

NEGRO AND WHITE, by John R. Rice, D.D., Litt.D.

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Shall We Mix Races in Schools? In Churches? In Marriage? How Far Is It Right to Go and How Fast? Here Are Principles and Problems Stated Moderately and Lovingly From the Bible Viewpoint

A Plea for Patience, for Moderation and for Less Agitation and Pressure While Good Men Work Out Problems

In much of America, separate schools are furnished for white and Negro children, separate waiting rooms are provided in railroad and bus terminals. Separate seating is provided on trains and buses. In other parts of the nation where "Jim Crow" laws are not in force, still there is vigorous resistance to colored people moving into white neighborhoods, and the separation of the races is carefully maintained in many social and economic circles.

Violent agitation goes on to stop segregation. That agitation, I believe is usually uninformed, and it often does more harm than good. The agitation is often carried on by those who are not particularly good citizens nor good Christians, and very often for selfish purposes. The socialists, the communists, the professional and paid Negro leaders, and politicians who hope to gain votes, raise enmities, hurl epithets, threaten force, and incite hate.

Christians need to prayerfully consider the principles and problems involved in the question of segregation. What does the Bible teach? What is Christian duty? What is the way to make the strongest America and the happiest people, both black and white?

The Supreme Court has ruled that segregation must be ended in southern schools in the South. The previous ruling of the Supreme Court, based on the same laws now existing, said that equal facilities for white and colored people were a fair and just solution. Now the Supreme Court, largely influenced by the New Deal and left-wing thought has changed its stand. Has the Supreme Court a right to change the meaning of the constitution or of laws passed by Congress which originally meant something else? Has the Supreme Court a right to interfere in purely state matters? At least the Supreme Court realized that the matter could not be properly settled at once, and gave indefinite time.

In Washington, D. C., the schools have been integrated, mostly with white and colored children together, where they occupy the same residential area, but people are moving so as to put children in school with those of their own race. In Birmingham, Alabama, Negroes have called a boycott of the bus lines because Negroes were required to sit in one area of the bus, and white people in another area of the bus. In the University of Alabama, Autherine Lucy entered the graduate school to take a course in library science. She was evidently hired by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to make a test case. When riots occurred over her admission to classes, the university suspended her for her own safety. A court decided she must be restored. Then she was expelled for attacks on university officials, and student leaders in the riot were also expelled.

Emmett Till, a Chicago Negro lad, a man in size and appearance, visited relatives in Mississippi, boasted that he had "had" white women in sex relationship. Urged on by other young Negroes, he went into a store conducted by a pretty young married white woman, seized her bodily, embraced her and asked her for a date. His boasting continued. His body was found in the river. The accused husband of the

insulted wife was tried for murder but was found not guilty. The problem has assumed such proportions that some hotheads in the North advocate using armed forces to compel white people and colored people to send their children to the same schools, while in the South, leading men in the government and out have banded themselves together to avoid what they think would result in intermarriage and the mongrelization of the race and the breakdown of all the southern standards of culture.

I do not want to stir the fires. I am not crusading for any cause but the cause of Christ and righteousness. But in Jesus' name I want to analyze the principles and problems involved in race relationships from the viewpoint of the Bible.

Perhaps more than many, I see both sides of this question. I am a born Southerner, lived in Texas until I was 44 years old. Both my grandfathers served in the Confederate Army in the Civil War. My Grandfather Rice owned 95 slaves who were set free by the war. He himself was a captain in the Confederate Army. So for most of my life I lived near colored people. I worked with colored people and sometimes employed colored people. I have preached in Negro churches. I had Negro choirs to sing in my church.

However, my viewpoint is not a typically southern viewpoint. I have lived in the North for sixteen years. I brought from British Guiana in South America a fine Negro young man and helped put him through Moody Bible Institute. He looks to me as to a father.

The famous Negro singer, Elbert Tindley, son of the famous Methodist preacher and song writer Charles Albert Tindley, was a dear friend of mine and sang often in my conferences and revival campaigns. Several of my daughters have worked for months and years in Sunday Schools for colored people in Chicago. They did visitation in the homes of Negro people, loved them, won them to Christ, taught them the Bible. A colored boy, seventeen, now in the University of Chicago, visited us the other day. A great many Christian Negroes take THE SWORD OF THE LORD and read my books, and I value them most highly. So since I have an intimate knowledge of southern white people and understand their viewpoint, and since I love and respect colored people and have worked with them often, I think I can deal without prejudice as a minister of God with the great principles and problems of race segregation or desegregation.

I. The Races Are Equal Before God and Before the Law

People of all races are members of the same human family. We are blood brothers. This is made clear by many Scriptures.

In Genesis 3:20 we are told, "And Adam called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother of all living." So whether Caucasian, Mongolian, or Negro, all races alike are descended from Adam and Eve.

When Paul preached at Athens, he said by divine inspiration that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation" (Acts 17:26). All the men and women and children in the world are "of one blood." So says the Word of God.

Actually, everybody alive on the earth now descended from Noah and his three sons. The differences in color and other racial characteristics have developed since the flood. But racial differences are only superficial and incidental. We are one race of beings and all alike have the blood of Adam and the blood of Noah in our veins.

It is certain, from the Scriptures, also, that in God's sight white people are no more favored than Negroes. It is true that God had certain plans for the nation Israel which He did not have for other nations, whether white or black.

But there is no distinction on racial grounds between white people and Negro people in the Bible. In the second chapter of Romans we are told how God offers salvation alike to all, and punishes sin alike with all. He said:

"Who will render to every man according to his deeds: To them who by patient continuance in well doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, eternal life: But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, Tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile; For there is no respect of persons with God."—Rom. 2:6-11.

Here we have the clear statement that "there is no respect of persons with God."

So the Gospel is preached "to every creature." God is just as anxious for a Negro man to be saved as for a white man to be saved. And exactly the same offer is made, the same plan of salvation is announced. Negroes and white people are sinners alike; Negroes and white people are to be saved just alike. One who repents of his sin and trusts Christ for salvation is saved and a child of God, no matter what the color of his skin.

That means that in the Father's house of many mansions all the saints of God will be welcomed alike. I believe there will be no distinctions in Heaven on the basis of race and color. I believe that since there will be no sin, and no question of marriage and the problems connected with it, there will be perfect, happy mingling of all the saints of God of all races and colors in Heaven. In the sight of God there is no respect of persons. So I am glad to call every person who knows Christ as Saviour and who loves and follows Him my brother or my sister. I find the warmest Christian love springs up in my heart when I meet one who is clearly a child of God and I find this love is the same with people of other races, as with my own race.

Again, we can thank God that we have in the United States of America a government which is built upon the democratic principle. Every person is equal before the law. One is not kept from citizenship because of his race or his previous condition of servitude. The Negro has a right to vote just as well as the white man. The Negro has a right to run for office and try to be elected, just the same as a white man. Both may fail; in every election more people fail to get elected than get elected. But everyone has the same right.

Before the courts of the land every person is equal. Since men are frail, we may feel that the rich man has a little better chance in a court than a poor man. But fundamentally and essentially our government and our laws have been based on the serious conviction that every man has exactly the same rights before the law. We take pride in this fact. I believe there is not a nation on the earth where there is as much liberty as in the United States. It is true that in particular instances there are miscarriages of justice, there is discrimination. That is not any more true as between white and colored people than it is between Democrats and Republicans, as between rich and poor, as between labor union men and non-union men. Human nature being as frail as it is, there are some abuses, but, thank God, in principle we in America hold that every person is equal before the law. And all of us ought to insist that colored people have the same rights before the law as white people, and vice versa.

Race hatred is wrong. It is just as wrong when stirred up by Negro newspapers against white people as it is when stirred up by white people against Negroes. It is just as wrong when it is fostered by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as it is when it is stirred up by communists. And unfortunately, the communists and the NAACP too often have the same program and emphasize the same thing. Race hatred is wrong. It is just as wrong when stirred up in a church by a modernist infidel preacher in the North as it is when it is stirred up in the South by an over-zealous defender of southern white womanhood and the status quo.

I personally feel that the Jim Crow laws are not wise and that slowly, as fast as sentiment can be properly created so that the thing will be done righteously and calmly with the best results for both white and colored people, the Jim Crow laws ought to be abolished. But I say frankly that many things are worse than these, and most intelligent people would prefer to have Jim Crow laws than to have unrestrained intermarriage between the races. Christians everywhere should try to avoid oppression and take particular pains to be kind and thoughtful and unselfish in all inter-race relationships, but the matter is too great and complex to be settled suddenly, and there are too many problems yet unresolved for an easy settlement. May the Lord give us grace as we consider some of these complicating factors.

II. Complicating and Hurtful Factors in the Desegregation Fight

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has, we trust, done a great deal for colored people. Unfortunately, it seems to me, in recent years the principal aim of the NAACP has been to wage a political war on segregation. All sensible people surely are for the advancement of the colored race. Everybody would rejoice if the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were raising money for colored schools, were enlisting educators, political leaders, and Christian leaders in problems that beset colored people like the rest of us. If they were encouraging more Negro young men to be doctors, lawyers, preachers, and missionaries, we would be glad. If they were teaching Negro farmers how to make more money, or teaching apprentice workmen how to meet the standards of industry, and to raise their own standards of living, we would all be glad. I say I think it is unfortunate that the history of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been taken up largely with lawsuits, with arousing colored people to a fury of resistance against rules in their own communities. Doubtless the NAACP has done much good. I fear that one great catastrophic result of the organization's work has done colored people more harm than all the incidental victories it has won. And that catastrophic harm has been to drive a cleavage, a wedge between the colored and white races, and to arouse such a fury of suspicion and resentment as it may take a whole generation of godly and righteous effort on the part of the leaders of both races to overcome.

Miss Autherine Lucy enrolled in the University of Alabama to take a graduate course in library science. But did she primarily want to become a librarian? We think not. She was then engaged, and has since been married to a young Negro ministerial student in Texas. No, it appears that she was solicited and probably supported financially by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to make a test case, and so enable them to put on a legal battle.

Do not misunderstand me; I am glad that most southern universities in the graduate schools are opening their classes to Negro students. I am glad that Negro colleges have been very widely built with money furnished by southern even more than northern white people for the training of Negro teachers and leaders of every kind. Autherine Lucy was enrolled in the University of Alabama Graduate School. If the NAACP had been patient, in a few years that whole problem would have been settled, because the best southern white people and the best southern Negro people were working at it together. But no, with a

carefully worked out campaign, with a course that caused a riot, slander, and almost caused insurrection, the NAACP led in this matter.

Suppose we grant that probably the motives of the Negro leaders who planned this case, hired the girl to make an issue, and then carried it to court were good. Let us suppose, I say, that they were probably well meaning and very sincere colored people. But they did harm, nevertheless, harm to the cause of good colored people and to the relationship of the races.

Negro ministers, unfortunately, have also very often had a bad influence. The Negro minister in Birmingham who led in the organization of a Negro boycott of the buses, led that fight, unfortunately, not as a Christian leader trying to make good Christians and to lead in Christian understanding between the races. He led that boycott as a modernist and a socialist who was more concerned about racism than he was about Christianity, I fear. His training, his background, and his statements to the press show that, in my judgment.

Worse than modernist Negro ministers have been some Negro editors. Many of them have done a lot to stir race hatred, to stir people up to radical moves. They have led Negro people to brood over fancied slights and of limited opportunities. It is only fair to say that most Negro editors dealing largely with an uneducated readership and with people of very limited cultural advantages and reading opportunities, found the field easy to exploit.

Communists, of course, have always been set to try to take advantage of every labor fight, every racial issue, and to stir up trouble in America and other free countries in every way possible. They have pictured America as a land of oppression, a land where colored people are abused and exploited and almost enslaved. That false and deliberately misleading picture puts America in a bad light, and helps in the fight of communists to raise sentiment in other countries against America. And it may be that communists have had more to do with stirring up this fight, and with bringing more unseen influence on the Supreme Court, on the NAACP, on politicians, and on magazines and newspaper editors than any of the people involved themselves realize. Then there are politicians who hope to gain the Negro vote by stirring up the question of desegregation. It is equally true that some politicians in the South make much more of the issue than they ought, hoping to gain votes from ardent Southerners who think their way of life is being invaded and forcibly changed. But politicians who make wild charges and wild threats and strong appeals to the emotions of people on such a question often do more harm than good, and they becloud the issues.

I believe that all the propaganda, all the agitation, has been generally harmful in putting a cleavage between the white and colored races and arousing hatred, and in failing to face the real problems and principles involved.

Of course the socialists, generally, the New Deal element in our government, the so-called ultra-liberal element, are among the loudest in crying for an immediate integration of the races. The socialistic tendency in government is to take all the principal authority out of the states and build a large federal government to decide all problems. They would stop all preaching of the Gospel over radio and television that differs with the Jew or Catholic or modernist or Mormon. Socialists would make all workers uniformly join a union and pay union dues. The socialistic element everywhere tends to take the money away from the man who makes the most money and give it to others on relief who do not earn it. The socialistic principle is to cut everybody down to the same level, to pay the poorest worker as much as the best worker. So the racial question is a natural juicy bit for the conversation and planning of socialists.

We should not mistreat colored people because socialists and communists are interested in the desegregation fight. But we should make sure that we do not give away the liberties of the people, that we do not make a monster dictatorship in the government, and that we do not throw away great American principles while we try to solve a problem about the races. You can be sure that the communists and the socialists are wrong in the main outcome they seek, though they may not be wrong in some detail about desegregation.

III. The Great Harm of Recent Racial Agitation

I believe I can show intelligent readers that great harm has come by undue agitation over racial issues. I believe the Supreme Court decision itself was ill-timed, political, hurtful. I believe the same about the propaganda of the modernistic, socialistic National Council of Churches and certain modernistic denominational leaders. I believe the agitation by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has also done harm.

First, it puts communists and socialists in a favorable light. Actually, communists and socialists are not for greater freedom. They say so, but when the socialists take over a government as they did in Germany under Hitler, and as they did in Russia under Stalin and other communists, common people lose their rights. Communists and socialists try to stir up laboring people against the American free enterprise system, and yet labor in Russia and in other socialist or communist countries does not have a tenth of the freedom and the prosperity which is provided in our own great land.

Do you suppose that any colored people would be better off in Russia than in the South? Do you suppose that colored people with their bus boycott in Birmingham, Alabama, would be happier in Moscow or Stalingrad? Of course they would not. And those who put America in such an unfavorable light and thus add to the fuel of socialists and communists do great harm.

The harmful race agitation has given a false idea to the whole world. Ex-President Hoover was right when he said that Negroes have more cars in America than all the private individuals under the Iron Curtain combined. We have so many good things to talk about, and colored people as well as white people are advancing so rapidly both in their social gains and their economic status and their enjoyment of all good things of life, that the great agitation for more immediate desegregation leaves a false impression on the whole world. The people in India and Africa suppose that in America, Negroes are exploited and abused and held down to the most abject poverty. That simply is not true.

And again, the racial agitation which has been going on wrongs southern white people. Southern people carry a great load. By law it is required that schools be provided for colored people that are equal in facilities to the schools of white children. But colored people have more children and far less money. The white people pay the taxes and build the schools for both colored people and white people. And that has been widely accepted everywhere in the South, and colored people have more new schools than white people have. White people are wronged when they are made to appear as oppressors of colored people.

The white people of the South have great problems of adjustment. They are honestly trying to get Negroes into the whole lie of the people. Negroes are being put on police forces. Negro lawyers are practicing in courts. Negro ball players are playing on the teams. Negro entertainers are singing and playing before white audiences. They have programs on every southern radio station. Very largely they are being employed in industry and business and being paid better and better wages.

Consider, when you read some sneer in the Christian Century magazine by some infidel modernist in the North, that the southern Christians are generally Bible believers and are generally in constant daily touch with Negro people and treat them kindly. Generally speaking, the South is not against being kind to colored people. They are simply against the dictatorship from the North. They are against the Supreme Court taking over the rights and authority of the states. They have genuine problems to solve in their relations with colored people, and these problems are often much more serious than outsiders know, and the problems cannot be solved so easily as by simply repealing Jim Crow laws. All intelligent people ought to give southern white people credit for wiping out lynching in the South, and rapidly improving the opportunities of colored people.

The racial agitation very generally does wrong to the South because southern white people are not alone in not wanting intermarriage of white and colored people. Generally speaking, there is no more integration of races in the churches in the North than there is in the South. Generally speaking, the best white people and the best colored people in the North do not seek the intermarriage of the races. White people in the South, on this matter, want only what white people everywhere else want. They want to handle their own problem and maintain their own standards, without too much outside interference. The racial agitation in the newspapers and magazines and by politicians in the North has very generally been unfair and uninformed.

The agitation has aroused hate and suspicion between the races. Beyond any shadow of doubt, as replies from editors in all the principal southern cities has shown to a national magazine which made a survey, the races are farther separated now than they have been in the memory of living people. There is more suspicion, there is less friendly contact, there is less chance to work out the problems. The action of the Supreme Court, the lawsuits and accusations of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the political speechmaking have done great harm.

I have no doubt that this agitation caused the death of Emmett Till. That colored boy, who attempted to embrace and to make a date with and to seduce the young married white woman, was spurred on by widespread feeling, a cocky attitude agitators have cultivated among colored people. Remember, it was down in the delta country in Mississippi, where a white woman dare not walk the streets alone at night or go anywhere alone at night because of the animosity and the standards of the large Negro population. On the part of colored people, all this agitation makes for bad incidents. It makes for cases of murder and rape. It makes for some rare cases of vengeance and cases in which offended white men, even good men, take the law in their own hands.

Let me suggest, then, that on this matter, Christian people walk softly. Do not criticize people who have problems you do not know about. Give everybody concerned time to work out the problems wisely and well. The hasty way, the way of charge and countercharge, the way of making political capital out of sectional problems and religious problems, is not good for America. It does not solve the problems involved. It does great harm to both white people and Negro people. To arouse hate and resentment and suspicion, to build a wall between the races, is wicked and unchristian.

IV. How Much Integration as Sought by Many Is Desirable and Right?

Negro citizens should be recognized as first-class citizens, yes! With all the rights and privileges and responsibilities which fall on first-class citizens. People of all races are children of Adam. We are brothers in blood. Those who have been converted, who have personally trusted Christ as Saviour and have been born into the family of God, are all children of God alike and are spiritual brothers in Christ. Yes, we can thank God that in Christ there is neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, neither Jew

nor Gentile. There is a wonderful and sweet equality before God, and all of us who are Christians want it to be that way.

However, we must remember that, while all are equal before the law, and all are equal as far as the need for salvation and the opportunity for salvation and the privileges of Christian life are concerned, yet that does not make everybody alike.

Here a man and wife are both saved. But the woman is still a woman and the man is still a man. The man is still accountable to God as the head of his home.

Here a father and a son are both saved. But the son is still to give allegiance and submission to the father's rule.

Here a teacher and a pupil are both Christians, both going to Heaven, and brothers in Christ. But the teacher has a responsibility that the pupil does not have, and the pupil owes an obedience that the teacher does not owe.

Suppose I employ two men. Both are citizens of the United States. Both have the same rights before the courts, and both have the same rights to vote or run for office. But one man may have skills the other does not have. One man may earn a dollar an hour and the other may earn three dollars an hour. You see, equality before the law and equality in standing before God do not mean that all the differences between people are done away with.

Is complete integration always wise? No, it is not. For a moment, leave off the question of the races and you will see that in the very nature of the case, it would not be proper nor right to put everybody on the same plane.

In the United States Army, there is a difference between officers and enlisted men. Do you say there ought not to be that difference? There is a difference between the sexes. Do you think that men and women ought to dress alike? Do you think they ought to be required to meet exactly the same standards, and have exactly the same privileges? Of course they ought to do right, but a woman ought to be a good woman and a man ought to be a good man. They are not the same.

A clear distinction ought to be made in a military camp between military personnel and civilians. Do you see that complete integration of soldiers and of civilians is not desirable or wise?

If you want complete integration of everybody, would you compel every worker to join a union? Would you take away the rights of those who do not feel led of God to yoke up in the unions and to support leadership and pay union dues? You may desire to belong to a union yourself. You may think it right. But do you think that people ought to be compelled—everyone—to fit into your plan? That is a socialist-communist idea, but it is not the Christian idea and not the American idea.

Suppose here at the Sword of the Lord office we need workers and two young women come to offer themselves for work. One is a Christian, the other is not a Christian. Would you say that I have no right to choose whether I hire a Christian or a non-Christian? Socialists and communists would say so, but that is not the American way, and not the Christian way. To compel Christians and non-Christians to work together whether they want to or not and to compel employers to hire them whether they wish to or not is certainly not the American way and it is not fair either to Christians or to non-Christians.

In my personal life and my family life, are we to make no distinctions? Is it wrong to select friends that I enjoy being with and who see things as I see them? Is it wrong for me to entertain in my home some

whom I particularly enjoy or to whom I wish to show some favor? Or must I be compelled to receive everybody, known and unknown, loved or unloved, on exactly the same basis in my home?

This matter of so-called complete integration which ignores the differences and preferences and would compel an even level without any reference to the rights and preferences of individuals is utterly wrong, un-American, and unchristian.

I have six daughters. I have some rules that amount to segregation. And the girls agree with me in this segregation. We segregate the drinkers from the nondrinkers. No man who drinks can keep company with one of my daughters. No man who does not believe the Bible can keep company with my daughters. We are really much stricter than that. Do you think that segregation is wrong in this case?

Suppose Christian people found a Christian school. Suppose they restrict the student body to people of like mind, to people who take certain vows and enter into certain agreements about godly living. Is that wrong? Suppose that these Christian people decide that in such a school only students who meet certain requirements will be enrolled. I know this is free America, but doesn't that school have freedom, too?

As one great man of God said, "We have a right to found a school for bowlegged people, if we want to. This is America!" I think I have shown you that "complete integration" would be hurtful.

An old proverb says, "Birds of a feather flock together." What is wrong with that? It is an inherent rule in human nature that like people seek fellowship with like people.

That is one reason why there is nearly as much segregation in the North as in the South.

Mr. Roi Ottley, a noted Negro scholar, in the Chicago Daily Tribune for May 5, said:

"The great Negro concentrations in the northern cities have not only made for segregated education, but in some places for inferior education. The Ashmore project found the schools in the Negro neighborhoods are the oldest, and provide the least adequate physical facilities; and they produce a high proportion of juvenile delinquents and problem children.

"Segregated education is not absolute in the North—but 85 to 90 per cent of the Negro children go to schools where the student body is completely or predominately Negro. This is for the simple reason that a child attends the school nearest his home, and if he lives in an all-Negro neighborhood he is likely to attend an all-Negro school.

"The four principal high schools on Chicago's south side break down this way: Dunbar with 2,000 pupils has only one white student, Phillips with 2,000 has one white child; Du Sable with 2,000 has none, and Englewood with 2,200 has 75 white pupils.

"Chicago is not unlike Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia or New York City."

Do the people in Chicago suppose that it would be better Christianity, that it would make for better understanding or better education to compel white high school pupils to attend Dunbar High School, which has only one white student to 2,000 pupils, or Phillips High School with 2,000 pupils, which has only one white student, or Du Sable High School with 2,000 students, which has no white students whatever? Some segregation is natural and proper. It makes for happiness and occurs naturally when there is not too much agitation and when it is not made a special issue and quarrel. And if Chicagoans are willing for their high schools to be largely segregated, why should they feel compelled to force desegregation in the South?

Do you suppose that it would do great good to make a special issue of integration of the races in churches? Many people seem to think so. And I am surprised to find that people do not generally know that in the South until recent years when the NAACP campaign became so offensive, it was customary for colored people to occasionally attend the services of white people. They often attended my revivals. They did not embarrass white people. They did not unduly call attention to themselves. They simply wanted to hear the preaching of the Gospel and to be blessed, and they were welcome on that basis. They were not seeking to unite socially and to achieve intermarriage with white people. They were not agitators like Autherine Lucy. And so I am always glad to preach to colored people, and I am never offended nor embarrassed at fellowship with colored people.

But suppose we founded a church which made it a main principle that we would enlist white people and colored people together; would that be good? Would that advance the cause of Christ? The answer is proved by every single case I have ever heard of where a church took such a stand, that it would not help the cause of Christ, it would not lead souls to be saved, it would not advance Christians in spiritual nurture. No well-known church in the world which is much occupied in campaigning for uniting races is a strong soul-winning church. God does not want me to spend my time crusading for racial equality. He just wants me to preach the Gospel and help people do right. The churches are not meant to be political arenas. Generally speaking, colored people are happier and make better Christians and do better Christian service when they go where people sing the kind of songs they like to sing, where they hear the kind of preaching they like to hear, where their young people can meet together on the happy basis that young people like, and where the young people, of course, will find their mates for life, and their friends for a lifetime.

We do not insist that Catholics and Protestants should always worship together. We do not insist that Episcopalians and Mormons must always worship together. We do not insist that Baptists and Methodists always worship together. If we are Christians, we ought to love one another. But confirmed Methodists ought to join Methodist churches, and Baptists ought to join Baptist churches. And colored people will generally be happier to join colored churches, and white people will generally be happier to join white churches. There is no lack of love, no lack of fellowship, in going where one can be happiest and with people among whom one feels most at home.

No one insists that a laboring man in an industrial suburb should leave his suburb and go across town to join the university church to hear lectures on Kierkegaard and Barth and existentialism! If the university man is a Christian and the laboring man is a Christian, they can have sweet fellowship; but why make an issue that they must at all cost be forced to sing the same songs and join the same church and hear the same preacher? There is great freedom in Christ. Thank God, there is great freedom in America. Let's keep it that way! That involves no hatred toward Negroes nor toward Catholics, nor toward anybody else. It is only a sensible and spiritual conclusion.

How far can we go in racial integration? Ought we to have intermarriage of white and colored people? I think the answer to that question is definitely no. Throughout the Old Testament, we find that the intermarriage of Jews and Gentiles was discouraged, and unless a Gentile should become a Jew in religion, it was absolutely forbidden. And so through the years it has generally been true that the intermarriage of people of different races tends to turn out unhappily. Marriage of white people and Negroes does not generally turn out happily. I think it is, in every case, a mistake. I think that every sensible preacher, educator, and sociologist in the world would tell you that generally the marriage of two people who have violently different backgrounds is likely to end unhappily. Protestants ought not to marry Catholics. Those who do not drink ought not to marry people who drink. Christians ought not to

marry even non-Christians. The poor boy ought not to marry the rich girl when he cannot give her the things she has been trained to expect and which she thinks will bring happiness. I say that for any two people to marry with violently differing backgrounds means nearly certain unhappiness. Therefore racially mixed marriages are hurtful and unhappy and wrong.

Well, if my girls are not to marry colored men, are they to have dates with colored men? Wouldn't a colored young man be happier if he would seek the company of available young women with whom he might make a happy marriage? And would not my daughters be more sensible to accept only the company of men who might make acceptable husbands? Complete integration of the races is undesirable. It would not be happy for colored people or for white people.

We ought to insist that abuses be avoided; we ought to try to break down prejudice. We ought to see that every man maintains his rights before the law. We ought to value every soul alike as dear to Christ. But to compel people to be together who do not wish it is hurtful and wrong.

V. How Negroes Would Lose by Too Rapid or Too Complete Integration

Southern Negroes may well lose far more than they gain by too rapid or too complete an end to segregation.

On this matter I want to call attention to the testimony of Mr. Davis Lee, Negro editor of the Newark, New Jersey, Telegram. Editor Lee has the following to say:

"The efforts being made by certain paid agitators and pressure groups to have segregated schools in the South declared unconstitutional may cause southern Negroes to lose a lot more than they gain.

"The trouble with this movement as with similar ones, is that the initiators don't count the overall cost to the race. The present effort is designated to destroy the whole pattern of segregated social order in which there will be no distinction on the basis of race, religion, color or nationality.

"That is a laudable objective, but human nature just has not changed that much and the achievement of such an objective could cause repercussions that might set the Negro back fifty years.

"Integration in the schools in the North and East is not a howling success. A Negro can attend most of the schools up here and get an education, but few of the states that educate him will hire him as a teacher. The state of Connecticut doesn't have twenty-five Negro teachers.

"Recently I visited Albany, the capital of New York State, and learned that the city employs three Negro teachers. Our own city, Newark, with Negroes consisting of 20 per cent of the population, employs 2,200 teachers, but only 70 of them are Negroes, and we don't have one Negro principalship.

"Nowhere in these integrated states do Negroes get anywhere near proportionate representation. Every device is employed to keep qualified Negroes from being assigned.

"This is not true in the South. The state of Georgia employs 7,313 Negro teachers and paid them close to \$15,000,000 in salaries last year. North Carolina paid its Negro teachers over \$22,000,000 last year. Florida is another state that ranks at the top on teacher pay.

"If the states that are now pouring millions of dollars annually into Negro pockets which provide our people with money that enables them to enjoy the dignity of man, to enjoy the prestige and respectability, to buy homes and the necessities of life, are forced to abandon the segregated school, 75

per cent of the Negro teachers in the South will lose their jobs. Not only that, but approximately 20,000 Negro principals will lose their jobs as well.

"Can the Southern Negro afford to take this sort of economic licking for the privilege of sending his kids to a mixed school? I don't think so. The price is too great.

"Certainly ruling out segregation in schools is not going to change the habits of the Negroes, but white employers will definitely change their habits and to the detriment of these poor people who are not responsible for the forced change.

"This present movement to end segregation in the schools is merely the beginning of a well laid plan to completely end segregation in everything in the South. If this happens, the Negro will be thrown into direct competition with the white race, and our business institutions will crumble.

"No place in the world do Negroes own and control as much as do those in the South. Atlanta is without question the Negro capital of the world. It's the center of Negro culture, education, business and finance. And both Negroes and white live, work and operate business without either being conscious of the other's race.

"During the past two years I have spent more time in the South than I have in my office, and I have interviewed thousands of Negroes in all walks of life and I have found very few who favor mixed schools. They want their own schools, but equal facilities. This being the situation, one questions the fairness of forcing these citizens to accept what they don't want. If a little group of paid agitators succeed in forcing their will upon these people, it appears to me that they should at least be given an opportunity to be heard.

"Right now the Southern Negro is in a better spot educationally, politically and economically than the Negroes any place else in the world. Race relations are continually improving. Every day more Southerners are recognizing the Negro as a man and according him the respect which he merits, but the Southern Negro himself can do more about improving conditions than can courts, legislation or pressure groups.

"Despite all the hullabaloo about the liberal East and North, no Negro has been made head of a state college or university. Down South the woods are full of Negro college and university presidents. Down in Texas a Negro college president of a state school gets \$15,000 a year.

"Not too long ago, Negroes went into court and demanded equal facilities in our schools. The courts ruled they were right. All the Southern states embarked upon a school building program never heard of before in the history of our nation. And this effort to give Negroes equal school facilities is an honest one.

"Now after these states have spent millions, as they were requested to do, a group goes back into the courts declaring the separate but equal law is unconstitutional, that nothing less than integration will do. That doesn't seem fair to me."

Let me ask you to seriously consider what this Negro editor says. The State of Connecticut, without segregation, "doesn't have 25 Negro teachers." Georgia, with segregated schools, has 7,313 Negro teachers and paid them close to \$15,000,000 in salaries last year. Mr. Lee says that if southern states "are forced to abandon the segregated school, 75 per cent of the Negro teachers in the South will lose their jobs. Not only that, but approximately 20,000 Negro principals will lose their jobs as well."

We are glad that there are great numbers of Negro doctors and lawyers and other professional men. Negroes have some large insurance companies and some large business firms. But it is only fair to say that if colored people were discouraged in patronizing colored people primarily, then many of these doctors and lawyers, like the teachers, would be out of business. The white lawyers and doctors, with better training in many cases, would get more of the trade.

The white insurance companies would get more of the insurance business. What is wrong with allowing colored people, where they wish it, to specialize in serving colored people, and letting the whole race prosper and grow up together and increase its culture and its economic standing? It would be a great blow financially if the segregated schools were abandoned and the segregated way of life were abandoned—a blow, I mean, to colored people themselves, and the loss to them of many millions of dollars' worth of income.

But I have not mentioned one of the greatest harms that would come by ending segregated schools. There would immediately be aroused such tensions and such pressure on Negro students in schools with a large white enrollment as would be harmful and miserable. In the first place, colored children would usually find themselves less advanced and at a disadvantage. Then they would often not be accepted socially, even by the families of white children with whom they attended school. It would not be wise nor right to force into intimate contact those who would have natural differences in culture, background and color. Two cats with their tails tied together and hung over the clothesline will be much more apt to fight than if they are each allowed to play together or apart as they like. Forced association would be harder on Negro children than on white children. Why make a little colored girl attend school where she would feel inferior, instead of where she feels at home?

VI. Give Negro People Time to Earn Their Place in Society

How far the colored race has come in America in the ninety years and more since the Civil War! They are better off than colored people anywhere else in the world. In fact, they are better off than any other kind of people anywhere else in the world but in America, and for that all of us should thank God.

However, we have seen a race of people rise up from heathen savagery in a few short years. I think I have looked in the face of Negroes who were brought from Africa as slaves and then freed during the Civil War. But the race is young in its culture. It has a great future. Who knows what wonderful progress Negro people may make in the next ninety years, by the grace of God, in this free America!

However, it is only fair to say that Negro people, for their own happiness and the happiness and welfare of everybody concerned, ought to have time to earn their way in certain fields before they are forcibly integrated in the schools and elsewhere with white people.

Wherever colored people can be integrated happily in the schools, without pressure and tensions, well and good. But it is a simple fact, widely known, that the educational standards in Negro schools are considerably lower than those in white schools. The race is young. There is less literacy and less literary background among colored people than among white. The teachers have generally had poorer training. So Negro students in a certain grade, I am told, are often about two grades behind pupils in white schools graded similarly. If all the fourth-grade Negro students and all the fourth-grade white students were put together, Negro students would be at a great disadvantage. Either the white students would be held down, or the Negro students would be pressed into work of which they are not quite capable. A little time will bring a happy adjustment in this matter. The quality of Negro teachers is increasing. The equipment for Negro schools is continually better. Standards are being raised. Colored people will prove

themselves if we give them time. But a forcible integration now would often be a great disservice to both white people and Negro people.

In moral standards, also, Negro people need to grow. We must remember that we should not expect in three generations from savagery and heathendom in Africa the cultural advance of centuries. Negro people have not been able to quite match the centuries of civilization which the white people have had. That is not all the fault of colored people. It does not indicate any inherent inferiority in the race. But the race is young as far as years of civilization and culture are concerned. And in moral standards, there is an obvious difference.

Before me I have the series of articles published in the Chicago Daily Tribune, written by a scholarly Negro, Mr. Roi Ottley. This cultured Negro says, "In Chicago nearly 17,000 Negro babies are born yearly and at least 4,000 are illegitimate. This would be about average for all northern Negro communities." And then he says, "To begin with, common law marriage and illegitimacy are not condemned seriously within the Negro community, except among the middle and upper classes." Would you condemn a white father or mother for thinking of this fact before allowing their children to seek Negro companionship? Again, in the same series of articles, Mr. Ottley says that 93.6% of all drug addicts in Stateville (the Illinois state prison) are Negroes.

Some years ago in Atlanta, Georgia, I am told, a check proved that venereal disease was ten times as frequent among Negroes as among white people. I know that in Dallas, Texas, where I long lived, the ratio was similar.

Now suppose that the question of whether white people and Negro people should use the same swimming pools in the parks in Atlanta comes up. Do you see any reason why intelligent and kindly white people would prefer that Negro people have their own parks and swimming pools and white people use different parks and swimming pools? I think any parent can see that it is not merely race prejudice to prefer that.

Can you see how, even in Illinois, parents might seriously object to white young people mixing continually with Negro young people in high school, in social affairs, and even in the church, when, although there are far more white people than Negroes in Illinois, there are 16 times as many Negro dope addicts as white dope addicts?

Would you want white young people and Negro young people to go to the same social affairs, ride in the same cars, attend the same entertainments, and date together, when approximately one out of four Negro births is an illegitimate birth, and when this Negro authority plainly says that "To begin with, common law marriage and illegitimacy are not condemned seriously within the Negro community except among the middle and upper classes"?

I am not saying that Negroes are inherently inferior. Perhaps with the right kind of encouragement and help they will keep on growing culturally and raise their standards. With the right kind of preaching and teaching, they may grow the finest moral standards; our own white people generally do not have as high moral standards as we would like.

In religious leadership, there is a great dearth among Negroes. Unfortunately, those who have gone to principal universities and theological seminaries in the North have generally turned out to be modernists and socialists instead of evangelical believers. We ought to do all we can to help educate a strong fundamental, soul-winning Negro leadership. We ought to encourage the churches. But Negro churches do far better at evangelizing Negro people than white churches do, and we should back up these Negro

churches. We should give literature and help train preachers and teachers, and give every encouragement. But desegregation is not the principal answer to this problem.

Negro people have a wonderful racial heritage earned since emancipation. How far they have come in these years since slavery! Let us all thank God for it. But generally speaking, Negro people should have some time to earn their way. Individuals and races and nations must be received largely on their merits. And we may be sure that if we are wise and kind and patient, and if we do not force people against their wills, we will see these matters settled bit by bit through the years, with Christian forbearance and with American freedom unhindered.

VII. The Great Problem Is Not Segregation but Sin

Do you think that you can solve the tensions and problems between races by passing a law? No, the trouble is not in lack of laws. The trouble is in the poor, depraved human heart. Colored people have more trouble with colored people than they do with white people. The ratio of murders, the ratio of wife-desertions, the ratio of divorces among Negro people is astounding and depressing. Many people made a great issue of the death of the Negro lad, Emmett Till. But doubtless throughout the nation in countless cases in the last few months, Negro men have insulted Negro women who were other men's wives, and got killed for it, without any newspaper publicity whatever. That was just as bad as for a Negro to get killed for insulting a white woman, but socialists and the NAACP do not publicize it. The real trouble is not between Negroes and white people or between white people and Negroes. The trouble is the sin that is in the human heart. White people have the same kind of trouble.

In Africa Negroes want to put out the English leadership, but Africans find they have the same trouble and hate and unhappiness in dealing with Africans as with white people.

In America there are some who make a great fight for pacifism, trying to stop war between nations. But I was deeply impressed some time ago when one of these leading pacifists got divorced from his wife. He wanted peace between the nations but he couldn't have peace in his own home because of his sin. The poor human heart needs help. To pass laws putting Negroes and white people together in the schools will not make things right. To stop the enforcement of Jim Crow laws may be right and proper, and I hope it comes about as good people work it out, good people among Negroes and white people; but that will still leave the main problem unsolved. What people need is for God Himself to come into the human heart and forgive sins and change our motives and give us peace with God and peace with men.

When I preach the Gospel and get somebody saved, I have done far more good than if I preached on race problems. When I hold a great revival and stir a community for God and get people to be converted and live right, I do far more than if I got a law passed. Thank God, Jesus Christ died to save sinners. And let all of us do all the good we can socially, but in Jesus' name, let us give our main attention to the work of the Gospel. We need to get sinners saved. We need to get Christians to surrender to the full will of God. We need to let the blessed Holy Spirit build in us those wonderful fruits of the Spirit:

"But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance: against such there is no law."—Gal. 5:22,23.

Just in as far as we get the sin problem settled in human hearts, by personal faith in Christ and the fullness of His power, just so we can get the problems of segregation solved, too.

—THE END—