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# CATHOLICS SPEAK ON RACE RELATIONS

Compiled by

Rev.  
Daniel M.  
Cantwell

**Fides**

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# **Catholics Speak on Race Relations**

Rev. Daniel M. Cantwell

Sponsored by the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago

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## INTRODUCTION

Murder is morally wrong. Lying is morally wrong. Stealing is morally wrong. These moral judgments seldom are questioned seriously.

But the statement that *racial discrimination is morally wrong* too often is greeted by a "yes, but—" as the beginning of a chain of arguments and excuses. Perhaps this is so because the teachings of the Church and her representatives on interracial justice and love are not as well known or as widely spread as some other teachings. We hope in this pamphlet, at least partially, to remedy this defect.

Although many do not know it, and still others choose to ignore it, the Church has spoken—often and loudly—against racial discrimination, and for interracial justice. Christ and His Apostles, and their successors and followers throughout the centuries, have taught, urged, and died for the unity of the human family. They have taught that hatred of persons and violations of their dignity are monstrous evils. And, above all, that love of neighbor is not merely an ideal, but necessary for salvation.

In this pamphlet you will read the ideas of scores of Catholics—Popes and laymen—who have given thought to one of the most pressing problems of our times: racial discrimination.

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# FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS

1. There is an essential unity among men. Every human being is a member of the same human race, and is elevated to the dignity of Sonship with God.

2. There is an essential equality among men. Every human being has received with equal bounty equal human rights.

## Unity Among Men

1. Man's nature is the foundation of fraternity.

a. Every man's soul, having been created by the same God, has the same spiritual origin.

b. Every man's body, having descended from Adam and Eve, has the same physical origin.

c. All men have this earth as a common dwelling place and have the natural right to share its resources to sustain and develop life.

d. All men are interdependent economically, socially, and politically.

"The first of the pernicious errors, widespread today, is the forgetfulness of that law of human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our common origin and by the equality of rational nature in all men, to whatever people they belong . . . A marvelous vision, which makes us see the human race in the unity of one common origin in God, 'one God and Father of all, Who is above all, and through all, and in us all'; in the unity of nature which in every man is equally composed of material body and spiritual, immortal soul; in the unity of dwelling place, the earth, of whose resources all men can by natural right avail themselves, to sustain and develop life; in the unity of the supernatural end, God Himself, to whom all should tend, in the unity of means to secure that end." Pope Pius XII, *On the Function of the State in the Modern World*, 1939, Paulist Press ed., p. 11.

"God created Adam and as from a common father, all men came from Adam. The enlightened citizen must understand that he is a brother of the tribesman in deepest Africa and that he has something in common with him." Cardinal Samuel Stritch, sermon in New Orleans Municipal Auditorium, Convention of the National Catholic Educational Association, 1950.

"The human soul is the direct creation of Almighty God, and here at least the most radical advocate of race segregation and discrimination can raise no question of odor or color, of curly or straight, of thick or thin; for the soul is spiritual; it is that which distinguishes us as human beings made to the image and likeness of God; it therefore has none of the attributes which might lend themselves to the strange manipulations of the radical 'race' segregator." Sister Mary Ellen O'Hanlon, O.P., *Racial Myths*, Rosary College, 1946, p. 28.

"What colossal arrogance is involved and what infantile process of thought in the supposition that there are greater or lesser races among the children of Adam!

"The race of which it is our duty to be conscious is the entire human race, the vast society of creatures composed of body and soul, and made in the image and likeness of God.

"Once we have this blessed consciousness we will abandon the foolishness, the maliciousness of thinking in terms of the other smaller groupings made in the image and likeness of our own particular selves." Archbishop Richard J. Cushing, in an address to the Boston Archdiocesan Union of Holy Name Societies, 1948.

"There is nothing known to science which militates against the Catholic Doctrine of one stock of men, or against the Catholic practice of assuming that men of all colors are equally men. All over the world every creature having the appearance of man responds to training of will and understanding and to the spiritual life, with only such accidental differences as also occur between individuals of one race on account of cultural and moral background and of free will . . . Recent racial propaganda has affected a surprising number of people with the idea of some permanently superior and inferior races, and with hazy conceptions about races of men, like species of animals, not being able to mix their breed, or having unsatisfactory progeny if they do." Rev. Finbar Synnott, O.P., "The Church and the Color Question," *Blackfriars*, December, 1950.



"If we consider that all men are of the same human race and of the same nature and that they are all destined for the same ultimate end, and that they have all been redeemed by Jesus Christ—and if one considers the duties and rights which flow from this oneness of origin and destiny—then all men are equal." Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, *Freedom Under God*, 1940, p. 214.

## 2. Man's sharing in God's nature is the highest fraternity.

a. All men have the same supernatural destiny—the same Heaven, in which men are to see our Father as He is, to know and love Him and all His creatures as He does.

"Among the saints there is no distinction of race or color. In a very emphatic way Blessed Martin de Porres lights the way to the Christian concept of social solidarity." Cardinal Samuel Stritch, in a letter to Chicago priests, April 18, 1944.

"Of all the areas of American life that cry with the loud voice of the Crucified Christ for the exercise of charity, none cries so loudly as the field of race relations. . . .

"I have said it before, I say it again: those who do not see Christ in the face of their colored neighbor have not seen Him, and may never see Him." Clare Boothe Luce, *Saving the White Man's Soul*, Our Sunday Visitor Press, 1949, p. 5.

"There is absolutely no room for racism in real Christianity. Christianity reinforces the doctrine of natural reason that all men are equal in essence and have the same essential rights by the clear teachings of Divine Revelation: that all men, without distinction of race, are called to be adopted sons of Almighty God and co-heirs of eternal life. Several years ago the Pope simultaneously elevated to the episcopacy twelve native priests of missionary dioceses from various parts of the world. It was a living demonstration by the Church that race does not count in the truly Christian order." Francis E. McMahon, *A Catholic Looks at the World*, Vanguard Press, 1945, p. 278.

"Because of my Catholic background, and what my father had told me of the Negro people, I (even as a child) could see no essential difference between my white and colored schoolmates. It was

as startling as a dash of cold water in my face when some of the white pupils let me know that I was 'queer,' because of this attitude. How could I think otherwise when Christian doctrine told me of the Church Universal, with St. Benedict the Moor honored on its altars as well as men and women of all other races? How could my seven-year-old mind accept any other view when the dignity of every human being before God was taught in the very definition of the word 'Catholic'?

"My father frequently recalled that John—the mulatto porter at the bank—was a college graduate, that he was a man of culture and that had he not been a Negro he would be in an entirely different position in life. The sin of segregation was thus marked, so early in my recollections, as something repulsive to a Catholic from the very fundamentals of his beliefs." Louis F. Budenz, *This Is My Story*, Whittlesley House, 1947, pp. 17-18.

"The unity of the human race can be seen in the common fatherhood of God from Whom all men come. 'One God and Father of all, and through all and in all.'

"We are therefore united in our origin as also in the purpose of our creation. The Son of God has told us that we shall be known as His disciples by the love that we have for one another.

"All barriers to the unity of the human race are man-made and contrary not merely to charity but to the Divine purpose of our creation.

"Therefore, as sons of God, as fellow-creatures and brothers one of another we must do everything possible by the fostering of charity and justice to preserve that unity which has been given to us by our Father in heaven." Cardinal Bernard Griffin, in a message to the Racial Unity Movement in England, quoted in the *Catholic Herald*, February 1, 1952.

b. All men without exception are redeemed by Christ and embraced in His love for His Father.

"Men may be separated by nationality and race, but our Savior poured out His blood to reconcile all men to God through the Cross and bid them all unite in one Body. Genuine love of the Church, therefore, is not satisfied with our being within this Body members of one another, mutually careful one for another, rejoicing with him who glories, suffering with him who suffers; we must also recognize as brothers of Christ according to the flesh, destined together

with us to eternal salvation, those others who have not yet joined us in the body of the Church." Pope Pius XII, *The Mystical Body of Christ*, N.C.W.C. ed., 1943, p. 60.

"He Who spoke with a Samaritan at Jacob's well precisely because the Jews would not speak with Samaritans, and He Who gave us the lesson of the good Samaritan, thoroughly cursed racial prejudice. The New Testament is replete with racial justice and condemnations of anything smacking of racial intolerance." Rev. Daniel Lyons, S.J., "The Negro in America," *Irish Studies*, March, 1951.

c. All men are embraced in the love which binds us to God.

"How can we claim to love the divine Redeemer, if we hate those whom He has redeemed with His precious blood, so that He might make them members of His Mystical Body? For that reason the beloved disciple warns us: 'If any man say: "I love God," and hateth his brother, he is a liar. For he that loveth not his brother whom he seeth, how can he love God whom he seeth not? And this commandment we have from God, that he who loveth God love also his brother.' " Pope Pius XII, *The Mystical Body of Christ*, p. 29.

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind . . . And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." St. Matthew, 22:34.

"While we love some more, we must love all with a substantially complete love. It is difficult to see how this can be compatible with such an institution as the color-bar, excluding intimate relationships on grounds of racial differences. And as if to emphasize this it was ordained that the Incarnation itself should take place in that corner of the world where Europe, Asia and Africa meet, in the half-way color of the near East, and in such a way that the first communities of Christians contained men of various colors." Rev. Finbar Synnott, O.P., "The Church and the Color Question," *Blackfriars*, December 1950.

"In the clash of selfish interest, unleashed hate . . . nothing could be better or more powerful to heal, than loudly to proclaim the new commandment of Christ. That commandment enjoins a love which

extends to all, knows no barriers nor national boundaries, excludes no race, excepts not even its own enemies." Pope Pius XI, *Letter on the Catholic Priesthood*, 1935.

"Let me state most emphatically that no one can be a Catholic and not have a lively sense of charity for all the sons of the same Father and all those redeemed by the same Divine Blood. The law of charity is the foundation of Christianity and this law must reach out not only to individuals but to all nations, all races, and all classes." Bishop James A. Griffin of Springfield, Illinois, in a letter to the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights, 1940.

d. All men are called to the perfect unity of the Church, the Body of Christ, wherein Christ joins all the members to Himself and to each other to form together His Fullness, the Whole Christ, and wherein all, "whatever be their origin or their speech, must know that they have equal rights as children in the House of the Lord, where the law of Christ and the peace of Christ prevails."—Pope Pius XII, *On the Function of the State in the Modern World*, p. 13.

Membership in the Mystical Body raises men above racial clannishness; it creates the most sublime brotherhood of men in Christ:

"You are one body, with a single Spirit; each of you, whom he was called in the same hope; with the same Lord, the same faith, the same baptism; with the same God, the same Father, all of us, who is above all things and pervades all things, and lives in all of us." St. Paul: Ephesians, 4:4.

"We, all of us, have been baptized into a single body by the power of a single Spirit, Jews and Greeks, slaves and free men alike; we have all been given drink at a single source, the one Spirit . . . You are Christ's body, organs of it depending upon each other." St. Paul: I Corinthians, 12:13 and 27.

"Father, I pray that all may be one, even as thou, Father, in me and I in thee; that they may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." John, 17:21.

"All of us are very much interested to right the conscience of

our community on matters which we call interracial. But for us Catholics there is also an obligation, and this is not only to preach but to inculcate that Christian Charity which we see demonstrated so brilliantly on the Cross of Calvary. We are all brothers in Christ. Once that truth is realized and once we try to live that truth our problems will disappear and these little deplorable things will vanish in air." Cardinal Samuel Stritch, in an address to the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, April 24, 1949.

"Whatever difficulty we as Catholics may have experienced regarding the so-called racial problem, is in direct proportion to our failure to make this sublime doctrine (the Mystical Body of Christ) an integral part of our thinking, and consequently of our acting. Brought into close contact with a Negro, for instance, is it not true that many of us at once become conscious of the differences that separate us from him?

"We should as Catholics be able to regard a Negro, or Jew, or Mexican, or a person of any other race different than ours, without that insensate prejudice which is basically the result of ignorance and error and unbelief." Msgr. Joseph P. Morrison, "The Race Problem," *National Liturgical Week Proceedings*, 1944, pp. 112, 113.

"On the part of God it (the Incarnation) reveals His infinite love of mankind. In so far as man is concerned it generates and proclaims his intrinsic dignity and paramount worth. And it establishes the solidarity of mankind and thus forever all human beings are to be acknowledged as one single universal family.

"This divinely sanctioned truth condemns moreover racial and religious intolerance and thus explains and justifies the declaration of St. Paul? 'There is neither Jew nor Gentile; there is neither bond nor free . . . for you are all one in Jesus Christ.'" Archbishop Moses Kiley of Milwaukee, *Catholic Herald Citizen*, December 24, 1949.

"Our Catholic doctrine of the Fatherhood of God finds its inalienable complement in the brotherhood of man. That word 'brotherhood' is not an abstraction which anyone may twist to suit his wishes. It is a hard and indefectible fact that God has made mankind one by nature, that He has ordained every man to the same destiny thru the mission of the one Lord and Mediator, Jesus Christ. If you ask, like the Scribe in the Gospel, 'Who therefore is my brother?' there is but one answer in faith and the rigorous consistency of faith, 'Every human being on earth.' There are no exceptions.

"In the Catholic unity of the Church nothing could be more hostile to this divine religion than any dividing factor which would wall up men into exclusive temporal groups, racial, religious or otherwise, tearing limb from limb the body of Christ. The Church is designed by God as the framework of a society for all religious mankind. It is given to no man to force a divinely fashioned thing into the shape of something else which men prefer. We have no more right or power to change the divine law which makes the Church one body and one society, than we have the right or power to change the laws that govern the kingdom of nature.

"For those who would preach the Gospel and serve Our Lord in any way whatsoever, remember that men are not saved by reason of race or riches. They do not have immortal souls as red, black, white or yellow. They are not saved according to nation and tribe. They are not redeemed as mathematicians or miners, princes or politicians. They are saved one and all by the grace of God thru one Redeeming Lord.

"The divine life of grace that flows in every Christian soul is as indifferent to race and nation and social status as the life that moves in our own bodies is the same in muscle, brain and bone. It is one and the same for all members of the body down to the last living cell." Archbishop Patrick O'Boyle, in a sermon in St. Matthew's Cathedral, Washington, D. C., March 12, 1950.

"If God is the Father of all, why must His children be segregated before His face? If all share Adam's nature, whence comes this special taint of blood? If the Son of Man is each man's Brother, whence comes the color bar? And if He died equally for all, why these pretensions of the Caucasoid? Did Christ's "I am the Vine, and you are the branches" extend only to the lily-whites? And in the Mystical Body is pigmentation more important than sanctifying grace? Christ and His Church have told us what things count in God's sight; and race is not among them." Rev. John E. Coogan, S.J., "Christian Untouchables," *Review for Religious*, March 15, 1946.

"All our parish churches still continue and will continue to welcome any who care to turn to them for their sacraments or spiritual inspiration. When they cease to do so, they cease to be Catholic churches." Archbishop Richard Cushing, in an address at St. Richard's Church, Roxbury, Mass., March 14, 1948.

“Human persons who have the bond of grace in the Mystical Body of Christ, have a greater unity, however far apart they may be in their physiological composition, than even blood-relations who have it not.” Rev. Finbar Synnott, O.P., “The Church and the Color Question,” *Blackfriars*, December 1950.

Membership in the Mystical Body raises men above racial clannishness; it intensifies the concern which we must have for others; it forces us:

- to be aware of the corporateness of men, natural and supernatural;
- to realize that what we do to others (for example, racial discrimination, insults, injustice), we do to Christ;
- to build up the Body by doing what we reasonably can to remove the bad conditions resulting from racial prejudice and injustice, which impede the work of Christ in the world;
- to realize that what one part of the Body, what any man, suffers (for example, the sharecroppers in the south, the poorly-housed in Chicago, the people in India), I suffer as well; I may not be indifferent;
- to give supreme importance to the unifying action of the Body at the altar: sacrificing together with Christ the High Priest at Mass;
- to carry this corporate action, learned at the altar, into other relationships of life (international, economic, racial).

“Bear ye one another’s burdens, and so you shall fulfill the law of Christ.” St. Paul: Galatians, 6:2.

“Believe me, when you did it to one of the least of my brethren, you did it to me.” St. Matthew, 25:40.

“A man’s body is all one, though it has a number of different organs; and all the multitude of organs goes to make up one body; so it is with Christ . . . There was to be no want of unity in the body; all the different parts of it were to make each other’s wel-

fare their common care. If one part is suffering, all the rest suffer with it; if one part is treated with honor, all the rest find pleasure in it. And you are Christ's body." St. Paul: Ephesians, 12:12 and 25:26.

"Any thought of a wide, general conversion of the Negroes to the Catholic Church is an illusion until and unless the attitude of American Catholics—clergy and laity—is completely purified of approval of the segregation policy or of the many deprivations of educational opportunity, of fair employment, and of decent housing that arise as a result of it." Report on the Catholic Church and the Negro in the United States, issued by the Fides news-agency of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome, March, 1950.

"'Whatsoever you do unto one of these my least brethren you do unto me' . . . There is no need for statistics, no need for distinction and subdistinction. It is Christ Who is turned out of your school, out of your church, out of your hospital. It is Christ Who is ordered out of your restaurant, out of your neighborhood, out of your Pullman car. It is Christ Who is insulted, humiliated. Yet often it has been my experience in discussing the question with certain Christians that reference to these words of Christ is met with bland looks all around." Rev. George Dunne, S.J., "The Sin of Segregation," *Commonweal*, Sept. 21, 1945.

"Let us not attempt to cover up the fact that there is race hatred among Catholics, yes, among those who think they are good Catholics. They do not, however, call it by that name. Somehow, they convince themselves that their attitude toward Negroes and Jews is a matter of justice. But, God knows, it is hatred all the same.

"It is hatred of the image of God. It is hatred of men who are redeemed by the blood of Christ.

"The riot in Cicero last week was not an accident. It was the effect of a cause. And the cause was race hatred. The violence of the mob was but the explosion of hatred that had simmered in the hearts of individuals who made it up.

"The Cicero uprising was a shameful affair . . . The kind of hatred that brought on that riot is not missing from individuals who pose as upright citizens.

"Is segregation a pretense for race hatred? Certainly it was in Cicero, as it has been and is in many other places in America.

"On judgment Day it will not be a question of whose skin is white or black, or whether one is a Gentile or a Jew, but how much



one loved his fellowmen. Love is the measure of all things in the follower of Christ." From an editorial in *The Witness*, diocesan paper of Dubuque, Iowa, July 26, 1951.

"Surely our duty in this matter is clear. One encyclical has reminded us that all races have equal rights in the Church, and must know it. Another, that American Negroes (because of their peculiarly disadvantaged status as a result of slavery and Jim Crowism) need special consideration and have a right to it. The Pope has warned us that we must rid ourselves of race snobbery and help the Church in her struggle against race prejudice. All Catholic seminaries and universities have been commanded to fight tooth and nail against racism. Missionaries have been admonished to get over the idea that only whites are fit to hold positions of authority in the Church." Rev. Claude H. Heithaus, S.J., "Does Christ Want This Barrier?", *America*, February 11, 1950.

"Nothing does more harm to the progress of Christianity and is more against its spirit than . . . race prejudice amongst Christians." Jacques Maritain, *Interracial Review*.

"If charity is the bond that unites Christians, then racial injustice and hatred are the greatest social evil. They tear the body of Christ apart." Edward Marciniak, quoted in *Today*, May 1946.

"Interracial relations between the Negro and his white neighbors, which on the whole are far from satisfactory, not only constitute a sore in the body politic of the nation, but they also even impede to some extent the approach of the Church to the non-Catholic Negro. In the minds of some of them she is regarded as only another unfriendly white institution . . ." Rev. J. B. Tenny, S.S., "Catholic Negro Missions in the United States," *The National Catholic Almanac*, St. Anthony's Guild, 1950, p. 351.

"Perhaps never has the devil been more clever than he undoubtedly is in using otherwise devoted, zealous priests and nuns to obstruct occasionally the spiritual conquest of Negro souls. The most common complaint of missionaries among the colored is that one of their greatest obstacles in converting the Negro is, not the Communists or non-Catholic prejudice, but the attitude and words and acts of some fellow-priest or Religious." Rev. D. J. Corrigan, C.S.S.R., "The Plight of Catholic Negroes," *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, October 1947.

"The sin of segregation hurts (the white man's) conscience because he remembers that what you do to the least of the brethren you do to Christ, and the idea of a segregated Christ seems like a blasphemy to him.

"In the Divine plan of redemption, does the color of a child's skin make any difference? When Christ referred to the least of his brethren as representing Him, did He exclude the colored child and the Latin American?

"Is it not Catholic doctrine that when a brother is excluded, rejected, segregated, it is Christ Who is insulted and humiliated?" Archbishop Robert Lucey, in an address to the Catholic women of San Antonio, Texas, November 1949.

"If a pastor has Catholic Negroes living within his parish and does not admit them to full membership in parochial activities he can be most certain that many of these souls will in time slip away. The writer knows of Catholic Negroes married out of the Church, mainly because they were fearful of approaching the parish priest, since their parochial membership has always been restricted to mere attendance at Mass and a very occasional reception of the Sacraments." Rev. D. J. Corrigan, C.S.S.R., "The Plight of Catholic Negroes," *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, October 1947.

"Priests will be found who will gladly spend themselves in service among the colored people, communities of Nuns will not be lacking who will educate the colored children with the same love and devotion they give to all children; finances somehow will be raised to build churches and schools; but all these efforts will be for the most part in vain if the individual Catholic does not manifest the principles of Christ toward the colored people. Why teach the Negro of the Unity of the Church if we deny him unity of worship by not allowing him the free use of all our churches? Why inform him of the universality of the Church if we are not prepared to put it into practice? Why tell him of the holiness of the Church, if we are going to withhold from him the love which Christ Himself said was to distinguish His followers from all others?" Rev. Thomas Meehan, "A Study in Black and White," *Our Sunday Visitor Press*, pp. 35-36.

Membership in the Mystical Body raises men above racial clannishness; it augments the supreme worth of every individual who is called to be:

- a member of Christ ;
- a sharer in the divine life ;
- a sharer in Christ's priestly character and acts.

"In the light of the unity of all mankind . . . individuals do not feel themselves isolated units, like grains of sand, but feel united by the very force of their nature, and by their eternal destiny, into an organic, harmonious mutual relationship. . . . The heralds who proclaimed it (the doctrine of love and peace), moved by supernatural charity, have reclaimed, moulded and raised life to divine heights . . . They have made of men, wise or ignorant, strong or weak, living temples of God and branches of the very Vine which is Christ." Pope Pius XII, *On the Function of the State in the Modern World*, pp. 12, 14.

"The double code runs: 'Only those of my own narrow little circle of family kin, friendship, nation and race are my brothers; outside are not. The Christian code runs: There is neither Greek nor barbarian, neither Jew nor Gentile, neither white nor Negro; we are all brothers under the skin, brothers to one another and to one Elder Brother who lived and died for all of us . . . No one who pledged loyalty to the just God of all humanity can for a moment take his own code that denies even-handed justice to all but a segment of humanity.'" Msgr. John M. Cooper, quoted in *Interracial Review*, June, 1949.

The Mystical Body of Christ enhances the sacredness of the fundamental human rights:

- to maintain and develop one's life;
- to worship God in private and in public;
- to marry and enjoy family life;
- to work;
- to a sufficient, secure life (to a living, family, savings wage);
- to free choice of a state of life;
- to form associations for the common good.

"Every Christian should cooperate in giving back to the human person the dignity given to it by God from the very beginning; he should oppose the excessive herding of men as if they were a mass

without a soul . . . and bent on bringing back society to its center of gravity which is the law of God, aspire to the service of the human person and of his common life ennobled in God . . . It is a fight for the human race that is gravely ill and must be restored in the name of conscience ennobled by Christianity." Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942, N.C.W.C. ed., pp. 15, 20, 22.

"Just as all men have a right to the sun and food, in the same way everyone has the right to take his part in the contest of life, to perfect himself, and to eliminate the conditions of inferiority in which he may find himself . . . The Church is sternly opposed to those inequalities which keep man from developing his personality according to his nature and his own walk of life." Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, in a talk to the Catholic Interracial Council of Washington, December 17, 1946.

"To believe that one race or nation is superior to another in the Church, or before God, is heresy and should be condemned.

"Equal rights are accorded, therefore, to every race and every nationality in any Catholic Church, and within the Church building itself everyone is given the privilege to sit or kneel wherever he desires and to approach the Sacraments without any regard to race or nationality.

"Pastors are responsible for the observance of this practice." Bishop Vincent Waters, pastoral letter to the people of Raleigh, N. C., March, 1951.

Membership in the Mystical Body raises men above racial clannishness; it provides the richest source for the supernatural life and spirit of love which is necessary for any program of interracial or social justice :

- unity with Christ, as High Priest, King, and Teacher ;
- unity with others through Christ and in Christ ;
- obligations to others for the sake of Christ.

"Then only will it be possible to unite all in harmonious striving for the common good, when all sections of society have the intimate conviction that they are members of a single family and children of the same Heavenly Father, and further, that they are 'one body in Christ, and everyone members of one another,' so that 'if one

member suffers anything, all members suffer it.'” Pope Pius XI, *On the Reconstruction of the Social Order*, N.C.W.C. ed., 1931, p. 44.

“The priest and the people offer Christ as a common sacrifice to God the Father. With this offering they offer also their own hearts in union with the whole human race, and this joint offering constitutes a principle of racial unity which must go beyond the Church and pervades every phase of our social and economic life.” Msgr. Reynold Hillenbrand, *Friendship House News*, December 1946.

Membership in the Mystical Body raises men above racial clannishness; the social unity of the Mystical Body provides an ideal and a model for reconstructing the social order along functional (vocational) instead of racial lines, according to the organic unity established in social life by God.

“If then the members of the social body be thus reformed, and if the true directive principle of social and economic activity be thus re-established, it will be possible to say, in a sense, of this body what the Apostle says of the Mystical Body of Christ: ‘The whole body (being closely joined and knit together through every joint of the system according to the functioning in due measure of each single heart) derives its increase to the building up of itself in love!’” Pope Pius XI, *On the Reconstruction of the Social Order*, 1931, Paulist Press ed., p. 25.

“All people eat one common food at a common table when they receive Holy Communion at Mass, and they do violence to themselves and to their faith if they discriminate against Negroes in restaurants, and in economic life.” Msgr. Reynold Hillenbrand, *Friendship House News*, December 1946.

“Our advantages flow from that new birth and adoption into the household of God, not from the eminence of our race. Our dignity arises from the praise of truth, not of our blood.” Pope Leo XIII, *Encyclical*, May 5, 1888.

## Equality Among Men

1. Every man, in his nature as an intelligent and free being, is equal to every other man. Every man is:

- of incalculable dignity and sacredness.
- responsible for perfecting his nature and for attaining the life of Heaven ;
- redeemed by Christ, and
- destined to be a member of Christ's Mystical Body.

Every man's human rights, therefore :

- originate in human nature ;
- are created with man, inherent in him, inalienable ;
- are not something conferred upon him by other men as a privilege ;
- are not conferred or taken away by social custom, geographical boundaries, race, etc. ;
- are not conferred by constitution or laws ;
- are guaranteed and protected by constitutions, laws, and customs.

"All men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. These rights are conferred by God with equal bounty upon every human being. Therefore, in obedience to the Creator's will, each of us is bound to respect the rights of his fellowmen. This is the essential meaning of justice, the only foundation on which may rest securely the fabric of society and the structure of our political, legal, and economic systems." Pastoral Letter of the Hierarchy of the United States, 1884.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident : that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men . . ." *Declaration of Independence*, 1776.

"The natural rights of the Negro are identical in number and sacredness with the rights of white persons. Natural rights are rooted, not upon membership in one nation or upon membership in the white race, but upon the sacredness which the individual enjoys because of his eternal destiny. The Negro must be considered human first, and racial afterwards." Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, S.T.D., *Negro Workers in Free America*, The Paulist Press, New York City, 1939, p. 18.

2. Every man has the same essential human responsibilities as every other man, and has, therefore, an equal claim to essential human rights and opportunities. This equality of human rights is violated :

- by treating equals unequally, for example, by denying equal opportunity to men because of race or nationality ;
- by treating unequals equally, for example, by distributing assistance without proportionate regard to those who have suffered cumulatively from under-privileged living.

“Man is the masterpiece of creation. God created man, and the entire human race comes from the same parents, with equal rights : life, liberty, the right to work, personal responsibilities on the road of life. All of these responsibilities converge for every one of us towards the gaining of eternal life. Every man has the right and the duty of developing, bettering and perfecting himself. No man can be a blind instrument of another man, or of society. He is not simply an appendage to nature ; he is a spiritual being destined for a noble goal. These prerogatives are inviolable. Thus did God create man.” Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, “The Interracial Apostolate,” *Catholic Mind*, June 1947.

3. The equality of all men requires that :

- individuals and groups deal with one another in such a way that no one is denied equality of opportunity because of race or nationality ;
- the community shall not allow race or nationality to serve as a barrier to the enjoyment of equal human rights.

“We confess that we feel a special paternal affection, which is certainly inspired by heaven, for the Negro people dwelling among you ; for in the field of religion and education we know they need special care and comfort and are very deserving of it . . . We pray fruitful success for those whose generous zeal is devoted to their welfare.” Pope Pius XII, *Letter to the American Hierarchy*, Paulist Press, 1939, p. 23.

“As a nation we began by declaring that all men are created equal. We now practically read it: all men are created equal except colored men.’

“Today I am saddened to realize that these words which flowed from the soul of a great American (Abraham Lincoln) are more true now than they were fourscore years ago.

“In the United States, there are approximately 13,000,000 colored citizens. But if there were only 1,300 or 13, they, like all Americans, must be free to exercise the rights given them in our Constitution.” Cardinal Francis Spellman, in a statement to the press at the opening of a new parish center in Harlem, 1951.

## WHAT ARE THESE HUMAN RIGHTS?

### 1. Every man has the right to life.

“A fundamental personal right: the right to maintain and develop one’s corporal, intellectual and moral life, against mob violence or lynching.” Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., *The Race Question and the Negro*, 1945, p. 86.

“Every individual has the right to life and this involves the right to adequate police protection for his person and property. Lynching and other forms of mob violence are essentially immoral. Again, when a member of a minority group up for trial is unable to provide himself with legal advice, the state should provide adequate and competent counsel.” San Antonio Archdiocesan Committee on Interracial Relations, *Interracial Justice*, 1945, p. 40.

### 2. Every man has the right to work.

“A fundamental personal right: the right to work as the indispensable means toward the maintenance of family life.” Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942.

“A man’s right to work must not be contingent on such irrelevant or accidental factors as race, creed or color.” Archbishop Richard Cushing, in an address in Boston sponsored by the Jewish Labor Committee.

### 3. Every man has the right to a living family wage.



"Every effort must be made that fathers of families receive a wage sufficient to meet adequately domestic needs." Pope Pius XI, *On the Reconstruction of the Social Order*, p. 19.

"Intolerable, and to be opposed with all our strength, is the abuse whereby mothers of families, because of the insufficiency of the father's salary, are found to engage in gainful occupations outside the domestic walls, to the neglect of their proper cares and duties, particularly the education of their children." Pope Pius XI, *On the Reconstruction of the Social Order*, p. 19.

#### 4. Every man has the right to economic freedom.

"The dignity of the human person requires normally as a natural foundation of life the right to the use of the goods of the earth. To this right corresponds the fundamental obligation to grant private ownership to all . . . If legislation is to play its part toward peace in the community, it must prevent the worker, who is or will be a father of a family, from being condemned to economic dependence and slavery which is irreconcilable with his rights as a person." Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942.

#### 5. Every man has the right to an education.

"A fundamental personal right; the right to develop life, and especially the right to a religious formation and education." Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942.

"Interracial Justice is concerned with education for two reasons: as a matter of justice, since education is the key to opportunity under our present conditions. As a matter of race relations, racial attitudes are deeply influenced by the type as well as the content and spirit of the education afforded to members of either or any group." Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., *The Race Question and the Negro*, p. 210.

"The Pope and the Bishops insist upon Catholic education on all levels for Catholic students. A Catholic colored girl who meets the requirements of a Catholic college and applies for a Catholic education has a *right* to it and in consequence the college has a *duty* to give it to her." Mother Grace Dammann, R.S.C.J., a talk: "Prin-

principles versus Prejudices" given at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, New York City.

"In the Archdiocese of New York, there are no schools for Negroes, there are no schools for whites. There are only schools for children." Francis Cardinal Spellman, quoted in *Catholic Interracialist*, February 1949.

## 6. Every man has the right to decent housing.

"A question closely connected with the preservation of peace is the housing of the people. . . . First of all, we point out that every individual has a right to decent living conditions. The material wealth of the world was placed by God at man's disposal, not for the benefit of the few or the strong, but in order that conditions should be created in which every individual would be enabled to develop in accordance with the designs of the Creator." Bishops of Scotland, "Housing and Family Life," a pastoral issue in January 1946, *Catholic Mind*, April 1946.

"The right to own a home and to reside in an atmosphere suited to one's social and economic status should not be impaired by reason of race or color. Covenants which impair this right should be outlawed as contrary to the common good and the dignity of the human person. . . ." Report of *Seminar on Negro Problems in the Field of Social Action*, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1946, p. 11.

"He who would have the Star of Peace shine over society . . . should strive to secure for every family a dwelling where a materially and morally healthy family life may be seen in all its vigor and worth." Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message*, 1942.

## 7. Every man has the right to peace in a neighborhood.

"The practical conclusions . . . derived from the moral nobility of work . . . include the conservation and perfection of a social order . . . which will promote the care and practice of the social spirit in one's immediate neighborhood . . . and in the nation, a spirit which by smoothing over friction arising from privilege or class interests, removes from the workers the sense of isolation through the assuring experience of a genuinely human and frater-

nally Christian solidarity." Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message, 1942*.

## 8. Every man has the right to esteem and honor.

"Good esteem is the good opinion which one person has formed and entertains of another. . . . This esteem is connatural in so far as we should not depreciate anyone who has not proved to deserve depreciation, e.g., we should assume a man to be honest until he has proved himself to be dishonest. . . . Good esteem is an object of acquired right, so that to take it away or to diminish it is an act of injustice. . . . Detraction and calumny are unjust violations of the good esteem of another, one by making known to others some true but hidden fault of that other, the other by imputing to or saying of another what is false in fact and known to be false.

"We are bound to love and esteem others and to exhibit the honor that is their due: 'Loving one another with the charity of the brotherhood, with honor forestalling one another.' (Romans 12:10.) Contumely (contempt, disdain) is a sin against justice and charity; contumely is the unjust violation of the honor due to another. Honor consists in the external recognition of another's excellence, which he exhibits in human society as a part of it. . . . Since contumely is an offence against justice, it carries an obligation of restitution." Rev. Henry Davis, S.J., *Moral and Pastoral Theology*, Vol. 2, pp. 387-391.

"To every human person belongs the right of expecting in human society to be treated according to the laws which govern human association among decent men; for every man is to be esteemed as good, until proved otherwise." Rev. H. Noldin, S.J., *Summa Theologiae Moralis*, II, p. 585 et seq.

The "right of every man, regardless of race or color, to a recognition of his dignity as a human person with all other men." Rev. George Dunne, S.J., "Racial Segregation Violates Justice," *America*, October 30, 1945.

"The full benefits of our free institutions and the right of our minorities must be openly acknowledged and honestly respected. We ask this acknowledgment and respect particularly for our colored fellow citizens." The administrative board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1942.

9. Every man has the right to marry.

"A fundamental personal right: the right to marry and to achieve the aim of married life, the right to conjugal and domestic society." Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message, 1942*.

10. Every man has the right to worship God.

"A fundamental personal right: the right to worship God in private and to carry on religious works of charity." Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message, 1942*.

## HOW ARE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATED?

1. Human rights are violated by discrimination in employment.

"In all these cases of employment discrimination, the human dignity of the Negro is outraged and the virtues of justice or charity, or both, are violated. The Negro worker is not treated as a man possessing a natural right to reasonable intercourse with his fellows, nor as a brother having the same needs and claims as the white employer and the white employee. . . .

"Such discrimination, whether practiced by employees or employers, is definitely immoral. . . .

"The Christian precept of brotherly love is not satisfied by mere well-wishing, or benevolent emotion, nor sentimental yearning. It requires action, action which assists the neighbor in need." Msgr. John A. Ryan, Congressional Hearing, August 31, 1944.

"Discrimination against Negroes in industry is directly opposed to the teaching of Jesus Christ and to what all decent-minded men regard as democracy. . . . To the Christian, the Negro has rights as a man simply because he is a man as dear to Christ as himself. The American unionist who rises to this nobility of soul will come close to understanding the inner meaning of democracy that all men are created equal, and understanding it, will practice it with a full sense of fellowship to his fellow employees, whether Negro or

white." Bishop Francis Haas, *Ammunition*, UAW-CIO magazine, February, 1944.

"Every man has a natural right when in the pursuit of employment to be free from unfair interference. In the instance of the Negro, that right is not infrequently violated by white employers and white workers.

"The managers of large industrial corporations may represent a private business. But they also occupy a social position. Through the wage checks paid to thousands of their employees, they distribute to many Americans access to the nation's wealth. If they establish a discriminatory policy of refusing employment to Negroes or of hiring them only for janitorial work, they violate the Negro's natural right. The character of their social position indeed places upon employers a moral obligation to provide employment opportunities for Negroes.

"It is a shameful thing that, even in some of the instances in which employers have hired Negroes, white workers have protested and threatened work stoppages. White workers who engage in such activities also violate a natural right of the Negro. They commit a moral offense. They cooperate in a crime as the members of a lynch mob. The union officials, who by tricks and other devices, prevent Negroes from the full benefits of membership commit a greater fault." Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, "Race Relations and Human Rights," *Interracial Review*, October, 1946.

"Thirteen million people, one-tenth of our population, have to be content with the freedom we gratuitously grant them. Generally, our graciousness is proportionate to the ability of these people 'to keep their place.' In other words they shouldn't expect nor ask too much.

"Daily our secular papers carry news stories about discrimination against Negroes (on the job). . . . Headlines tell of their just resentment against their inequality. . . .

"What most people forget is that justice to the Negro . . . (and) our attitudes toward him and other peoples throughout the world whose skin has a different hue than ours has become almost a question of survival. . . .

"Our freedom will only be preserved if we are fighting for freedom for all. Narrow, insular, class or racial freedom will not bring about a new day.

"The new social order of justice as envisaged by the Popes is

predicated on freedom and justice for all." From an editorial in the *New World*, official organ of the Archdiocese of Chicago, July 17, 1942.

"Since the very concept of discrimination is unCatholic and particularly abhorrent to me, especially wherein it regards the right to a living wage and a decent standard of living, I am willing to do all in my power to remedy the situation wherever it exists." From a letter from Archbishop Edwin V. Byrne, Archbishop of Santa Fe, October, 1951, to Lieutenant Governor Tibo Chavez, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

## 2. Human rights are violated by racial segregation.

"Discrimination, which—as distinct from segregation—implies unequal treatment, is obviously unjust. Also unjust is compulsory segregation: first, because it implies a stigma imposed on one race by another; and secondly, because it inevitably leads to unequal treatment. The only form of segregation that might conceivably be morally justifiable is segregation by mutual agreement and with equal rights. Even this, it seems to me, is per se contrary to the bond of union that should exist between people of the same nation and contrary to the common good of the nation itself. It might be tolerated as the lesser of two evils, e.g., because the two races could not live peacefully together; but this situation would be a tragedy. It is a tragedy, however, that might naturally develop among us if Negroes and other minorities can attain to full equality only by constant strife which engenders bitterness and aversion."—Rev. Gerald Kelly, S.J., *Theological Studies*, March, 1952, p. 68.

"The Church in this country at the moment is fact to face with the problems of race discrimination. It must be met by a reaffirmation in action of the great Christian virtues of justice and charity. Jim Crowism in the Mystical Body of Christ is a disgraceful anomaly. Christianity pays no heed to accidental differences of race, color, or economic status. To see Christ in every creature is the very essence of the Christian religion." Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, *Negro Digest*, November, 1942.

"Racial segregation, division primarily and essentially harmful to the proper normal conditions of human life precisely because of its principle of divisiveness and implied inferiority, is as foreign to

social life and Christian unity as sin. Acknowledged in its true nature, segregation is incompatible with Christian living, for until it loses its influence on Christians there can result only conflict and mutual ignorance, stultifying and brutalizing social practices, a constant denial and practical frustration of the Gospel's insistence on human unity." Rev. Raymond Bernard, S.J., "Consequences of Racial Segregation," *American Catholic Sociological Review*, June, 1949.

"Segregation is immoral. It is not only expensive and increases bad social conditions in education, housing, hospitalization, etc., but it affects the souls of men." Ann Harrigan, *Friendship House News*, July-August, 1945.

"Race segregation, as it appears on some of our statute books and is tolerated or practiced by so many of our people seriously violates justice and charity. For what heed do these give to the words of the Lord and Master of us all: 'A new commandment I give unto you that you love one another even as I have loved you.' And when any denies to his neighbor the rights and privileges which he justly claims and freely exercises for himself, simply because they are the God-given rights of every human being who is born into this world, how, we ask, can such a man reconcile his conduct with this sacred commandment: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'" Sister Mary Ellen O'Hanlon, O.P., *Racial Myths*, pp. 29-31.

"Racial segregation is a crime that has humiliated, degraded, and embittered a whole people and when carried over into Catholic institutions, besides violating justice, betrays the essence of Christian ethics, which is charity. . . . All men are equal in the sight of God, however unequal in their intellectual gifts, physical graces, or material goods. It is precisely because racial segregation denies this truth that it is a violation of justice." Sister Cecilia Marie, O.P., "The Negro Problem," *Catholic Mind*, June, 1946.

"The general law of the Church, through providing for the cases in which different parishes can be established in the same locality on the basis of diversity of language or nationality, says nothing about different parishes for Catholics of the same nationality, established merely on the basis of diversity of color. The origin of "colored parishes" was due to a deplorable spirit of racial discrimination on the part of some Americans; and it is earnestly to be

hoped that the Catholic clergy will strive to bring about, as soon as possible, a condition in which white and colored Catholics will worship together in the same church." Rev. Francis J. Connell, C.S.S.R., *American Ecclesiastical Review*, June, 1946.

"Segregation, applied as settled social policy, tends to injustice, imposes intolerable burdens upon society, and is increasingly practically unworkable. It also tends to detract from, rather than contribute to, permanent social peace.

"Segregation, as a compulsory measure based on race, imputes essential inferiority to the segregated group.

"Segregation, since it creates a ghetto, brings, in the majority of instances, for the segregated group, a diminished degree of participation in those matters which are ordinary human rights such as proper housing, educational facilities, police protection, legal justice, employment, etc. Hence it works objective injustice. So normal is the result for the individual that the result is rightly termed inevitable for the group at large." Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., *The Race Question and the Negro*, pp. 158-159.

"Segregation, as now practiced, involves discrimination: discrimination in educational opportunity, in economic life, in housing and in scores of other areas. It arises from a sense of racial superiority, and results in injustice—a constant grinding down of the aspirations of individuals for no other reason than racial origin.

"Is segregation ever morally justified? In the abstract a state of affairs can be imagined where two races live in the same community, are segregated in school with equal facilities for all groups, have equal access to the same kind of jobs or professions, the same economic returns, the same level of living conditions, and so on, yet not moving in the same social circles and not intermarrying. But this is only an abstract picture. In practice, segregation does not exist without discrimination, and discrimination does not exist without injustice." San Antonio Archdiocesan Committee on Interracial Relations, *Interracial Justice*, pp. 37-38.

"This discontinuance (of Buffalo's only two Negro Catholic Churches), approved by diocesan officials, was decided upon so that the parishioners may attend parish churches nearest their homes. This way the parishioners will be afforded better facilities and there will be no segregation. This is the ideal Christian practice, everybody worshipping together." Rev. John Obendorfer, C.S.S.R., quoted in the *New York Times*, June 20, 1946.



"Pope Leo XIII rightly declared that poverty can so dehumanize that morality becomes inhumanly difficult. Racial bars can be at least as demoralizing; for even a beggar can dream of outliving want; but race is an act of God and is bred in the bone." Rev. John E. Coogan, S.J., "Christian Untouchables?" *Review for Religious*, March 15, 1946.

"It is segregation upon the sole basis of race which by humiliating the Negro strikes at his dignity *as a human person*. This segregation carries with it by implication the untrue, and therefore unjust, imputation of an essential racial inferiority. No amount of rationalization can disguise this fact. The pattern of segregation clearly implies that whoever has colored skin is by nature unclean." Rev. George H. Dunne, S.J., "Racial Segregation Violates Justice," *America*, October 30, 1945.

"A prudent and carefully planned, but determined war is made by the leaders in the interracial movement against the policy of compulsory segregation, or 'color bar.' This policy in itself is a grave derogation to the Christian concept of the individual's inherent dignity. Moreover, in our complex modern civilization with its social and political interdependence, it cannot exist without resulting in grave inequalities. Attempts are made to justify segregation by saying that it produces peace and harmony by keeping separate people who would otherwise be in conflict. This ignores the fact that separation itself is a principal cause of conflict, where such occurs, since it fosters those traits in both the majority and the minority group that lead to conflict." Report on the Catholic Church and the Negro in the United States, issued by the Fides news-agency of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome, March 1950.

"Compulsory segregation, whether enforced by law and ordinance or by social custom (the social pattern, as it is frequently called) ruthlessly maintained through intimidation and violence, unjustly restricts individual liberties. Personal liberty is interfered with, the right to choose freely the means to a full and complete life is denied, a humiliating blow is aimed at the respect and dignity due to a human person, opportunities for work at one's preferred occupation are denied. . . . The natural law confers upon all equally the right to be normally and naturally integrated into the solidarity of the human race. But this fundamental right is denied when non-

white groups are roped off from white society in general by the Color Line.

“. . . This frustration that confronts the victims of compulsory segregation in every phase and walk of life is, in itself, a terrible thing to contemplate. . . . This horrible frustration of what life is capable of is perpetuated through the propagation of lies, such as: the non-white is essentially an inferior human being; his blood is a tainted blood; he is not deserving of social recognition and equality before the law. It is perpetuated despite the glaring and cruel fact that it compels its innocent victims to struggle through life economically handicapped, to get along as best they can on a non-living wage, to live in sub-standard and often unfit homes, depriving its victims of suitable educational opportunities and denying to them many of the cultural advantages of life.”—Rev. John P. Markoe, S.J., “A Moral Appraisal of the Color Line,” *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, August, 1948.

“Such segregation is unjust because, for one thing, it robs the Negro of self-respect. If your test of acceptability were conduct or character or virtue, each might hope one day to qualify. But if you tell him that your ban is on all those of his line, then the offense is in his blood.” “*Christian Untouchables?*” John E. Coogan, S.J., *Review for Religious*, March 15, 1946.

“It cannot be too strongly emphasized that racial segregation is a moral question; in plain words, that it is a grave sin, just as adultery and murder are grave sins,” from an editorial, *America*, May 17, 1947.

“According to the natural moral law every human person precisely because he is a human person enjoys the right, regardless of race or color, to a recognition of his equal dignity as a human person with all other men. . . .

“Segregation strikes against the natural right of all men to essential equality. Segregation upon the sole basis of race is humiliating to the Negro because it strikes at his dignity as a human person. This segregation carried with it by implication the untrue, and therefore unjust, imputation of an essential racial inferiority. No amount of rationalization can disguise this fact. The pattern of segregation clearly implies that whoever has colored skin is by nature unclean.

"To deny to any group its essential rights as human beings is to break the natural law. Breaking the natural law is a crime. It is a serious sin against God and nature. It calls for condign punishment. No amount of sophistic rationalization can avoid or conceal this fact.

"A good-intentioned, well-meaning person who condones segregation by that fact implicates himself with a tacit participation of a sin and crime against the natural law." Msgr. Raymond J. Champion, the *Daily Compass*, May 1, 1950.

"We must disapprove of the segregation policy, which is, in fact, a colossal violation of justice and charity. Such disapproval, incidentally, is not a counsel of perfection; it is a strict duty, and a serious one." Rev. Gerald Kelly, S.J., "How to Think and Act About the Race Problem," *Review for Religious*, November, 1951.

### 3. Human rights are violated by racial residential restrictions.

"There can be no justification from the point of view of social justice for any generalized policy in a community by which persons and families who can and will conform to general community standards are prevented from obtaining the type of housing they desire, no matter what be their race, color, or creed." Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., *The Race Question and the Negro*, p. 168.

"Negroes are discriminated against in obtaining the good housing available in urban communities. Overcrowding has led to wholesale exploitation by property owners in Negro communities. Efforts must be made to relieve the tensions and fears which keep Negroes from expanding into new neighborhoods. The policy of enforced racial segregation is a grave moral wrong and private agreements which enforce such segregation violate the Christian virtues of social justice and charity." Report adopted by an interracial meeting sponsored by the Social Action Department, N. C. W. C., November, 1945.

"It seems evident that there is no one thing more conducive to race conflict than the so-called restrictive covenant, which condemns a minority group to live in ghettos and alleys, in shacks and garages regardless of culture and regardless of income. That, in turn, stems from a plain denial of the brotherhood of man. Ultimately, the economic and social phases of racial prejudice are re-

sults, not causes. For complete emancipation the Negro has his choice of two roads: either of the communist ideal of the brotherhood of the proletariat, or the Christian ideal of brotherhood in the Mystical Body of Christ. Many of us Catholics do little to, make the choice an easy one for the Negro." Rev. Leo J. Trese, "St. Philip, Pray for Us," *The Commonweal*, February 15, 1946.

"In the hideous question of restrictive covenants we are faced with a problem that far transcends the question of democratic rights. It is one of the most important basic factors militating against interracial harmony. Moreover, and this is the most important element in the entire problem, its solution is essentially a question of simple justice and charity. How we eventually answer this question will plainly reveal whether we really love our neighbor, or merely tolerate his existence. The God-given right of every human being to an existence on a plane equal to his dignity as a child of God must of necessity be our guiding rule. Yet, the whole theory of restrictive covenants ruthlessly ignores this divinely-ordained principle." Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, "Restrictive Covenants vs. Brotherhood," an address before the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, May 11, 1946.

"According to a decision of the United States Supreme Court a few years ago, Negroes as well as people of other races have the LEGAL right to buy or rent homes in any locality. They have always had the MORAL right to do so, according to Catholic social teaching.

"The high court held that restrictive covenants and 'gentlemen's agreements' barring people from acquiring homes in certain areas were unconstitutional and a violation of basic human rights. They also are contrary to the principle upheld by the Church that all men, as human beings, are equal in the sight of God and have certain inalienable rights.

"Of course, by the same token that any member or any race has the right to acquire a home anywhere, a home owner has the right to sell or not to sell to whomever he pleases—provided he is not motivated in his decision by racial discrimination.

"If such a home owner and his neighbors agree to stay together because they like the neighborhood, or because they are congenial or because the district is near to their church and a school for their children, they are doing nothing morally or legally wrong. They are simply exercising a right to the pursuit of happiness guaranteed by the Constitution.

"But, if they enter into agreement—written or unwritten—to close their neighborhood to others because of racial prejudice, they are practicing social injustice and doing something morally wrong. They are doing something that they themselves would resent if the tables were turned and they were barred from a certain neighborhood because of their racial or national origin.

"Catholics joining in anti-racial pacts act contrary to the teaching of the Church that all men are equal in the sight of God. Our Divine Saviour died to save the souls of all men, regardless of race or color." An editorial from the *Michigan Catholic*, official newspaper of the Archdiocese of Detroit, April 26, 1951.

#### 4. Human rights are violated by stirring up racial hatred.

"In the name of justice and charity we depreciate most earnestly all attempts at stirring up racial hatreds; for this, while it hinders the progress of all our people in the sphere of temporal welfare, places serious obstacles to the advance of religion among men." Pastoral letter of the Hierarchy of the United States, 1920.

"Those who instigate intolerance are betraying the principles of Christianity." Rev. Claude Heithaus, *Milwaukee Journal*, July, 1949.

"Left alone, small children make no distinction between white and colored playmates. And did not Christ say definitely, 'Unless you become as one of these little children, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven'? These children instinctively feel that they all belong to the Mystical Body of Christ and they would not change if they were not influenced by the prejudices, conscious or unconscious, of their 'more enlightened' elders." Sister Eugene, S.C., "I Am My Brother's Helper" *Catholic Alumnae Quarterly*, reprinted in *The Colored Harvest*, February, 1950.

"Racial hatred is not instinctive, it is man-made; for children who have not been inoculated by parents or adults with the poison have utterly no racial prejudice. Unless we become like little children, we cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven Christ said so.

"There is no use writing to our congressmen about this problem. It is decidedly a Family Front problem. God will help us to solve it if we but look Him squarely and reverently in the Face once a day. We won't have to say a word." Sister Mary Clare, S.N.D., "Christians and Racial Prejudices," *Catholic Mind*, April, 1945.

“‘States Rights’ may not be involved against basic human rights and dignity, which trace their origin to the hand of the All-Wise, All-Holy and All-Just Creator.” Statement of the New Orleans Unit of the Catholic Committee of the South.

5. Human rights are denied by denying a Catholic education.

“I often wonder how many Catholic educators can speak lightly of the whole question of segregation, how they can conceitedly take as a matter of course the idea that Negroes can be excluded from Catholic institutions. I ask myself what would be their feelings, what would be their psychological reaction, the reaction of their own families, their parents or wives or children or friends or associates if they themselves were excluded merely because of their race or color? What would be the effect on their own mentality, and still more, on their Catholic faith?” Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., “Evolution or Revolution,” *Interracial Review*, December, 1945.

“But some people say that it is wrong to nurse a Negro in a Catholic hospital or educate a Negro in a Catholic university. The Catholic Church, denouncing race discrimination in its encyclicals, has said that ‘those who enter the Church, whatever be their origin or their speech . . . have equal rights as children in the House of the Lord.’” Rev. Claude H. Heithaus, S.J., 1944.

“Probably most (Catholic colleges), if not all, can say that they do not draw a color line. One, maybe two or three Negroes are now in attendance or have graduated in the past. It is not enough. . . . It may be said that all colored students applying are admitted, if they meet our admission standards. But even this is not enough. It may fulfill the demands of justice. I shall not argue that point. I will say that, to my way of thinking, it does not fulfill the demands of charity—the charity that demands giving until it hurts.

“For the most part, however, they (Catholic Negroes) cannot avail themselves of a Catholic college education because they lack the financial means. . . . If we would be truly charitable, we will make it possible for some to attend our institutions by establishing at least one scholarship for a Catholic Negro. . . .” Rev. Vincent McQuade, O.S.A., “Catholic Education and the Negro,” *Catholic Mind*, March, 1946.

"As far as Christian charity is concerned, it is indeed tragic that there should be discrimination against colored children in Catholic schools. At the same time, in view of the deep-rooted antagonism between white and colored that prevails in certain parts of our country, Church authorities may at times deem it more prudent, for the time being, to have separate schools for white and colored pupils. When such circumstances are present, priests should not fail to explain to their people that this arrangement is not in accord with the ideals of the Catholic religion, that it is being employed only because of the unchristian racial prejudice with which many Americans are infected, that we should look forward to the day when no distinction is made between white and colored in Catholic Schools. At any rate, in those sections of our country where there is no discrimination in the public schools, there should be no discrimination in the parochial schools. . . ." Rev. Francis J. Connell, C.S.S.R., *American Ecclesiastical Review*, June, 1946.

"There is hardly a college or university in the North, from Maine to California, that professedly defends the color bar. The most renowned girls' schools, registers of social acceptability, have their colored students, sometimes even teachers. Each spring, Negro magazines picture their scores of degree winners, including many Ph.D.'s, and these from the oldest and most respected American universities. Catholic schools, despite a belated start, are rapidly accelerating; one in a border city has raised its colored enrollment from none to more than one hundred in a single year, and announces the move a complete success. Even our schools for problem children have found it desirable to repudiate any color bar; two at least of the local Good Shepherd homes have recently opened their doors to all." Rev. John E. Coogan, S.J., "Christian Untouchables?" *Review for Religious*, March 15, 1946.

"The term 'Southern Tradition' is misused and dishonored when it is employed to justify a continued state of unjust discrimination against the Negro laborer and privation of the Negro of the opportunity for higher education and professional training." Statement of the New Orleans Unit of the Catholic Committee of the South.

"The Negro also has equal rights to attend the parochial school. Father Connell concedes, however, that special local conditions may justify ecclesiastical authorities in establishing separate schools for

white and colored pupils ; but this should be looked upon as a merely temporary measure, a toleration of evil, and priests should work towards abolishing it. Father Coogan also insists on the duty of breaking down all necessity of segregation. I feel like italicizing this point. In private discussions on this so-called Negro problem, many of my Jesuit colleagues have impressed upon me the fact that, even though a moral theologian may be forced at times to admit the existence of an excusing cause for not immediately stopping some practice of segregation, he must also point out the duty of *doing what can be done* to remedy the situation. Failure to protest against the evil or to try to change it looks very much like approval of it." Rev. Gerald Kelly, S.J., "Current Theology," *Theological Studies*, March, 1947.

6. Human rights are violated by racial restrictions in welfare institutions.

"We condemn wholeheartedly the discriminatory practices of those hospitals which refuse to admit Negro patients or which give them inferior accommodations. This is contrary to Catholic ethical standards and results in great harm to the body and soul of the Negro. . . . We deplore restrictions of the admission of Negroes to (welfare) institutions and recommend that practices which exclude them from institutions or segregate them in quarters where less adequate service is given be abandoned." Report of Seminar on Negro Problems in the Field of Social Action published by the Dept. of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1946.

7. Human rights are violated by racial limitations in voting.

"In a democracy the common good depends upon the free exercise of the right to vote by all qualified voters. Hence it is incumbent on Catholics not only to exercise this right themselves but to see to it that none of their fellow citizens are impeded in the exercise of this right by reason of race, color, or national origin. They cannot, therefore, condone any institution or practice by which the right is infringed such as intimidation, the 'white primary,' or abuse of the poll-tax to disfranchise Negroes. Such institutions and practices must be condemned as illegal and immoral." Report of Seminar on Negro Problems in the Field of Social Action published by the Dept. of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1946.



## 8. Human rights are violated by laws prohibiting interracial marriage.

"In the name of the dignity of the human person, we reject every discrimination based on race. But it is in the very name of the dignity of the human person that certain individuals think they can admit, at least by way of expediency, some rights founded on race. . . . They contend that purity of blood is helpful for the vigor of the population. . . .

"We find ourselves here in the presence of one of numerous fallacies . . . to begin with, it has to be proved that a mixture of blood constitutes in itself a blemish, that it causes a moral or physical weakness of individuals. All that we can say is that at the present time there is no proof that this is so at all. . . . But even if it were proved, the problem of right would in no wise be changed. Marriage and procreation are faculties attaching to the very nature of the human person; they are part of his physical and moral nature and constitute rights. The exercise of these rights, as well as of all those inherent in man's nature, are dependent on the judgment of his reason, of his conscience, of his prudence." Rev. Joseph T. Delos, O.P., *Race: Nation: Person, Barnes and Noble* 1944 p. 60.

"According to the Catholic position, the state has no right to make laws affecting the validity of the marriages of baptized persons. . . . She (the Church) does not admit that human welfare, or social welfare, is promoted by the state recognition of any marriage which she pronounces invalid, nor any state prohibition of any marriage which she declares to be valid." Msgr. John A. Ryan and Rev. F. J. Boland, C.S.C., *Catholic Principles of Politics*, MacMillan, 1940, p. 332.

"A Catholic Negro and a Catholic white person, who are otherwise qualified . . . have a canonical right to demand that their parish priest officiate at a ceremony which makes them man and wife.

"I rejoice that this is the situation, even though I believe that the general question of intermarriage between whites and blacks is irrelevant, unrealistic, and outside the realm of matters that anyone should bother his head about." Msgr. John A. Ryan, "The Black Patterns of White America," *The Negro Digest*, April, 1943.

"In some of our Southern States there are civil laws forbidding marriages between whites and Negroes, and some of our far West-

ern states attempt to prevent marriage between whites and Asiatics. These laws can affect only marriages when both parties are unbaptized. Moreover, all laws must be just and reasonable. This is particularly the case with laws affecting marriages. . . . Today the purpose of these laws is to protect financially and politically the domination of the whites. It would indeed be difficult to prove that herein lies a reason justifying these laws . . . it would be difficult to prove the invalidity of these marriages in conscience. Prudence and the good of the couples themselves would induce a pastor to dissuade in most cases such interracial marriages. Social ostracism is likely to make the marriage unhappy. However, this would not justify a pastor to refuse to assist at such a Catholic marriage." Msgr. Louis J. Nau, *Marriage Laws of the Code of Canon Law*, 1934, p. 15.

## PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

### *Forthrightness*

"There is no wisdom in timidity or hesitation; just as there is none in violence and hysteria. Nothing is more dangerous than allowing things to drift in the local community; to imagine that threatening racial tensions will somehow take care of themselves. They do not; they but gather malice and virulence. There is not a single instance of such tensions in the past which could not have been remedied by a little forthrightness and ordinary hard work and Christian charity and patience applied in the right place at the right time. And the same would apply to the future." Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., "A Call for Catholic Interracial Councils," *Interracial Review*, December, 1948.

"It is easy to say that these (acts contrary to interracial justice and charity) are very unfortunate, but that there must be a long process of education before they can be changed. That puts our consciences to rest and relieves us of any compulsion for immediate action.

"What are we Christians to do? Let us at least do just what Christianity teaches with respect to race relations. And then let us get some clear picture of what the interracial problem is in this

country at the present time. There are countless excellent books, pamphlets. . . .

"But we should go further than study and observation. We should make every effort to get beyond the facts . . . and feel with the victim of discrimination as he or she faces the conditions of living." G. Howland Shaw, "Christianity and Interracial Justice," *The Road Ahead*, The Sunday Visitor Press, 1946, p. 41.

"It is impossible for any good Catholic not to be on the side and in the forefront in the struggle for interracial justice, for all men are brothers." Cardinal Spellman, in an address at Old St. Patrick Cemetery, New York City, July, 1951.

### *Papal Directives*

"There remains no other way to salvation than that of repudiating definitely . . . the pride of race and blood . . . and to turn resolutely toward that spirit of sincere fraternity which is founded on the worship of the Divine Father of all. . . ." Pope Pius XII to the citizens of Rome, March 18, 1945.

"I should like to emphasize that: First, the Negro presents the most graphic example of the social and economic conditions which Pope Pius so forcefully and explicitly condemns in his great encyclical on the Reconstruction of the Social Order. Second, that the plight of the Negro in America provides the most challenging example of the depredations that follow where the existing social order has so far denied and ignored the demands of social charity and social justice." George K. Hunton, "Quadragesimo Anno and Interracial Justice," *Interracial Review*, September, 1948.

### *Bishops' Directives*

"We owe to our Negro fellow-citizens to see that they have in fact the rights which are given them in our Constitution.

"This means not only political equality, but also fair economic and educational opportunities, a just share in public welfare projects, good housing without exploitation, and a full chance for the social advancement of their race." Statement of the Bishops of the U. S., 1943.

### *Understanding Racial Prejudice*

"Northern white prejudice is based more on ignorance, both simple and opportune, than it is on a conscious premeditated policy. The Northerner seldom takes the trouble to learn the Negro's good qualities, and does not understand or ignores the social background of the Negro's bad points.

"Southern white prejudice is not based so much on ignorance as on a deep, conscious and deliberate dogma that all Negroes are inferior to all whites. The white Southerner generally is not acquainted with well educated cultured Negroes and thus he is able to support his valuation of Negro inferiority with a great variety of racial and social beliefs." Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., "The Meaning of Prejudice," *The Interracial Review*, January 1947.

"The prejudices, discriminations, and artificial conventions from which the Negro suffers are all based upon ignorance, ignorance of the moral law, ignorance of the principles of Christianity, ignorance of the fundamental facts of the whole situation." Msgr. John A. Ryan, *Negro Digest*, April, 1943.

"The time is long overdue when we must say in public and without equivocation that race prejudice and race discrimination are sinful in the same sense that other violations of truth, justice and charity are sinful." Rev. Claude Heithaus, S.J., in a lecture at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1947.

"I had never known any white people intimately since I was a tiny girl. As it is in the case of most people, my prejudices were based chiefly on hearsay. . . .

"They had never known any colored person intimately until they met me. They had been surprised to learn that there was little difference in us besides the color of our skins; that my people lived, loved, worked, planned, dreamed and suffered just as their people; that the same things made us laugh and cry; that there were good and bad among us and that none were *all* good or *all* bad. I think we both felt an uplift in spirit at this discovery. As the months passed we learned to know, respect and like each other." Helen Caldwell, *Color, Ebony*, New York City, Sheed and Ward, 1951, p. 109.

### *Emancipating Ourselves from Prejudice*

"Forget the popular but false picture of an Africa teeming with

wild animals and savages. I never saw a lion until I crossed the seas and visited a zoo in the United States. And Uganda has a higher percentage of Catholics than America. Of its four million people, one million are Catholic." Bishop Joseph Kiwanuka, of Masaka, Uganda, in an address in Chicago, March, 1950.

"We are the victims of foolish prejudice, and the sooner we free ourselves from it, the sooner shall we grow into true manhood. Is it to our honor that we persecute men because of the social conditions of their fathers? It is not so long ago since the proudest peoples of Europe were immersed in barbarism. It is not to our honor that we punish men for the satisfaction of our own pride. Why, the fact that once the Negro was our slave should compel us to treat him with liberality extraordinary, to compensate him if possible for wrong done, and to obliterate in mutual forbearance and favor the sad memories of years gone by." Archbishop John Ireland, in an address on January 1, 1891.

"I was once asked to write an article on 'Living With Negroes.' It went like this:

"The strangest thing about Catholic America is that one should have to write an article about Living With Negroes. If America were a democracy in the fullness of its fruition, if Catholics in America were really Catholics, there would be no need to write an article like that . . .

"Everyone would have Negro neighbors . . . go to school with Negro children . . . all schools . . . Everyone would be working side by side with Negroes . . . in hospitals, in courts, in business. That is the way it is today in Catholic countries. That is the way it was yesterday when the world was Catholic.

"But in America (today) there seems to be plenty of room for an article on Living With Negroes—as if one were writing about living with a tribe of unknown aborigines." Catherine De Hueck Doherty, *Friendship House*, Sheed and Ward, 1946, p. 59.

"Christian social philosophy regards as sinful not only actual violations or rights, but those *states of mind* which by inflaming passions and clouding human intellect encourage such violations. For this reason Christian social philosophy looks down upon racial prejudices, deliberately fostered, as a sin." Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., *The Race Question and the Negro*, p. 95.

"If we were to select the most intelligent, imaginative, energetic and emotionally stable third of mankind, all races would be represented." Franz Boas, as quoted by Sister Mary Ellen O'Hanlon, O.P., *Racial Myths*, 1946, p. 28.

"Perhaps you are a Catholic. If so, think of the problem (race prejudice) in relation to the teachings of your holy religion. Our Blessed Lord gave a very simple test of human relations. He said, 'By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another.' (St. John 13-35.) That is pretty plain, isn't it? If we love each other, a black and white, then we have a right to call ourselves followers of Christ. If we don't love each other, black and white, then we simply don't have any right to call ourselves Christians or Catholics. To call one's self a brother is simply to tell an abominable lie!" Rev. Paul Hanly Furfey, "Race Prejudice Is Vile," *Friendship House News*, September 1944.

"Students should be apostles of interracial justice to their own families if necessary. There must be no compromise, no whittling down of Christian principles . . . Wean people away from the prejudice in which they grow up in our section. Propaganda is needed—intelligent, patient, prudent, spiritualized by prayer." Archbishop Joseph Rummel, in a message to students for Interracial Justice Day, New Orleans, March 1952.

"Prejudice is not inborn. When people, white and Negro, meet together in school and parish societies there is no need to discuss racial attitudes. Nobody can tell the youngsters any lies about racial superiority; they treat each other as human beings. The grownups, too, work together harmoniously in parish societies." Msgr. Cornelius Drew, in an address to the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, October 1951.

### *Colorless Speech*

"A prime rule of speech is to avoid what reasonably offends other people. On the basis of this rule, a Negro should not be called a 'nigger' and a Negro woman should not be referred to as a 'negress.' Both words are offensive to Negroes, as are many others that need not be mentioned here. The best way for anyone to keep this rule is to abstain entirely from using the words, because if white people use them among themselves when speaking about the Negro, they

very readily use them when speaking to the Negro. Another basic rule of speech is to be extremely careful about repeating unverified and disparaging rumors about the Negro. 'Seldom in the history of mankind,' wrote Father Gilligan, 'has any group been more widely misrepresented, misunderstood, and handicapped by popular rumors than the American colored group.' Accepting such unfounded rumors is rash judgment; passing them on to others is calumny." Gerald Kelly, S.J., "How to Think and Act About the Race Problem," *Review for Religious*, November 1951.

"In the eyes of the rest of the world, democratic America's treatment of the Negro is the most glaring inconsistency on earth. It has no parallel in Central or South America, England, France, Spain or even in Russia. Such prejudice cannot be inborn, since it is largely limited to the United States . . .

"Prejudice thrives on ignorance much more than it does on ill will. The ordinary American still feels that the Negro is racially inferior. Why? Because of his experiences with Negroes. 'They never get anywhere.' Most people cannot detect the ignorance involved in that remark. The average person can hardly be expected to realize the subtle effects of 'caste' in America which hinders the cultural development of the Negro. He cannot comprehend their cultural isolation, the disheartening treatment they receive, their being denied an outlet for anything more than 'bread-and-butter' ambition. He is not aware of all the injustice, harsh treatment and frustration they encounter, and which tends to produce a withered and thwarted personality." Rev. Daniel Lyons, S.J., "The Negro in America," *Irish Studies*, March 1951.

"Negroes do not ask for either commiseration, sympathy or tolerance. They ask for the love of their fellowmen and for justice." Cardinal Samuel Stritch, quoted in the *Interracial Review*, July 1940.

"At this very moment, not far from here, at the United Nations headquarters, representatives from every corner of the world are working hard to develop a plan for nations so that they might live in peace and harmony. It is only natural that they turn their eyes to watch American democracy at close range. Surely we will lose prestige if we fail to strive constantly and sincerely to repair the flaws of discrimination and segregation. Here is an excellent opportunity to show the nation and the world that we admit our mistakes and will do all in our power to correct them. And let this be an example to others who have not yet seen the right path to true

American principles of democracy." James A. Farley, in an editorial in *Interracial Review*, December 1951.

### *Support for a Civil Rights Law*

"Both as Christians and as Americans, we must necessarily uphold the principle which concedes to everyone his inalienable rights; neither race nor color nor language can be made the basis for any exception to this norm.

"The local Civil Rights ordinance which prohibits discrimination in public places because of race, creed or color appears to be definitely concerned with essential human rights; it therefore merits the approbation of all those who rejoice in the privileges of American Citizenship.

"Failure to accord and therefore to vote for the fundamental human rights involved would reflect upon our city no less than upon our Americanism and Christianity." Archbishop Edward D. Howard, in a statement urging Catholics of Portland, Oregon, to support a local civil rights ordinance, November 1950.

"The civil rights legislative program has been little understood in the South, largely because it has been grossly misrepresented by public figures.

"Contrary to common Southern belief, the civil rights laws that have been proposed deal with basic human rights that are required by even the most elementary sense of decency. Few Southerners would publicly deny that the Negro should have legal protection of his person and property, the right to vote without unreasonable restrictions, and the opportunity of employment, and pay according to his ability. These are the maligned 'civil rights' which have split Congress and the nation.

"It is a hopeful sign that more and more people in the South are looking at the problem of racial discrimination in the light of national and international opinion . . .

"Discrimination anywhere in our country works to the discredit of the whole nation in international relations." Paul D. Williams, in an address at Bishop Waters' Industrial Conference, Charlotte, N. C., 1950.

### *Fair Employment by Law*

"A fair employment practices law would give legal recognition to that God-given dignity which every human being possesses." Bishop



Bernard J. Sheil, in a statement to the Illinois legislature, March 1947.

"It may be argued that law cannot reform morals. As a general proposition this objection may be regarded as valid in part, but only in part. As directed against a Federal FEPC or a State FEPC it is hardly valid at all. When leveled at the field of legislation here under consideration the objection overlooks the important lesson of history that when a high principle of justice and humanity is embodied into law, even over the opposition of a considerable minority, that principle takes on the majesty of government, and the law itself becomes a might's force of education and moral betterment. Such beneficial results would doubtless follow from the enactment of a Federal FEPC and State FEPC laws." Bishop Francis J. Haas, *Catholics, Race and Law*, 1947, p. 16.

"To deny any man the right to a job is to deny and defy God's law.

"(A Fair Employment Practice Law) would be an effective cudgel against racial discrimination in the South.

"It is a proven fact that acts of discrimination can be checked by a law that has a means of enforcement.

"It is significant that Oregon which formerly had a law without enforcement provisions, has adopted a law providing enforcement powers." Rev. Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M., in a radio debate in Louisiana, 1950.

"The opportunity for work, and the practice governing that opportunity, should be based not upon a man's color, race, religious belief or national origin, but upon his intimate dignity, his basic rights as a creature of God . . .

"The state has a positive obligation to protect human rights, especially the rights of the poor and those least able to protect themselves. Hence I believe that the State is acting within its competence in seeking to protect so basic a human right as freedom from discrimination in job opportunities. I consider moreover that the action of the State in this field is in itself a powerful educational instrumentality. It does no violence to the educational techniques that have been used in the past. It merely adds the needed pressure to those who are unwilling to fulfill their obligations voluntarily." Rev. Edmund J. Brock, Director of the Providence Social Action Institute, before the Rhode Island State Legislature, February 8.

"To those who object that you are not going to get these things by law I would reply, 'Of course let us have education, and more and more education . . . We can educate at the same time as we legislate. And I doubt very much whether in the field of job discrimination we can educate unless we also legislate.'" Bishop Francis J. Haas of Grand Rapids, radio address in Lansing, January 30, 1947.

"No one is obliged to give up his own job to any other man, nor to provide him with employment at great personal sacrifice. Nothing of this sort is involved in the demand that the White employer or the White employee refrain from practices of discrimination; for the employer merely consents to employ competent Negroes or Mexicans, while the employee merely works with them in the same shop or establishment. The inconvenience, or hardship, which this course would impose upon the employer is so slight as to be negligible." Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan, D.D., testimony before U. S. Senate Committee, August 31, 1944.

"The highly successful Ives-Quinn Law in New York has proved beyond a doubt the practicality of fair employment practices legislation and should certainly allay the fears of those who tremble irrationally at the very thought of rendering into statute the principles upon which this country has been built.

"As a member of a minority group I have come face to face with the ugly spectre of bigotry and discrimination. Over the course of years, the Catholic Youth Organization has received innumerable reports from Catholics and others of job discrimination based solely on the fact that the applicant belonged to a certain religion, race or national ancestry group.

"I ask that the General Assembly of the State of Illinois enact into law with the greatest possible speed a state fair employment practices law similar to those now pending before you." Bishop Bernard J. Sheil, before the Judiciary Committee of the Illinois General Assembly, March 18, 1947.

"I can conceive of no action more unAmerican than that action which violates both the spirit and the letter of the Declaration of Independence by denying to many thousands of our fellow Americans the exercise of their God-given rights.

"Speaking as an Abbot of the Roman Catholic Church and on behalf of that great community Back of the Yards, I urge you to enact now a strong FEPC law for the State of Illinois." Rt. Rev.

Ambrose Ondrak, O.S.B., Abbot of St. Procopius Abbey, Lisle, Illinois, before the Judiciary Committee of the Illinois General Assembly, March 18, 1947.

"Those who oppose a Fair Employment Practices Commission program in this state may unwittingly be forcing groups which feel they have been unfairly treated into the ranks of communism." Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, in a statement to the press, April 1947.

"There were lots of people in Massachusetts who looked on the FEP legislation with fear before it was passed.

"Neither as chairman of your Advisory Council here in Springfield, nor as a manufacturer, have I ever heard any one in the last two years say that the law ought to be changed. Every one now admits that the principles that FEP legislation is striving for are just.

"I have no reservation in saying that I think such legislation, administered as you and your Commission have administered our law, would be beneficial practically everywhere." Roger L. Putnam, President, Package Machinery Company, Springfield, Mass., in a letter to Mildred H. Mahoney, Chairman, Mass. Fair Employment Practice Commission, January 27, 1949.

### *A Law Against Segregation*

"To exclude children from schools because of their color is bad legislation. It is founded on immorality and is against the very spirit of the Constitution.

"Now is the time to act and to show our less privileged brethren that we do believe in brotherly love founded not on expediency, but on the love of God.

"The sooner we lay the ax to the root of this evil, the better it will be for us personally and for the welfare of our state." Bishop Daniel Gercke, in a statement supporting a proposition banning segregation in Arizona schools, November 1951.

### *College Policy*

"No college has been forced to close its doors because of loss of students through the admission of Negroes; even more than that, no college, seemingly, has lost even an appreciable number of students. Although many of the Catholic educators regard the admis-

sion of Negro students as being in the experimental stage, it seems that the question has already been answered by the experiences of the seventy-six Catholic institutions of higher learning which have already had such students." Rev. Richard J. Roche, O.M.I., *Catholic Colleges and the Negro Student*, Catholic University.

"Negroes will soon be going to college with us. We do not fear this thought. In fact, most of us like it . . .

"Everybody else is talking about race relations . . . It is time that we, the white Catholic college students of the South, speak up on the question.

"Race relations are a question of right and wrong, of Christ and love on one side, of Satan and hatred on the other . . .

"We Catholic college students are impatient for the Christ-centered society. We want it now . . .

"To learn the whole truth about race relations we need four things: (a) informed professors without prejudice who give unbiased lectures; (b) well-rounded factual courses in various fields; (c) intelligent, adult class discussions; (d) practical supplementary reading . . .

"Students do not run the schools; so we cannot make the decision which will officially discard the Jim Crow system in Catholic education. But we do pray that at least in the colleges the integration of whites and Negroes will soon take place.

"We are preparing for that by learning to know each other while the schools are still separated. We are participating in interracial activities both on and off the campus. We are more ready for this religious, educational, and democratic unity than some college administrators think . . ." From an article "Southern Collegians Resist Racism" written by a group of white students in the Southeastern Regional Interracial Commission of the National Federation of Catholic College Students, *Catholic World*, December 1950.

## *Schools*

"The battle against segregation must promptly be won in our schools. From segregated schools, race leadership continues to come 'too little and too late.' As a result, through whole vineyards 'branches' are dying on the vine. Meanwhile our many largely lily-white Catholic schools are being called anti-democratic, in sharp contrast to the public schools which admit all races and colors. And in our own ranks we suffer from the policy of exclusiveness. Mu-

tual appreciation comes only from mutual knowledge; and our children are being denied the education to be had from personal knowledge of fellow Catholics drawn from other branches of the human race." Rev. John E. Coogan, S.J., "Christian Untouchables?" *Review for Religious*, March 15, 1946.

"The people of this community, even a number of our Catholic people, have been taught over a period of years to look down upon the colored people, to despise and hate them, or even to consider them as something less than human. This is direct opposition, of course, to the well-established principles of the Church, principles which teach us that in the sight of Almighty God there is no distinction because of the color of the skin . . . We are not pleading for the rights of our colored children as citizens; we are appealing for the granting of their rights as Catholics. They are in desperate need of a more intimate knowledge of God, a knowledge that can be obtained only in a Catholic School." Msgr. Frederick Ketter, in a letter addressed to the parents of the students of Reitz Memorial Catholic High School, Indianapolis, 1944.

". . . Fifteen years ago few of our schools—whether they be colleges, seminaries, or high schools—manifested any great concern with the interracial problem. Today all of them to a greater or lesser degree are interested.

". . . Today students want to know what the Catholic Church has done for the Negro, what religious orders and communities are working among them, what is the number of colored Catholics in the United States, what is the background of the unusual prejudice and intolerance manifested here.

". . . Today many students openly inquire: 'Why aren't there any Negroes in our school?' In other words the interracial problem seems to be getting out the 'talking' and into the 'doing' stage.

". . . Such organizations as the Catholic Students Mission Crusade, the Catholic Youth Organization, the ACTU, the Jocists, the Sodality of Our Lady, and many others are carrying on the work of utmost importance both to the future of the Church in America and likewise to the future of America herself." Rev. Thomas A. Meehan, "Youth Faces the Interracial Problem," *Interracial Review*, July 1940.

## Hospitals

"Our Catholic institutions could *lead*—rather than wait for other institutions to take the initiative. Just as St. Louis University took the lead in becoming the first college in the state of Missouri to admit Negro students.

"Certainly this is the time to act. Today public opinion in America is more favorable to the practice of interracial justice than ever before. It could be done now!

"The time is ripe for all hospitals and training schools for nurses to abandon practices that both violate fundamental rights of Negro-Americans and are now hindering the enlistment of the nurses needed to properly staff all hospitals.

"Hospitals are rightly called institutions of mercy—and models of charity. We believe that in the near future they will also be hailed as exemplars of justice." From an editorial; "Hospitals and Schools for Nurses," *Interracial Review*, February 1948.

## The South

"The race problem of the South, although surrounded with many difficulties, can be solved. Primarily, it is a moral question . . . The Catholic Church does not admit that any moral problem is beyond solution.

"The only real remedy is a sincere application of the teaching of the Gospel of Christ. And in this matter we, whom God has chosen as the spiritual leaders of the South, cannot remain silent, even if those who will not follow Christ in His teaching regarding this question dare cast at us the opprobrious accusation of being 'anti-Southern.' Our responsibility in this matter urges us to 'be instant in season, out of season; reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine.'

"The condition of our Southern region with its unapplied democracy, stands out boldly as an obstacle to other nations who are sincere inquirers into the practicality of our American way of life. The solution of the problems of the South is of vital concern to the nation from the viewpoint of its becoming a sound unit of international society and a power for world peace." Bishop William T. Mulloy, Bishop of Covington, Kentucky, in an address to the Catholic Committee of the South, Columbia, S. C., 1951.

"We Catholics of the South realize that our own conduct in this field (race relations) frequently has not conformed to our religious convictions.

"To the end that we might contribute to a full expression of the Christian conviction, we urge that in all Catholic churches there be no segregation according to color, and further that there be no barrier as to color in limiting vocations to religious life.

"In the field of education we urge that in all our graduate and professional schools we immediately admit qualified Negro students and that all immediate possible steps be taken to admit them to colleges, and that our Catholic schools take the leadership in eliminating the segregated school system.

"We also suggest that the facilities of all our Catholic hospitals be made available to patients on the basis of need rather than on the basis of race.

"Also, we ask our Catholic hospitals to admit to practice all registered nurses, all qualified laboratory technicians, irrespective of color, and that, likewise, doctors, irrespective of color, be admitted.

"A further general suggestion is that the techniques of interracial or community councils be used to bring together intercultural groups to community betterment and regional advancement." Conclusions of a workshop of the Catholic Committee of the South, cited by A.—Jackson, Catholic Committee of the South, *Interracial Review*, September 1949.

### *The Church in the U. S.*

"In recent times we have rejoiced to witness the open espousal of the Colored people and their rights as Americans and Christians by our own Cardinal Spellman, by Archbishop O'Boyle of Washington; and Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans; Archbishop Ritter of St. Louis . . .

"We Catholics, all of us, must recognize that our Church must always be the Church that will never tolerate unjust discrimination which forbids any person to enter its churches, schools, hospitals, or seminaries, because of his color, and we continue to be the Church which has consistently, for nineteen centuries, preached and practiced the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ to which we belong—the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man . . ." Msgr. Cornelius Drew, in a sermon in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, April 16, 1950.

"As a Catholic living in the South what must my attitude towards other Catholics who are Negroes be?

"The fact that you are living in the South has little to do with

the question; the fact that you are a Catholic has a great deal to do with it.

“Segregation of the races is not a recognized policy of the Catholic Church anywhere. It is the unhappy product of regional prejudices and traditions which the Church merely tolerated at one time because it was felt conflict and tensions might otherwise arise. But as recently as 1949 in the Synod of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, a decree was promulgated which states explicitly that Negroes must be allowed to worship in whatever church they please and must not be asked to sit in specially designated pews.” From a statement by the Commission on Human Rights of the Catholic Committee of the South, 1950.

### *In Religious Life*

“Until every religious order, congregation, and society of this our great United States can include among its members, either actually or potentially, representatives of every color, race and nation which this mishmash population claims, such a religious organization is not democratic and still much less is it Christian. Neither can there be any dilly-dallying about this matter—all arguments to the contrary notwithstanding.” Sister Mary Ellen O’Hanlon, O.P., “Are We Keeping the Second Great Commandment?” *Sponsa Regis*, January 15, 1948.

### *The Confessional*

“Perhaps on this whole race matter there should be a revision of the examination of conscience in preparation for the Sacrament of Penance. For instance, more pertinent questions could be asked about the Seventh Commandment than the usual stereotyped ones—questions such as: ‘Do you cooperate in keeping the Negro from getting work or a decent wage? Do you advocate his exclusion from labor unions, and thereby keep him from better wages? Do you exact unjust rents and prices from him? Do you give your servant good wages?’

“With regard to the Fifth Commandment such questions could be asked as: ‘Do you hate your neighbor because he is a Negro or of a different race? Do you call him names? Have you injured him directly or indirectly, as by inciting mob action, etc?’” Rev. John J. Conroy, S.J., “Whither Segregation?” *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, June 1947.



## *In Parishes*

"In all cases of which we have record, where pastors have vigorously pointed the way to their people, there has been no trouble with the free worship and schooling of Negroes and white people. After all, a parish is hardly ever any better than its pastor. The strange part of it, too, is the fact that parishes usually do better financially when they admit Negroes to full membership in parochial life—and God knows that they do better spiritually." Rev. D. J. Corrigan, C.S.S.R., "Plight of Catholic Negroes," *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, October 1947.

"Open wide the doors of all churches, all schools, all unions, all fraternal bodies and all business to people of every race and color. Only by working, praying, and worshiping together, day by day, can you wipe out the misunderstandings which are fertile soil for race hatred. Unite Negro and white schools, churches and other institutions so that together you may help to solve the economic, social and political problems which beset all people everywhere. Only in this way can we build a word of brotherhood, with peace, liberty, and justice for all." Msgr. John A. Ryan and 316 prominent Americans in a public statement, 1943.

## *Parish Societies*

"We should provide occasions for groups of educated whites and Negroes to mingle. Parish sodalities, alumni and alumnae groups, school groups could have Negro speakers at meetings or forums. Make it an international affair, if that seems more tactful. Have a Chinese, Brazilian, a Mexican there as well. The mere fact that people break bread together promotes better racial understanding. We'll never have successful world order, when we can't even get men of different colors to sit down and break bread together in clubs, hotels, restaurants. Don't scoff; try this idea. Watch the good results." Rev. Hugh Calkins, O.S.M., "Two Worlds," *Novena Notes*, March 17, 1950.

## *Catholic Press*

"That Catholic Press has been an ardent foe of the Communist heresy for many years. The racist heresy has not received anything like the same attention. Yet it would seem the duty of the Catholic

Press to combat the racist heresy with the same vigor, courage, and determination that it is employing against Communism." John J. O'Connor, "Is the Catholic Press Necessary?" *The Catholic Mind*, February 1951.

### *Catholic Women*

"We abhor the continuing situation in our country where, by discrimination and segregation, our fellow members of the Mystical Body, because of their color or ethnic origin, are denied their God-given rights. We have seen the appalling results of these injustices . . .

"We, therefore, urge Catholic women by deed as well as thought and talk to exert their powers to combat these injustices, to initiate positive action to counteract them and to see that in the family and in the schools, our children are taught proper attitudes of justice and charity towards their fellow-men." Resolution, National Convention, National Council of Catholic Women, 1950.

### *Non-discriminating Courtesy*

". . . These are various little gestures and words that are due to all fellow-citizens, fellow-workers, neighbors, and so forth, and not merely to one's special friends. I think it is very important that every individual white person be conscious of this duty when he is dealing with Negroes. If he says 'sir' to a white man, he should say 'sir' to a Negro; if he tips his hat to a white woman, he should also tip his hat to a Negro woman; if he says 'good morning' to white neighbors, he should say 'good morning' to his Negro neighbors; if he shakes hands with a white person to whom he is introduced, he should shake hands with a Negro under the same circumstances. In themselves these are small things; and any individual with good will can do them. Yet, failure to use them can cause deep hurt and humiliation, whereas their use can cause genuine elation to those who have been constantly denied them. Moreover, they manifest just what is needed to improve race relations: good will and respect." Rev. Gerald Kelly, S.J., *Review for Religious*, November 1951.

### *Interracial Councils*

"American Catholics have been showing a steady growth of in-

terest and concern for both the conversion of the Negro and for the removal of interracial injustices . . . Among the lay groups is the Catholic Interracial Council of New York founded in 1934 . . .

"The central idea of the Catholic interracial movement is the application of Catholic social morality and theology to the question of race relations." Report on the Catholic Church and the Negro in the United States, issued by the Fides news-agency of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome, March 1950.

"You (members of the Catholic Interracial Council) are not fanatics. You are definitely right in this work. Those who oppose you have not a leg to stand on. Yours is a movement that will further the ideals of our democracy. It is in line with the teachings of Christ, that all men are brothers and all are equal in their rights and duties. I urge you to continue this good work." Msgr. Cornelius Drew, in an address to the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, October 1951.

### *Friendship Houses*

"Among American Catholics one finds an ever-growing number of activities where both white and colored participate. Notable are the New York and the Chicago Friendship Houses." Report on the Catholic Church and the Negro in the U. S., issued by the Fides news-agency of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome, March 1950.

### *Public Officials*

"Besides organized action there is urgent need of individual action by Catholics. Unfortunately, the number of Catholics is all too few who make it a matter of conscience to be fair and just and charitable to Negroes the same as to other fellow citizens. Nevertheless, there are such Catholics, both men and women, and some who have been immunized themselves against the ridicule and 'razzing' of shallow friends and acquaintances. They are salt of the earth.

"I recall an incident a few years ago involving a Commissioner of Police in a metropolitan area with a population of over 900,000. He had had the courage, following a competitive examination, to promote a Negro staff policeman to the rank of Lieutenant. He was of course denounced . . . This same Commissioner told me, in

something of a Celtic accent but with real Celtic faith: 'Father, I had to promote that man. He stood highest in the examination. He had a right to the promotion. If I didn't promote him, I couldn't make my confession.' This public official was putting his Faith into practice. This is what I mean by personal action." Bishop Francis J. Haas, "Catholics and Race Equality," *Catholic Mind*, December 1946.

### *Union Officials*

"Every member of those international unions which bar Negroes by constitutional provision has some obligation, varying with his influence within the union, to work for the repeal of such provisions." Rev. Francis Gilligan, *Negro Workers in Free America*, Paulist Press, 1939, p. 23.

### *Consumers*

"Apart from all question of strict obligation, the status of consumer offers Americans a large field in which they might assist Negroes. Manufacturers and merchants are sensitive to the wishes of customers. They react very promptly to organized pressure. If repeatedly for a month twenty Catholic women notified the manager of a department store that they deplored the absence of colored sales-girls, very shortly the colored girls would appear on the clerk's side of the counter." Rev. Francis Gilligan, *Negro Workers in Free America*, p. 24.

### *In Your Neighborhood*

"Early in July a Catholic man and his wife told me that they had recently been asked to sign a petition in their neighborhood not to sell their home to Negroes. This couple refused to sign. Actually they were the only home owners in the block that refused to do so. As a result, they and their children were subjected to every kind of cheap sarcasm and abuse by their neighbors. But they stood firm. They acted as they did, because they were Catholics, declining to do what they were asked to do because, as they said, it was wrong. Here again was personal action, even something like heroic action." Bishop Francis J. Haas, "Catholics and Race Equality," *Catholic Mind*, December 1946.

"In many of our great industrial centers acute racial tensions exist. It is the duty of every good citizen to do everything in his power to relieve them. To create a neighborhood spirit of justice and conciliation will be particularly helpful to this end. We hope that our priests and people will seek opportunity to promote better understanding of the many factors in this complex situation and strive for its solution in a genuine Catholic Spirit." Statement of the Bishops of the U. S., 1943.

"1. If a Negro moves into your block, sit tight, and get to really know the newcomers before you make up your mind to move. You are likely to find that they are every bit as good as your white neighbors.

"2. Don't worry because a Negro child sits beside your son or daughter in school. They will get along splendidly, provided you don't interfere. And it will profit them both.

"3. Don't form your judgments of Negroes by what you read in the newspapers. There are great masses of decent, honorable Negroes who are being made to suffer for the sins of a few. Negro crime is made higher because of widespread anti-Negro intolerance and discrimination. Christian charity demands that the Negro be helped, not condemned.

"4. Rid your mind of the bugaboo of interracial marriage. Remember, the Negro feels the same about this as the white man; he much prefers to marry one of his own race. Out of our 30,000 Negroes here, we have had only two interracial marriages in three years." Msgr. Cornelius Drew, quoted in "A Parish Goes Interracial," by Thomas F. Doyle, *Interracial Review*, August 1945.

"Nearly all American cities now have mixed neighborhoods in which property values have been maintained. Why should my neighborhood not become a mixed neighborhood without sacrificing its property values? If the same kind of leadership that is now joining with me in confining the neighborhood to certain limited groups would use its ingenuity in the admission of limited numbers of other groups, there is no reason why it would not fare as well as mixed neighborhoods in other sections.

"We have a responsibility to point the way in the practice of a Christian philosophy of life. We must be willing to accept as our neighbors people of every nationality and every race." Msgr. John O'Grady, editorial in the *Catholic Charities Review*, September 1950.

"Shall the homes of the whites be opened to the blacks? Shall all meet in the parlor in perfect social equality? My answer is, that one's home is one's castle, the privileged place where each one follows his own likes and his own tastes, and no one, white or black, rich or poor, can pass the door without an invitation from the owner, and no one can pass censure upon the owner's act.

"I claim the right I grant to others—and my door is opened to men of all colors, and no one should blame me. Social equality is a matter of taste; the granting of it largely depends on our elevation above the prejudice, and the identification of minds and hearts with the precepts and the counsels of the Gospel." Archbishop John Ireland, in an address, January 1, 1891.

### Summary

"Justice to the Negro demands the recognition of certain moral principles . . . And these principles are put into practice by acknowledging: (1) the dignity of the Negro in God's sight; (2) the rights of the Negro in everyday life. In part of the United States as are denying (at least indirectly) the right to:

- "1. Freedom of speech and expression, by (a) excluding qualified Negroes from schools and colleges; (b) effectively denying them the right to vote in some states; (c) excluding them from parks, theaters, and other institutions of a municipal or cultural nature.
- "2. Freedom to worship God, by (a) demanding that Negroes attend separate churches; (b) the prejudice and lack of interest shown even by some Catholics toward Negroes seeking the true faith.
- "3. Freedom from want, by (a) denying the Negro a just living wage; (b) excluding him from active membership in unions; (c) excluding him from hotels and restaurants.
- "4. Freedom from fear, by (a) denying the Negro the usual titles of polite society, referring to them as 'nigger,' cursing them; (b) making them the victims of violent segregation in public conveyances and in the sections of cities in which they must live; (c) denying them, at times, a just trial, and making them victims of mob violence." Thomas F. Mulcrone, S.J., in the Institute of Social Order's *Chaplain's Service*, 1945.

## *A Resolution*

"1. I will spread no rumor and no slander against any sect.

"2. I will never try to indict a whole people by reasons of the delinquency of any member.

"3. I will daily deal with every man in business, in social, and in political relations, only on the basis of his true individual worth.

"4. In my daily conduct I will consecrate myself, hour by hour, to the achievement of the highest ideal of the dignity of mankind, human equality, human fellowship, and human brotherhood." A Pledge for American Unity, written by Joseph M. Proskauer and endorsed by Cardinal Francis Spellman of New York City, 1944.

## *A Papal Blessing*

"By reason of your profession you are favorably circumstanced to influence thousands of readers, and no doubt you make it a primary purpose of your writing to counsel them aright in their pursuit of that interracial justice and brotherhood, which alone can secure the stability of all that men hold dear.

"From the day that the Church was divinely commissioned to 'teach all nations' (Matt. 28:19) she has without distinction or preference, sent her missionaries to all the peoples of the world. Her conviction of the sacredness of her momentous charge is based not only on the fact of the common physical origin of all men, but also on the great truth of revelations, that God 'wishes all men to be saved' (1 Tim. 2:4) and that Christ the Redeemer 'died for all.' (2 Cor. 5:15).

"In this you have the key to the solution of the problem that vexes you. All men are brothered in Jesus Christ; for He, though God, became also man, became a member of the human family, a brother of all.

"This fact, the expression of infinite, universal love, is the true bond of fraternal charity which should unite men and nations. May it be welded ever more firmly through the efforts of all men of good will.

"With this prayer in our heart and with deep, fatherly affection we invoke on you, on all who are dear to you and on all who labor with you in charity to further the cause of interracial justice; the blessing of Almighty God." Pope Pius XII, in an address to U. S. Negro Publishers, May 1946.

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Father Daniel Cantwell is the chaplain to the Catholic Labor Alliance of Chicago, an editor of "Work," the Catholic labor newspaper published by the C.L.A., and assistant chaplain to the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago. The main body of this pamphlet appeared originally in the "American Catholic Sociological Review."



