need of calm and sober analysis. As Southerners therefore who are bidden of our Lord to love God "with all our minds," we should seek to submit our feelings to the discipline of facts and to welcome all truth that may help us to do this.

The belief that Negroes secretly wish for equal rights in order to be able to marry across the color line is basically a fiction. It is doubtless true, as Dr. Robert R. Moton put it, that "theoretically Negroes would all subscribe to the right of freedom of choice in marriage even between the two races," but in this statement the word "theoretically" should be noted with care. Quite naturally our Negro citizens do not wish to be considered "so diverse from God's other creatures as to make the blending of the races contrary to the law of nature." Yet the fact that Negroes resent being called inferior does not mean that they seek in practice to assert their racial pride or defend their racial dignity by marrying white people. They know as well as any of us that interracial intermarriage is beset by enormous practical difficulties, that most members of both groups frown upon it severely, and that there is no likelihood that this condition will change in the foreseeable future.

Careful studies of the current rate of interracial intermarriage in states that allow such unions amply bear out this contention. In their recent book, "*Racial and Cultural Minorities*, Simpson and Yinger report that "racial intermarriage does not occur frequently in the United States." They further state that "the Negro-white intermarriage rates in New York City, New York State, Boston, and Los Angeles have been from 1 to 5 per cent of all marriages in which Negroes participated. These marriages appear to be declining." In Boston, where the most complete facts on Negro-white intermarriage have been gathered, there has been a steady decrease in Negro-white intermarriage since 1914, and in the latest period studied the proportion of Negro-white marriages in all marriages involving whites was only slightly more than one-tenth of one per cent.

Apart from the strong social currents that most interracial marriages are forced to swim against, there is another fact that helps to explain their rarity. People everywhere tend to marry persons of similar cultural background, be the background religious, national, social or racial, and this tendency is particularly strong where cultural patterns in the field of race are involved. Marriage in defiance of these differences is not simply abnormal but also full of hazards, and the overwhelming majority of people in every cultural group have no desire to run such a risk and perhaps gamble away their chance of marital happiness.

There are countless white families in the South whose sons most white parents do not wish their daughters to marry. But these parents do not, for that reason, demand that these white families be forcibly segregated or in any way restricted in the use or enjoyment of any public services provided by the community. They rely on something else entirely. They depend rather on the kind of teaching and example they provide in the home to instill into their daughters the sort of knowledge and preferences that will guide them aright in the selection of a marriage partner. This method most of us recognize as soundly democratic and Christian, and it is also the only method which, on the score of practical effectiveness, can be trusted as psychologically sound. For this reason it may also be accepted and trusted when our Negro people are given the same legal rights and educational opportunities which the white group now enjoys.

The absence of segregation laws in the North and West does not seem to cause parents any special concern over the marital prospects of their daughters. These parents seem to proceed on the assumption that when their daughters marry they will do so in the light of the social realities and at the bidding not merely of their feelings but of their intelligence and training as well.

There is no reason, therefore, why we in the South should not face the future in the same spirit and with the same faith. There is no real reason to fear that the passing of segregation will mean the collapse or crumbling of our present marriage and family patterns. On the contrary, what works to guarantee the survival of these patterns in the North will also work in the South.

RECOMMENDATION:

1. Having in mind the recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States concerning segregation, the Assembly commends the principle of the decision and urges all members of our churches to consider thoughtfully and prayerfully the complete solution of the problem involved. It also urges all our people to lend their assistance to those charged with the duty of implementing the decision, and to remember that appeals to racial prejudice will not help but hinder the accomplishment of this aim.

II.

THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND COMMUNISM

As Christians we are committed to the propagation of the Christian faith and to Christian standards of conduct.

In the face of Communism, therefore, we must stand unalterably opposed to the anti-religious philosophy, the total regimentation, the deceitful propaganda, the violent and the other characteristic methods, and the aggressive aims of world Communism.

It has long been known that Communists have sought to permeate their converts with