Consequences of Racial Segregation
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SOCIOLOGISTS DEFINE segregation as that form of isolation in which social distance is based on physical separation. Their best example of this anti-social device of division is not, as you might expect, the Indian caste system, but rather American "jim-crow," the spreading phenomenon that has stifled the South since 1875. Indian caste is confined to members of an ancient religion, while "jim-crow" is recent, non-religious and naturally expanding.2

Today "jim-crow" has reached such proportions that it constitutes one of the most serious American impediments to neighborhood, civic, county, state, national and international community-sense. Further the social scientists do not carry their analysis.

To be properly evaluated racial segregation must be seen in a broader perspective. Such a perspective can be gained from philosophy and theology, which teach clearly that physical and intellectual well-being, personal and group relationships, and cultures and institutions are designed in the temporal order by Providence as intermediate ends or means to the attainment of man's supernatural end.3 "For," says Pius XI, pointing out the dependence of

1. Dr. Louis Wirth, Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, art. "Segregation."
2. In preparing his Legal Status of the Negro (1940) Charles S. Mangum, Jr., a southerner, was "struck with the way the problem has become national instead of sectional in scope" (Preface p. vii).
3. Recent pontiffs have stressed civil society's grave obligation to advance the individual by means of temporal institutions. Pius XII's first encyclical, The Unity of Human Society (October 20, 1939), was a strong and fearless condemnation of the "doctrinal aberrations" and "pernicious errors," racism and statism, "forgetfulness of that law of human solidarity and charity" and the elevation of a civil authority into absolute autonomy. His Christmas Allocutions have often touched on this point. The 1947 message contains this, "When the consciousness of a society embracing all men, as wished by God, which includes reciprocal rights and duties, determined by fixed norms, begins to die out, there arises in its place a morbid hyper-sensitiveness to what divides, a ready propensity to overstate one's rights, true or imagined, and a neglect — at times thoughtless but not for that reason less ruinous — for the essential needs of other" (Part II). See also The Unity of Human Society (Catholic Mind, Nov. 8, 1939), n. 58, cited towards the close of this article, and Pius XI, Position of the Church in Germany, March 14, 1937, n. 35, and elsewhere.
economics on morality. "it is the moral law alone which commands us to seek in all our conduct our supreme and final end, and to strive in our specific actions for those ends which nature, or rather the Author of nature, has established for them duly subordinating particular aims to our last end."

Now evidently whatever disturbs this comprehensive plan of society is evil. But racial segregation as exemplified in American "jim crow" first restricts these means, then generally nullifies their use in both the temporal and supernatural orders and thus upsets the Divine plan. As its very basis segregation assumes the natural inferiority of a social class. To this unfounded major premise, a view often condemned by recent Popes, every racist rationalization may be reduced.

The unreasonable absurdity, the almost intolerable burdens imposed by the system, the constant inhuman suffering and limitation that torment both races, all flowing from this false principle of human inferiority, seem powerless to shake the assumption. Whatever the reason, even the clear statements of Popes appear to be unknown to many Catholics or disregarded, to the great scandal of persecuted peoples recognizing the Pope as their champion.

For, of course, there are defenders of racial segregation today, outside

4. Reconstruction of the Social Order, n, 43.
5. To obstruct the full development of individual possibilities and to limit the benefits of social interaction is to "shake the pillars on which society rests," wrote Pius XI (Position of the Church in Germany, n. 35) These are two effects of segregation as we shall show here.
6. This belief survives a destroyed slavery, according to Ray Stannard Baker, Following the Color Line; Bertram Doyle, The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South, n. 156; Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation; E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the U. S. and Negro Youth at the Crossways; Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 577; Mangum, op. cit., p. 18; John LaFarge, S. J., The Race Question and the Negro; M. E. Walsh, American Social Problems, pp. 66 ff.; J. Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town; Paul Lewinson, Race, Class and Party, pp. 11, 27; Howard Odum, The Way of the South, pp. 32 ff.
8. Some Texas towns forbid a Negro to remain a day within town limits. Miami, Florida prohibits Negroes from buying or working outside the Negro district (Myrdal, p. 636).
10. Myrdal, op. cit., Introduction, Chapters 1 and 2.
the South as well as in it. Their racist argument, common also to Messrs. Bilbo, Eastland, Stennis, Talmadge, Thurmond, considers "jim-crow" a temporary and expedient substitute. Here they overlook two cardinal points: they thus endanger the one ultimate end of millions for an imagined, temporary material good of a localized few, and secondly, they implicitly oblige themselves — and most reasonably — effectively to seek destruction of "jim-crow." This grave obligation to begin at once to remove the need of a temporary expedient has been pointed out by at least one contemporary moral theologian.11

Other racists object that the American Negro himself prefers segregation12— somewhat as slave traders and slave holders formerly defended their practices as approved native custom in Africa. These writers compare "jim-crow" with the passive type of segregation found among immigrant national colonies. The supposition, however, also neglects reality. For many states have formally legislated against contact between races,13 with such measures as statutory bans on inter-racial marriages in 16 states14 and restrictive residential covenants still being spontaneously drawn up by white real estate owners and dealers15 — all, if the objection holds, without cause. The third and current defense of racial segregation lies in the advocacy of "states rights," which is nothing more than an indirect campaign of white-supremacist politicians and office-holders to continue to evade the duties and responsibilities of states toward all their citizens. It has been publicly and bluntly condemned as such by leaders of the Catholic Committee of the South,16 the Southern Regional council,17 and the Civil Rights Committee of the New Orleans Industrial Union council.18

After long and intensive study sociologists generally conclude that Am-

12. This assumed "estrangement" is a pathetic vicious circle resulting from segregation and discrimination. Myrdal has a sound discussion of the point, op. cit., pp. 640-663.
13. Such legislation generally provides "heavy penalties" for violations, which are evidently anticipated, as Johnson notes (op. cit., p. 318). Mangum (op. cit.) provides many details on this point.
American racial segregation has, in a short 75 years of legal existence, proved a growing canker on the American social body. Some investigators indeed base their conclusions on resultant economic evils. Others consider the cultural harm the most important consequence of segregation, while many draw arguments from humanitarian motives.

Wirth sums up: "The general effect of segregation has been to create an ever widening gulf between the segregated peoples. The absence of social contacts has increased mutual ignorance, suspicion and social distance and has decreased mutual understanding, appreciation and the development of common interests. It has had a narrowing and stunting effect and has intensified the unique features of each group... Segregation represents a segment of a vicious circle: group differences lead to separation, and separation in turn accentuates the differences, thus resulting in intensified conflict, which gives further impetus to segregation."21

The emphasis put upon their various findings in many fields by individual students, far from weakening or contradicting the case against segregation, adds powerful confirmation to the overall argument from philosophy and theology. Their separate findings bear out the point that racial segregation blights and nullifies every common social instrument which should rightfully serve a human being for his temporal and eternal ends.

Consider, for instance, the picture of education in the South today. The total cost of 5,357 Negro school buildings constructed between 1913 and 1932 in 15 southern states ran to only $28,408,520, of which the Negroes themselves gave 17 percent.22 Of the 76 Negro institutions of higher learning in the United States (1944-45) well over half were church-supported, as were many of the teacher-training and junior colleges.23 The southern states each averaged one public-supported college.24 Today, to be put on a par with the school properties for white children, schools for colored in 15 south-

20. Donald Young, American Minority Peoples, p. 592; Myrdal, op. cit.; Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin.
23. Ibid., p. 299.
24. Mangum writes. "It is safe to say that none of the above state-supported colleges is on a par with the corresponding institutions provided for the whites," op. cit., p. 107.
ern states would need $240,000,000. Negro teachers received only 47 per cent of white teacher salaries and only through tedious and expensive court action has this inequitable relation been reached.

"The same discrimination may be noted in whatever item in the school budget is considered," avers Myrdal, detailing figures for current expense per pupil, teacher load, teacher salaries, public appropriation, school property value per child, even in the consolidation movement. The differential in school expenditures is often greatest in states having the highest proportion of Negroes, with Mississippi and Georgia spending in 1935-36 on each Negro child about $9, as against a 10-state average of $17.04 for Negroes and $49.30 for white children. In 1943-44 Mississippi and Georgia were still at the bottom of the list, with these respective figures, $11.96 and $23.63. For the 11 southern segregated systems, then, the average expense for each Negro child was only $36.97 compared with $84.79 for a white child. The immediate results are extreme inadequacy and crowding, as for example in Atlanta, where Reid points to one public kindergarten and one high school for colored boys and girls (running double and triple shifts) to handle a colored school population of 30,000 in 1945. Another inevitable result is low rating, as illustrated by the fact that of Louisiana's 82 four-year, public, state-approved high schools for Negroes, only one was approved by the Southern Association of College and Secondary schools.

Thus the South drops behind the average expenditure of the 31 states without segregation ($131.36), actually spending half the national average public-school expenditure per pupil per year ($60.88). No wonder then the current argument against increased appropriation for Negro education is that the white system, itself quite inadequate, must be improved first.

Such a travesty on "separate but equal" facilities in education would be

25. The Julius Rosenwald Fund, School Money in White and Black, quoted in Buell G. Gallagher, American Caste and the Negro College, p. 119.
27. Ibid.
30. "Provision of Adequate Educational Facilities for Negroes," paper read at annual meeting of the Southern Regional Unit of the National Catholic Education association (March 12, 1945, Loyola University, New Orleans) by Sister M. Gonzaga of Xavier University.
harmful enough, but precisely because they have not learned the value of education, Negroes are often said to lack desire for education or the ability to use what they have. Yet a Negro’s application to state universities is turned down. Only after court appeals and much inconvenience may he receive a grant of public funds to study in out-of-the-state universities.\textsuperscript{32} Again it is said, “The Negro pays no taxes, so he should be satisfied with what he gets.” This rationalization ignores items such as the sales-tax, an evident method of taxing every consumer, and it forgets also that a reason why the Negro pays so little property tax — if this is true\textsuperscript{33} — may be that residential segregation forbids him to acquire property in many areas.\textsuperscript{34} Though some liberals boast of “more progressive” developments in vocational education for Negroes as exemplified in Booker T. Washington’s program, many Negro leaders look upon such a program as ultimately “designed to steer the Negro into the lower-income brackets of the economic system.”\textsuperscript{35}

The evidence thus proves beyond a doubt the inadequacy of educational effort and equipment provided for Negroes by the southern states.\textsuperscript{36}

The pattern in health services in the South is about the same as in education.\textsuperscript{37} Again there are strange variations.\textsuperscript{38} In Atlanta, for example, a Negro mother may not remain at the municipal hospital longer than twenty-four hours after delivery, though a white mother may remain three times as long for post-delivery care.\textsuperscript{39} Limitations vary in ambulance service and hospitalization for surgical attention; in Tennessee, for instance, an injured athlete had to be carried 60 miles before a hospital could be found that would receive him; he died almost immediately after reception.\textsuperscript{40} At Lafayette, Louisiana, the state charity hospital placed Negro patients on the floor until an open protest by Bishop J. B. Jeanmard led to improvement.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{32} Johnson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 321; Mangum lists seven states as providing such scholarships in 1940, p. 107.
\textsuperscript{33} Myrdal deplors the fact that the definite figures on Negro taxes are not available, p. 337.
\textsuperscript{34} For instance, in at least one rural section of St. Landry parish, Louisiana.
\textsuperscript{35} Gallagher, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 196.
\textsuperscript{36} Cf. Sister M. Gonzaga’s conclusions, \textit{loc. cit.}
\textsuperscript{37} Myrdal, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 344.
\textsuperscript{38} Cf. Johnson, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 51ff., 188, 193, 283, 289, and Mangum,\textit{op. cit.}, pp. 223-235.
\textsuperscript{39} Reid, \textit{loc. cit.}
\textsuperscript{40} Report of Clark college officials who investigated the accident, quoted by Margaret Price in “The Condition of Our Rights,” Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, p 33.
\textsuperscript{41} Lafayette (La.) Daily Advertiser, Mar. 15, 1941.
In still other ways biased practices in the health field crop up. The death rate for southern whites in 1942 was actually 19 per cent below the national average, yet the southern Negro rate was 18 per cent above the national figure.\textsuperscript{42} The infant mortality rate for Negroes was 57 per cent higher than the white rate (in 1940, 73 of every 1,000 live Negro babies born were recorded to have died before their first birthday, compared to the white figure of 43.\textsuperscript{43} Although 30 per cent of southern births in 1942 were Negro, over half the maternal deaths were Negro.

Only cancer and diabetes, among the leading causes of death, killed more whites than Negroes; tuberculosis killed three times as many Negroes as it did whites. Syphilis killed about seven times as many Negroes as whites. The life expectancy of Negroes is 11 years less than that of whites; Negro mortality is higher in every age group than the white rate.\textsuperscript{44} In 1944 the segregated states and the District of Columbia had an average of less than five Negro hospitals each.\textsuperscript{45} Out of a total of one and one-half million hospital beds, estimate the U. S. Public Health Service, approximately 15,000 are now available to Negroes — one per cent of hospital beds for ten percent of the national population.\textsuperscript{46}

If physicians and hospital staffs were well-trained and numerous, the health picture would be brighter. Only two per cent, however, of the country’s physicians are Negro. These must minister to the same ten per cent of the American people. There are thus more than 4 white doctors to each Negro doctor, with the prospect that the ration will rise steadily,\textsuperscript{47} for of 5,000

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\item Myrdal, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 162.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 344 and 157 ff. These differentials are due not to greater racial susceptibility but to the impact of economic, educational and cultural handicaps imposed by discrimination, says Myrdal, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 344.
\item Eugene H. Bradley, "Health, Hospitals and the Negro," \textit{Modern Hospital}, 65 (1945) 43-44, quoted in \textit{Hospital Care in the United States}, Commission on Hospital Care, New York, 1947, pp. 162-165. Few Negro hospitals have a good rating (Myrdal \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 344 ff.).
\item Price, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 31, quoting, "To Secure These Rights," The Report of the President’s Committee on Civil Rights, p. 73. Mangum gives an interesting comparative inventory of public charitable and penal institutions in the South which brings to light glaring inequalities in the care of the Negro insane, feeble-minded, epileptics, blind, deaf, tubercular, orphans and abandoned children, convicts and delinquents, \textit{op. cit.}, Ch. 9.
\item Myrdal, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 323-324.
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doctors graduated each year by the country's medical schools only 130 are Negro. All but 10 or so of these come from the two Negro medical colleges, Meharry in Nashville and Howard in Washington.48

In 1947 Meharry could accept only 65 of 800 applicants, Howard 74 of 1341.49 While in a recent year 158 internships were open to Negro medical graduates, 109 of them in Negro institutions, only 7 southern hospitals and medical centers provided openings.50 There are 50 white nurses for each Negro nurse (a total of only 7,192).51 The number of Negro dentists, mainly practicing in the North, is below 2,000.52

Moreover, in 17 states and the District of Columbia Negro physicians were excluded from membership in county medical societies as of June, 1948, thus being automatically cut off from membership in the American Medical association. The Association refused to adopt an anti-segregation resolution submitted to it by the Medical Society of New York, which argued thus, 'Physicians excluded from membership in the AMA are for that reason denied the right to apply for membership in other national professional societies where membership in the AMA is a prerequisite. These physicians are thereby restrained in the legitimate pursuit and furtherance of their professional activities. . . . The exclusion of physicians on the basis of race constitutes an affront to our collegues, a degradation of the honored traditions of our profession, and a violation of our American democratic ideal.'53

Such a relative lack of Negro physicians led to recommendation by Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing that qualified Negroes be admitted without discrimination to the health professions and to the use of training and health facilities. "The opportunity to study and practice medicine should be open to all eligible candidates regardless of race, creed or sex." Mr. Ewing's report suggested further "that all maintenance subsidies to hos-

48. Ibid.
52. The proportion of dentists practicing outside of the South was 55 per cent in 1930. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States: 1920-1932, p. 293.
pitals be assured only on condition that professional personnel should be accepted as staff members, or as workers, in the underwritten hospitals without discrimination as to race, religion or sex.'

Negro health facilities and conditions, public and private, are such in this country that they manifest open neglect and injustice on the part of many citizens, government, health agencies and particularly those responsible leaders whose office it is to promote material and spiritual welfare. This gross neglect and injustice evidently cause — sometimes directly — unnecessary hardships, suffering and death.

The widespread disregard and violation of personal rights to safety and security resulting from a segregationist philosophy offer contradiction to the boasts calling America a citadel of freedom and democracy. Thirty-seven persons, for evidence, were lynched in the United States from 1938-1948 and 227 others, exclusive of so-called "borderline" cases, were almost lynched. If we add "borderline" cases there were ten lynchings in the two years 1946-1947, after the conquest of foreign enemies of democracy. Since 1882 and up to 1947, Americans have lynched 1,291 whites and 3,426 Negroes, a total of 4,717. A majority of the 1,973 lynchings since 1900 occurred in the South, yet only 67 convictions have followed and of these no convicted lynchers has ever been sentenced to death. The highest ratio of convictions in this area is Alabama's record, one for every ten lynched since 1900.

Even prisoners continue to feel the effects of segregation. As late as 1941 the Alabama parole system was expected by citizens to continue to furnish farm-hands by paroling prisoners. In Georgia the practice of arranging for the arrest of Negroes and their release into custody of big landholders was declared to be common as late as the summer of 1946.

54. The Nation's Health — A Ten-Year Program, excerpt quoted in Pittsburgh Courier, Sept. 11, 1948. These recommendations "embodied the spirit of the views expressed by the National Catholic Welfare conference in its testimony before the Senate Sub-committee on Health," said Dr. Channing Frothingham, chairman of the Committee for the Nation's Health,"former president of the Massachusetts Medical society (Work, October, 1948, p. 4).
56. Tuskegee Institute Department of Records and Research. Only eight southern states have statutes that can be called anti-lynching laws; Louisiana, Mississippi and Florida apparently have no such provisions. (Mangum, op. cit., pp. 290-293.)
The Georgia "chain gangs," subject of sensational movies, have been described by Raper as actually existing (1936), in two counties at least; 90 men were shackled to one long, heavy chain, worked all day at hard labor, ate in chains and spent the night till dawn in a 20 x 6 x 8-foot iron cage, where they had no heat or running water, and the only toilet was a hole in the floor with a tub under it. This extreme treatment was most probably changed when the light of publicity focused on it, but it seems to have been traditional. An incidental, supposedly humorous mention appeared in a newspaper routine criminal-court story when the trial of a Negro prisoner had to be deferred because by mistake he had been sent to state prison two weeks previously.

Though the growth in number of prevented lynchings in 1946-47 might indicate a stiffer protection of prisoners by law officers, still there has been an increase of police brutality which differs only accidentally from mob violence. Moreover, the United States Supreme Court has recently had to censure southern courts for acceptance of evidence procured by third-degree methods, failure to provide accused persons with adequate legal counsel and exclusion of Negroes from jury lists. The commonest instances of unequal administration of justice occur in lower courts from the use of the fee system (whereby public officials are paid from fines levied), from perfunctory trials, unfair fines and unequal prison sentences.

61 Mobile Register, Jan. 27, 1942.
63 Ibid.; October-November, 1947; December, 1947; January, 1948; February, 1948. Southern newspapers in their comment on decreased lynching totals failed often to mention the rise in brutality. Mangum strangely does not mention this important point, evidently because the local laws do not cover the situation. Myrdal states that of 479 Negroes killed by whites in the South from 1920-1932, 260 or 54.3 per cent were killed by peace officers, yet killing is only a small portion of police brutality (op. cit., p. 542).
65 Ruling of the United States Supreme court, December 7, 1947, in a unanimous opinion delivered by Justice Black.
66 The fee system prevails in more than half the southern states today. Rose, op. cit., p. 179.
67 Newspaper reports quoted in Condition of our Rights, pp. 8-9. Mangum makes the important point that a far-greater percentage of Negro than white convicted criminals in specific periods in nine southern states have actually been executed, with the highest disproportions in South Carolina and Tennessee (op. cit., p. 369). Figures from Lousiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Arkansas are not available.
Thus Negro citizens still cannot count on safety and protection even in the custody of the guardians of law and justice, to judge from evidence available from many sources.

The right to suffrage, which in a democracy and outside the South is often comparatively unrestricted, survives for southern Negroes only on paper. Civil rights and suffrage for freed slaves became a symbol of southern humiliation after the Civil War, and the southerner who wished to remain a conservative found it necessary to violate the law regularly or disregard it entirely. Every effort was made not towards crippling the "carpet-baggers" or the education of new Negro voters but rather towards the disfranchisement of former slaves, a goal which, once achieved, was soon hedged in by new laws requiring property, poll-tax payment, literacy, understanding of the Constitution, good character and other qualifications before a voter might exercise his political right. Mass purging of Negro voters from registration books was employed in Georgia as late as August, 1948. Then and now such restrictions aim simply to prevent the Negro from voting.

That aim has never been hidden. A Georgia senator confessed in an interview, "We have been very careful to obey the letter of the Federal Constitution — but we have been very diligent and astute in violating the spirit of such amendments and such statutes as would lead the Negro to believe himself the equal of a white man. And we shall continue to conduct ourselves in that way." Senator Glass of Virginia expressed a similar attitude: "We obey the letter of the amendments and the Federal statues,

68 Two recent incidents illustrate this disregard. A new course and teacher, new library books and equipment for King George and Surry counties, and equalized teachers' salaries in Chesterfield county in Virginia have just been granted by school boards in compliance with injunctions granted in Federal district court. Tulsa (Oklahoma) school board officials now plan to spend $2,000,000 to equalize facilities for Negroes in the city school system, as an outgrowth of the Sipuel-Fisher case. Reports in Pittsburgh Courier, September 11, 1948.


70. Ibid., pp. 389ff.

71. Price, op. cit., pp. 14-17, where instances over a wide territory are cited. See also Pittsburgh Courier, issues of August, 1948.

72. This and the following quotation are given by James Weldon Johnson, "A Negro Looks at Politics," American Mercury 18 (1929) 92.
but we frankly evade the spirit thereof — and purpose to continue doing so. White supremacy is too precious a thing to surrender for the sake of a theoretical justice that would let a brutish African deem himself the equal of white men and women in Dixie." This dedication to pure-white suffrage has led to special sessions of state legislatures, defamations, unsettled dispute as to who is a Negro, constitutional conventions, removal of all statutes pertaining to state primary elections and numerous lawsuits contesting the constitutionality of enacted measures.

Political oppression, then, is nothing new, local or temporary for the southern Negro, as shown by this short survey. It is systematically pursued by white politicians. Sometimes it approaches a degree reached by Hitler and the Nazis, who ridiculed American democracy for its racism; and it has been bitterly attacked by Russian Communists for all the world to hear. Still it continues, although no one will deny it is an evident burden to the Negro citizen, an unwanted and unnecessary shackle inciting to dissatisfaction, hatred and violence.

Thoroughly in accord with the belief in white supremacy, discrimination has long governed the right to employment in the South. The picture is clearly shown by the 1940 census figures on income. Negro high school graduates had a median annual income of $775 compared with $1,454 for white high school graduates, while the median Negro college graduate received $1,074 (below even the white high school figure) as

73. As to "theoretical" justice, see The Unity of Human Society, nn. 54-59.
75. Mangum, op. cit., p. 18.
76. Ibid., pp. 1-17.
78. Kennedy, loc. cit.
81. One exponent was the Russian journalist Ilya Ehrenburg, who toured the South several years ago.
82. For instance, in short-wave broadcasts from Berlin early in the last war.
against his white counterpart's $2,046.83 Hourly wage rate in July, 1942, for common Negro labor averaged 47.4 cents against 65.3 for common white labor.84 To contribute to white supremacy, economic discrimination is the norm of advancement, licensing, company and union practices,85 hiring and firing, restricted vocational training, 86 "traditional" unskilled labor87 and the closing of higher fields to Negro workers.88

The Negro in general is poor, as most people know. On the farm he has been kept dependent and often exploited. In the city he is turned away from good jobs, denied the chance to prepare himself for skilled or professional work, forced to live in poor, overcrowded housing and cannot win an equal share in free public services.

Half the "normal" Negro families in 34 southern villages of Georgia Mississippi and the two Carolinas, the most populous Negro states in 1935-36, had incomes under $330 as compared with a $1,220 income for white families. Seventeen per cent of the same Negro villager families received less than $250 a year or $20.83 per month, a daily income of .80, which had to support at least husband and wife, and usually several children.89 In the same period the mean family income was $1,622 for the country as a whole and $1,326 for the South.90 In 1935 accordingly, 25 per cent of the Negroes of the United States were on relief.91

Despite boasts about "the highest-in-the-world American standard of living" by the National Association of Manufacturers and other interest-groups, some sort of poverty is typical of the average American family.92 But southern income is below the national mean, and Negro income is far below. This can only indicate that the Negro feels to an unusual degree

83 To Secure These Rights, pp. 57-58, from 1940 Census.
84 Final Report, Fair Employment Practices committee.
85 Charles S. Johnson and Associates, Into the Main Stream, pp. 129-130; Robert C. Weaver, Negro Labor; Myrdal, op. cit., Appendix 6, pp. 1079-1124.
88 Rose, op. cit., pp. 127-130.
92 Walsh, op. cit., p. 129.
92 Ibid., pp. 127 ff.
the poverty and misery caused by low income.93

Coupled with weak traditions of family life and inadequate religious training, both either countenanced as slavery's results or long encouraged as a condition for slavery,94 low income is bound to contribute to family disorganization. Yet the best available direct index of stability of the Negro family is that of illegitimacy,95 which indicates that Negro illegitimacy is about eight times as high as that of native whites and that the percentage is higher in the South than in the North.

Study of the Negro family by Frazier and others shows such a situation to be the expected consequence of more than two centuries of illiteracy, family rupture by sale, hard labor as mere instruments of production, promiscuous cohabitation96 and procreation of slaves at the order of masters.97 At Emancipation the masses of Negroes were still uneducated and propertyless and were forced to turn cropper and tenant under a modified plantation system.98

Naturally there thus grew up a maternal-family organization of the Negro population, the rural culture of millions of immigrants to southern and northern cities has been shaken in slum districts, and confusion and conflict result.99 As a result of these factors, one of every three Negro families is a "broken family."100 While inadequate housing,101 insecurity, instability, absence of family traditions, waste of human life, immorality, delinquency, desertions and broken homes may be inevitable in such readjustment, nevertheless the unusual extent to which these destructive urban

94 Ullrich B. Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South, p. 163.
96 Frazier, ibid., p. 482.
98 Frazier, op. cit., p. 482.
99 Ibid., p. 483. Elsewhere Frazier shows three distinct reactions passed on by Negro parents to children: submissive accommodation, hostility and a defensive rationalization, the second marking the mass of Negro families. Negro Youth at the Crossways, pp. 39-69.
100 Myrdal, op. cit., 934.
101 Weaver puts the blame for poor Negro housing chiefly on segregation, either as cause or condition, The Negro Ghetto, pp. 261ff.
forces have blighted Negro family life is at least indirectly due to segrega-
tion.102

Once more, the picture is etched sharply in black and white, though
both races profess the Christ Who taught union and charity as the one un-
mistakeable sign of loyalty to Him. Since the South is overwhelmingly
Protestant, 95 per cent of Negro church membership (roughly 6,800,000) is
estimated to be Protestant. All are in segregated churches; only less than one-
half of one per cent are listed in "white" Protestant congregations.103 White
Protestant denominations generally organize their southern Negro units into
separate synods or presbyteries. Some of the northern denominations in the
abolitionist crusade 100 years ago104 today have adapted themselves to the
multiple consequences of segregation, slavery's substitute.105 The Methodists,
with a greater Negro membership than all other religious bodies combined,
divide the county geographically yet provide a sixth district composed almost
entirely of Negro membership and evidently based on the principle of racial
segregation. Pope finds that "the degree of segregation in hospitals, colleges,
thecological seminaries, public eating places, social agencies and other enter-
prises under denominational control appears to be even greater than in the
life of the churches, themselves."105

The tremendous expansion of Negro denominations after the Civil War
was not purely voluntary, for the Negro Protestant had been virtually ex-
pelled from many white churches and absolutely subordinated and segregated
in others.107 Today about 6,000,000 Negroes belong to their own separate
denominations, two-thirds of them Baptist.108 The greatest obstacles to Prot-
setant interracial cooperation and eventful reunion are apathetic consciences
and cultural inertia, but leaders feel that with steadily clearer goals and
a more effective plan of action, their "new contrition" and "new determi-

103 Survey by Frank Loescher for Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America cited by
104 Pope, ibid., p. 60.
105 Ibid.
106 Ibid.
107 F. X. Curran, S. J., Major Trends in American Church History; Woodson, op. cit., p. 389;
Franklin, op. cit., p. 305.
108 Negro Yearbook.
tion to overcome one of the greatest sins of the churches” will achieve a Christian unity.\(^{109}\)

Between Roman Catholic doctrine, which declares that social or religious policies like segregation contradict the natural unity and equality of mankind,\(^{110}\) and the practice which prevails in many dioceses, has developed an unfortunate and scandalous lag. This has been pointed out by LaFarge,\(^{111}\) Dunne,\(^{112}\) de Hueck,\(^{113}\) Gilligan,\(^{114}\) the present writer\(^{115}\) and many others.

Four loose types of segregation are found still: 1. the traditional, a paternalistic survival from slavery days, now rather rare; 2. compensatory, an alternative to no missionary effort; 3. planned or rationalized, which scarcely differs from general social patterns, and 4. voluntary segregation, as in all-Negro sisterhoods.\(^{116}\) Naturally the second and third types are more widespread, though the integration movement grows steadily.\(^{117}\)

Observers feel that interest in Catholic non-segregation policy has spread since the admission of Negroes into St. Louis University in 1944. Recent developments in the St. Louis parochial school system have likewise stimulated discussion and provided a model for other sections. In the South, Catholic education has always been segregated, so that until recently the Catholic Negro child has received little attention.\(^{118}\)

\(^{109}\) Pope, article cited. Compare statements by Methodist convention in Massachusetts, World Council of Churches meeting at Amsterdam recently and various American Protestant groups (Negro press reports).

\(^{110}\) Pius XII, \textit{The Unity of Human Society}, n. 35: Sertum Laetitiae.

\(^{111}\) \textit{The Race Question and the Negro}.


\(^{113}\) \textit{Friendship House and Dear Bishop}, passim.


Although only four states, Florida, Kentucky, Oklahoma and Tennessee,119 have laws forbidding the mingling of races in any type of school, public or private, Catholics schools in those sections have not challenged the laws and in the remaining southern states Catholic educators, unhampered by law at least, apparently are satisfied with segregationist policies. Such practices have set the color bar upon vocations in the South, with only two interracial groups of sisters (both cloistered) and no communities of men admitting candidates of both races.120 As segregation fall under the judgment of philosophy and theology, and its non-Catholic, anti-social nature appears to those who reflect upon it, a measure of improvement gradually follows. Witness the recent slow opening of several dozen novitiates, seminaries and convents to Negro applicants outside the South.121

More attention centers today on basic aspects of social problems than ever before. An eminent theologian, Rev. John Courtney Murray, S. J., has emphasized the unity of goal and community of means which all Christians must acknowledge.122 Developing Pius XI's thought,123 Father Murray explains that a man as citizen must live his supernatural life in the world's institutions, with the institutions necessarily conditioning his life.124

"Consequently, both by reason of their relation to his destiny and by reason of this relation to them, the Christian has the responsibility to see to the creation of conditions that will be favorable to his movement towards eternal life. . . . Institutions that violate justice and charity are a manner of institutionalized sin, and a force for personal sin."125

Father Murray therefore holds each Christian responsible for the inertia of unfavorable social conditions and obligated to contribute to their improvement and cure. The virtualities of Christian faith, far from being exhausted by personal piety, demand an attack on organized injustice in all its forms and "demand positive action to establish and secure such institutions in

119 Mangum, op. cit., p. 103.
121. O'Flynn, The Priest, loc. cit.
123. Reconstruction of the Social Order, n. 43.
124. Romano Guardini, The Church and the Catholic, pp. 11ff., treats this point more fully.
125. Murray, ibid.
the temporal order as will be favorable to the growth of the seed of eternal life planted in baptism." 126 Such reasoning, while it is new to many American ears, is but a logical, natural application of tremendous statements made in the papal encyclicals of recent years, all drawn from philosophy and theology.

The only true progress of society 127 must move toward an ideal of human community built upon social justice and human equality, pervaded by charity and solidarity. 128 In an official letter addressed to every Catholic in the world Pius XII summed up:

"... As our great predecessor, Leo XIII, wisely taught in the Encyclical Immortale Dei, it was the Creator's will that civil sovereignty should regulate social life after the dictates of an order changeless in its universal principles; should facilitate the attainment in the temporal order by individuals, of physical, intellectual and moral perfections; and should aid them to reach their supernatural end. 129

The Church's unity is to be reflected in the unity of civil society, where rights and freedoms 130 are to be protected, opportunity for the perfection of intellect to be accorded all, power and resources and industry each to contribute to the perfection of man's social living. 131 It is serious error to admit estrangement and divisiveness here.

We have shown by brief, factual surveys that the American Negro suffers many restrictions and injustices through racial segregation. These consequences affect his complete activity, from birth to death. Now Catholic theology traditionally has held that permanent extreme poverty is detri-
mental to the spiritual interests of the victim.\textsuperscript{132} St. Thomas himself held that a moderate degree of material comfort is normally necessary for a virtuous life,\textsuperscript{133} and the Popes also have said the same.\textsuperscript{134} In segregation, the life of the Negro is incomplete; the institution of segregation is inhuman and the practice of virtue often demands heroism.

Consequently, racial segregation, a division primarily and essentially harmful to the proper normal conditions of human life precisely because of its principle of divisiveness and implied inferiority, is as foreign to social life and Christian unity as sin. Acknowledged in its true nature, segregation is incompatible with Christian living, for until it loses its influence on Christians there can result only conflict and mutual ignorance, stultifying and brutalizing social practices, a constant denial and practical frustration of the Gospel's insistence on human unity.

\textsuperscript{132} Peter McKevitt, \textit{The Plan of Society}, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{133} S.T., III, 40, 3.
\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Reconstruction of the Social Order}, nn. 58-63, 75, 135; \textit{Sacred Heart and World Distress}, n. 7; \textit{Atheistic Communism}, particularly n. 53. Many recent statements by Pius XII refer to minimum needs of individuals, for instance, in a speech to public finance leaders: "The financial system of the state should reorganize the economic situation in such a manner as to assure the people the material conditions of life indispensable for attaining the supreme end assigned by their Creator: development of their intellectual, spiritual and religious life." Chicago \textit{New World}, Oct. 8, 1948.

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