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THE WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF  
CHAMPAIGN-URBANA: A SURVEY OF  
SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION

BY

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## INTRODUCTION

Ever since the momentous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, concerning integration in the public schools, on May 17, 1954, the attention of the nation has been focused on the problem of Negro-white relationships, in other areas (such as housing, employment and social equality) as well as in education. Even in the churches the problem of segregation has come to the foreground.

In the earliest days of American development, the Negroes attended the services of the churches of their white masters as a matter of course. Then, with the rising emphasis on civil rights, climaxed by the War Between the States, a segregated church was evolved. In 1922 a survey showed that

"The relations of the two races in church matters differ widely from what they were years ago. Members of both races formerly belonged to the same congregation, which in the beginning in this country ignored social distinctions. They have since then undergone radical changes to reach the present situation in which they have all but severed connection with each other."<sup>1</sup>

In the twenty-five years since that survey, there has been a surge of social consciousness toward racial issues. Church leaders have been in the vanguard of those who claim the importance of the individual, regardless of race, color, or national group. As a result of this basic concept, there has been a growing tendency toward integration in the church.

Integration in the church, however, is not universally experienced,

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<sup>1</sup> Walter H. Brooks, "The Evolution of the Negro Baptist Church," The Journal of Negro History, ed. Carter G. Woodson (Lancaster, Pa. and Washington, D.C., The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1922), Volume VII, No. 1, January, 1922, p. 11

sought, or even desired. Some progressive denominations accept integration without reserve; others are hesitant about it. Even where the denomination is against segregation, the local church is slow to follow. Individual church background and circumstances often determine individual church attitudes toward integration.

Because of this, it was deemed profitable to investigate the actual status of a particular group of social units, namely, the white Protestant churches of Champaign and Urbana, Illinois, in regard to integration. With the writer's background of fourteen years in the Christian ministry, plus his interest in the sociology of religion, this study was undertaken.

It would be well, in the first place, to define the term "segregation" as used consistently throughout this study. Sociologists would perhaps describe segregation as "that form of isolation in which social distance is based upon physical separation."<sup>2</sup> "Integration" is, on the other hand, a form of fellowship based upon physical nearness.

Two general types of segregation can be distinguished. The first is passive, based on customs and traditions. It implies the congregation of people through common interests and attractions. The second type of segregation is active, enforced upon the individual. Myrdal analyzes this,

"If upheld solely by individual choice, social segregation manifested by all white men in an American community can be -- and is -- defended by the norm of personal liberty. When, however, legal, economic, or social sanctions are applied to enforce conformity from other whites, and when Negroes are made to adjust their behavior in response to organized white demands, this violates the norm of personal liberty."<sup>3</sup>

How segregation works, and how it reacts upon itself, is pointed out

<sup>2</sup> Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Volume 13, p. 643

<sup>3</sup> Gunnar Myrdal: An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), 2 volumes, p. 573. Italics his.



by Culver:

"Sociologists describe the effects of segregation as part of a vicious circle. Segregation accentuates group differences. The resulting conflict further strengthens the segregation pattern. Thus segregation makes for prejudice and is the means by which prejudiced opinions are handed on from one generation to another."<sup>4</sup>

Culver goes on to quote G. Gallagher Buell as saying, concerning segregation,

"It establishes patterns of conflict and misunderstanding and hatred. It makes more problems than it solves. It denies the impulses of brotherhood and perpetuates in magnified form an injustice which it is powerless to correct."<sup>5</sup>

It is not within the purpose or intent of this paper to discuss the moral rights and wrongs in segregation, especially as it concerns the church. This is, rather, an objective analysis of the situation as it is found in the churches already delineated. Hence, in the study, "segregation" is used to infer a church membership divided by color lines, and "integration" a church membership including both races. (These races are limited to two: the Negro and the white, since they are the major racial groups residing in the area under consideration.)

There are four theoretical stages in the development of an integrated social order, including the church. On the one hand are the "rightists", as it were, the segregating group with a bigoted dominant group and a subservient minority class. Then is the marginal group, with some of the dominant members willing to "accept" minority members, but with the majority of the minority group content to remain with his own kind. Next comes the desegregating stage, with extremists from both dominant and minority groups sharing views against the segregation of the minority. Finally the "leftists" come,

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<sup>4</sup> Dwight W. Culver, Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 8

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

those who are completely assimilated, rarely, if ever, consciously differentiating individuals on the basis of race or other social categories.<sup>6</sup>

Doubtless the degree of integration, as delineated above, varies from congregation to congregation in the white Protestant churches of Champaign and Urbana. For purposes of this thesis, however, no such fine distinctions are drawn. Rather, this endeavors to be a factual presentation of the status of the various churches in the matter of integration.

Chapter One presents "The Historical Background of Segregation in the Churches", from colonial days through the Civil War period to mid-twentieth century America. Chapter Two discusses "The Rising Tide of Integration in the Churches", noting interdenominational trends which began developing in approximately 1920.

"The Setting and Design of Research" are given in Chapter Three, outlining the specific area studied and the forms of approach employed. In Chapter Four "The Attitude of the Major Denominations toward Integration of the Churches" is discussed, with the various resolutions of those denominational groups represented in the study quoted.

Chapter Five shows "The Membership of Negroes in the White Protestant Churches of Champaign-Urbana", including the number of Negro members, the proportion of Negroes to whites, and the location of the white churches in relation to the Negro neighborhood.

Chapters Six and Seven constitute the major bulk of the study, and report on "The Attitude of the Ministers of the White Protestant Churches of Champaign-Urbana toward Integration in the Churches," and "The Attitude of the Congregations of the White Protestant Churches of Champaign-Urbana toward Negro Membership." The findings of the study are tabulated, analyzed and evaluated statistically in these chapters.

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<sup>6</sup> Daniel Glaser, "Dynamics of Ethnic Identification", notes

Chapter Eight, the final chapter, consists of the "Summary and Conclusions." Included in it are (1) a summary of the status of integration in the white Protestant churches of Champaign and Urbana; (2) a discussion of the prospects for integration in these churches; and (3) suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER I  
THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS OF SEGREGATION  
IN THE CHURCHES

The Colonial Period, Before 1775

The beginnings of segregation in the churches of America are meshed in the gears of history. The rise of the slave trade of the first century of American development brought to our country hordes of illiterats, bewildered, subdued Negro people from Africa. On the whole, these slaves were considered to have no soul, no life other than that which belonged to their masters. As a result, there raged for several decades a controversy among slaveholders over the proper attitude toward the spiritual needs of these Negroes:

"In the first century of North American settlement, many slave-owners held an uneasy conscience about baptizing their slaves, fearing that if made Christians, they should then be set free. It was questioned if Negroes had souls. After some twisting and turning by the theologians, the Bishop of London, toward the end of the seventeenth century, found that 'the freedom which Christianity gives is a freedom from the bondage of Sin and Satan' -- and nothing more. Christians, therefore, could be slaves, and slaves could be Christians."<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, slaveholders either arranged for religious instruction for their slaves, or else permitted them to receive such instruction from their own preachers. It must be kept in mind that strong religious persuasion did not grip the entire colonial population, common belief to the contrary, and therefore concern for the

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<sup>1</sup> Archie Robertson, That Old-Time Religion (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950), p. 184

spiritual welfare of the slaves was not prevalent among the masters. Thus, in 1706, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel discovered that out of 1,000 slaves in South Carolina, only four were professing Christians and only one had been baptized.

According to a survey made by the Bishop of London in 1724, the great bulk of slaves received no religious instruction at all. In fact, in Virginia it was determined that Negro slaves

"... attended church in only 11 out of 29 parishes in the colony, and in these 11 only a very few of the total number of slaves were allowed this privilege. Such persons were the very intelligent ones."<sup>2</sup>

Other factors bearing upon this lack of interest in religious provision for the Negroes were the fact that many of the slaves did not know or understand English, the theory held by some owners that the conversion of a slave would impair his economic value and would interfere with his working on Sunday, and the feeling that religious instruction would develop ideas of equality, tending to make the Negro dissatisfied with his status. Too, some slaveholders thought that the Negro was inferior in every way, and that mingling with the slaves in religious services was not only undesirable but dangerous as well.

On the other hand, some forces were favorable to the evangelizing of the slaves. Several of the major Protestant denominations had a missionary interest in reaching the slaves, although this interest was often stifled by insufficient funds or half-hearted performance. The sense of responsibility for the souls of the slaves was divided, with the Bishop declaring that the masters should undertake the instruction of their Negroes, and the masters in turn believing that this was the duty of the clergy. Conditions on the

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<sup>2</sup> Luther P. Jackson, "Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia from 1760 to 1860," The Journal of Negro History, ed. Carter G. Woodson (Menasha, Wis., and Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1931), Volume XVI, No. 2, April, 1931, p. 170

plantation also hindered church work among the slaves, because of long periods of labor, vast territories to be covered, and laws forbidding the slaves to leave the plantation, even for religious instruction.

However, the slave was welcome, in many areas of colonial America, to worship in the white churches. John Wesley, founder of the Methodist Church, rejoiced in the baptism of a Negro convert in 1760. In the first meeting of a Methodist congregation in America, in 1766, a Negro slave was among the five individuals present. Negroes attended the first Sunday school established in this nation, organized by Francis Asbury.

Other churches in various areas arranged to have the slaves present at their preaching services. H. R. Niebuhr, in one of his books, says that the slave owners hoped also that Negro attendance at white churches would expose the slaves to a higher type of preaching and would avoid emotionalism.<sup>3</sup> In some instances the Negroes sat in some reserved section of the auditorium; in others, they were assigned to seats in the balcony:

"As the Cotton Kingdom rose to its Confederate climax, for the most part slave-owners preferred Negroes to worship with them under the same roof. In this way they could control the sort of preaching they heard. Slave 'galleries' were built in most churches, the original 'nigger heavens.'"<sup>4</sup>

#### The Period of American Development, 1775 to 1830

The roots of the segregated Negro church in America are found in a religious movement known as the Great Awakening. Beginning roughly in 1740, this was an upsurge of religious interest, marked by the advent of many "revival" campaigns, which touched the Negro slave as well as the white master. This Great Awakening underwent four distinct phases. The Presbyterians led it, from about 1742 through 1758, working mainly in the "pioneer" areas on the

<sup>3</sup> Helmut Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: H. Holt and Company, 1929), p. 252

<sup>4</sup> Robertson, op. cit., p. 188

western fringe of the colonies. In approximately 1760, the Baptists took up the cause, working in one group throughout North Carolina and southern Virginia, in another group north of the James River. By 1772, and continuing until the Revolutionary War, the Methodists led the Awakening, working mainly south of the James River. After an interruption for the war years, the period from 1785 to 1789 saw the revival again in full sway, with all the denominations at work in the newly-formed states.

"All of these revivals, we must note, but more especially those following the Revolution, brought in Negro converts by the thousands as well as whites. Christianity now becomes a thing for all classes."<sup>5</sup>

During this post-war period, and carrying through into the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the Negro became increasingly aware of his own needs and strengths.

"The general policy of religious equality as seen in these revival efforts next raises the question of the methods used in receiving Negro converts into the churches and their degree of participation in them after becoming members. In many cases in this early period of church life for Negroes, members of this race were received into the churches like the whites. Some joined by Christian experience and baptism, and some by letter. ... In many churches one or more persons were appointed to look after the Negro membership.

"Negroes might be ever so welcome as members, but such fellowship hardly extended to their exercising a voice in the administration of the church after being admitted. ... It was decided (by the Dover Association in 1803) that although all members were entitled to certain privileges, none but free male members should exercise any authority in the church."<sup>6</sup>

This sense of restriction and subjection was frustrating to the Negro, who felt a sense of equality with his white Christian brethren. His

<sup>5</sup> Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 171

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175

participation and attendance at church were narrowly proscribed. He was treated more as a "back seat member" than a true participant in the church. He had no voice in the organization or business of the church, he was subject to the discipline of the white members, and often he was ignored in the services to the point where he no longer cared to attend. Often during the services in the white churches, it is said, the Negroes would loiter outside, trading among themselves fruit, tobacco, cake, and sometimes spirits.

The evolution of the segregated church was gradual. For some time, the white masters were reluctant to grant separate organization to their slaves. They ceded to them more and more privileges in worship, but continued close supervision and control of the services.

"The Negro members of white Baptist churches of this country were, as a rule, permitted to worship with their white brethren within certain fixed limits. The gap between them, however, tended to widen. Later they were allowed another hour for worship, with large bounds and privileges. Still later they were provided with all the privileges of the Baptist meeting house under the restrictions of the white churches to which they belonged. The master class gradually reached the position of separating the races in worship, but for the security of slavery they deemed it wise to hold the Negroes as members of the white churches." 7

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, several Negroes became famous as preachers. Under their inspiration, the slaves yearned toward all-Negro churches, not under the control and domination of the whites. Some of these notable leaders were Philip Jasper, his son John, George Liele, David George (who was liberated by his master in order to be ordained to the ministry), and Andrew Bryan (who purchased his own freedom and erected an all-Negro church).

The first all-Negro church in America of which there is accurate record was founded in Silver Bluff, South Carolina, by one Mr. Palmer, between the

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<sup>7</sup> Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14



years 1773 and 1775. It had thirty members. In 1779, George Liele started a Negro Baptist Church in Savannah, Georgia, and by 1803 there were three Negro Baptist congregations in Savannah, with about 900 members. These churches were completely independent of the white churches, although near the turn of the century some of these Negro congregations became affiliated with "associations" of white churches for the sake of fellowship. Denominations other than the Baptists soon followed suit.

"... the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was originally a member of the St. George Society, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and he and others withdrew from that body of white persons in 1787; but it was not until 1794 that Bishop Francis Asbury constituted the Bethel A.M.E. Church at Philadelphia, which claims to be the oldest Negro Methodist church in the country. The Zion Church, of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion connection, New York City, was founded in 1796, while the first church of Negro Episcopalians, the St. Thomas Church, Philadelphia, was planted by Bishop William White in 1794. The Lombard Street Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, the oldest organization of Negro Presbyterians in America, was constituted in 1807, and not until 1829 was the first church of Negro Congregationalists, the Dixwell Avenue of New Haven, Connecticut, constituted." <sup>8</sup>

During this period of American development, the Negro preacher rose to high standing among his own people. He was very influential among them, and was often consulted by white masters on matters of importance, because of his position as a natural leader. An interesting social phenomenon occurred several times during this era, when eminent Negro preachers ministered to mixed Negro-white congregations and were readily accepted in this capacity.

"In Virginia, between 1770 and 1800, many Negroes won fame as forceful preachers. Among them were Gowan Pamphlet, pastor of a Baptist church in Williamsburg; William Lemon, who was chosen by a white congregation to serve at the Pettsworth or Gloucester church; Josiah Bishop, who preached to a mixed audience in Portsmouth as early as 1795 and who so impressed his congregation that they

<sup>8</sup> Brooks, op. cit., p. 15

gave him money with which to purchase his freedom ... and finally John Stewart, a free Negro of Virginia, who went to Ohio and preached with so much power that he organized white people into a church in Marietta, Ohio.

"In 1780 Lemuel Haynes preached to whites in Connecticut, Vermont and Massachusetts."<sup>9</sup>

Therefore, during this period of separation into all-white and all-Negro congregations, there was an element of integration which persisted. The characteristics of this period, in addition to the fact of Negro leadership and voluntary association with white congregations, as noted above, include one or two other significant elements.

For one thing, the establishment of these Negro churches fulfilled an emotional need of the slaves. Socially and psychologically, they had had their fill of white domination. In their own churches, which grew out of their own religious preferences, they found outlets for the emotional needs of their souls. Their services could be conducted in the manner most pleasing to them, with "Amens" and "Hallelujahs" expressing their spontaneous reaction to the preaching.

The fact, too, that these Negro churches had their own leaders brought satisfaction of a sort. It encouraged the Negroes to look ahead to a better day, when their own leadership could care for their own needs. The offices and positions in these all-Negro churches were now theirs; they could have a voice in the organization, and in the business conducted.

In this respect, it should be noted that most of the all-Negro churches grew up in cities of considerable size: Savannah, Philadelphia, New York.

"The separate Negro church (in Virginia, 1790 to 1830) was primarily an urban institution, and not a rural one. Its membership, however, was not drawn simply from the Negroes in the town where

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<sup>9</sup> Benjamin Elijah Mays and Joseph William Nicholson, The Negro's Church (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933), p. 4

the church was located, but to a great extent from the large surrounding rural area from which these persons came to town on Sundays." 10

#### The Pre-Civil War Period, 1830 to 1860

In 1831 Nat Turner, a Negro slave of Southampton County, Virginia, rallied several fellow-slaves and rose in insurrection. The rebellion, though violent, was short-lived; the participants were suppressed and punished. However, the news of the uprising spread rapidly, and slave owners tightened some of the reins they had begun to loosen. Liberties and privileges hitherto accorded trustworthy slaves, or groups of slaves, were rescinded. This had its effect on the development of the Negro church, as might be expected. In fact, the matter was taken up by the Virginia General Assembly, which enacted the following in 1832:

"No Negro, ordained, licensed or otherwise, could hold religious or other assemblies at any time, day or night." 11

In addition, Negroes were forbidden to attend any such meetings, when such were conducted by a Negro. In fact, it became almost the rule of the day for white pastors to take over Negro pulpits. White supremacy became the watchword, with a circle ever narrowing and further suppressing the slave who longed for emancipation.

The Methodist Church of that day expressed the general opinion of the major Protestant denominations in regard to the position of the slave and his church:

"The policy of the church, as to the association of the races in worship, is indicated by the following from the report of the Board of Missions in South Carolina, in 1832:

"As a general rule for our circuits and stations,

<sup>10</sup> Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 188

<sup>11</sup> Trevor Bowen, *Divine White Right* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934), p. 112

we deem it best to include the colored people in the same pastoral charge with the whites, and to preach to both classes in one congregation, as our practice has been. The gospel is the same to all men, and to enjoy its privileges in common promotes good-will."<sup>12</sup>

Again the Negro churches were taken under the auspices of the various major denominations. Sometimes there were more Negroes than whites in the membership of these groups.

"When the Southern Baptist Convention was organized in 1845 one report suggests that there were more Negro members than white in proportion to the population. The same source says that in Virginia in 1853 there were 45,000 Negro and 50,000 white members in the Baptist churches of the state."<sup>13</sup>

By the time of the Civil War, there were 200,000 Negro members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and 150,000 Negro Baptists.

#### The Past Century, 1860 to 1950

With the advent of the War Between the States, great pressure was brought to bear upon President Lincoln concerning the bondage of so large a proportion of the population. This pressure grew until, on September 22, 1862, the President issued a warning to the seceded states that he would declare their slaves "free" if they did not return to the fold. They did not heed this warning, however, so on January 1, 1863 the famous Emancipation Proclamation was forthcoming.

This did not have any major immediate effect, for war conditions demanded that the slaves remain with their masters for safety's sake, if for no other reason. However, on December 18, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment was

<sup>12</sup> J.C. Hartzell, "Methodism and the Negro in the United States", The Journal of Negro History, ed. Carter G. Woodson (Lancaster, Pa., and Washington D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1923), Volume VIII, No. 3, July, 1923, p. 302

<sup>13</sup> Walter H. Fleming, Documentary History of Reconstruction, Reprinted (New York: Peter Smith, 1950), Volume I, p. 244. Quoted in T.B. Maston, Integration (Nashville, Tennessee: The Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1956), p. 5

passed, freeing the slaves of the North as well as those of the South. Then the Fourteenth Amendment was proposed and proclaimed on July 28, 1868, giving former slaves full rights as citizens. This most controversial amendment was ratified by most of the states, but the struggle to put it into operation was a long uphill climb which, in some areas, has never been fully accomplished.

The freeing of the slaves, and the attempt of the Federal Government to guarantee them full liberty, had its effect upon the Negro church situation.

"With the end of the Civil War and the beginning of Reconstruction, there was another shift in Southern customs; the Negroes generally withdrew from the white churches and formed their own -- as they had begun to do half a century earlier.

"The break was symbolic. Between white and black an emotional chasm grew. Members of white churches during Reconstruction often said that they missed the colored people in the gallery, their loud 'Amen!' and the chuckles, joyful cries, and wonderful singing. But for half a century or longer after the Civil War, the only substantial help for Negro churches and schools came from the North." <sup>14</sup>

Freedom for the Negro was accompanied by a "revival spirit" that swept over the race. Aided by such organizations as The Freedman's Aid Society and other Baptist groups, within a period of fifteen years nearly 1,000,000 Negro Baptists had their own churches in which to worship. These churches were not under the domination of whites; they were truly segregated.

Other denominational separations took place. By 1870 a new denomination came into being, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. Over seventy per cent of the Negro members of the Presbyterian Church also left at this time to establish their own independent group. In 1866, the Negroes in North Carolina formed their first state convention, followed in rapid succession by Virginia, Alabama, and other Southern states. It is to be noted that these segregation movements came, not from the whites, but from the Negroes

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<sup>14</sup> Robertson, op. cit., p. 189

themselves. This is suggested in a report of a round table discussion on the subject of church segregation:

"It is an interesting fact that segregated churches began, not at the instigations of southern white people, but as the choice of southern Negroes. Let me read you another resolution, one made at the Baptist State Convention in Alabama, not in 1956 but in 1865:

"Resolved that the changed civil status of our late slaves does not necessarily change their relationship to our churches. And while we recognize their right to withdraw from our churches and form organizations of their own, we nevertheless believe that their highest good will be served by their retaining their present relation to those who know them, who love them and who will labor for the promotion of their welfare."<sup>15</sup>

The background of these new churches, and the factors which abetted their development, are analyzed by Mays and Nicholson.

"Prior to the emancipation of the slaves, social and psychological factors influenced the separation of both Negroes and whites in public worship. Following the emancipation, when the Negro could actually own and aggressively expand his church, the economic factor was added. Therefore, since about 1865 these economic, social and psychological factors have permeated the structure of the Negro church. Specifically, churches originated from about five causes, namely, a growing racial consciousness, the initiative of individuals and groups, splits, migration of Negroes, and missions of other churches."<sup>16</sup>

This growing racial consciousness, budding during the pre-Civil War period, blossomed forth abruptly with the release of the slaves. As has been noted, this took effect in the churches by bringing about segregated congregations, the Negro's choice. The initiative of individuals and groups was reflected in the Negro leadership developed, leaders who proved to be guiding lights in the formation of separate congregations. Splits were numerous.

<sup>15</sup> LIFE magazine, "A Round Table Has Debate on Christians' Moral Duty," Last Part: Background of Segregation (Chicago, Ill.: Time, Inc., 1956), Volume 41, No. 14, October 1, 1956, pp. 145-146

<sup>16</sup> Mays and Nicholson, op. cit., p. 15

The "free Negro" resented the freedom granted so easily to the slaves. Un-taught in the Word, forceful in personality, determined in his own way, the lay leader often proved to be the pivotal point in the development of a new group through a split from a former one. Also, Negroes migrated freely with the westward trend of the population. With them they took their preference for a segregated church, and wherever they clustered, a small group of "believers" would emerge into a newly-formed congregation. In the final place, the major denominations sustained their missionary interest with renewed vigor during the years that followed the Civil War. Baptist churches, the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Presbyterians all evolved plans for "evangelization" of the Negroes, plans which included the establishment of independent Negro groups for purposes of religious instruction and worship.

During this ninety-year period, the church was not entirely segregated, however, for the pattern of the years did not change overnight. Some churches retained their slave-galleries, although in most instances these became mere architectural relics. Here and there Negroes continued to meet with white congregations.

"One Sunday in the first uneasy years of separation, it is said, a colored man came into a white Episcopal Church and knelt at the altar. The congregation stirred unhappily, the moment was tense, until General Robert E. Lee left his pew and knelt beside him.

"John Jasper (a famous Negro preacher), in his own way, helped to bridge the gap. He did not bring back the colored people into the white churches, but he brought thousands of white people to worship in his." <sup>17</sup>

These efforts toward united worship were, however, rather weak and ineffective, and there was no movement toward integration worthy of note until the second decade of the 1900's. This movement, and the rising protests against segregation which it voiced, will be discussed in Chapter Two.

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<sup>17</sup> Robertson, op. cit., p. 189

## CHAPTER II

### THE RISING TIDE OF INTEGRATION

#### IN THE CHURCHES

##### The Interdenominational Attitude Toward Integration

During the second decade of the twentieth century, a rising tide of integration began in America. Its first official voice was heard through the newly-formed Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, organized in 1908. This union of denominations proposed, in 1921, a Commission of Race Relations, with a nine-fold statement of purpose. One of its aims was

"... to promote mutual confidence and acquaintance, both nationally and locally, between the white and Negro churches, especially by state and local conferences between white and Negro ministers, Christian educators, and other leaders, for the consideration of their mutual problems."<sup>1</sup>

This Commission of Race Relations has been the organ through which the integration arm of the Federal Council of Churches (whose name was changed in 1950 to the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America) has operated.

One of the first projects upon which this Commission embarked was the establishment of what became known as "Race Relations Sunday." This annual observance was intended to educate the church people of America as to their obligations and responsibilities in race relations, and to promote better understanding between white and Negro Christians. The Sunday chosen was that immediately preceding the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, February 11, 1923, and

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<sup>1</sup> Bowen, *op. cit.*, p. 131



that corresponding Sunday has been suggested annually as Race Relations Sunday ever since then. In more recent years, the Commission has issued sermon suggestions and ideas for use in radio, television, church papers and church programs themselves. A "Call to Action" has also been issued, aimed at encouraging the churches to take definite action to improve inter-racial cooperation and understanding.

It took the Oxford Conference, representing nearly all the major Protestant and Orthodox churches of the world, to make a declaration which embodied the first significant shift in attitude toward Negro-white church relations. In 1937, this gathering of church representatives stated,

"Against racial pride of race antagonism, the Church must set its face implacably as rebellion against God. Especially, in its own life and worship, there can be no place for barriers because of race or color ... no place for exclusion or segregation because of race or color." <sup>2</sup>

In March, 1946, the interdenominational Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, at a special meeting in Columbus, Ohio, outlined the social costs of segregation. It noted the role of the churches in this problem:

"The pattern of racial segregation in America is given moral sanction by the fact that churches and church institutions, as a result of social pressure, have so largely accepted the pattern of racial segregation in their own life and practice." <sup>3</sup>

Having thus renounced the pattern of segregation in churches, this committee then requested its constituent members to follow suit.

"... as proof of their sincerity in this renunciation they will work for a non-segregated Church and a non-segregated society." <sup>4</sup>

This action was subsequently endorsed by national gatherings of many of the

<sup>2</sup> Culver, *op. cit.*, p. 12

<sup>3</sup> *The Church and Race Relations*, An Official Statement approved by The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at a Special Meeting, Columbus, Ohio, March 5-7, 1946 (New York, N.Y.: Department of Race Relations, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1946), p. 3

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5

major Protestant denominations. A full description of the attitude of these various denominations will follow in Chapter Three.

This same meeting of the Federal Council also issued a revealing statement concerning the present-day (1946) situation of segregation in the churches, quoting from a manuscript, "Racial Policies and Practices of Major Protestant Denominations," presented by Frank Loescher.

"There are approximately 6,500,000 Protestant (church members among) Negroes. About 6,000,000 are in separate Negro denominations. Therefore, from the local church through the regional organization to the national assemblies over 90% of the Negroes are without association in work and worship with Christians of other races, except in interdenominational organizations which involve a few of their leaders. The remaining 500,000 Negro Protestants, about 10%, are in denominations predominantly white. Of these about 95%, judging by the surveys of five denominations, are in segregated congregations and are in association with their white denominational brothers only in national assemblies, and, in some denominations, in regional, state or more local jurisdictional meetings. The remaining 5% of the 10% in white denominations are members of local churches which are predominantly white. Thus only one-half of one per cent of the Negro Protestant Christians of the United States worship regularly in churches with fellow Christians of another race. This typical pattern occurs, furthermore, for the most part in communities where there are only a few Negro families and where, therefore, there are only on an average two or three Negro families in the white churches.

"Negro membership is confined to less than one per cent of the white churches, usually churches in villages and small towns where but a few Negroes live and have already experienced a high degree of integration by other community institutions, and, one might add, communities where it is unsound to establish a Negro church since Negroes are in such small numbers."<sup>5</sup>

The desegregation movement, sponsored by the National Council of Churches, grew in speed and momentum. The General Board of the Council adopted an official statement and resolution, in its meeting in Chicago on

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 3-4

June 11, 1952:

"The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. in its organizational structure and operation, renounces and earnestly recommends to its member churches that they renounce the pattern of segregation based on race, color or national origin as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the Gospel of love and human brotherhood. While recognizing that historical and social factors make it more difficult for some churches than for others to realize the Christian ideal of non-segregation, the Council urges all of its constituent members to work steadily and progressively towards a non-segregated church as the goal which is set forth in the faith and practice of the early Christian community and inherent in the New Testament idea of the Church of Christ ... " <sup>6</sup>

This statement was soon followed by some suggestions for action, presented by Dr. Martin Luther King, pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church of Montgomery, Alabama, himself a Negro.

"Local churches can take action within their own organization by:

- "1. Re-examining continuously in the light of the Gospel their attitudes and behavior regarding race relations, and committing themselves to carrying out their Christian responsibility.
- "2. Opening membership in the local church and its organizations to all people and making this fact known in the community.
- "3. Selecting paid and volunteer leadership on the basis of qualifications.
- "4. Continuing to serve the total community by seeking new church members regardless of race.
- "5. Contacting their denominational social education and action agency or the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, for information regarding the process of achieving a racially inclusive fellowship in the local church.

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<sup>6</sup> The Churches and Segregation, An Official Statement and Resolution adopted by the General Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. in Chicago, Illinois, June 11, 1952

"6. Urging groups within the church to sponsor study groups and forums with worship services and other activities to gather the facts about race relations in the community, and to make plans for a race relations program that runs throughout the year."<sup>7</sup>

In 1953, the General Board of the National Council of Churches also enumerated some principles to guide the forthcoming national and inter-national meetings. Included in these were the suggestions that the national and regional meetings of the organization be held only where there were facilities open to all on a non-segregated basis.<sup>8</sup>

When the World Council of Churches of Christ, the international expansion of the National Council, met in Evanston, Illinois, in the summer of 1954, one of its first requirements was that the city pledge equal use of all its facilities (hotels, restaurants, etc.) to all delegates, regardless of race, color or national origin. This pledge was required in writing, before the group would agree to come to Evanston for its sessions.

At this meeting of the World Council, the Section on Intergroup Relations placed the Assembly squarely on record against segregation, by presenting the following resolutions, which easily passed the entire gathering:

"... segregation in all its forms is contrary to the Gospel, and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ. The Assembly urged 'the churches within its membership to renounce all forms of segregation or discrimination and to work for their abolition within their own life and within society.' The resolution also reaffirmed that 'from its very beginning, the ecumenical movement by its very nature has been committed to a form of fellowship in which there is no segregation or discrimination.'<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> National Council Suggestions for Action (New York: The Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, The National Council of Churches, 1953), p. 4

<sup>8</sup> A Guiding Principle for Meetings and Conventions (New York: The General Board, the National Council of Churches, 1954)

<sup>9</sup> Homer A. Jack, "The World Council's Challenge to Religious Liberals", The Christian Register (Unitarian) (Bristol, Conn.: Division of Publications, American Unitarian Association, 1954), Volume 133, No. 8, October, 1954, p. 15

Not only on the international level (through the World Council of Churches of Christ) and the national level (through the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.), but also on the regional and local levels have interdenominational declarations against segregation been made, and experiments in integration performed. In the field of education, a bi-racial conference on The Role of Church-Related Schools and Colleges in the Southeast was held at Atlanta University, February 26-28, 1956. This meeting of representatives of 27 schools and colleges of seven denominations in nine states was for the express purpose of using the "bi-racial approach" to discuss "racial issues and tensions." 10

In West Virginia, a "pilot project in human relations" was launched with twenty white and Negro leaders from all parts of the state -- educators, clergymen, physicians, parents, and others with community leadership experience -- meeting, not to

"... step in and try to tell the courts and school officials when and how to end segregation, but, as they take this step, to have a group ready to help concerned people understand and solve the problem of transition." 11

This group was sponsored jointly by the West Virginia Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches' Department of Racial and Cultural Relations.

The Massachusetts Council of Churches called upon the Protestant churches of that state on March 23, 1956,

"... to lead their people in such programs of education and action as may contribute to the lessening of racial tensions, and the establishment of full equality and justice for all our people, and the elimination of all segregation because of race." 12

10 Interracial News Service, A Digest of Trends and Developments in Human Relations, eds. J. Oscar Lee, Alfred S. Kramer, Geneva R. Jones (New York, N.Y.: Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, Division of Christian Life and Work, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1956), Volume 27, Number 2, March-April 1956

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

This declaration by the Massachusetts Council of Churches was fortified with suggestions for various specific inter-racial projects.

On the local level, the Church Federation of Dayton, Ohio, sponsored a Church and Race Institute, the purpose of which was

"... to further the spirit of Christian togetherness and to face up to our responsibility and opportunity as individual Christians and churches in the important and critical area of our social life -- race relations." 13

These are but a few of the more recent manifestations of the growing awareness of the plight of the Negro in the churches, and the attempt on the part of interdenominational groups -- international, national, state, and local -- to bring about integration in the churches.

#### The Supreme Court Decision

The attention of the nation was focused upon civil rights during the presidential campaign of 1952. In the months that ensued, there was a growing demand for equal rights. A test case was brought through the courts, in the field of public education. Was segregation in the public schools within the rights of the state, or was it not? On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court handed down its historic decision. With a unanimous voice, it declared that segregation of the races in public (tax-supported) schools is unconstitutional.

The resultant turmoil which arose in the public school systems in many areas of the South had its effect in other phases of Negro life as well as in the sphere of education. Churches rallied to the challenge and issued various pronouncements in favor of desegregation. How many of these declarations have been actually carried out on the local level is another matter, however. Some authors even question the idea that the decision of the Supreme Court has had any real effect whatever on integration in the churches, as that would probably have come gradually even without the impetus of the Court's decision.

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13 Ibid.

The Present Situation in the Churches

Mid-twentieth century America finds the problem of integration in the churches in a crucial period. Segregation does exist, and it is not all harmful according to the sociologists. Frank Loescher claims that

"... there is more segregation in the church than in any other major institution in the United States." 14

Buell Gallagher, a college president and Congregational minister, recently broke into print with the statement that

"... the structure of the caste system in this country are nowhere more thoroughly observed than in the Protestant church." 15

Another observer of the situation states,

"It is now commonplace for Protestants and their critics to point out that at 11:00 Sunday morning society is more segregated than at any other hour of the week." 16

To substantiate this, a recent issue of a national church magazine pointed out that more than 90% of Negro Protestants meet in separate bodies. 17

Dean Liston Pope, of Yale Divinity School, comments, concerning the northern and southern attitude toward integration in the churches,

"There is very little difference between southern and non-southern white churches, on the whole, in the degree to which they have failed to incorporate Negroes. The segregation of Negro Protestants into separate churches is practically universal throughout the country." 18

It would seem also that the Negro church is the strongest of all Negro institutions. Mordecai Johnson is quoted as saying,

"The Negro church next Sunday morning will get five million people together into meeting. All the

14 Christian Century, ed. Harold E. Fey (Chicago, Ill.: Christian Century Foundation, 1956), Volume 73, No. 6, February 8, 1956, p. 174

15 Christian Century, Vol. 73, No. 22, May 30, 1956, p. 664

16 Ibid.

17 Christian Century, Vol. 73, No. 6, February 8, 1956, p. 175

18 Culver, op. cit., pp. 9-10

rest of the Negro organizations during the next year won't get five million." 19

Even the Negroes are aware of this, with mixed reactions, as reported in a Negro newspaper:

"Segregation is tacitly approved by the church, and the church is the greatest influence in the country in perpetuating race prejudice ...

"The Negro church was born of the Negro desire to worship without humiliating restrictions ... but the separate church has done much to preserve in the minds of many white people the concept of two vertical orders of society, one white and one colored, proceeding along parallel roads to parallel goals." 20

What does this mean, in actual analysis of the present church situation in America? A survey, in 1946, of 17,900 churches of six Protestant denominations showed only 866 mixed congregations. Nearly all of these were predominantly white churches, to which one or two Negro families came. The survey concluded that

"... the number of white and Negro persons who ever gathered together for worship under the auspices of Protestant Christianity was almost microscopic." 21

A later survey, made between May, 1954, and May, 1956, revealed substantially the same situation. This study was made under two distinct headings, the North and the South. Some of its findings are disclosed in its remarks on "Religion" in these two areas. Regarding integration in religion in the North, its authors stated:

"This is the largest single category in the inventory, and perhaps there should be some emphasis upon what it does not prove, since a collection of instances is more easily open to misinterpretation in this field than in most others.

"Because more examples were found among churches

19 Bowen, *op. cit.*, p. 150

20 Bowen, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153

21 *Christian Century*, Volume 73, No. 6, February 8, 1956, p. 174



it does not indicate necessarily that they are doing a more extensive job of integration than other institutions, nor that they were further behind before 1954. Negroes and whites have worshipped together in the North for a long time, and the number of instances cited here is not positive proof that the process has accelerated in the last two years. No evidence was seen that progress has been materially influenced by the Supreme Court decision on the public schools. Any one or combination of many factors may have played a part. But the items listed below should not be construed as supporting conclusively the arguments for or against those factors.

"What the inventory does show is that desegregation has taken place in our churches in a great many denominations, under a wide variety of circumstances, in virtually all parts of the North." 22

Then, turning to the South, these same authors present the current church situation there, insofar as integration goes, by a series of examples of desegregation, prefaced by the following observations:

"The most widespread change in the Protestant religious field in the South between May 1954 and May 1956 was the integration of ministerial associations. Twenty such instances were found.

"Four of these groups went a step further and elected Negro officers, while Episcopalians in Oklahoma and Texas elected Negroes as delegates and alternate, respectively, to their national convention in Honolulu during the summer of 1955.

"The overwhelming majority of churches continued to serve either white or Negro congregations, although at least 10 formerly white churches accepted Negro members. Occasionally, Negroes have attended other white churches for special services or on a temporary basis. Interracial worship in Catholic churches is fairly common, and Unitarian churches have been open to all for more than two years in several large Southern cities.

"During the period, many denominations adopted policy statements and resolutions which, as a minimum, called for a re-examination of racial policies or questioned the Christianity of

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22 David Loth and Harold Fleming, Integration North and South, A Progress Memorandum (New York, New York: The Fund for the Republic, 1956), pp. 37-38

continued segregation. However, these pronouncements are not included, since it was decided to limit this survey to instances of actual desegregation.

"Several new groups concerned with racial problems were formed under religious sponsorship, and Methodist women moved to implement their national policy of opening facilities under their administration to all races." <sup>23</sup>

One factor which few of these surveys seem to take into consideration as they make these analyses of integrated churches is that there are thousands of small communities where anywhere from one to six or seven churches exist, where there is not a single Negro family in residence. To consider these churches as being "segregated" rather than "integrated" is manifestly false to the standards of objective research. In defense of the church, it must also be pointed out that in many churches where there are no Negroes, any Negroes who cared to attend would find a welcome.

Also, it is frequently true that the Negro does not attend a white church out of his own preference. A church social worker in New Jersey, planning a Christmas program, was approached by a group of Negro children who asked for their own separate program, stating, "We get awfully tired of white folks around all the time." The poignancy of Langston Hughes' words on the Negro returning to Harlem is convincing:

"O, sweet relief from faces that are white." <sup>24</sup>

Therefore, despite the rising tide of integration, segregation does continue to exist in the churches of present-day America. This is not an unmixed evil, it would seem. But social consciousness continues to grow, and the ideals of Christian brotherhood, expressed by interdenominational groups, have their effect on denominations and local churches, in one way or another.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92

<sup>24</sup> Bowen, *op. cit.*, p. 124

### CHAPTER III

#### THE SETTING AND DESIGN OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH

##### The Twin Cities of Champaign-Urbana, Illinois

Champaign and Urbana, Illinois, known locally as the "Twin Cities", are located in the east central portion of Illinois. The older of the two cities, Urbana, was founded in 1833 as the seat of Champaign County. This city occupies 3.8 square miles of area, and had a population in 1950 of 22,834. Between 1930 and 1940 the population of Urbana showed an increase of 7.7%, and between 1940 and 1950 it showed a 60.2% increase. A special census taken in October of 1954 indicated that the city's growth is continuing, with an 11% increase over the 1950 figures. The assessed valuation of the city in 1954 was \$ 44,744,042. The chief industry of the city is manufacturing, with 14 manufacturing establishments in Urbana employing 533 workers. Four railroads serve the city, and there are four hospitals, nine public schools and one parochial school.

Champaign is directly west of Urbana, adjacent to it, separated only by Wright Street. Champaign began in 1854, when the Illinois Central Railroad, unable to purchase a right-of-way through Urbana, built its tracks two miles west of the Urbana business district. The business area which grew up around the tracks was known unofficially as "West Urbana" until, in 1857, the name was changed to Champaign. Now the larger of the two cities, Champaign had a population of 39,563 in 1950. Of this number, 97.8% was American-born. Champaign covers an area of 4.7 square miles, and has an assessed valuation of \$87,879,030. The chief industry is, as in Urbana, manufacturing, and 2,000 workers are employed in its 15 major manufacturing establishments. There are ten public schools and two parochial schools in the city.

The University of Illinois, which has property in both Urbana and Champaign, is largely responsible for the growth of the twin cities. The main campus has 472 acres, with 1,688 acres of experimental farm land adjoining. The University plant was valued in 1954 at \$123,763,467, and it has about 100 major buildings. University enrollment is approximately 19,000, with an additional 6,000 persons on the teaching, research, administrative, and service staffs.

The cities of Champaign and Urbana are served jointly by all utilities, although they have separate political administrations. The cities are contiguous, and for the purposes of this study will be considered as one. Both cities have separate business districts, and a third business area has grown up near the center of the University. Champaign, the larger city, has a more dominant economic position due, in part, to the presence of the Illinois Central Railroad right-of-way. Both cities are populated by a middle to well-off conservative white population, whose standard of living is generally high.

#### The Negro Population of Champaign-Urbana

The Negro district of the twin cities is located in the northern area of both cities. It is bounded roughly by Bradley Street on the north, Goodwin Street on the east, Park Street on the south, and the Illinois Central Railroad tracks on the west. The Negroes are largely limited to this area, although there are a few families living outside these boundaries.

The majority of the Negroes live in Champaign, with the 1950 census reporting 1,543 of the total Negro population residents of Champaign and 327 Negroes in Urbana, or a total Negro population of 1,870. The Negro population of the twin cities has not kept pace with the increase of white population. In fact, it has actually declined. Champaign and Urbana had, in the 1930 census, a combined total population of 33,408, compared with a 1950 census figure of 62,397. The 1930 census indicated a Negro population of 1,992 (of which 394

lived in Urbana), and the 1950 figures showed a decrease of 122, with 1,870 Negroes reported (of which 327 lived in Urbana).<sup>1</sup>

The Negro community consists of laborers, servants, and a few professional people. There are no Negro lawyers or doctors, and the clergy and a few school teachers make up the professional class of the community. It has been stated that it is difficult for the whites to establish rapport of any sort with the Negroes, as there are few logical Negro leaders in the community.<sup>2</sup>

The homes and property of this Negro area show evidence of much physical deterioration (in marked contrast to the residential areas of the whites.) Some of the streets in this district are not paved, and sanitary facilities are inadequate. According to one point of view, the Negroes live in this area because of low rents and the prejudice shown them in the other areas of the cities.<sup>3</sup> There are many tensions in the Negro community, and the attitude of the whites toward it is mixed: they profit from it, yet are hostile to it.<sup>4</sup>

#### The Churches of Champaign-Urbana

In anticipating the present research, the writer considered two questions in the process of limiting his study: (1) What churches should be included in the study, and what churches should be omitted? (What about the dubious groups, as far as Protestantism is concerned, such as Bahai, Spiritualist, Mormon, Christian Scientist, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Salvation Army?) and (2) Should Negro churches be included, with the question as to whether or not whites attended its services?

It was decided, in answer to the first dilemma, to limit the present

<sup>1</sup> 1950 Census of Population, Volume 2, "Characteristics of the Population" Part 13, "Illinois" (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1952)

<sup>2</sup> Interview with Rev. Arnold Westwood, pastor of the Unitarian Church

<sup>3</sup> Janet Cromwell, History and Organization of the Negro Community in Champaign-Urbana, thesis, p. 32

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Rev. John Dorr, Director of Religious Education in the Wesley Foundation

research to the white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana. Jewish and Catholic congregations were excluded. The Bahai Center was also excluded, on the grounds that it is considered, by the members themselves, a non-Christian religion.

The term "Protestant" is used in the study in the popular understanding of the term: that is, those churches and people who have a religious preference, but who are neither Catholic nor Jewish. In the narrow and historical meaning of the term, such congregations as the Latter-Day Saints (Mormons), Christian Scientists, Spiritualists, and Jehovah's Witnesses would have also to be excluded. However, since they are considered "Protestant" in the popular terminology of the word, they are included in the present research.

The second question was answered in the negative, with the decision to consider the matter of integration in the churches of Champaign-Urbana only from the point of view of the white Protestant churches. Further research on the Negro's point of view might prove profitable at some other time.

There is no complete listing of the Protestant churches of the twin cities of Champaign and Urbana. Several lists are in print, but these proved to be incomplete. The Champaign-Urbana News-Gazette and the Champaign-Urbana Courier, the two newspapers of the cities, carry listings of the majority of the churches in their Saturday editions. Also, both the Champaign-Urbana city directory and the classified section of the Champaign-Urbana telephone directory include many of the churches. Neighborhood investigations in both Champaign and Urbana discovered several congregations which were not included in any published listing.

The white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana are distributed rather evenly through the two cities. Within the two or three years just past, there has been an "exodus to the suburbs" of several of the major congregations, with new edifices being erected in newly-opened subdivisions of Champaign-Urbana.

In some instances, the previously-occupied church building has been sold to another congregation; in others, it has been demolished for business purposes. The majority of the white Protestant churches meet in well-kept buildings, are served by adequate staffs, and are rather influential in the community.

Table 1, on the following pages, lists the white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana. There are, as closely as can be determined, fifty-nine white Protestant churches in the cities of Champaign and Urbana. Of this number, only one is situated within the Negro district as outlined above, and only three are within a three-block radius of this Negro area.

The Negro Protestant churches, on the other hand, are entirely confined to the Negro area of the twin cities. There are sixteen Negro Protestant churches in Champaign-Urbana, as listed in Table 2, page 37.

These Negro Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana range in size of membership from a small handful of individuals to as many as 500 persons. According to a pastor in the community, only six of these churches have full-time ministers. The remainder are served by preachers who have other employment, or those who serve churches in other cities as well. One minister works in Chicago during the week, coming to the Champaign-Urbana community only for the week-ends.

The two oldest congregations of Negroes in the twin cities are the Salem Baptist Church and the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. These congregations were organized by white ministers, and their buildings were constructed by private subscription of whites in Champaign and Urbana between 1870 and 1880.

The churches in the Negro community, with but few exceptions, do not present an attractive appearance. Many of them are dilapidated structures, unpainted and showing marked signs of deterioration. In several instances, the church is not identified by name on the exterior of the building, and some congregations meet in private residences for their services.

TABLE 1

## THE WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

- 1 Christian and Missionary Alliance  
Twin City Alliance Church, 602 East Michigan Avenue, Urbana
- 2 Assembly of God  
Assembly of God, Knights of Pythias Hall, 313 North Neil Street, Champaign
- 3 American Baptist  
First Baptist Church, 134 West University Avenue, Champaign  
First Baptist Church, 405 South Race Street, Urbana  
University Baptist Church, 314 East Daniel Street, Champaign
- 4 General Baptist  
General Baptist Church, Carpenter's Hall, 212 West Hill Street, Champaign
- 5 Southern Baptist  
Temple Baptist Church, 1100 Broadmoor Drive, Champaign  
First Southern Baptist Church, 810 North Goodwin Avenue, Urbana
- 6 Primitive Baptist  
Primitive Baptist Church, 1711 West Springfield Avenue, Champaign
- 7 Church of the Brethren  
Church of the Brethren, 1210 North Neil Street, Champaign
- 8 Church of Christ  
First Christian Church, 500 West Church Street, Champaign  
West Side Church of Christ, 1501 West Park Street, Champaign  
White Street Church of Christ, 606 East White Street, Champaign  
South Lincoln Avenue Church of Christ, 701 South Lincoln Avenue, Urbana
- 9 Church of God  
Church of God, 303 South Anderson Street, Urbana
- 10 Christian Reformed Church  
Christian Reformed Church, 700 West Kirby Avenue, Champaign
- 11 Christian Science  
First Church of Christ, Scientist, 602 West Church Street, Champaign  
First Church of Christ, Scientist, 501 West Oregon Street, Urbana
- 12 Congregational  
First Congregational Church, Sixth and Daniel Streets, Champaign  
First Congregational-Christian Church, 402 West Main Street, Urbana



TABLE 1 - Continued

- 13 Disciples of Christ  
Webber Street Church of Christ, 706 East Elm Street, Urbana  
University Place Christian Church, 403 South Wright Street,  
Champaign
- 14 Episcopal  
Emmanuel Memorial Episcopal Church, 102 North State Street,  
Champaign  
Episcopal Church of St. John the Divine, 1011 South Wright  
Street, Champaign
- 15 Evangelical and Reformed  
St. Peter's Evangelical and Reformed Church, Williams and  
Russell Streets, Champaign
- 16 Foursquare Gospel  
Foursquare Gospel Church, 102 East Oregon Street, Urbana
- 17 Society of Friends  
Champaign-Urbana Society of Friends, Hillel Foundation, 503  
East John Street, Champaign
- 18 Interdenominational  
Twin City Bible Church, 1302 West Springfield Avenue, Urbana  
North Side Gospel Center, 301 East Thompson Street, Urbana  
Prospect Avenue Chapel, 502 North Prospect Avenue, Champaign  
The Gospel Tabernacle, 1302 $\frac{1}{2}$  North Champaign Street, Champaign
- 19 Jehovah's Witnesses  
Kingdom Hall, 1508 North Ridgeway Street, Champaign
- 20 Latter-Day Saints  
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1401 West John  
Street, Champaign
- 21 American Lutheran  
St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church, 312 West Elm Street,  
Urbana
- 22 Missouri Synod Lutheran  
St. John's Lutheran Church, 310 East University Avenue, Champaign  
Trinity Lutheran Church, Florida Avenue at Anderson Street,  
Urbana  
University Lutheran Chapel, 604 East Chalmers Street, Champaign
- 23 United Lutheran  
Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church, 201 West Springfield Avenue,  
Champaign
- 24 Lutheran (combined)  
Lutheran Student Foundation, East Chalmers and South Wright  
Streets, Champaign

TABLE 1 - Concluded

- 29 Methodist  
 First Methodist Church, Church and State Streets, Champaign  
 First Methodist Church, Green and Race Streets, Urbana  
 Wesley Methodist Church, 1203 West Green Street, Urbana  
 Grace Methodist Church, East Main Street and Cottage Grove Avenue, Urbana
- 26 Free Methodist  
 Free Methodist Church, 912 West Springfield Avenue, Urbana
- 27 Church of the Nazarene  
 Grace Church of the Nazarene, 201 East Park Street, Champaign  
 West Side Church of the Nazarene, 1002 West Eureka Street, Champaign
- 28 United Pentecostal  
 United Pentecostal Church, 400 West Bradley Street, Champaign  
 United Pentecostal Church, 1002 East Illinois Street, Urbana
- 29 Church of God (Pentecostal)  
 Church of God, Park and Busey Streets, Urbana
- 30 Presbyterian  
 First Presbyterian Church, State and Hill Streets, Champaign  
 First Presbyterian Church, 602 West Green Street, Urbana  
 McKinley Memorial Presbyterian Church, 809 South Fifth Street, Champaign  
 Community Presbyterian Church, 1700 Crescent Drive, Champaign
- 31 Reorganized Latter-Day Saints  
 Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, University Y.M.C.A., 1001 South Wright Street, Champaign
- 32 Seventh Day Adventist  
 Seventh Day Adventist Church, 1007½ West Stoughton Street, Urbana
- 33 Spiritualist  
 First Church of the Spiritualist, 219 South Water Street, Champaign
- 34 Unitarian  
 Unitarian Church, 1209 West Oregon Street, Urbana
- 35 Universalist  
 Universalist Church, 311 West Green Street, Urbana
- 36 Wesleyan  
 Metropolitan Wesleyan Church, 408 East Illinois Street, Urbana

TABLE 2

## THE NEGRO PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

Apostolic

Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God, 601 East Vine Street,  
Champaign

Baptist

Salem Baptist Church, 500 East Park Street, Champaign  
Pilgrim Baptist Church, 603 North Ash Street, Champaign  
Mount Olive Baptist Church, 1111 North Fourth Street, Champaign  
Morning Star Freewill Baptist Church, 1400 West Eads Street,  
Urbana

Church of Christ

North Side Church of Christ, 504½ East Grove Street, Champaign  
Dublin Street Church of Christ, 1402 West Dublin Street, Urbana  
Independent Church of Christ, 407 East Grove Street, Champaign

Church of God in Christ

Church of God in Christ, 501 East Grove Street, Champaign  
New Bethel Church of God in Christ, 1309 West Eads Street, Urbana

African Methodist Episcopal

Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, 401 East Park Street,  
Champaign

Colored Methodist Episcopal

St. Luke's Colored Methodist Episcopal Tabernacle, 809 North  
Fifth Street, Champaign

Miscellaneous

Church of God in Christ Congregational, 509 North Poplar Street,  
Champaign  
Church of God and Saints of Christ, 305 East Vine Street,  
Champaign  
New Hope Tabernacle, 408½ East Vine Street, Champaign

Spiritualist

St. Paul's Interracial Spiritualist Church of Christ, 102 East  
Washington Street, Champaign

Previous studies of the local Negro community relate that the services in these churches may be orderly or extremely disorderly. There is shouting, "speaking in tongues", and other evidence of extreme religious fervor. However, the Baptist and Methodist congregations tend to be more patterned after their white counterparts.

Inquiry was made as to the attendance of whites at these Negro Protestant churches. It was believed that whites were only occasional visitors at a few of the better Negro churches.

There is no ministerial organization in the Negro community, although one or two of the leading Negro ministers are members of the Champaign-Urbana Ministerial Association. (It might be noted here that the Rev. Andrew Parks, pastor of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church of Champaign, served as president of the Champaign-Urbana Ministerial Association for the year 1956-1957.)

There is little cooperation between the various congregations of the Negro community. According to one pastor, the "cooperation" most often sought after is when a church invites another congregation to one of its programs, requesting that the minister announce the special meeting and bring along, say, twenty-five of his own members. Not only does this help fill the host church; it also brings additional funds into its treasury. One pastor stated that he ignored such invitations, especially when they came from churches which had split from his own congregation in previous years.

#### The Research Design

In making this study, three methods of gathering data were employed: the questionnaire, personal interviews, and gathering of material from other sources.

The first step in the present research was the designing of the

questionnaire, which is the source of the major amount of information used in the study. During the course of preparation, the writer considered the following points, as a guide to formulating the items on the questionnaire:

1. How many churches in Champaign and Urbana are monoracial? Are there any truly interracial? Upon investigation, it was learned that all of the Protestant churches, as listed in Tables 1 and 2, would be termed monoracial, in view of their overwhelmingly preponderant membership in one race, white or Negro. (The one apparent exception to this, the Interracial Spiritualist Church of Christ, was found to be a Negro congregation.)

2. How many denominations have expressed favorable attitudes toward integration? How many have remained silent on this point? Have any gone on record as opposed to integration? Are the local churches carrying out the wishes of their denominations in regard to integration? This was included in the questionnaire, and the findings are reported in Chapter Four, immediately following this chapter.

3. When the denomination is on record as favorable to integration, what is the attitude of its local pastors? How many of these ministers are indifferent to or opposed to integration? What might be the reasons for this disagreement? The findings on this point, which was included in the questionnaire, are reported in Chapter Six.

4. In view of the fact that these are University-centered towns, does the presence of University of Illinois faculty members and/or students in the congregation make any difference in the attitude of the minister and the church toward integration in the church on the local level? This also was included, and the results are discussed in Chapter Six.

5. What other factors might influence the attitude of the minister in this matter of integration? Age? Education? Birthplace? Membership in ministerial and ecclesiastical fellowships? These were considered pertinent

points; hence, they were included and the data secured is presented also in Chapter Six.

6. Mindful also of the fact that distance or proximity of the white Protestant church to the Negro neighborhood might have some bearing on the attitude of the membership and pastor toward integration, it was decided to determine the locations of the various congregations in relation to the Negro area and study their integration (or lack of it). This was done in Chapter Five.

7. Can the differences in attitude between the pastor and his congregation toward the whole matter of integration be shown? Would it be of significance? Because such attitudes are so markedly personal, not objective, the writer decided not to attempt any analysis of these attitudes, but rather to determine them through the questionnaire and report the findings, which is done in Chapter Seven.

8. Related to the above question is the following: when the minister and his congregation hold differing views toward integration, is the congregation more or less tolerant than its pastor toward the subject? This item was asked of the ministers through the questionnaire and, while it presents only the minister's view of the congregational attitude, hence may be somewhat biased, it is reported also in Chapter Seven.

One more problem had to be decided, and that was whether or not the University churches or student foundations should be included in the study. Inasmuch as these actually are church groups for the students and faculty members from the University, it was deemed proper to include them in the present research, although this also may have thrown the balance in favor of a biased conclusion, as will be noted later in the study.

This, then, was determined to be a factual study, based on the white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana, including the student foundations,

hence, the following questionnaire was formulated and prepared, containing these questions which were considered pertinent. Table 3, on the following pages, was the form of the questionnaire which was mailed to the ministers or leaders of the fifty-nine white Protestant churches of Champaign and Urbana. The questionnaire included a personal letter and a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

From the fifty-nine questionnaires, thirty-six (or 61 per cent) were returned in completed form. Several others were returned partly filled out, and two groups wrote brief letters of explanation as to why they felt that the questionnaire did not apply to them. One other was returned with qualifications to every answer, which invalidated the results and made its inclusion in the tabulation impossible. Those who did not respond to this first mailing were, after a three-week interval, contacted again by mail. This second contact brought back three questionnaires (which are included in the thirty-six reported above.) Some of the non-responding groups were also contacted by telephone. Of these, ten reported that they had no Negro members, nor did they have any regular Negroes in attendance upon their services, although two of them indicated that Negroes had, upon occasion, visited their churches.

It is believed that the findings presented in this study are fairly representative of the churches in Champaign and Urbana. Every major denomination represented in the Twin Cities responded to the questionnaire, and, in a number of instances, where there were three or four congregations of the same denomination in Champaign-Urbana, two or more responded. In some groups, the response from denominations was complete. These are as follows: Christian and Missionary Alliance, Christian Reformed, Church of the Brethren, Congregational-Christian, Episcopal, Foursquare, Society of Friends, Free Methodist, Church of the Nazarene, Jehovah's Witnesses, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Unitarian and Universalist.

TABLE 3

## QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MINISTERS OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

## I. Check one only:

- Negroes never attend my church
- Negroes attend my church occasionally
- Negroes attend my church regularly
- Negroes hold membership in my church
- Negroes hold membership and office in my church and/or church school

## II. Check one only:

- I invite and encourage Negroes to membership in my church
- I favor the membership of Negroes in my church
- I am indifferent as to whether or not Negroes are members of my church
- I prefer not to have Negroes as members of my church
- I am opposed to having Negroes as members of my church

## III. Check one only:

- My congregation has the same attitude as mine toward Negroes as members in our church
- My congregation differs from me in their attitude toward Negroes being members of our church

IF YOU CHECKED THIS SECOND ITEM, please check the following answer which applies:

- My congregation is more favorable toward Negroes being members of our church than I am
- My congregation is less favorable toward Negroes being members of our church than I am

## IV. Check one only:

- My denomination is officially on record as favorable to integration\*

(\* - Integration here is meant to mean inter-racial membership.)



TABLE 3 - Continued

\_\_\_\_\_ My denomination has not taken any official position on integration\*

\_\_\_\_\_ My denomination is officially opposed to integration\*

\_\_\_\_\_ I do not know the official position of my denomination on integration\*

## V. Check one only:

\_\_\_\_\_ My church is located in a Negro neighborhood

\_\_\_\_\_ My church is on the edge of a Negro neighborhood

\_\_\_\_\_ My church is within three blocks of a Negro neighborhood

\_\_\_\_\_ My church is beyond three blocks of a Negro neighborhood

## PLEASE ALSO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

1. Number of members of my church \_\_\_\_\_
  2. Number of Negro members of my church, if any \_\_\_\_\_
  3. Number of Negroes who attend regularly, but are not members \_\_\_\_\_
  4. If there are Negro members, what offices, if any, do they hold in your church or church school? \_\_\_\_\_
  5. If there are Negro members of your church, do they participate in the social life of the church? \_\_\_\_\_
  6. What is your denomination? \_\_\_\_\_
  7. Approximately how many University of Illinois students belong to your church? \_\_\_\_\_
  8. Approximately how many University of Illinois faculty members belong to your church? \_\_\_\_\_
  9. In what year were you born? \_\_\_\_\_
  10. In what state were you born? \_\_\_\_\_
  11. What was the last grade of school you completed? \_\_\_\_\_
  12. What earned academic degrees do you hold? \_\_\_\_\_
- (\* - Integration here is meant to mean inter-racial membership.)

TABLE 3 - Concluded

- 13. Do you ever preach on contemporary social problems, including race? \_\_\_\_\_
- 14. Have you ever personally invited a Negro to attend your church? \_\_\_\_\_
- 15. Do you belong to the local Ministerial Association? \_\_\_\_\_
- 16. Does your church belong to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.? \_\_\_\_\_
- 17. Do you observe Race Relations Sunday in February? \_\_\_\_\_

Please give a brief statement of your personal beliefs concerning the prospects for integration (inter-racial membership) in the churches of Champaign-Urbana:

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Thank you for your cooperation. It is not necessary for you to sign your name.

Those denominations which did not respond to the questionnaire were: Church of God (Pentecostal), Assembly of God, Church of God, Seventh-Day Adventist, and Spiritualist. The Latter-Day Saints Church did not respond completely enough to be classified. Three of these non-responding denominations may be classified as Pentecostal (the two Churches of God and the Assembly of God). Each of these groups have only one congregation in the cities. They are alike in that they are small congregations, of the poorer type of people, and indulge in a good bit of emotionalism, as shown in their emphasis on "speaking in tongues." The Seventh-Day Adventist Church, which did not return the questionnaire, is strictly speaking a sect, with but one congregation which meets for worship on Saturdays. The Spiritualist church also did not respond. There is one Spiritualist church in the area, which meets in a store-front building in the business section of town. Two of the interdenominational churches in the cities did not respond. (One of these is of the "holiness" persuasion.)

There are several factors in common in the nature of the churches which did not respond. For one thing, none of them are affiliated with the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. For another, none of the non-responding denominations have churches in Champaign or Urbana with upper-class congregations. Several of them might be termed "off-brands" of Christianity, because of their strong emphasis upon one or another minor point of doctrine or practice.

If these churches had been included in the tabulations, and if the churches which did not respond, of the major denominations, had been also included, the picture of integration in the white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana might be different. However, whether the picture would be changed for worse or for better it is impossible to surmise. Therefore, although the sample may be biased toward integration by the inclusion of

the student churches and foundations, it is equally true that the sample may be biased in another direction by the fact that these poorer, "off-brand" congregations did not respond to the questionnaire, a mere matter of conjecture.

The Baptist churches of Champaign and Urbana have been included together, although they represent four different groups of Baptists: the American Baptist Convention (Northern), Southern Baptist Convention, Primitive Baptists, and General Baptists. The General Baptists are a mission rather than a church and as such are not organized. The Primitive Baptists have services only twice a month, and mail addressed to the local congregation was returned as not deliverable. There are also three groups of Lutherans represented, and the local Churches of Christ are made up of three different groups.

In compiling the findings of the questionnaire, certain variables were observed. Independent variables of the churches were (1) location, (2) number of members, (3) denomination, (4) the number of University of Illinois faculty members who belong, (5) the number of University of Illinois students who belong, (6) whether or not it is a member unit of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and (7) whether or not it observes Race Relations Sunday.

Independent variables of the minister included, (1) his year of birth, (2) his place of birth, (3) education, (4) preaching on social problems, including race, (5) personal attitudes toward inviting the Negroes to his church, and (6) his membership in the Champaign-Urbana Ministerial Association (or lack of such membership.)

Other variables which may have influenced the findings of the questionnaire are (1) the segregated living conditions of the Negroes (which mean that many white churches have no Negroes in near residence), (2) the personal preference of many of the Negroes for their own Negro congregations, (3) the

type of white church responding (its social standing, number of established families in membership, student population), (4) the theological position of the church (for liberals have been much more interested in the so-called "social gospel" than have evangelicals, over a period of some decades), (5) the denominational affiliation of the church, (6) the very nature of the church (student foundation vs. town church), (7) the degree of interest manifested by the church toward integration (whether or not it actively seeks out Negro membership or passively waits for the Negroes to find it), and (8) the degree of acceptance of the Negro in the churches, whether full or partial.

In addition to the questionnaires, data were also gathered by means of personal interviews. Among others, those from whom information as to the status and prospects of integration in the white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana was collected were: the Rev. Andrew Parks, pastor of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Rev. Eugene H. Williams, pastor of the Salem Baptist Church, the Rev. Arnold Westwood, pastor of the Unitarian Church, the Rev. John Dorr, director of religious education at the Wesley Foundation, the Rev. W. Haydn Ambrose, pastor at the University Baptist Church and the Rev. Brewster Porcella, pastor of the Twin City Bible Church.

Also, Dr. Vernon H. MacNeill, executive secretary of the Illinois Council of Churches, provided valuable pamphlets and information to the writer. Mrs. Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi, the Director of the Department of Research in Christian Life and Work, of the Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., together with Dr. Alfred S. Kramer, of the National Council's Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, supplied other items of information as background material for this study.

CHAPTER IV  
THE ATTITUDE OF THE MAJOR DENOMINATIONS  
TOWARD INTEGRATION OF THE CHURCHES

Practically all of the major denominations represented in the churches of Champaign-Urbana have issued some form of statement or resolution regarding their stand on integration in the churches. The attitude of the denomination toward any social issue is important, because of the influence it brings to bear upon the local church situation and the ministers. Dr. Alfred S. Kramer, chairman of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., determined that

"... the presence of a stated denominational policy made at the top level is a definite aid to local churches that face the problem of inclusion or exclusion."<sup>1</sup>

In his study of "Patterns of Racial Inclusion Among the Churches of Three Protestant Denominations," he acknowledged that

"The data do not examine in detail what might be the actual causal relationship between policy at national level and changing behavior patterns at the local level."<sup>2</sup>

However, the fact of a relationship and influence from the larger body does exist. In view of this, the present research must include a summary of the pronouncements of the various major denominations represented in the white

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<sup>1</sup> Alfred S. Kramer, "Patterns of Racial Inclusion Among the Churches of Three Protestant Denominations," Reprinted from Phylon, the Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture, Third Quarter, 1955, p. 288

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana, in order to see later their influence, if any, on local church behavior in regard to integration.

Question Number IV on the questionnaire (see pages 42-43) inquired into the denominational attitude of the various churches in the sample. Table 4, on the following page, shows the ministers' answer concerning the attitude of their denominations.

A study of the table shows that, of the 36 responding churches, (1) the ministers of 22 (or 61.1 per cent) stated that their denomination is officially on record as favorable to integration, (2) the ministers of 11 (or 30.6 per cent) stated that their denomination has not taken any official position on integration, (3) the ministers of 2 (or 5.6 per cent) stated that they did not know the official position of their denomination on integration, and (4) the minister of 1 (or 2.8 per cent) failed to answer this question. No minister acknowledged his denomination as being officially opposed to integration.

Thus, the major denominations, for the most part, have actively stated their stand for integration in the churches (in some degree or other). Some of the denominations which have not actually gone on record as being favorable to integration have come out with some statement or resolution favoring race relations betterment. And some of the ministers fail to know the position of their denomination on integration, indicating a lapse somewhere between the denomination's resolutions and the minister's understanding of them.

The remainder of this chapter will be composed of examples of statements and resolutions made by some of the major denominations represented by the white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana.

#### The American Baptist Convention

The American Baptist Convention, known until 1950 as the Northern Baptist Convention, adopted the following resolutions on May 25, 1953:

TABLE 4  
 THE ATTITUDE OF THE MAJOR DENOMINATIONS  
 TOWARD INTEGRATION OF THE CHURCHES

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*
1		X		
2	X			
3	X			
4	X			
5		X		
6		X		
7		X		
8	X			
9				X
10	X			
11		X		
12		X		
13	X			
14	X			
15	X			
16	X			
17		X		
18	X			
19		X		
20	X			
21	X			
22	X			
23	X			
24	X			
25	X			
26**				
27				X
28	X			
29		X		
30		X		
31		X		
32	X			
33	X			
34	X			
35	X			
36	X			
Totals	22 (61.1%)	11 (30.6%)	0	2 (5.6%)

\* Attitudes: (1) Denomination officially favorable to integration  
 (2) No official position by denomination  
 (3) Denomination officially opposed to integration  
 (4) Denominational position not known

\*\* No answer given to this item on the questionnaire



"WHEREAS, The numbers of minority groups are steadily increasing in the membership and fellowship of the American Baptist Convention ... therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we commend the President of the United States on his action ... and that we encourage the use and employment of members of our minority groups at every level of our denominational work and activities." <sup>3</sup>

Following the action of the Supreme Court, the American Baptist Convention issued this resolution, adopted on May 28, 1954:

" ... We urge American Baptists to increase their opposition to other areas of segregation -- housing, employment, recreation, church participation. We urge local churches to carry forward educational programs dealing with this issue, and we propose cooperation with other Christian bodies of like mind." <sup>4</sup>

#### The Southern Baptist Convention

For many years, the Southern Baptist Convention has maintained a constructive relationship with Negro churches. In 1947, the Convention adopted a charter of principles in race relations, which was reaffirmed in 1948. This document consisted of (1) "A Charter of Faith", the theological backgrounds for individual worth and dignity, and (2) "Principles of Action", among which are:

" ... 2. We shall continually strive as individuals to conquer all prejudice and eliminate from our speech terms of contempt and from our conduct actions of ill-will. ...

" ... 8. We shall actively cooperate with Negro Baptists in the building up of their churches, the education of their ministers, and the promotion of their missions and evangelistic programs." <sup>5</sup>

From this step of mere cooperation, Southern Baptist policy later went so far as to state, in a resolution adopted in annual meeting in 1954,

<sup>3</sup> Denominational Statements, with Reference to a Racially Inclusive Fellowship (New York: Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1955), p. 4

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Race Relations: A Charter of Principles (Nashville, Tenn.: The Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1953)

"That we recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony ... with the Christian principles of equal love and justice for all men." <sup>6</sup>

The Southern Baptists have an "Advisory Council of Southern Baptists for Work with Negroes." In its regular annual meeting in March, 1956, a paper on "Integration" was presented by T. B. Maston, of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas, in which he said,

"7. Finally, our churches and our church-related institutions and agencies should face up to the full implications of the Supreme Court decision." <sup>7</sup>

#### American Lutheran Church

At its biennial convention in 1954, the American Lutheran Church issued the following statements on "Segregation and Stratification":

"Segregation and social stratification, both based on essentially external differences, regrettably occur in Christian churches ... The presence of segregation and stratification in the churches undermines the power inhering in the Gospel for uniting men through Christ in fellowship with the Father ...

"It is incumbent upon Christians, their churches, and their church agencies, so far as it lies within their power, to practice to the full the realistic insights of their faith in dealing with issues of race and class ...

"It is the unique task of the churches, shared by every Christian, to seek to bring the power of the Word and Sacraments to bear upon individuals, thereby changing their hearts and lives. This course alone promises the ultimate corrective for the evils of segregation and stratification." <sup>8</sup>

#### Congregational-Christian Church

The Congregational-Christian Church, in a meeting of its General Council

<sup>6</sup> Life, October 1, 1956, p.143

<sup>7</sup> T. B. Maston, Integration (Nashville, Tenn.: The Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1956)

<sup>8</sup> Denominational Statements, p. 29

in New Haven, Connecticut, on June 30, 1954, adopted the following:

" ... WHEREAS our General Council has called repeatedly for a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society ...

"BE IT RESOLVED that we recommend that local churches, where segregation has prevailed, move toward ways in which they and all churches can open their membership to all persons on a simple basis of faith and character, and that we call upon Congregational-Christian colleges, agencies, associations, conferences and institutions to practice non-segregation and non-discrimination in enrollment, employment, church extension and church conservation, and organization." 9

#### The Disciples of Christ

The International Convention of the Disciples of Christ, meeting in Portland, Oregon, in 1953, adopted Resolution 45 among other resolutions:

"WHEREAS: The International Convention of Disciples of Christ has within the past twenty years made substantial progress toward equality of treatment of all Christians in its assemblies regardless of race and color, and

"WHEREAS: Discriminations on account of race and color still exist in many communities in all sections of our country, which make difficult the practice of full Christian brotherhood in these matters by the convention and which violate the conscience of many Christians, and

"WHEREAS: We believe that it is incumbent upon this convention to continue its efforts to bring its practices into harmony with the ideal of full equality and brotherhood:

"THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by this International Convention of Disciples of Christ ...

" ... 2. That we call upon the officers of the International Convention, its board of directors, its time and place committees and convention arrangements committee to press unremittingly for the achievement of the goal of a completely non-segregated convention without discrimination in any of its phases ... " 10

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 11

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 14

The Protestant Episcopal Church

The Protestant Episcopal Church, in its general convention in 1952, passed the following statements:

"... WHEREAS, Christ's teaching is incompatible with every form of discrimination based on color or race, both domestic and international; and

"WHEREAS, almost every country today, including our own, is guilty in greater or lesser degree of mass racial or color discrimination; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, that we consistently oppose and combat discrimination based on color or race in every form both within the Church and without, in this country and internationally,"<sup>11</sup>

The Evangelical and Reformed Church

As early as 1950, the Evangelical and Reformed Church, through its General Synod, came out with a Statement on Race Relations:

"The General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church solemnly reaffirms its commitment to the goal of a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society ...

"We would, therefore, again lay upon the consciences of our people -- pastors, teachers, administrators, consistorymen, laymen and women -- the urgency of moving toward the removal of the barriers, real and imaginary, to complete fellowship for people of all racial and national groups within the house of God and in the institutions maintained by the church.

"We would urge that all feasible steps for the development of acquaintanceship and understanding be undertaken by the local congregations -- such as the exchange of pulpits, reciprocal visits by choirs, auxiliaries and members, use of minority group leaders in forums, concerts, and social occasions as well as formal acceptance of the principle of non-segregation ... "<sup>12</sup>

Later, in 1953, the General Synod commended those

"... congregations, hospitals and educational institutions within its entire constituency, which have found ways to eliminate the unbrotherly barriers of racial exclusiveness.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 22

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 30

"b. The General Synod further urges all of our congregations and institutions to take concrete steps beyond the bounds of their own respective constituencies to meet their obligation as Christians to minister to ALL the people in the WHOLE community." <sup>13</sup>

#### The American Society of Friends

The American Society of Friends (Quakers), well known for their social awareness and service to all of mankind, adopted a "Statement on Segregation" by its two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, in 1949.

"... While we are encouraged by signs of a growing practice of integration and inclusiveness in many Friendly institutions, we must face the extent to which segregation still exists in others. If we associate ourselves in natural human relationships with people of all groups, we must welcome them to our Meetings and to our communities. We must demonstrate our willingness to work in non-segregated situations ...

"Even as earlier Friends set themselves to eliminate slavery from their membership, we in our generation set ourselves to overcome the evils of segregation." <sup>14</sup>

#### The Methodist Church

In May, 1956, the General Conference of the Methodist Church, meeting in Minneapolis, Minnesota, adopted a resolution on race relations that has been described by Methodist Bishop Gerber as being "a resolution which is a fair sample of our church's stand throughout many years." <sup>15</sup>

"... There must be no place in the Methodist Church for racial discrimination or enforced segregation ...

"In this spirit, we recommend the following:

"1. That the institutions of the church, local churches, colleges, universities, theological

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31

<sup>14</sup> "A Statement on Segregation," Adopted by The Two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends (Philadelphia, Penn.: Committee on Race Relations, Religious Society of Friends, 1949)

<sup>15</sup> *Life*, October 1, 1956, p. 140

schools, publishing agencies, hospitals, and homes carefully restudy their policies and practices as they relate to race, making certain that these policies and practices are Christian.

"2. That Methodists in their homes, in their work, in their churches, and in their communities, actively work to eliminate discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin ...

"3. That Methodist churches in changing neighborhoods, rather than seeking new locations, early prepare their people to welcome into their fellowship all races as they become a part of their community ...

"That our pastors, upon whom rests the responsibility of receiving individuals into church membership, discharge that responsibility without regard to race, color, or national origin ..." 16

The following day, the New York Herald-Tribune commented on this stand of the Methodist Church:

"Delegates to the quadrennial general conference adopted a policy statement urging that 'discrimination or segregation by any method or practice, whether by conference structure or otherwise, be abolished with reasonable speed.' ...

"The delegates' action means that the Methodist Church is telling its own people and the rest of the world that it will 'go resolutely forward toward the day when all races shall share richly without discrimination of segregation in the good things of life.'" 17

The Presbyterian Church, U.S.

The Council on Christian Relations of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., (mainly a Southern body of Presbyterians), submitted a report to the 1953 General Assembly, which report was approved by the body. The first part of the report summarizes progress in race relations as influenced by (1) the effect of the missionary enterprise, (2) the pressing threat of communism,

16 Interracial News Service, A Digest of Trends and Developments in Human Relations (New York: Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 1956), Volume 27, Number 3, May-June, 1956.

17 Ibid.

and (3) the process of education. Then come the recommendations:

"1. That the Church practice no discrimination in ministering to the needs of the people, even as the love of God in Christ embraces all people alike.

"2. That churches observe Race Relations Sunday in the way calculated to be most helpful in promoting racial good-will and understanding ... " 18

The Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

The major group of Presbyterians in this nation is the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., which has congregations in all parts of the country. Its Standing Committee on Social Education and Action reported to the 168th General Assembly:

"Noting that every major denomination has voiced support of the Supreme Court's decision, but that pressures on individuals and churches at the local level to conform to the prevailing mood have been extreme in many localities;

"Being aware that some Christians, both laymen and ministers, have supported the programs of White Citizens Councils and like groups, and a few have assumed positions of leadership in them, and that many Christians are urging ministers not to take positions against segregation ...

"The 168th General Assembly

"Enjoins presbyteries and, especially, church sessions to consider prayerfully, in the light of the testimony of Scripture for love and justice, the common voice of the Church Universal against racial segregation, and the developments cited above, the corporate response God asks of them in the specific situations in which they find themselves; and

"Urges sessions of churches located in communities of racial tension to find ways of bringing Christians and other citizens together in small groups across racial lines to discuss their common problems and goals relative to desegregation." 19

Further, the General Assembly enjoined its ministers and church members:

" ... 6. To welcome people of all races in the life and work of their churches.

18 Denominational Statements, p. 17

19 Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action to the 168th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., May 30, 1956; reported in Interracial News Service, Volume 27, Number 3, May-June 1956

"7. To evangelize in the homes of nearby residents without regard to race with the purpose of bringing them into the fellowship of the church." 20

In other suggestions forwarded by this denomination, its churches are not to seek "more 'desirable' locations in order to escape their Christian responsibility" and to "do more than merely announce to the community a policy of open membership regardless of racial or cultural background..." 21

#### The United Lutheran Church

The Board of Social Missions and the Executive Board of the United Lutheran Church adopted several propositions as "the basis for study, discussion, experimentation and concerted action by its congregations and members":

"Since the Church is the Body of Christ, it must free itself from those cultural patterns of prejudice and discrimination which persist in our society and must manifest in its own life the principles and attitudes of Jesus. The Church must seek to be true to its own nature as a community of children of God inclusive of every race, nation, and class who confess Christ as Lord.

"The Church's agencies and institutions should seek to serve all people fairly without distinction because of racial or cultural background. All its congregations should be centers of action to develop Christian fellowship across human barriers, and to instill the spirit of equality and Christian brotherhood. To this end the United Lutheran Church in America calls its pastors and people to earnest study and remedial action." 22

#### The American Unitarian Association

The Unitarian Church in America, because of its attitude of progressive thought and liberal action, has been among the first of the denominations to voice an opinion regarding segregation in the churches. In May, 1947, its Executive Committee suggested the following resolutions "Toward an Unsegregated Church and an Unsegregated Society":

20 Ibid.

21 Denominational Statements, p. 21

22 Ibid., p. 26



"WHEREAS, The principle of segregation violates the spirit of liberal religion and the practice of segregation is inconsistent with our beliefs ...

"BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That the American Unitarian Association, assembled in its 122nd Annual Meeting, hereby renounces the principle of segregation as unnecessary, undesirable, and a denial of the concept of the fatherhood of God and of the brotherhood of men; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Unitarian Association pledges to work unceasingly for an unsegregated church and an unsegregated society and to start specifically in the following directions:

"1. To urge the examination of the practices of the denomination, its agencies and affiliate churches, and other institutions in membership, attendance, worship, social activities, ministry and property policies, and change these policies if they are inconsistent with our beliefs ... " 23

That this opinion has but deepened through the years in the American Unitarian Association is shown in the following statement, of 1954:

"Unitarian regional conferences, churches, and individual ministers have paid tribute to this history-making event (the Supreme Court decision) in special services and sermons and are working to extend and implement it in the religious field through resolutions on policy and direct community action.. Many of the churches have been working for years to better interracial relations. The Commission on Unitarian Intergroup Relations in February measured the denomination's progress in this vital area and prepared a resolution, passed by the A.U.A. Annual Meeting, pledging 'to work for an integrated church in an integral society.'" 24

#### The African Methodist Episcopal Church

Though all of the foregoing statements have been those of white denominations, seeking to integrate the Negro into its fellowship, the Negro denominations have also made overtures toward the whites. One example is given here,

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 5

<sup>24</sup> The Christian Register (Unitarian) (Division of Publications, American Unitarian Association, Bristol, Conn., 1954), Volume 133, No. 8, October, 1954, p. 27

as presented by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in a statement issued by its Council of Bishops at the 35th Quadrennial A.M.E. General Conference at Miami, Florida, May, 1956:

"The A.M.E. Church stands upon the principle of human equality and the dignity of man. Though founded by persons of African descent in a protest against race prejudice in the Church of God, it has never refused persons of either its membership or ministry because of race or color.

"Today we reaffirm this position and call upon our ministry to actively seek to integrate all persons into the church ... " 25

#### Evaluation of These Statements

A cursory examination of the above-mentioned resolutions and statements on race relations by the major white Protestant denominations will bring out some generalizations. No attempt is made in the present research to prove these generalizations. They are presented merely as observations, which may or may not influence their value in application to the local situations.

In the first place, not all of these statements are as wide-swept as they might seem at first glance. Some of them are, of course: among such are those of the Congregational-Christian church, the Evangelical and Reformed church, the American Society of Friends, the Methodist church, the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the United Lutheran Church and the American Unitarian Association. The American Lutheran Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church, U.S., denounce segregation roundly, and imply integration in their statements. The Disciples of Christ come out strongly for a non-segregated national convention, also implying local non-segregation. Other groups, as the American Baptist Convention, the Southern Baptist Convention and, again, the Presbyterian Church, U.S., stress the educational processes by which a church can be brought to the point of integration, urging "cooperation"

with non-white congregations, and being a bit general in some of their aims toward integration.

In the second place, it must be acknowledged that this is not a complete listing of the utterances of the various denominations in behalf of integration in the churches. Later statements may have been forthcoming from some groups which would strengthen, or undermine, their stand on integration. Also, it would take considerable research to discover, in all of the religious periodicals and publications, the underlying statements which emphasize the denomination's position on this matter.

Finally, the fact that these statements have been made does not necessarily mean that they are carried out on the local level. In some churches, which have a closely-knit hierarchy by which pronouncements from "higher up" are transmitted down the ranks to the local church, it is more logical that these resolutions will find expression at the grass roots. In other churches, however, as, for example, the Baptists and Congregationalists, where democracy is the rule of order, it often takes longer for such resolutions to be acted upon in the local church. Therefore, there may be -- and are -- gaps between principle and practice, to a greater or lesser degree, in many of these denominations.

CHAPTER V  
MEMBERSHIP OF NEGROES  
IN THE WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES  
OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

The Findings of the Questionnaire

Upon the return of the questionnaires (see pages 42 to 44) which were mailed to fifty-nine white Protestant congregations in Champaign and Urbana, the findings were tabulated for further study. Table 5 (a), on page 63, and Table 5(b), on page 64, present the findings from the questionnaires.

For purposes of anonymity, the church responses were keyed by number as they were listed in the Table. These numbers are consistently used throughout this present research. Also, in order to preserve the privacy of some of the respondents, who preferred to speak unacknowledged, the answers to the question on denominational affiliation (number 11 in the Table) were omitted.

The cases in which one or more answers to a certain question were not complete are indicated in the Table by a single asterisk (\*). However, the majority of the questionnaires were returned in completed form by the participants in the sample.

Table 5 (a) and 5 (b) are the basis for all further analyses of data in the present research. From them will be derived all the smaller Tables which follow in the study. An examination of Table 5 (a) and 5 (b) will provide an understanding of the relations of the various items within each congregation. That there were generalities in some of the answers is acknowledged, but they are presented here in as detailed form as they appeared in the returns.

TABLE 5 (a)

## DATA ON INTEGRATION IN THE WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

Church Key Numbers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. Degree of integration																			
1. Negroes never attend	X						X	X		X		X	X						
2. Negroes occasional		X	X			X			X		X				X		X	X	
3. Negroes regular														X					
4. Negroes members																X			
5. Negroes hold office				X	X														
2. Attitude of minister																			
1. Invite Negro members				X	X											X		X	
2. Favor Negro members		X	X			X		X		X	X			X	X				
3. Indifferent							X		X			X	X						
4. Prefer no Negroes	X																X		
5. Opposed to Negroes																			
3. Attitude of congregation															*				
1. Same as pastor	X	X		X	X		X	X	X		X	X		X				X	X
2. Differ from pastor			X			X													
a. More favorable																			
b. Less favorable			X			X				X		X				X			
4. Attitude of denomination																			
1. Favorable position		X	X	X				X		X		X	X	X	X	X		X	
2. No official position	X				X	X	X				X	X						X	
3. Officially opposed																			
4. Not known									X										
5. Location of church																			
1. In Negro area																			
2. On edge of Negro area									X										
3. Within 3 blocks of area																			
4. Beyond 3 blocks of area	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
6. Number of members	30	400	500	950	220	100	150	164	150	330	150	550	263	235	650	550	275	20	10
7. Number Negro members	0	0	0	60	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	0	0	0
8. Number Negro attendants	0	0	0	10	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	var.	0	occ.	0	0	0
9. Negroes hold office	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
10. Negroes in social life	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
11. Denomination	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
12. No. U. of I. students	5	10	5	700	100	12	2	18	25	4	50	20	10	20	few	500	6	10	10
13. No. U. of I. faculty	0	4	14	25	5	4	0	11	10	7	5	1	4	50	12	55	0	17	17
14. Year minister's birth	1926	1912	1921	1922	1915	1922	1907	1932	1918	1922	1912	1913	1901	1911	1909	1902	1915	1899	1899
15. Place minister's birth	Ohio	Iowa	Neb.	Wales	Mo.	N.J.	Ill.	Mich	N.Y.	Va.	Tex.	Ky.	Ind.	Pa.	Mich	Ill.	Can.	R.I.	R.I.

\*\* -- Denomination omitted in table to preserve anonymity of responses

\* - Church failed to report on this item in the questionnaire

-URBANA

7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
X	X		X		X	X						*			X				X			X	X			X			X
		X		X				X		X	X			X	X	X		X		X			X						
							X									X					X						X	X	
									X				X			X	X					X				X		X	X
X	X	X	X	X		X	X					X		X	X								X			X	X	X	X
		X								X									X	X	X			X	X				
								*		X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	*	X	X	
			X			X			X					X				X											X
X	X		X			X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	*			X			X	X	X	X	X
		X								X		X									X		X	X	X				
		X																			X								
X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
50	164	150	330	150	550	263	235	650	550	275	20	100	80	350	205	474	550	4030	1800	70	604	130	33	50	250	105	35	220	90
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6	0	0	0	30	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	var.	0	occ.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	few	0	0	0	18	0	0	0	15	0	0	3	0
No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
2	18	25	4	50	20	10	20	few	500	6	10	10	2	13	6	40	all	75	50	8	200	0	1	0	75	5	10	20	0
10	7	5	1	4	50	12	55	0	17	10	5	19	20	46	0	many	50	5	125	0	0	0	0	50	3	2	110	5	
1907	1932	1918	1922	1912	1913	1901	1911	1909	1902	1915	1899	1892	1922	1918	1909	1904	1908	1912	1900	1920	1893	1900	1928	1907	1909	1919	1928	1921	1920
N.Y.	Va.	Tex.	Ky.	Ind.	Pa.	Mich	Ill.	Can.	R.I.	Mo.	Ill.	Mo.	Ill.	Wis.	La.	Ill.	Ind.	S.D.	U.S.	Scot	Ill.	Ill.	Ind.	Scot	Ill.	Ohio	Mass		

\* - Church failed to report on this item in the questionnaire

TABLE 5 (b)

DATA ON INTEGRATION IN THE WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

Church Key Numbers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
16. Last grade of school	1 yr. Sem.	Sem.	Sem.	Sem.	Grad	Grad	1 yr. Bible	Sem.	Grad	Grad	Grad	H.S.	Col.	Sem.	Sem.	Sem.	Col.	Grad	H.S.	Pub. Sch.	Grad	Sem.	Sem.	Grad	Sem.
17. Earned academic degrees	---	A.B. B.D.	A.B. ThB.	A.B. ThB. B.D.	A.B. B.D.	A.B. A.M. B.D.	---	A.B. B.D.	B.S. M.S.	A.B. B.D. MRE. STM.	A.B. M.A. B.D.	BSL.	A.B.	B.S. B.D.	B.A. STB.	B.A. STB.	ThB.	A.B. M.S.	---	---	A.B. B.D.	B.A.	B.A. B.D.	A.B. M.A.	A.B. B.D.
18. Preach on social problems?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	*	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
19. Invite Negroes personally?	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	*	Yes	Yes	No
20. Member of Champaign-Urbana Ministerial Association?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
21. Member of National Council of Churches?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
22. Observe Race Relations Sunday?	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No

\* - Church failed to report on this item in the questionnaire

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	
Grad	Grad	1 yr. Bible	Sem.	Grad	Grad	Grad	H.S.	Col.	Sem.	Sem.	Sem.	Col.	Grad	H.S.	Pub. Sch.	Grad	Sem.	Sem.	Grad	Sem.	Grad	Sem.	Grad	3 yr Col.	Col.	7th gr.	Sem.	Sem.	Col.	Sem.	Sem.	
A.B. A.M. B.D.	A.B. A.M. B.D.	---	A.B. B.D.	B.S. M.S.	A.B. B.D. MRE. STM.	A.B. M.A. B.D.	BSL.	A.B.	B.S. B.D.	B.A. STB.	B.A. STB.	ThB.	A.B. M.S.	---	---	A.B. B.D.	B.A.	B.A. B.D.	A.B. M.A.	A.B. B.D.	A.B. M.A. B.D. STB.	A.B. B.D.	B.A. M.A. B.D.	---	ThB.	---	B.S. B.D.	B.A. B.D.	B.A.	A.B. STB.	A.B. STB.	
Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	*	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	*	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

\* - Church failed to report on this item in the questionnaire



## Negro Attendance and Membership

Part I of the questionnaire which was sent out in preparation of the present research read:

"I. Check one only:

- Negroes never attend my church
- Negroes attend my church occasionally
- Negroes attend my church regularly
- Negroes hold membership in my church
- Negroes hold membership and office in my church and/or church school."

Table 6, page 66, shows the response to this question from the 36 churches which cooperated in the survey.

From the figures secured from this Table, it is apparent that, (1) Negroes never attend 12 of the 36 reporting churches (or 33.3 per cent), (2) Negroes occasionally attend 13 of the 36 reporting churches (or 36.1 per cent), (3) Negroes regularly attend 2 out of the 36 reporting churches (or 5.6 per cent), (4) Negroes hold membership in 4 out of the 36 reporting churches (or 11.1 per cent), and (5) Negroes hold membership and office in 4 out of the 36 reporting churches (or 11.1 per cent). One church (2.8 per cent) failed to respond to this item on the questionnaire.

It is evident from the above that in one-third of the white Protestant churches of Champaign and Urbana cooperating in the study, Negroes never attend services. In over 40 per cent of these same churches, Negroes do attend services, either occasionally or regularly. In only eight of the churches (or less than one-fourth of the total) do Negroes hold membership. If the student campus churches and foundations are eliminated, it would appear that only three white Protestant churches in Champaign-Urbana have Negro members.

TABLE 6  
ATTENDANCE AND MEMBERSHIP OF NEGROES  
IN WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

Church Key Number	Degree 1*	Degree 2*	Degree 3*	Degree 4*	Degree 5*
1	X				
2		X			
3		X			
4					X
5					X
6		X			
7	X				
8	X				
9		X			
10	X				
11		X			
12	X				
13	X				
14			X		
15		X			
16				X	
17		X			
18		X			
19 **					
20					X
21		X			
22	X				
23		X			
24			X		
25		X			
26	X				
27		X			
28				X	
29	X				
30	X				
31		X			
32					X
33	X				
34				X	
35				X	
36	X				
Totals	12 (33.3%)	13 (36.1%)	2 (5.6%)	4 (11.1%)	4 (11.1%)

- \* Degrees: (1) Negroes never in attendance  
(2) Negroes attend occasionally  
(3) Negroes attend regularly  
(4) Negroes hold membership  
(5) Negroes hold membership and office

\*\* No answer given to this item on the questionnaire

Once the presence of Negroes in attendance and membership was determined, the question was asked,

1. Number of members of my church \_\_\_\_\_
2. Number of Negro members of my church, if any ... \_\_\_\_\_
3. Number of Negroes who attend regularly, but are not members \_\_\_\_\_

From the information written in answer to these items, Tables 7 and 8, on page 68, were formed.

Table 7, on page 68, shows the number of Negro members in the white Protestant churches of Champaign and Urbana which reported through the questionnaire. Of the nine churches (\*) reporting Negro membership, the number of Negro members ranged from 2 to 60, with the mean being 13.3 and the median being 4. The total number of Negro members in these churches is 120. Seven denominations reported Negro members: Baptist, Episcopal, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Unitarian and Jehovah's Witnesses. The three largest groups of Negro members were reported by (1) the University Baptist Student Foundation, with 60, (2) Jehovah's Witnesses, with 30, and (3) the Wesley Methodist Student Foundation, with 10.

Table 7 also shows the proportion of Negro membership in relation to the total membership of these white Protestant churches in the sample. Negroes tend to be found in the larger churches, rather than in the smaller congregations. Only one church with less than 200 members reported Negro members in its congregation, although there are seventeen such white Protestant churches in Champaign-Urbana in the sample. The range of membership in the churches with Negro members is from 80 to 950, with the mean being 442 and the median being 500. None of these nine integrated churches are within three blocks of a Negro neighborhood.

\* - There is an apparent discrepancy in this figure of nine churches, in contrast to Table 6, which reported 8 churches. One church (key number 15) stated in answer to Part I that it had no Negro members, then listed 2 such members in question 2, above.

TABLE 7

NEGRO MEMBERSHIP IN THE WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES  
OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

Church Key Number	Total Membership	Negro Membership	Per cent of Negroes
4	950	60	6.32
5	220	3	1.36
15	650	2	.31
16	500	6	1.20
20	80	30	37.50
24	500	3	.60
28	604	10	1.66
32	250	2	.80
35	220	4	1.82
Totals	3974	120	3.02
Averages	441	13	

TABLE 8

NEGRO ATTENDANCE IN THE WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES  
OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

Church Key Number	Total Membership	Negro Membership	Negro Membership plus Attendance	Negro Attendance apart from Membership
4	950	60	70	10
5	220	3	8	5
15	650	2	**	"varies"
16	500	6	**	"occasional"
20	80	30	30	0
24	500	3	**	"few"
28	604	10	25-30	15-20
32	250	2	17	15
35	220	4	7	3
Totals	3974	120	**	**

\*\* Findings cannot be totaled accurately, due to incomplete response to the item on the questionnaire

Table 8, on page 68, shows the churches in the sample which reported Negroes in regular attendance, in addition to those who were members of the congregation. The data is not particularly significant because of its incompleteness. The number of Negroes reported as attending the services of these churches regularly ranged from 3 to 15, with the total being 48, the mean being 9.6, and the median being 10. However, three of the nine churches reporting Negroes did not give any specific number, and thus could not be included in the compilation of figures. One church simply stated "few", another "occasional", and the third "varies."

In the questionnaire which was compiled, question number 4 asked,

"4. If there are Negro members, what offices, if any, do they hold in your church or church school? \_\_\_\_\_"

Of the nine churches which claimed Negro members, six stated that Negroes held offices in their church. The offices which are filled by Negro members, as reported by these six churches, are listed in Table 9.

TABLE 9

## OFFICES HELD BY NEGRO MEMBERS

## IN WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

Church Key Number	Offices Reported as Held by Negro Members
4	Deacon Usher Choir Member
5	Teachers in Church School
20	Bible Study Conductors etc.
28	Choir Member Usher
32	Assistant in Sunday School Class Committee Member
35	Usher Church School Teacher

It would seem that these offices held by Negroes are fairly representative of the general range of offices within the churches. Some of the positions are relatively minor, such as assistant in Sunday school class. Others are positions of some prominence, such as choir member and usher. (In the University Baptist Church, a student foundation, the head usher is a Negro student.) Others still have positions in which they can influence others, as teachers in the church school and "Bible study conductors" in the Jehovah's Witnesses. Finally, in two of the churches (both student foundations), Negroes have an active voice in policy-formulating positions, as deacon and committee member.

The next question in the questionnaire, number 5, read:

"5. If there are Negro members of your church, do they participate in the social life of the church?"

All of the nine churches reporting integration stated that Negroes did participate in the social activities of the church. However, personal interviews with ministers of these churches suggested that this activity is a limited one, and that, apart from the larger student foundations, Negro social participation is not actually the case. In some of the churches, the Negroes attend the morning worship services, but are not found at small group activities, church suppers, and the like.

Part V of the questionnaire dealt with the relationship of the white Protestant church to the Negro neighborhood, as follows:

"V. Check one only:

- My church is located in a Negro neighborhood
- My church is on the edge of a Negro neighborhood
- My church is within three blocks of a Negro neighborhood
- My church is beyond three blocks of a Negro neighborhood

Table 10, page 71, shows the findings from this item on the questionnaire.

TABLE 10

LOCATION OF THE WHITE CHURCHES OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA  
IN RELATION TO THE NEGRO NEIGHBORHOOD

Church Key Number	Location 1*	Location 2*	Location 3*	Location 4*
1				X
2				X
3				X
4				X
5				X
6				X
7				X
8				X
9				X
10		X		
11				X
12				X
13				X
14				X
15				X
16				X
17				X
18				X
19				X
20				X
21				X
22				X
23				X
24				X
25				X
26				X
27				X
28				X
29		X		
30				X
31				X
32				X
33				X
34				X
35				X
36				X
Totals	0	2 (5.6%)	0	34 (94.4%)

- \* Locations (1) Within a Negro neighborhood  
(2) On the edge of a Negro neighborhood  
(3) Within 3 blocks of a Negro neighborhood  
(4) Beyond 3 blocks of a Negro neighborhood

The borders of the Negro neighborhood in Champaign-Urbana are fairly well defined, as described on page 30. Therefore, it was relatively simple for the churches in the sample to relate their position to the Negro community. Only two, however, of the cooperating churches, out of 36 (or 5.6 per cent) reported themselves as being on the edge of a Negro neighborhood, and the remaining 34 (or 94.4 per cent) were more than three blocks distant from the Negro area.

These two churches which were on the edge of the Negro community did not have any Negro members, nor did Negroes ever attend their services. In both instances, the ministers had invited Negroes to attend. One minister favored Negro membership, but his congregation was less favorable to it than he. The other minister was opposed to Negro membership, and so was his congregation. Although the number of churches in close proximity to the Negro neighborhood is small, it is apparent that in these churches which Negroes could readily attend, they are not present, and the members of these churches do not favor interracial membership.

#### Comments on Negro Attendance and Membership

Several of the student foundations and churches commented on the presence of Negroes in their services and membership:

Wesley Foundation (Methodist): Several Negroes are affiliated and are regular attendants. They serve in official capacities if elected. One Negro is treasurer of the student council; several sing in the choir and serve as ushers. The "Couples' Group" includes Negroes as members, and all are received equally.

McKinley Foundation (Presbyterian): There are two or three Negroes who attend, and some are affiliate members. These serve in the choir and on the interracial committee. They also participate in socials. There is no objection to their attendance or participation; however, the number of Negroes in



the foundation is not increasing.

Channing-Murray Foundation (Unitarian-Universalist): Negroes attend the church regularly, and several are members. They serve in the choir and in the young adult organization, also as ushers. There are also two adult town families of Negroes who are members. The Negroes in the church are members also of the NAACP, and the church has acted in the city to promote integration.

Seabury Foundation (Congregational-Christian, Evangelical and Reformed): One Negro attends regularly, but does not hold any office at the time of writing.

Canterbury Foundation (Episcopal): There are several regular Negro members, who automatically participate in all church activities, serving also in some offices.

Baptist Student Foundation (American Baptist): There are 60 Negro members in the congregation, among whom are several who hold offices and positions of responsibility. One is deacon, two are ushers, one is fellowship chairman of the "Supper Club", and several sing in the choir. Some Sundays from forty to fifty Negroes attend the morning service, making up as much as fifteen or twenty per cent of the congregation. These Negroes are from both the north and the south. Most of the white members come from the north, but a few come from the south. At the installation of the director of the Foundation in November, 1956, the Negro chaplain from Chanute Air Force Base, Rantoul, was present on the platform for the entire service, and pronounced the benediction.

The town churches which reported Negro members stated that, for the most part, the Negroes who attended were University students. Some of these students were Negroes from Africa, who were accepted perhaps more readily than would be their American-born counterpart.

Only one town minister voiced any reason for not having Negro members, apart from distance from the Negro community. He stated that his was a "family church", and as such had little contact with the Negroes in the cities.

Thus, the Negro membership in the white Protestant churches of Champaign and Urbana is (1) confined to less than one-fourth of the total number of churches reporting; (2) a limited membership, with some participation in office-holding, but little in social activities; (3) confined largely to student foundations, with only three exceptions; (4) an unrealized ideal in many of the other reporting churches; (5) more likely in the larger congregations than in the smaller (with one major exception); and (6) not influenced by proximity to Negro neighborhoods.

CHAPTER VI

THE MINISTERS' ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION  
IN THE WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES  
OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

The Attitude of the Ministers

In all probability, the attitude of the ministers has a significant effect on the process of integration in the churches. This is borne out by the findings of an opinion poll, taken scientifically among Methodists by Dr. Murray H. Leiffer, of Evanston, Illinois, director of the Bureau of Social and Religious Research, and a professor of social ethics and sociology in the Garrett Bible Institute. According to this survey,

"The majority of Methodists think there should be no segregation of races in the church ...

"While every section of the country had at least a small number who supported a segregation policy, a clear majority favored removal of all barriers (56.4 per cent). Most liberal in this respect were the people of the western states, where four out of five saw no need for any segregated churches and only 6.5 per cent voted for complete segregation.

"The study showed that people who attend church more regularly are somewhat more tolerant on the matter of a policy of inclusiveness ...

"Age as a factor is also revealed in the study. In general, the younger the person the more prepared he is for a policy of non-segregation in the churches...

"Education also enters into the equation, Dr. Leiffer's study shows. Methodists who have had more education are somewhat better prepared to remove barriers to church membership on the basis of race ... " 1

1 Reported in News (Commission on Public Relations and Methodist Information, March 15), reprinted in Interracial News Service, Volume 27, Number 2, March-April, 1956

Realizing that these factors, as they affect attitude, might also be significant in the present research, on the status of integration in the white Protestant churches of Champaign and Urbana, it was decided (1) to determine the attitude of the pastors toward integration, and (2) to try to evaluate the factors which influenced this attitude.

Therefore, Part II of the questionnaire read as follows:

"II. Check one only:

- I invite and encourage Negroes to membership in my church
- I favor the membership of Negroes in my church
- I am indifferent as to whether or not Negroes are members of my church
- I prefer not to have Negroes as members of my church
- I am opposed to having Negroes as members of my church"

The findings from this question, revealing the attitude of the ministers of these churches toward integration, are presented in Table 11, page 77.

The data in this Table show that, of the 36 churches in the sample, (1) 10 ministers (or 27.8 per cent) invite and encourage Negroes to membership, (2) 13 ministers (or 36.1 per cent) favor the membership of Negroes, (3) 10 ministers (or 27.8 per cent) are indifferent to Negro membership in their churches, (4) 2 ministers (or 5.6 per cent) prefer not to have Negro members, and (5) 1 minister (or 2.8 per cent) is opposed to having Negroes as members in his congregation.

The first two attitudes above (those who invite and encourage Negroes to become members, and those who favor Negro membership) will be termed, for the remainder of this study "favorable" attitudes. The last three attitudes (those who are indifferent to Negro members, those who prefer not to have Negro members, and those who are opposed to Negro members) are called "unfavorable."

TABLE 11  
 THE MINISTERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD INTEGRATION  
 IN THE WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES  
 OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				X	
2		X			
3		X			
4	X				
5	X				
6		X			
7			X		
8		X			
9			X		
10		X			
11		X			
12			X		
13			X		
14		X			
15		X			
16	X				
17				X	
18	X				
19			X		
20	X				
21		X			
22		X			
23	X				
24	X				
25			X		
26			X		
27			X		
28	X				
29					X
30			X		
31			X		
32	X				
33		X			
34		X			
35	X				
36		X			
Totals	10 (27.8%)	13 (36.1%)	10 (27.8%)	2 (5.6%)	1 (2.8%)

\* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
 (2) Favor Negro membership  
 (3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
 (4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
 (5) Opposed to Negro membership

A breakdown of the figures shows that 23 of the 36 participating ministers (or 63.9 per cent) indicated favorable attitudes toward integration, and 13 of the 36 participating ministers (or 36.1 per cent) indicated unfavorable attitudes toward integration. This is a significant majority who are favorable toward having Negro members in their churches. Also, the fact that more than one-third of the ministers are unfavorable toward integration is an important finding, which probably explains the status of integration in the present research.

#### Factors Influencing the Attitude of the Ministers

In view of the fact that there is such a wide range of opinion on the part of the ministers of the white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana toward integration in their churches, it was deemed pertinent to inquire into the factors which might influence the ministers in their attitudes. Among the variables which could influence the minister's attitude were (1) his age, (2) his birthplace, (3) his education, (4) his denomination, (5) the size of his congregation, (6) the presence of University of Illinois faculty personnel in his membership, (7) the church's relationship to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and (8) the minister's membership in the Champaign-Urbana Ministerial Association. In the following pages of the present research, an effort will be made to determine which, if any, of these variables appear related to the ministers' attitudes.

Table 12, on page 79, shows the range in age of the ministers of the white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana. The age-range of the 36 pastors cooperating in the study was from 25 years to 65 years, with the mean age being 45 years and the median being 44.5 years. There were 18 clergymen 45 years of age or over, and 18 clergymen 44 years of age or under.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) actively seeking Negro membership, the mean age was 47.5 years and the median age 48.5 years. Of the 13 ministers

TABLE 12  
THE MINISTER'S AGE AS RELATED TO  
HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				31	
2		45			
3		36			
4	35				
5	42				
6		35			
7			50		
8		25			
9			39		
10		35			
11		45			
12			44		
13			56		
14		46			
15		48			
16	55				
17				39	
18	58				
19			65		
20	35				
21		39			
22		48			
23	53				
24	49				
25			45		
26			57		
27			37		
28	64				
29					57
30			29		
31			50		
32	48				
33		38			
34		29			
35	36				
36		37			
Average age	47.5	38.9	47.2	35	57
Median age	48.5	38	47.5	35	57

- \* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
(2) Favor Negro membership  
(3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
(4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
(5) Opposed to Negro membership

(36.1 per cent) who favor Negro membership, the mean age was 39.9 years and the median age was 38 years. Thus, of the two attitudes considered in this study as favorable, the 23 ministers out of 36 reporting (63.9 per cent) had a mean age of 42.7 years and a median age of 42 years.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) indifferent to integration, the mean age was 47.2 and the median age was 47.5 years. Of the 2 ministers (5.6 per cent) who prefer not to have Negro members, the mean age was 35 years and the median age was also 35 years. The sole minister (2.8 per cent) who expressed himself as opposed to integration was 57 years of age. Thus, of the 13 pastors out of 36 reporting (36.1 per cent), who acknowledged unfavorable attitudes toward integration, the mean age was 44.5 years and the median age was 45 years.

To the above information was applied the two-tailed Mann-Whitney U test.<sup>2</sup> The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) was, The age of the minister does not have a significant relationship to his attitude toward integration. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, The age of the minister does have a significant relationship to his attitude toward integration. By process of the test it was determined that "z" was equal to 1.25, which, at a two-tailed probability of .2112<sup>3</sup>, meant that the null hypothesis could be accepted. Therefore, the age of the minister was determined as not having a significant relationship to his attitude toward integration.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1956), "The Mann-Whitney U Test", pp. 116-127  
The formula for the test follows:

$$U = N_1 N_2 + \frac{N_1(N_1+1)}{2} - R_1$$

$$z = \frac{U - \frac{N_1 N_2}{2}}{\sqrt{\left(\frac{N_1 N_2}{N(N-1)}\right) \left(\frac{N^2 - N}{12}\right) - \sum t}}$$

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, Mann-Whitney U test, z distribution, Table A, Appendix, p. 247



(It should be mentioned here this is really a small sample, and perhaps, if a larger sample had responded to the questionnaire, the findings might have been weighted more in one direction or another. In several of the statistical tests, the findings fall just short of significance, which may or may not have been due to the size of the sample. Therefore, none of these statistical findings are stated dogmatically.

(For instance, in the larger survey of Methodists, referred to on page 75, age was determined to be a factor, with the statement made that "the younger the person the more prepared he is for a policy of non-segregation in the church." Here, however, it would seem that age is not a factor. However, would this finding have been different if the sample had been larger?)

The second variable to be considered is the birthplace of the minister. Again, the findings from the larger Methodist survey indicated that the attitude in various sections of the nation varied, with the southeast being more heavily in favor of segregation and the far west being more open to integration. Therefore, does the birthplace of the minister have a significant relationship to his attitude toward integration?

For the purposes of this study, the information received from question number 10 on the questionnaires ("In what state were you born?") has been broken down into (N) Northern states, (S) Southern states, and (O) Outside of the United States. The distribution is as follows: (N) Northern states: 8 from Illinois, 3 from Indiana, 2 each from Michigan and Ohio, and 1 each from Massachusetts, Iowa, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Wisconsin; (S) Southern states: 2 from Missouri, and 1 each from Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Virginia, and Texas; (O) Outside of the United States: 2 from Scotland, and 1 each from Canada, Wales, and "abroad". Table 13, page 82, presents the findings from this question.

TABLE 13  
 THE MINISTER'S BIRTHPLACE AS RELATED TO  
 HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				N**	
2		N			
3		N			
4	O**				
5	S**				
6		N			
7			N		
8		N			
9			N		
10		S			
11		S			
12			S		
13			N		
14		N			
15		N			
16	N				
17				O	
18	N				
19			S		
20	N				
21		S			
22		N			
23	N				
24	S				
25			N		
26			N		
27			N		
28	O				
29					O
30			N		
31			N		
32	N				
33		O			
34		N			
35	N				
36		N			

\* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
 (2) Favor Negro membership  
 (3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
 (4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
 (5) Opposed to Negro membership

\*\* Birthplaces: (N) Northern states  
 (O) Outside of United States  
 (S) Southern states

Of the 36 ministers who responded to the questionnaire, 24 (or 66.7 per cent) were born in the Northern states, 7 (or 19.4 per cent) were born in the Southern states, and 5 (or 13.9 per cent) were born outside of the United States.

Of the 10 ministers who reported themselves actively in favor of Negro members (27.8 per cent), 6 (or 60 per cent) were born in Northern states, 2 (or 20 per cent) were born in Southern states, and 2 (or 20 per cent) were born outside of the United States. Of the 13 ministers who said they were in favor of Negroes being members of their churches (36.1 per cent of the total sample), 9 (or 69.2 per cent) were born in Northern states, 3 (or 23.1 per cent) were born in Southern states, and 1 (or 7.7 per cent) was born outside of the United States. Thus, of the 23 ministers, out of the 36 participating in the study, who claimed to have favorable attitudes toward integration, 15 (or 65.2 per cent) were born in the Northern states, 5 (or 21.7 per cent) were born in Southern states, and 3 (or 13.1 per cent) were born outside of the United States.

Of the 10 ministers out of the 36 reporting (27.8 per cent) who said they were indifferent to Negro membership, 8 (or 80 per cent) were born in the Northern states, and 2 (or 20 per cent) were born in the Southern states. None were born outside of the United States. Of the 2 ministers (5.6 per cent) who thought they would prefer not to have Negroes as members, one (50 per cent) was born in a Northern state, and one (50 per cent) was born outside of the United States. The sole minister (2.8 per cent) who opposed integration was born outside of the United States. Thus, of the 13 ministers who indicated unfavorable attitudes toward integration, in terms of the present research, 9 (or 69.2 per cent) were born in Northern States, 2 (or 15.4 per cent) were born in Southern states, and 2 (or 15.4 per cent) were born outside of the United States.

It would seem, then, that in this study, of the sample of 36 responding ministers, birthplace did not play a significant part in determining their attitude toward integration. However, to these findings was applied the Chi-

square test,<sup>4</sup> as follows: The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) was, The birthplace of the minister is not significantly related to his attitude toward integration. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, The birthplace of the minister is significantly related to his attitude on integration. Chi-square was demonstrated to be .2639<sup>5</sup> which, at two degrees of freedom, meant a Chi-square reading of .88.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, at the 5 per cent level, the null hypothesis is to be accepted. In other words, the birthplace of the minister is not significantly related to his attitude toward integration. (Again the caution must be made, that this sample may not be sufficiently large to be a determining factor.)

It is interesting to note that the over-all information regarding the ministers' birthplace (with 66.7 being Northern-born, 19.4 per cent being Southern-born, and 13.9 per cent being born outside of the United States, as reported on page 83) does not differ materially from the birthplace ratio of those who favored integration (65.2 per cent Northern-born, 21.7 per cent Southern-born, and 13.1 per cent born outside of the United States), nor from the birthplace ratio of those who are unfavorable to integration (69.2 per cent Northern-born, 15.4 per cent Southern-born, and 15.4 per cent born outside of the United States.)

Further information secured through the questionnaire indicated that, of the seven ministers born in the Southern states, 6 have personally invited Negroes to attend their church. Only one has any Negro members. One other has Negroes who attend regularly, but are not members. Also, of the seven Southern-born ministers, five were favorable toward integration and two were indifferent. None were actively opposed or preferred not to have Negro members. In two of the cases where the Southern-born minister was favorable to integration, his congregation differed from him in attitude, being less favorable.

<sup>4</sup> Lillian Cohen, Statistical Methods for Social Scientists, An Introduction (New York: Prentice Hall, 1954), pp. 125-127

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Table V, "Distribution of Chi-Square", p. 172

The third variable to be considered is the education of the minister, as it relates to his attitude toward integration. Leiffer's study of the Methodists showed, "Education also enters into the equation ... Methodists who have had more education are somewhat better prepared to remove barriers to church membership on the basis of race."

There were two questions presented in the questionnaire which dealt with the matter of the minister's education. Question 11 asked, "What was the last grade of school you completed?" and question 12 was, "What earned academic degrees do you hold?" Table 14, page 86, presents the findings on the first of these questions.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) actively seeking Negro membership in their churches, the mean number of years of education was 17, and the median was 19 years. Of the 13 ministers (36.1 per cent) who favor Negro membership, the mean number of years of education was 16.5, and the median was 19 years. Thus, of the two attitudes considered in this study as favorable, the 23 ministers out of the 36 in the sample had a mean number of years of education of 16.7, and a median of 19 years.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who were indifferent to integration, the mean number of years of education was 15.2, and the median was 16 years. Of the two ministers (5.6 per cent) who prefer not to have Negroes as members, the mean number of years of education was 16.5, and the median also 16.5 years. The sole minister (2.8 per cent) who declared himself opposed to integration, had 15 years of education.

The education of the ministers in the sample of this study ranges from completion of seventh grade through advanced graduate study. Two of the 36 ministers responding had only a grade school education (of which even one of these was incomplete); two had only a high school education; six had college training; sixteen had theological seminary training; and ten had completed additional graduate work.

TABLE 14  
THE MINISTER'S EDUCATION AS RELATED TO  
HIS ATTITUDE ON INTEGRATION

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				17	
2		19			
3		19			
4	20				
5	19				
6		20			
7			13		
8		19			
9			17		
10		21			
11		20			
12			12		
13			16		
14		19			
15		19			
16	19				
17				16	
18	17				
19			12		
20	8				
21		19			
22		16			
23	19				
24	17				
25			19		
26			21		
27			19		
28	20				
29					15
30			16		
31			7		
32	19				
33		19			
34		16			
35	19				
36		19			
Average Education	17	18.8	15.2	16.5	15
Median Education	19	19	16	16.5	15

- \* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
(2) Favor Negro membership  
(3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
(4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
(5) Opposed to Negro membership

The numbers correspond, as nearly as possible, to the number of years of education reported by each participant.

To the findings from Table 14, page 86, the Mann-Whitney two-tailed U test was also applied. The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) was, The education of the minister does not have a relationship to his attitude toward integration. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, The education of the minister does have a relationship to his attitude toward integration. It was demonstrated by the test that "z" had a value of 2.49, which, in the two-tailed test, had a probability of .0128.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected, and the alternate hypothesis is accepted. In other words, the education of the minister does have a relationship to his attitude toward integration.

A study was also made of the earned academic degrees held by the various ministers in the sample. Among the 36 ministers responding, 6 (or 16.7 per cent) held no academic degrees; 6 (or 16.7 per cent) held one earned academic degree each; 18 (or 50 per cent) held two earned academic degrees each; 4 (or 11.1 per cent) held three earned academic degrees each; and 2 (or 5.6 per cent) held four earned academic degrees each. No effort was made to determine any honorary degrees held by these individuals.

Table 15, on page 88, shows the earned academic degrees held by the pastors of the various churches. These figures, when further broken down, reveal that 22 ministers out of the 36 responding (61.1 per cent) held academic degrees of the bachelor's rank only; and 8 ministers (22.2 per cent) held degrees on the master's level. However, it might be pointed out that the degree of Bachelor of Divinity is one that, in most seminaries, requires a Bachelor of Arts or a Bachelor of Science as a necessary prerequisite. This means that the Bachelor of Divinity degree, held by 16 (or 44.4 per cent) of the ministers entails as many as, or more, years of preparation as does a Master's degree in other fields.

There are 53 Bachelor's degrees held by the 36 ministers in the

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<sup>6</sup> Siegel, *op. cit.*, p. 247

TABLE 15  
EARNED ACADEMIC DEGREES OF THE MINISTERS  
IN THE PRESENT RESEARCH

Church Key Number	A.B.	B.S.	B.D.	ThB.	BSL.	STB.	A.M.	M.S.	STM.	MRE.
1*										
2	X		X							
3	X			X						
4	X		X	X						
5	X		X							
6	X		X				X			
7*										
8	X		X							
9		X						X		
10	X		X						X	X
11	X		X				X			
12					X					
13	X									
14		X	X							
15	X					X				
16	X					X				
17				X						
18	X							X		
19*										
20*										
21	X		X							
22	X									
23	X		X							
24	X						X			
25	X		X							
26	X		X			X	X			
27	X		X							
28	X		X				X			
29*										
30				X						
31*										
32		X	X							
33	X		X							
34	X									
35	X					X				
36	X					X				
Totals	24 67%	3 8%	16 44%	4 11%	1 2%	5 13%	5 13%	2 5%	1 3%	1 3%

\* No earned academic degrees reported

A.B. - Bachelor of Arts      STB. - Bachelor of Sacred Theology  
 B.S. - Bachelor of Science    A.M. - Master of Arts  
 B.D. - Bachelor of Divinity   M.S. - Master of Science  
 ThB. - Bachelor of Theology   STM. - Master of Sacred Theology  
 BSL. - Bachelor of Sacred      MRE. - Master of Religious Education  
 Letters



sample. In this study, 24 ministers (66.7 per cent) hold A.B. degrees, 3 (or 8.3 per cent) hold B.S. degrees, 16 (or 44.4 per cent) hold B.D. degrees, 4 (or 11.1 per cent) hold Th.B. degrees, 1 (or 2.8 per cent) holds a B.S.L. degree, and 5 (or 13.9 per cent) hold S.T.B. degrees. On the Master's level, there were nine degrees reported, as follows: 5 (or 13.9 per cent) hold A.M. degrees, 2 (or 5.6 per cent) hold M.S. degrees, 1 (or 2.8 per cent) holds an S.T.M. degree, and 1 (or 2.8 per cent) holds an M.R.E. degree. There were no earned Doctor's degrees reported.

In the fourth place, the denomination of the minister is considered as a possible factor in the formation of his attitude toward integration. Because it is desirable to preserve the anonymity of the respective churches in the sample, the information in response to question 6, "What is your denomination?", is not given here. In some cases, it would not matter, as, for example, in the Baptist denomination, of which were found 7 churches in the cities. However, in some of the smaller denominations, represented only by one church in the area, the answer to the above-mentioned question would be pinpointed directly to that church.

Of the 36 ministers who answered the questionnaire, the following figures prevail in regard to denomination: 4 each, Baptist and Lutheran; 3 each, Methodist and Christian; 2 each, Congregational-Christian, Episcopal, Independent, and Presbyterian; and one each, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Christian Reformed, Christian Science, Church of the Brethren, Foursquare Church, Society of Friends, Free Methodist, United Pentecostal, Reorganized Church of Latter-Day Saints, Unitarian, and Universalist.

As has been presented already, in Chapter Four, the major denominations represented in the Champaign-Urbana area have gone on record as being favorable to integration, in one degree or another. This integration aim, presented on the national level, is also aimed at the local level. Whether or not the denominational interest in integration, then, has any effect on the attitude of

the minister toward integration is this next point under consideration in the present research.

Part IV of the questionnaire used in the study read:

"IV. Check one only:

- My denomination is officially on record as favorable to integration
- My denomination has not taken any official position on integration
- My denomination is officially opposed to integration
- I do not know the official position of my denomination on integration."

Table 16, page 91, shows the findings from this question, as compared to the attitudes previously indicated of the 36 ministers responding.

It will be noted here that, of the 36 ministers responding, 22 (or 61.1 per cent) claimed that their denominations were on record as favorable to integration, 11 (or 30.6 per cent) stated that their denominations had no official position on integration, 2 (or 5.6 per cent) stated that they did not know their denomination's official position on integration, and 1 (or 2.8 per cent) failed to answer this item on the questionnaire. In no instance did the minister claim that his denomination was officially opposed to integration.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) actively seeking Negro membership in their churches, 9 (or 90 per cent) stated that their denominations were in favor of integration, and 1 (or 10 per cent) said that his denomination had taken no official position. Of the 13 ministers (36.1 per cent) who favor Negro membership, 11 (or 84.6 per cent) stated that their denominations were in favor of integration, and 2 (or 15.4 per cent) said that their denominations had taken no official position. Thus, in these two attitudes termed favorable, of the 23 ministers in this group, 20 (or 87 per cent) claimed that their

TABLE 16  
 THE DENOMINATION'S ATTITUDE AS RELATED TO  
 THE MINISTER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				B	
2		A			
3		A			
4	A				
5	B				
6		B			
7			B		
8		A			
9			D		
10		A			
11		B			
12			B		
13			A		
14		A			
15		A			
16	A				
17				B	
18	A				
19			B		
20	A				
21		A			
22		A			
23	A				
24	A				
25			A		
26**					
27			D		
28	A				
29					B
30			B		
31			B		
32	A				
33		A			
34		A			
35	A				
36		A			

A - Denomination favorable      C - Denomination opposed  
 B - Denomination no stand      D - Not known

\* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
 (2) Favor Negro membership  
 (3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
 (4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
 (5) Opposed to Negro membership

\*\* No answer given to this item on the questionnaire

denominations had come out in favor of integration, and 3 (or 13 per cent) said that their denominations had taken no official position on integration.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who were indifferent to integration, 2 (or 20 per cent) stated that their denominations favored integration, 5 (or 50 per cent) stated that their denominations had taken no official position in the matter, and 2 (or 20 per cent) said that they did not know their denomination's position. One of these pastors (or 10 per cent) failed to respond to this item on the questionnaire. Of the 2 ministers (5.6 per cent) who said that they preferred not to have Negro members, both of them (100 per cent) said their denominations had no official position on the matter. The sole person (2.8 per cent) claiming opposition to integration also stated that his denomination had no official position. Thus, of these three attitudes classified in this study as unfavorable to integration, with 13 pastors involved, 2 (or 15.4 per cent) said their denominations favored integration, 8 (or 61.5 per cent) said their denominations had taken no official position on integration, and 2 (or 15.4 per cent) said that they did not know their denomination's position. Only one individual (7.5 per cent) failed to answer.

To these findings, the Chi-square test was also applied. Chi-square was demonstrated to be 16.66. The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) was, Denominational position on integration is not a significant factor in the attitude of the pastor. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, Denominational position on integration is a significant factor in the attitude of the pastor. With Chi-square being 16.66, at one degree of freedom, the Chi-square rating was .001.<sup>7</sup> This, at the 5 per cent level, means that the null hypothesis is rejected, and the alternate hypothesis is accepted. In other words, the denominational position is a significant factor in the attitude of the minister toward integration. So, whether or not the denominational pronouncements are actually carried out on the local level, they apparently do influence the thinking of the minister,

<sup>7</sup> - Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 172

which may be the first step in the bringing about of such integration.

It is interesting to note, furthermore, that in some cases the understanding of the minister with respect to his denomination's position was not clear or accurate. One Baptist minister and one Christian minister stated that their denominations had no official position on integration, while, as a fact, those denominations have declared themselves in favor of integration. The other churches reporting that their denominations had no official position on integration were Christian and Missionary Alliance, Church of Christ, Four-square Church, Nazarene, United Pentecostal and Independent. For the most part, these are rather loosely-organized denominations, without means of information or influence that some of the more closely organized denominations have. Several of them are of the "holiness" persuasion; some are completely independent of higher leadership.

The fifth variable to be considered in this evaluation of the minister's attitude toward integration is the size of his congregation, as asked in question 1 of the questionnaire, "Number of members of my church." Table 17, page 94, gives the findings from this item.

The churches in the sample ranged in size from 20 to 4,030 members. The average membership of the 36 churches reporting was 410, and the median was 220. Of the 10 ministers who reported themselves actively in favor of Negro membership (27.8 per cent), the average church membership was 391.4, and the median was 361. Of the 13 ministers (36.1 per cent) who favored Negro membership, the average church membership was 248, and the median was 205. Thus, in these two groups with favorable attitudes, 23 ministers in all, the average size of the congregation was 310.3, and the median was 235.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) reporting themselves as indifferent to Negro membership, the average size of their congregations was 719.6, and the median was 206.5. Of the two (5.6 per cent) who prefer not to have Negroes

TABLE 17  
THE SIZE OF THE MEMBERSHIP AS RELATED TO  
THE MINISTER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				30	
2		400			
3		500			
4	950				
5	220				
6		100			
7			150		
8		64			
9			150		
10		330			
11		160			
12			550		
13			263		
14		235			
15		650			
16	550				
17				275	
18	20				
19			100		
20	80				
21		350			
22		205			
23	474				
24	550				
25			4030		
26			1800		
27			70		
28	604				
29					130
30			33		
31			50		
32	250				
33		105			
34		35			
35	220				
36		90			
Average Members	391.4	248	719.6	152.5	130
Median Members	361	205	206.5	152.5	130

- \* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
(2) Favor Negro membership  
(3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
(4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
(5) Opposed to Negro membership

as members, the average size of the congregation was 152.5, and the median was also 152.5. The sole individual (2.8 per cent) who claimed to be opposed to integration has a congregation of 130 members. Thus, in these three groups, representing the unfavorable attitudes toward integration, with 13 ministers, the average size of the congregation was 584, and the median was 140.

The big problem posed here are the two very large churches whose ministers claim indifference to integration (4,030 and 1,800 members respectively). Both churches are town churches, not student foundations. They are of the same denomination, which has come out publicly and rather strongly in favor of integration. Both of the ministers were born in the midwest (Illinois and Indiana), which lessens the possible influence of background in their thinking. Both pastors are well educated, one holding two earned academic degrees and the other four. One of them claims his congregation holds the same attitude as he toward integration; the other says that his members would be less favorable toward integration than he is.

With congregations such as these, it would seem strange that the minister remains indifferent to such a forceful social problem as that of integration. These two pastors, together with the eight others who claim indifference to integration in the churches, have quite successful congregations, as far as size and importance go. Questions come to mind in relation to their attitude: Are the ministers, as "successful" ministers, apt to steer away from social questions? Are they maintaining a "hands off" policy, for fear of offending some influential members? Are they unusually sensitive to the opinion of their congregation? Have they tried to educate and influence their congregation toward integration at all? Is congregational wealth a factor at all? Is there some particular individual, or group of individuals, in the congregation who are responsible for the policies of the church? Is the minister controlled (even unconsciously) by these individuals? Is there too great an investment in

the "status quo" to warrant the risk of preaching on such a controversial subject? If those two churches, as led by their ministers, were removed from the findings, the results of the sample might have been quite different, or also if they had been in favor of integration, the study might have been biased in the other direction at this point.

To these findings, the Mann-Whitney two-tailed U test was applied. The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) was, The size of the congregation does not have a relationship to the attitude of the minister toward integration. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, The size of the congregation does have a relationship to the attitude of the minister toward integration. It was demonstrated that "z" had a value of 1.48, which, in the two-tailed test, had a probability of .1388.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the null hypothesis is accepted. In other words, the size of the congregation does not have a relationship to the attitude of the minister toward integration.

As Champaign-Urbana is an atypical community, due to the presence of the University of Illinois in its midst, it was felt that a possible sixth variable might be the presence of faculty members from the University in the congregation, as such presence might influence the thinking of the pastor either for or against interracial membership. With that in mind, question number 8 was put into the questionnaire, "Approximately how many University of Illinois faculty members belong to your church?" (The preceding question, number 7, asked, "Approximately how many University of Illinois students belong to your church?", but, as the students would not be as likely to be in policy-making positions or influential in the thinking of the pastor, this item was not considered a possible variable.)

Table 18, page 97, shows the percentage of University of Illinois faculty members in each of the 36 churches in the sample, and the attitude of the

<sup>8</sup> Siegel, *op. cit.*, p. 247



TABLE 18  
UNIVERSITY FACULTY MEMBERS AS RELATED TO  
THE MINISTER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				0	
2		1.0			
3		2.8			
4	2.6				
5	2.3				
6		4.0			
7			0		
8		17.2			
9			6.7		
10		2.1			
11		3.1			
12			.2		
13			1.5		
14		21.3			
15		1.8			
16	10.0				
17				0	
18	85.0				
19			10.0		
20	6.2				
21		5.4			
22		9.8			
23	9.7				
24	0				
25			"many"		
26			.3		
27			7.1		
28	20.7				
29					0
30			0		
31			0		
32	20.0				
33		2.9			
34		5.7			
35	50.0				
36		5.5			
Average %	20.6	6.4	2.7	0	0
Median %	9.8	4.0	.3	0	0

Figures in this Table are the percentage of University of Illinois faculty members of the total membership of the church.

- \* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
(2) Favor Negro membership  
(3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
(4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
(5) Opposed to Negro membership

minister toward integration. Percentages were used in order to make the table meaningful. The number of University of Illinois faculty members who belong to the churches in the sample range from 0 to 125, with the mean being 19.2, and the median being 5. Twenty-eight churches in the sample reported having University faculty members, one said generally "many", and seven churches said they had no such members. Numberwise, the two churches reporting the highest number of University faculty members were of the Methodist and Unitarian denominations. Percentage wise, the highest reports came from the Society of Friends, the Unitarians, the Methodists and the Presbyterians.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) actively seeking Negro membership in their churches, the average percentage of University faculty members was 20.6, and the median was 9.8 per cent. Of the 13 ministers (36.1 per cent) who favor Negro membership, the average percentage of University faculty members was 6.4, and the median was 4 per cent. Thus, of the two groups whose attitudes are, for purposes of this study, termed favorable, the average University of Illinois faculty members in proportion to the total membership of the church was 12.6 per cent, and the median was 5.5 per cent. Only one church of these 23 in the favorable attitude group reported no University faculty members.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who were indifferent to integration, the average percentage of University faculty members was 2.7, and the median was .3 per cent (exclusive of the one minister reporting "many" faculty members, which was too indefinite to be tabulated.) Neither the pastors (5.6 per cent) who prefer not to have Negroes as members nor the minister (2.8 per cent) who is opposed to Negro membership have any University of Illinois faculty members at all in their congregation, which may be of considerable significance. Of these three groups whose attitudes, for the purposes of this study, are termed unfavorable, the mean percentage of University faculty members is 1.9, and the median is .25 per cent. Of the 13 ministers in this portion of the sample, 6

(or 46 per cent) reported no University of Illinois faculty members in their congregations.

To these findings, the Mann-Whitney two-tailed U test was applied. The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) was, "The presence of University of Illinois faculty members in the membership of the church does not have a relationship to the attitude of the minister toward integration. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, "The presence of University of Illinois faculty members in the membership of the church does have a relationship to the attitude of the minister toward integration. Through this test, it was determined that "z" had a value of 3.03, which, in the two-tailed test, had a probability of .0026.<sup>9</sup> Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternate hypothesis is accepted. In other words, the presence of University of Illinois faculty members in the membership of the church does have a relationship to the attitude of the minister toward integration.

In the seventh place, the possible relationship of the membership of the church in the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America to the attitude of the minister toward integration was considered. As this group has long been the advocate of integration in the churches, on the national, regional, and local level (see Chapter Two), and as this group seeks to influence and aid the local church in its program of social progress, through bulletins, materials, counsel, and suggestions for practical Christianity, it was felt that membership of the church in this group might have something to do with the pastor's attitude toward integration. Therefore, question number 16, "Does your church belong to the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.?", was added to the questionnaire. From the responses, the data in Table 19, page 100, were formulated.

The over-all picture of membership in the National Council is as follows:

<sup>9</sup> Siegel, *op. cit.*, p. 247

TABLE 19

THE CHURCH'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE NATIONAL COUNCIL  
AS RELATED TO THE MINISTER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				No	
2		Yes			
3		Yes			
4	Yes				
5	No				
6		No			
7			No		
8		No			
9			No		
10		Yes			
11		No			
12			No		
13			Yes		
14		Yes			
15		Yes			
16	Yes				
17				No	
18	No				
19			No		
20	No				
21		No			
22		No			
23	Yes				
24	No				
25			Yes		
26			Yes		
27			No		
28	Yes				No
29					No
30			No		
31			No		
32	Yes				
33		Yes			
34		Yes			
35	No				
36		No			
% in Council	50%	54%	30%	0	0
% Not in Council	50%	46%	70%	100%	100%

- \* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
(2) Favor Negro membership  
(3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
(4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
(5) Opposed to Negro membership

Of the 36 churches cooperating in the sample, 15 (or 41.4 per cent) reported themselves as members of the National Council of Churches, and 21 (or 58.6 per cent) stated that they were not members of the National Council.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who reported themselves actively in favor of Negro membership, 5 (or 50 per cent) said their churches belong to the National Council, and 5 (or 50 per cent) said that their churches do not belong to the National Council. Of the 13 ministers (36.1 per cent) who said they were in favor of integration, 7 (or 54 per cent) said that their churches belong to the National Council, and 6 (or 46 per cent) said that their churches do not belong to the National Council. Of these two groups, whose attitudes are, for the purposes of this study, considered favorable to integration, 23 ministers in all, 12 (or 52 per cent) claimed membership in the National Council, and 11 (or 48 per cent) said their churches were not members of it.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who were indifferent to integration, 3 (or 30 per cent) said that their churches were members of the National Council, and 7 (or 70 per cent) said that their churches were not members of that group. Of the 2 ministers who prefer not to have Negro members, neither claimed their church membership in the National Council, nor did the sole minister (2.8 per cent) who was opposed to integration. Thus, of the three groups whose attitudes are unfavorable toward integration, 13 ministers in all, only 3 (or 23 per cent) said their churches belonged to the National Council, and 10 (or 77 per cent) said their churches did not belong to that group.

To these findings, the Chi-square test was applied. The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) was, Membership in the National Council of Churches does not have a relationship to the attitude of the minister toward integration. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, Membership in the National Council of Churches does have a relationship to the attitude of the pastor toward integration. Chi-square was demonstrated to be 2.90, which, at one degree of freedom, meant a Chi-square

rating of .09.<sup>10</sup> At the five per cent level, the null hypothesis was accepted. In other words, membership in the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. does not have a relationship to the attitude of the minister toward integration. (This apparent discrepancy between the statistical findings and the appearance of the percentages at the foot of Table 19, page 100, may be due to the smallness of the sample.)

The eighth, and final, factor considered in the attitude of the minister toward integration was his membership in the Champaign-Urbana Ministerial Association. This might be of significance for, as has already been noted (page 38), this group has been so progressive in its outlook toward integration as to have as its president for the 1956-1957 term the Rev. Andrew Parks, Negro pastor of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church of Champaign. Thus, in formulating the questionnaire, question number 15 was inserted, "Do you belong to the local Ministerial Association?" The findings on this point are shown in Table 20, page 103.

It will be noted in this Table that 24 of the responding ministers, out of the sample of 36 (or 66.7 per cent), were members of the local ministerial group, and 12 (or 33.3 per cent) were not members of this group. Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who actively sought Negro membership in their churches, 8 (or 80 per cent) are members of the Ministerial Association, and 2 (or 20 per cent) are not. Of the 13 ministers (36.1 per cent) who favor Negro membership 10 (or 75 per cent) are members of the Association and 3 (or 25 per cent) are not. Thus, of the two groups with favorable attitudes, 23 in all, 18 (or 78.3 per cent) do belong to the local Ministerial Association, and 5 (or 21.7 per cent) do not.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who are indifferent to Negro membership, 4 (or 40 per cent) belong to the Association and 6 (or 60 per cent)

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<sup>10</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 172

TABLE 20

THE MINISTER'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE MINISTERIUM\*\*  
AS RELATED TO HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				Yes	
2		Yes			
3		Yes			
4	Yes				
5	No				
6		Yes			
7			No		
8		Yes			
9			No		
10		Yes			
11		Yes			
12			No		
13			Yes		
14		Yes			
15		No			
16	Yes				
17				No	
18	Yes				
19			No		
20	No				
21		Yes			
22		No			
23	Yes				
24	Yes				
25			Yes		
26			Yes		
27			Yes		
28	Yes				
29					Yes
30			No		
31			No		
32	Yes				
33		Yes			
34		No			
35	Yes				
36		Yes			
% in Ass'n	80%	75%	40%	50%	100%
% Not in Ass'n	20%	25%	60%	50%	0

- \* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
(2) Favor Negro membership  
(3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
(4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
(5) Opposed to Negro membership

\*\* "Ministerium" here designates the Champaign-Urbana Ministerial Association

do not. Of the 2 ministers (5.6 per cent) who prefer no Negro members, one (50 per cent) belongs to the Ministerial Association, the other (50 per cent) does not. The sole minister (2.7 per cent) opposed to integration does belong to the Association (100 per cent). Thus, of the 13 ministers who comprise the group with unfavorable attitudes toward integration, 6 (or 46 per cent) belong to the Champaign-Urbana Ministerial Association and 7 (54 per cent) do not.

Again the Chi-square test was applied to these findings. The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) was, Membership of the individual minister in the local ministerial association does not have a relationship to his attitude toward integration. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, Membership of the individual minister in the local ministerial association has a relationship to his attitude toward integration. Chi-square was determined to be 3.86, which, at one degree of freedom, meant a Chi-square rating to .049.<sup>11</sup> At the five per cent level, the null hypothesis was rejected and the alternate hypothesis was accepted. In other words, membership of the individual minister in the local ministerial association has a relationship to his attitude toward integration. (Again it must be pointed out that the smallness of the sample may have influenced this calculation, and the findings may not be statistically significant. If the sample were larger, the null hypothesis might have been accepted.)

#### Social Action of Ministers

Following the analysis of the attitude of the ministers of the white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana toward integration, and the factors which bore upon these attitudes, the action of the ministers was studied in relation to their attitudes. The social action of the ministers took the form of (1) personal invitation of Negroes to attendance upon services, (2) preaching on social problems, (3) the observance of Race Relations Sunday and (4) other work in the field of integration in the local community.

<sup>11</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 172



In the questionnaire which was sent out, question number 14 read, "Have you ever personally invited a Negro to attend your church?" There were 35 responses to this question, only one individual failing to answer. Of the 35 responses, 23 were affirmative (they had invited Negroes personally), and 12 were negative (they had not invited Negroes personally.) This is 65.7 per cent who had taken action along this line, and 34.3 per cent who had not.

The relationship of this action to the attitude of the minister is shown graphically in Table 21, page 106. Of the 10 ministers reporting themselves actively in favor of integration, all 10 (100 per cent) had invited Negroes personally to attend their churches. Of the 13 ministers (36.1 per cent) who favor integration, 6 (or 50 per cent) said they had invited Negroes, and 6 (or 50 per cent) said they had not, with one minister refraining from checking this item in the questionnaire. Thus, of the 23 ministers whose attitudes are termed favorable, 22 responses were received, 16 (or 72.7 per cent) who had invited Negroes, and 6 (or 27.3 per cent) who had not.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who are indifferent to integration, 5 (or 50 per cent) have invited Negroes personally to attend their churches, and 5 (or 50 per cent) have not. Of the two ministers (5.6 per cent) who prefer not to have Negro membership, one (50 per cent) has invited Negroes, the other (50 per cent) has not. The sole individual (2.8 per cent) opposed to integration has personally invited Negroes to attendance at his services (100 per cent). (This last item is a curious one: it may be that the individual distinguishes between Negroes attending services and Negroes becoming members.) Thus, of the 13 ministers whose attitudes are termed unfavorable, 7 (or 54 per cent) have personally invited Negroes, and 6 (or 46 per cent) have not.

To this information was applied the Chi-square test, with the following results. The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) was, There is no relationship between the

TABLE 21  
 THE MINISTER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION AS RELATED TO  
 HIS PERSONAL OUTREACH TOWARD NEGROES

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				No	
2		Yes			
3		No			
4	Yes				
5	Yes				
6		Yes			
7			No		
8		No			
9			Yes		
10		Yes			
11		Yes			
12			Yes		
13			Yes		
14		No			
15		Yes			
16	Yes				
17				Yes	
18	Yes				
19			No		
20	Yes				
21		Yes			
22		**			
23	Yes				
24	Yes				
25			No		
26			No		
27			Yes		
28	Yes				
29					Yes
30			No		
31			Yes		
32	Yes				
33		No			
34		No			
35	Yes				
36		No			
% Inviting	100%	50%	50%	50%	100%
% Not Inviting	0	50%	50%	50%	0

\* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
 (2) Favor Negro membership  
 (3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
 (4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
 (5) Opposed to Negro membership

\*\* No answer given to this item on the questionnaire

attitude of the minister and his action in personally inviting Negroes to attendance upon the services of his church. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, There is a relationship between the attitude of the minister and his action in personally inviting Negroes to attendance upon the services of his church. Chi-square was demonstrated to be 1.26, which, with one degree of freedom, meant a Chi-square rating of .35.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted. In other words, there is no significant relationship between the attitude of the minister toward integration and his action in personally inviting Negroes to attendance upon the services of his church.

Further study of this Table, in connection with Table 5(a) and 5(b), pages 63 and 64, shows that of the 24 ministers in the sample who belong to the local ministerial association, 16 (or 66.7 per cent) have personally invited Negroes to their churches, and 8 (33.3 per cent) have not. Of the 12 ministers who reported they were not members of the local ministerial association, 7 (58.3 per cent) have invited Negroes personally, and 4 (33.3 per cent) have not. One of these ministers did not respond to that item on the list.

Feeling also that the preaching of the minister might be affected by his personal attitude toward integration, question number 13, "Do you preach on contemporary social problems, including race?" was added to the form. The findings at this point are depicted in Table 22, page 108.

Of the total sample of 36 responding ministers, 27 (or 75 per cent) do preach on contemporary social problems, including race, 8 (or 22.2 per cent) do not, and 1 (or 2.8 per cent) failed to check this answer on the questionnaire. Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who are actively for integration, all 10 (100 per cent) stated that they do preach on social problems, including race. Of the 13 ministers (36.1 per cent) who favor integration, 12 (or 92 per cent) do preach on social problems, and 1 (or 8 per cent), does not. Thus, of the

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<sup>12</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 172

TABLE 22

THE MINISTER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION AS RELATED TO  
HIS PREACHING ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				No	
2		Yes			
3		Yes			
4	Yes				
5	Yes				
6		Yes			
7			No		
8		Yes			
9			No		
10		Yes			
11		No			
12			Yes		
13			Yes		
14		Yes			
15		Yes			
16	Yes				
17				No	
18	**				
19			No		
20	Yes				
21		Yes			
22		Yes			
23	Yes				
24	Yes				
25			Yes		
26			Yes		
27			Yes		
28	Yes				
29					No
30			Yes		
31			No		
32	Yes				
33		Yes			
34		Yes			
35	Yes				
36		Yes			
% Do Preach	100%	92%	60%	0	0
% Do Not Preach	0	8%	40%	100%	100%

- \* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
(2) Favor Negro membership  
(3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
(4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
(5) Opposed to Negro membership

\*\* No answer given to this item on the questionnaire

23 ministers who claim favorable attitudes toward interracial membership, 21 (or 91 per cent) do preach sermons on contemporary social problems, including race, 1 (or 4.5 per cent) does not, and 1 (also 4.5 per cent) did not check this item.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who are indifferent to integration, 6 (or 60 per cent) do preach sermons on social problems and 4 (or 40 per cent) do not. Of the two ministers (5.6 per cent) who prefer not to have Negro members, none preach on social problems, nor does the single individual who is opposed to Negro membership. Thus, of the 13 individuals who have, in the terms of this study, unfavorable attitudes toward integration, 6 (or 46 per cent) do preach on social problems, and 7 (or 54 per cent) do not.

These figures were also analyzed statistically, as follows. The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) was, There is no relationship between the attitude of the minister toward integration and his preaching on contemporary social problems, including race. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, There is a relationship between the attitude of the minister toward integration and his preaching on contemporary social problems, including race. In this test, Chi-square was found to be 11.04, with one degree of freedom. According to the tables<sup>13</sup> this meant a probability of less than .001. Thus, at the five per cent level, the null hypothesis was rejected and the alternate hypothesis was accepted. In other words, the attitude of the minister toward integration does determine his social action through preaching upon contemporary problems, including race. This was deemed significant, in that the education of the congregation as to denominational resolutions and Biblical teaching upon social problems lies largely within the power of the minister to sway in one direction or another. His preaching can be a factor in the removal of racial prejudice and in paving the way to integration, or it can equally well be a factor in

<sup>13</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 172

the retention of prejudice and the blocking of the way to integration.

Another interesting observation, based also upon the figures obtained through the questionnaire, is the relationship of the church's membership in the National Council of Churches to the pastor's preaching on social problems. There were 15 churches which were reported (out of the sample of 36) as members of this National Council, and in every one of them there were ministers who do preach upon contemporary social problems, including race. Of the 21 churches which are not members of this larger organization, 12 have ministers who do preach on race, and 8 have ministers who do not. (One failed to reply to this item.) Thus, it would seem that there is some relationship between the church's affiliation with the interdenominational group and the preaching of the pastor.

One further question, number 17 in the questionnaire, was asked of the ministers in the sample: "Do you observe Race Relations Sunday in February?" This question might well have some relationship also to the church's affiliation (or lack of it) in the National Council, the parent-group which fosters Race Relations Sunday. The findings from this question are presented in tabular form in Table 23, page 111.

Of the total number of 36 responding ministers, 12 (33.3 per cent) said that they do observe Race Relations Sunday, and 24 (66.7 per cent) stated that they do not. Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who actively seek Negro membership, 4 (or 40 per cent) do observe this special day and 6 (or 60 per cent) do not. Of the 13 ministers (36.1 per cent) who favor integration, 5 (or 38 per cent) do observe Race Relations Sunday and 8 (or 62 per cent) do not. Thus, of the 23 ministers who report themselves as being favorable toward integration, 9 (or 39 per cent) do observe Race Relations Sunday and 14 (or 61 per cent) do not.

Of the 10 ministers who are indifferent to integration (27.8 per cent),

TABLE 23

THE MINISTER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION AS RELATED TO  
HIS OBSERVANCE OF RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				No	
2		Yes			
3		Yes			
4	Yes				
5	No				
6		No			
7			No		
8		No			
9			No		
10		Yes			
11		No			
12			No		
13			Yes		
14		No			
15		Yes			
16	No				
17				No	
18	No				
19			No		
20	No				
21		No			
22		No			
23	No				
24	No				
25			No		
26			Yes		
27			Yes		
28	Yes				
29					No
30			No		
31			No		
32	Yes				
33		Yes			
34		No			
35	Yes				
36		No			
% Do Observe	40%	38%	30%	0	0
% Do Not Observe	60%	62%	70%	100%	100%

- \* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
(2) Favor Negro membership  
(3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
(4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
(5) Opposed to Negro membership

3 (or 30 per cent) stated that they do observe Race Relations Sunday, and 7 (or 70 per cent) stated that they do not. Of the two (5.6 per cent) who prefer no Negro members, neither observes the special day, nor does the one individual (2.8 per cent) opposed to integration. Thus, of the 13 whose attitudes are unfavorable to integration, 3 (or 23 per cent) do observe this suggested Sunday and 10 (or 77 per cent) do not.

The Chi-square test was also used to analyze this data. The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) was, There is no relationship between the attitude of the minister toward integration and his observance of Race Relations Sunday in February. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, There is a relationship between the attitude of the minister toward integration and his observance of Race Relations Sunday in February. Chi-square was demonstrated to be .969 which, at one degree of freedom, had a probability of between .30 and .50.<sup>14</sup> At the five per cent level, therefore, the null hypothesis was accepted. In other words, there is no significant relationship between the attitude of the minister on integration and his observance of Race Relations Sunday.

One other phase of ministerial social action in relation to integration was noted, but, as no data were gathered on this item, no figures can be presented nor statistical analysis made. In fact, it can be mentioned only briefly here, for lack of detail. The churches and ministers of Champaign-Urbana have been, at times, quite active in promoting integration and equal rights in other areas of life beside the church.

The Unitarian congregation, under the leadership of the Rev. Arnold Westwood, was most active in promoting an "open-letter campaign" in the local newspapers in the spring of 1956, relevant to the housing problem of the Negroes.<sup>15</sup> Also, there are four adult Negro members of the congregation who have come into the church directly through the activity of the pastor in

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<sup>14</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 172

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Rev. Arnold Westwood, pastor of the Unitarian Church



interracial matters.

Also, during the spring and summer of 1956, the Wesley Foundation (the Methodist student center at the University of Illinois), under its minister to students, the Rev. John E. Dorr, was most active in behalf of the removal of segregation restrictions in off-campus housing for the University.<sup>16</sup> This Foundation, together with the Hillel (Jewish) Student Foundation and the Baptist Student Foundation (American Baptist), felt that the administration of the University should "ask all landlords to make their facilities available to persons of all races, religions, and nationalities; and this as a condition of approval."<sup>17</sup> Though such a status has not yet been fully accomplished, it demonstrates the effect a minister's attitude can and does have on his social action in the community.

In conclusion, the findings in this chapter would indicate (1) that the attitude of the minister toward integration is related to his education, the position of his denomination toward integration, the presence of University of Illinois faculty members in his congregation, and his own membership in the local ministerial association; (2) that the attitude of the minister toward integration is not related to his age, birthplace, the size of his congregation or his church's membership in the National Council of Churches, to any degree that is statistically significant; and (3) that his attitude finds expression in his preaching, but not significantly in his personal attitude toward Negroes attending his services or his observance of Race Relations Sunday. It must continually be borne in mind, however, that this sample is small, and thus there is a greater chance for statistical error than in a larger sample. Also, it is biased by the types of churches responding, and the fact that the two largest churches in the sample apparently do not follow the trend of the sample.

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<sup>16</sup> Interview with Rev. John E. Dorr, a minister of Wesley Foundation

<sup>17</sup> Statement of the "Committee on Inter-Group Relations" to members of the Religious Workers' Association, April 27, 1955

CHAPTER VII

THE CONGREGATIONS' ATTITUDE TOWARD INTEGRATION  
IN THE WHITE PROTESTANT CHURCHES  
OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA

The Attitude of the Congregations

In preparing the questionnaire for the present research, it was realized that the attitude of the various white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana toward interracial membership might not always coincide with the attitude of the ministers of these congregations. Therefore, Part III of the questionnaire was designed to read,

"Check one only:

- My congregation has the same attitude as mine toward Negroes as members in our church
- My congregation differs from me in their attitude toward Negroes being members of our church

IF YOU CHECKED THIS SECOND ITEM, please check the following answer which applies:

- My congregation is more favorable toward Negroes being members of our church than I am
- My congregation is less favorable toward Negroes being members of our church than I am."

The data secured from this portion of the questionnaire is presented in tabular form in Table 24, page 115.

Of the 36 ministers in the sample, 34 responded to this item in the questionnaire, and 2 did not. Of the 34 who answered, 26 reported that

TABLE 24  
 THE CONGREGATIONS' ATTITUDES AS RELATED TO  
 THE MINISTERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD INTEGRATION

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2*	Attitude 3*	Attitude 4*	Attitude 5*
1				A	
2		A			
3		B			
4	A				
5	A				
6		B			
7			A		
8		A			
9			A		
10		B			
11		A			
12			A		
13			B		
14		A			
15		**			
16	B				
17				A	
18	A				
19			A		
20	A				
21		B			
22		A			
23	A				
24	A				
25			B		
26			A		
27			A		
28	A				
29					A
30			A		
31			A		
32	A				
33		**			
34		A			
35	A				
36		B			
% Like	90	46	80	100	100
% Differ	10	38	20	0	0
% no Answer	0	16	0	0	0

\* Attitudes: (1) Invite and encourage Negro membership  
 (2) Favor Negro membership  
 (3) Indifferent to Negro membership  
 (4) Prefer not to have Negro membership  
 (5) Opposed to Negro membership

A - Congregation same attitude as pastor      \*\* - No answer to this item  
 B - Congregation less favorable than pastor      on questionnaire

their congregations held the same attitude toward integration that they did (or 79.4 per cent of those responding), and 8 pastors (20.6 per cent) said that their congregations held a different view, all stating the congregations were less favorable to integration than were the pastors.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who report themselves as actively seeking Negro membership, 9 (or 90 per cent) stated that their congregations held the same position as they toward integration and 1 (or 10 per cent) said that his congregation was less favorable to integration than he. Of the 13 ministers (36.1 per cent) who admitted being favorable to integration, 6 (or 46.2 per cent) said their congregation's attitude agreed with theirs, 5 (or 38.4 per cent) said their congregations were less favorable than they were, and 2 (or 15.4 per cent) did not respond to this item on the questionnaire. Thus, out of the 23 ministers on record as favorable to integration, 15 (or 65.2 per cent) said their congregations agreed with them on integration, 6 (or 26 per cent) said their congregations were less favorable to integration than they were, and 2 (or 8.8 per cent) did not answer.

Of the 10 ministers (27.8 per cent) who were indifferent to integration, 8 (or 80 per cent) agreed that their congregation's view was the same as theirs, 2 (or 20 per cent) said that their congregation's view toward integration was less tolerant than theirs. Of the 2 (5.6 per cent) who prefer no Negro members, both (100 per cent) said their congregations agreed with them. So also did the one (2.8 per cent) who was opposed to integration. Thus, of the 13 registering unfavorable attitudes toward integration, 11 (or 84.6 per cent) said their congregations agreed with them, and 2 (or 15.4 per cent) said their congregations were less favorable to integration than they were.

This may mean one of two things: (1) Either the minister has an active role to play in the formulation of the attitude of the congregation, by which the majority of congregations agree with the minister in his views on integration,

or else, (2) The pastor is not fully aware of the congregational attitude toward the subject of integration, and supposes they are in agreement with him, whether or not they may be.

From this data in Table 24, the significance of the relationship of the attitude of the congregation to the attitude of the minister toward integration was sought by applying the Chi-square test to the findings. In the statistical analysis, the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) was, There is no significant relationship between the attitude of the congregation and the attitude of the minister toward integration. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, There is a significant relationship between the attitude of the congregation and the attitude of the minister toward integration. Chi-square was demonstrated to be .755, which, with one degree of freedom, meant a probability of between .30 and .50.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted. In other words, the attitude of the congregation and the attitude of the minister toward integration are not related to a degree which is statistically significant. (However, as noted in the preceding chapter, the smallness of the sample may be a factor in this analysis, and a larger sample might prove statistically significant.)

To summarize, in approximately three-fourths of the congregations, the members have the same attitude as the minister toward integration. In the twenty-two per cent whose views varied from those of the minister, it is significant that in each case the congregation was less favorable to integration than was the minister. This suggests that the minister is often ahead of his congregation in the matter of desiring integration, in the cases where there is a difference of opinion.

#### The Congregation's Attitude Related to Its Denominational Position

While figures enough were not available for statistical analysis of

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<sup>1</sup> Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 172

the relationship between the attitude of the congregation and the position of the denominations they represent, some observations can be made. Twenty-two ministers considered their denominations as officially favorable toward integration. Of these 22 ministers, 20 (or 91 per cent) personally favored interracial membership, and 2 (or 9 per cent) expressed indifference to integration. (None were opposed to it.) However, seven of the congregations of these 22 ministers who said their denominations favored integration (or 32 per cent) were less favorable than the ministers were in the matter of integration.

Only 8 of these 22 ministers, whose denominations favor Negro membership, (or 36 per cent) actually have Negroes in their constituency. Thus, it is apparent that in the white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana, although the major denominations have ruled in favor of integration, only a small percentage of the ministers (9 per cent) did not agree with their denomination, while a larger percentage of the congregations (32 per cent) did not agree with their denomination's position.

#### The Congregation's Attitude as Related to the Presence of University Faculty Members

Table 25, on page 119, shows diagrammatically the relationship between the attitude of the congregation and the percentage of University of Illinois faculty personnel in the membership of the congregation. From the Table it can be seen that 34 of the 36 churches responded to this item of the questionnaire. Of these 34 churches, 26 (or 76.5 per cent) stated that their congregation's attitude was the same as the pastor's attitude toward integration, and 8 (or 23.5 per cent) stated that their congregation was less favorable to integration than was the minister.

Of the 26 churches whose congregations had the same attitude as their pastor toward integration, the average percentage of University of Illinois

TABLE 25  
 THE ATTITUDE OF THE CONGREGATION  
 AND UNIVERSITY FACULTY MEMBERSHIP PERCENTAGE

Church Key Number	Attitude 1*	Attitude 2b*
1	0	
2	1.0	
3		2.8
4	2.6	
5	2.3	
6		4.0
7	0	
8	17.2	
9	6.7	
10		2.1
11	3.1	
12	.2	
13		1.5
14	21.3	
15**		
16		10.0
17	0	
18	85.0	
19	10.0	
20	6.2	
21		5.4
22	9.8	
23	9.7	
24	0	
25		"many"
26	.3	
27	7.1	
28	20.7	
29	0	
30	0	
31	0	
32	20.0	
33**		
34	5.7	
35	50.0	
36		5.5
Average Faculty %	10.7	4.5
Median Faculty %	4.4	4.0

\* Attitudes: (1) Congregation's attitude same as minister's  
 (2b) Congregation less favorable than minister

\*\* No answer to this item on the questionnaire

faculty members in the congregation was 10.7, and the median was 4.4 per cent. Of the 8 churches whose views toward integration were less favorable than the minister's, one could not be counted in the figures because of a vague answer "many", but in the remaining 7 (all of which had University of Illinois faculty members), the average percentage of such members was 4.5, and the median was 4 per cent.

To these findings were applied the Mann-Whitney two-tailed U test, with the following results. The null hypothesis was ( $H_0$ ), There is no relationship between the presence of University of Illinois faculty in the membership of the congregation and the congregation's attitude toward integration. The alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) was, There is a relationship between the presence of University of Illinois faculty in the membership of the congregation and the congregation's attitude toward integration. By this test, it was determined that "z" was .022, with a statistical probability of .9840<sup>2</sup>, which calls for the acceptance of the null hypothesis. In other words, there is no relationship between the presence of University of Illinois faculty in the membership of the congregation and the congregation's attitude toward integration on the local level.

#### The Attitudes of Two Non-Responding Congregations

Two churches in Champaign and Urbana that did not answer the questionnaire stated that this was the case because they felt that they did not fit into the category of "the typical sectarian congregation." The leaders of these two churches, however, wrote personal letters explaining their position and showing the attitude of their congregation toward integration.

The president of the Champaign branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Mr. R. K. Mautz, wrote, in part,

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<sup>2</sup> Siegel, *op. cit.*, p. 247



"We do not have a paid minister. All adult members participate in our services, praying, speaking, or otherwise serving as called. Our presiding officer is a Branch President nominated by higher authorities and sustained by the vote of the local membership. Doctrinal matters, including prerequisites to membership, are established by the Church, not by the local congregation or its leaders.

"The Church accepts Negroes as members; no special effort is made either to encourage or discourage them. We are not in or near a Negro neighborhood. About two-thirds of our active membership of approximately 225 is composed of University faculty and graduate students with their families. Very few undergraduates are members."

The clerk of the First Church of Christy Scientist, Urbana, wrote also:

"'All' are most welcome to attend our Services and use our Reading Room for quiet study of the Bible, Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, by Mary Baker Eddy, all her other writings, and the Christian Science Periodicals.

"In Christian Science Churches and Societies all over the world, you will find that 'All' are most welcome."

## CHAPTER VIII

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### A Summary of the Present Status of Integration in the White Protestant Churches of Champaign-Urbana

With all the current integration interest as related to the public schools, the status of integration in the churches has come to the attention of many church leaders. While there are national and denominational statements and resolutions as to the place and purpose of integration in the church, the actual effect of these resolutions on the local situation is the core of the problem of the present research. In a controlled group, namely, the white Protestant churches of Champaign and Urbana, Illinois, this study has been made, to ascertain the effect of these denominational pronouncements on the minister's attitude toward integration, the attitude of the members toward integration and the present status of integration in the local church.

Following the delineation of the research, a questionnaire was formulated and sent to fifty-nine ministers or leaders of the white Protestant churches of Champaign and Urbana. From this contact with fifty-nine churches, responses were received from thirty-six ministers (61 per cent). The findings from these questionnaires formed the basis for all the analyses and conclusions of the study.

Before presenting these conclusions, it must again be pointed out that

Champaign and Urbana are atypical cities, in that the University of Illinois plays such a prominent part in their economic, cultural, and social life. Not only are there approximately 19,000 students attending the University of Illinois during the school year, but there are also approximately an additional 6,000 persons on the staff of the University, in teaching, administration, research and service personnel. Of the 19,000 regular students in the University there were, during the 1956-1957 school year, a total number of 780 international students, placing the University of Illinois sixth among the nation's universities in number of foreign students enrolled.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the attitude toward integration may or may not be affected by the international flavor of the school, and by the presence of a higher (upper-middle-class and upper-class) standard of living than in many average cities of comparable size.

Also, it must be pointed out that the sample may be biased, due to the inclusion of the student foundations and churches in the sample. If they, with their youthful membership and progressive attitudes, were eliminated from the study, the results might be quite different.

Again, the sample is possibly affected by its smallness. Some of the conclusions, while proved statistically significant or insignificant, may or may not have been altered had the sample been larger.

However, there are some tentative conclusions which may be drawn from the present research, as follows:

1. The churches of Champaign-Urbana, with the exception of campus religious foundations and churches, are, on the whole, segregated institutions, with only a small minority of integrated membership.
2. Most of the major denominations represented in the white Protestant churches of Champaign and Urbana have taken an official position in favor of integration, both on the higher (national and regional) and lower (local)

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<sup>1</sup> The Champaign-Urbana Courier, July 30, 1957, p.4

levels.

3. Desire for integration is weak at the "grass roots" in the churches of Champaign-Urbana. However, it is being promoted by the interdenominational church councils, the denominations themselves, and, in turn, by a limited number of ministers who are seeking to educate their congregations in social problems, including race.

4. The white Protestant churches in Champaign and Urbana are not making aggressive efforts to bridge the gulf which exists between Negroes and white people in the two cities. Apart from the activities of the Unitarian Church and the student foundations, described in Chapter Six, the churches have done little to improve existing conditions.

5. It would seem that indifference, coupled with the gap between the desire of some ministers to integrate and the less favorable attitude of their congregations, is a factor in the continued segregated status of the churches.

6. The social climate of Champaign and Urbana is not favorable to integration. The social class of the permanent Negro resident of Champaign-Urbana is lower than the social classes represented in the white churches, on the whole. This is a barrier which may aid in the maintenance of segregation in the churches.

7. Where integration does exist in the white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana, the participation of Negroes in social activities of the church is less than that of the average member.

8. Likewise, where integration does exist in these churches, the acceptance of Negroes into positions of policy-making and leadership is less than that of the average member, although several of the less important offices are open to them.

9. There is wide variance in the attitude of the ministers of Champaign-

Urbana toward interracial membership. This attitude toward integration was found to be related to the following factors, statistically: (1) the education of the minister (the higher the amount of education, the more the tolerance toward integration), (2) the position of his denomination on the matter of integration, particularly in those churches with a hierarchical form of government, (3) the presence of University of Illinois faculty members in the congregation (the higher the percentage of such membership, the more the tolerance toward integration), and (4) the membership of the pastor in the local Ministerial Association, whose president has been a Negro pastor.

10. The attitude of the minister toward integration was found to be unrelated to the following factors, statistically: (1) his age (which is contrary to the usual understanding of the younger the individual, the more progressive his ideas), (2) the birthplace of the minister, with Southern-born individuals being as much in favor of integration as Northern-born ones; (3) the size of the congregation of the minister (with the two largest churches in the sample reporting their ministers as indifferent to the matter of Negro membership), and (4) the membership of the church in the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

11. There is no significant relationship between the attitude of the congregation and the attitude of the minister toward integration. In fact, the minister tends to be ahead of his congregation in social tolerance, an important finding. In no reported case was the congregation more favorable to integration than was the minister: it was either of the same opinion or less tolerant.

12. The attitude of the minister does, apparently, have some significance in relation to his preaching on contemporary social problems, including race, but not in relation to his personally inviting Negroes to attendance upon the

services of his church or his observance of Race Relations Sunday.

13. The prospects for integration in this community are not too good, according to the answers to the open-ended question described in the next section. This may be due to the fact of continued housing segregation, the gap between Negro and white levels of living, the fact that so many of the white Protestant churches of the two cities are located at such a distance from the Negro neighborhoods and the satisfaction of the Negro with his own churches.

#### Prospects for Integration

The final question, not numbered in the questionnaire, read, "Please give a brief statement of your personal beliefs concerning the prospects for integration (inter-racial membership) in the churches of Champaign-Urbana." Five of the 36 ministers in the sample did not respond to this item in the questionnaire. Four other ministers explained that they could not answer, three who felt that they were too recent in the community to observe the situation impartially and arrive at an intelligent opinion, and one who said, "I do not know enough about the subject as related to the churches to make a statement."

Of the 27 ministers (75 per cent of the sample) who did respond to this item on the questionnaire, the opinions were widely varied. Some were pessimistic as to the prospects for integration, some were optimistic. Those who were skeptical as to the prospects for integration in the twin cities were in the minority.

One minister wrote, "I think the prospects (for integration) are good. Most of the major denominations support it nationally. Local ministers appear progressive." In a more cautious mood, another said, "I believe it will come gradually." Another clergyman wrote, "I believe it will eventually

come nationally, but I hope it will not be pushed like those recent developments which in many cases are impractical." (It is probable that this person was referring to the difficulties concerning integration in the public schools of Tennessee and other Southern states, which was much in the headlines at the time of writing.)

Five of the responding ministers felt that the Negro should be happy in his own church, and that, therefore, integration was not the most desirable goal. One clergyman wrote, "I consider it best for Negroes to have their own separate places of worship." He was seconded by another, who said, "We know the Negro folks are happy in their own churches," although this latter statement was qualified with, "Should they wish to come here (to his church), they would be welcome." Two of these pastors felt that the Negro's spiritual opportunities were already adequate to his need. "Personally feel that colored churches are ably serving their race in relation to the spiritual needs of this community," said one. The other mentioned, "The problem has not reached a point of controversy. It seems to me that the church as it is now operating is meeting the needs of the community. The Negro for the most part is happy to have his own church." A similar statement was expressed by the fifth of these ministers: "I believe sincerely in the salvation of all men; however, I believe even the colored race would probably favor our efforts in providing their own place of worship. We are endeavoring to provide such among our country churches cooperating together."

Fearful of the consequences of integration in the churches, one pastor stated, "Integration of the churches in my opinion is not such a good idea. It would be far better to leave well enough alone than to create a scene. In my organization, we have many colored churches and pastors who are content to remain as they have for years."

Segregated housing in Champaign-Urbana was considered by some of the responding ministers to be a force in retarding the integration of the churches. One such minister said, "Integration of churches can come when we begin to have integrated neighborhoods." Another spokesman wrote, "I think housing integration probably will have to come before church integration -- in that it will give people a chance to know one another." One other clergyman stated that the prospects for integration were "poor," adding, "The churches shouldn't blame themselves unduly. When the housing pattern is changed, there will be hope for the churches. Maybe the churches should lead in breaking down segregation in housing."

One minister indicated that he doubted that integration was desirable from the Negro point of view: "To the extent that the Negroes want to intermingle they should be encouraged to do so, but not pressured into integration. I am not convinced that the Negroes would want complete integration. I would certainly receive any Negro family that wanted to attend."

Failure of the churches to cooperate together in other areas is also a factor in their lack of integration, according to one pastor. "I suspect that total integration in these cities is a long way off. The churches are not working together very effectively on anything yet -- let alone integration."

Another factor in the slow spread of integration in the white Protestant churches of Champaign-Urbana was thought to be lack of an aggressive effort to reach the Negroes. One pastor evidenced such a lack of interest by writing, "They (the Negroes) must make the move to come and to seek to join. I will not go forth and drag some Negroes into this church for the sake of having some here." However, this same minister qualified this feeling by stating that he believed that, "Inter-racial membership will come to the town churches one day," and, "I hope it does and will welcome any Negroes who earnestly wish



to join our church." One other pastor felt, "In our church it's not so much a matter of the integration question as it is for an over-all increase in aggressive outreach." Another church leader said, "Prospects should be good. Negroes are welcome ... although I must admit there has been no missionary effort to bring members locally from that race ... our ministry would be the same to them as to the whites. Can there be any other answer for those who earnestly seek to live according to the laws of God?"

Still another factor related to the prospects for integration in the churches is the matter of prejudice against Negroes as a minority group. In such a vein wrote one minister, "In my opinion, quite a number of prejudices will have to be overcome first. Since God is no respecter of persons (choice of classes or race), why should we be? I don't oppose integration, but I don't think it is in the near future."

One minister showed that he had an understanding of the student foundation attitude versus the attitude of the town churches toward integration: "From what I observe, the problem isn't any different here than elsewhere. Except for students, I doubt that the town churches would welcome them. There may be exceptions." Along the same line, a new pastor wrote, "I have not been here very long, but it is my impression that the campus churches are far ahead of the city congregations in the matter of integration." One other clergyman summed up deftly the prospects for integration in the churches: "In campus churches -- likely soon ... in 'upper class' downtown churches -- more distant ... in 'lower-middle class' churches on the edge of the 'ghetto' ... not likely soon."

Several pastors expressed their belief in the theological basis for integration. Typical of these statements was the following: "The prospects are not bright, because men won't give the Gospel's answer to race as in Galatians 3:28, 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is

neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.'"

Other pastors expressed their opinions with few words. Regarding the prospects for integration one wrote, "Dim;" another said, "Not good. I would think it might be some time before it became very wide-spread."

One pastor, missing the point of the question, wrote, irrelevantly, "We would not object ... to colored people being members of our church." Apart from this, all the participants in the questionnaire contributed some bit of personal opinion on this point, except for the nine who did not answer the item as such.

Thus, the reaction of the ministers as to the prospects for integration in the white Protestant churches of Champaign and Urbana is widely varied, ranging from doubt to confidence. Much of the reaction appears to be dependent upon the present situation of the pastor. Those who are pastors of churches working actively toward integration are more certain that integration will come in the churches eventually. Those whose churches do not actively participate in the efforts toward integration or whose pastors have a disinclination to the whole idea see integration as unnecessary, remote, or even impossible.

#### Suggestions for Further Study

The other side of the picture of integration in the churches of Champaign-Urbana is also interesting. During the course of preparation of the present research, interviews were arranged with the two leading Negro ministers of Negro churches in Champaign.

One of these pastors reported an incident in which several members of his congregation attended a white church on the fringe of the Negro area. The visitors received the impression that they were being snubbed, and did not return. This same minister also talked with the pastor of a white church within the Negro neighborhood, and the latter stated that he did not want Negro members in his church, feeling that the Negro churches were adequate. When the Negro

minister asked the white minister what a Negro should do who, having studied the doctrine of the particular white denomination, felt that the doctrines of that denomination were more correct than the doctrines forwarded by the Negro churches in the area, the white minister had no reply.

Both Negro clergymen indicated that the differences in the forms of worship and the social class of the Negro people were at present a barrier to integration. Negro church services have much less formality than their white counterparts, and some are extremely emotional. Negroes accustomed to such services would feel more or less uncomfortable in the more formal services of the white congregation, except, possibly, in some of the lower-class white churches.

Social class distinctions are a barrier to integration, these Negro pastors felt. Probably the majority of Negro churches in the area would be considered lower-class socially. Thus the Negro who attempted to attend a middle- or upper-class church in the community would find much difficulty in being socially accepted, even apart from the color hindrance.

Neither of the Negro pastors reported white people attending their churches regularly. On occasion, white people have visited these leading Negro churches, as for concerts, recognition services, and "missions projects." However, to the knowledge of both of these ministers, there were no white members of any of the Negro churches of Champaign-Urbana.

One of these Negro ministers was indifferent to the matter of integration, feeling that the educated Negro should remain and strengthen his own church, rather than unite with a white congregation more near his educational level. This minister was concerned with the lack of leadership in the churches of the Negro community, and expressed the desire that the "middle-class Negro" that he felt was emerging among the Negroes of Champaign-Urbana should continue in the Negro church to provide leadership and initiative. While acknowledging that

this "new Negro" of middle-class status might be repelled by many of the lower-class features of the Negro church (such as disorder in the services and over-emphasis on money-raising, to name but two), this pastor felt that such Negroes, with their ability and leadership, could do much toward removal of some of the objectionable patterns in the Negro churches. If they were to attend and become members of integrated churches, the leadership would be lost to Negro churches which need it most.

In answer to a question as to whether or not white visitors would be received by Negro churches, both pastors who were interviewed felt that they would be welcomed, even enthusiastically, by those Negroes who had recently migrated from the South. Their presence, however, would, he felt, have an influence on the behavior of the worshippers, who would feel constrained to exercise more emotional control than usual.

Further study into this Negro attitude toward the integration question as it relates to the churches might be profitable, both as it has to do with Negro membership in white churches and with white attendance and/or membership in Negro churches.

Another study which would further enhance the value of the present research would be a future re-analysis of the status of integration in the churches of Champaign-Urbana, after a period of some years. In such a study, one could endeavor to ascertain the progress or regression of the status of integration, and re-evaluate some of the factors that seem influential in the attitude of the minister and of his congregation.

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