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Racial-Ethnic Ministry Policies—An Historical Overview

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Racial-Ethnic Ministry Policies— An Historical Overview

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THE FLUID NATURE OF HISTORY precludes easy divisions into periods. However, most historians agree that the colonial period began with the first arrival of European immigrants in North America and ended with the conclusion of the American Revolution. Likewise, there seems to be general agreement that the beginnings of the "American system" and the period of national development began in earnest after the United States won their independence from Great Britain. It is not so clear when that

period terminated, if ever. Historians tend to agree that national “bigness,” the amassing of political power and corporate wealth, accelerated after the Civil War. There is some disagreement as to when the United States became irreversibly involved as a world power. Some claim this began with the Spanish-American War. For this study, we have selected the treaties at the end of World War I, which included the establishment of the League of Nations, as a threshold to American global involvement.

Since the church always acts and reacts in the context of the events and movements of history, we have included secular examples as they relate to race and culture in the United States. Such events are printed in small capital letters. Unless identified otherwise, all the items in capitals are from Linton’s *Bicentennial Almanac*. We have also included some data on structural changes in the church which have a bearing on racial and cultural relations.

The major findings of this study are:

1. Presbyterian policy toward the native Americans and blacks during the colonial period was to “evangelize and civilize.” Their mission was to share their faith, to organize congregations of new believers, to search out and train leaders for the church, and to civilize. For the colonists and the colonial church, civilization meant a total denial of native American and African cultures and the total acceptance of Euro-Christian cultures.

2. The colonial church was as concerned for the souls of “destitute frontiersmen” as it was for the native Americans and the blacks, but there was a difference in the end result of salvation. The frontiersmen, however ignorant, were considered civilized because of their white European antecedents, and their social status was ipso facto above that of the native Americans and the blacks. The sense of difference was never far from the sense of superiority, and it was often manifested as arrogance. It usually resulted in separate congregations, separate presbyteries, separate synods, separate schools and social facilities for the “colored” races while “white” converts were easily assimilated into “white” churches and social circles.

3. The mission of the colonial church to the native Americans and the blacks began in a partnership of church and state, and that partnership has never really been dissolved, the doctrine of the separation of church and state notwithstanding. The entrepreneurs which formed corporations, sought charters, raised capital and enlisted pioneers to colonize America claimed that they were chiefly interested in spreading the Gospel among the distant heathen. The record indicates that the church, in later periods of history, never completely cut itself off from assistance from the state.

4. As slavery became the nation's most important political, social, and moral issue, the church provided the most important individual leadership for abolition, and later officially condemned the slavery system and all those who participated in it, including its own members. *This became the first time in American history that a theological conviction motivated ecclesiastical action to change the social system.*

5. However, during this same period and those that followed, the church did not stop the ruthless despoilation of the native American peoples, theft of their land, and their forced removal into "reservations."

6. The traumatic struggle for abolition of slavery and the movement toward genocide of native Americans was augmented by the most rapid influx of immigrants in the nation's history. The church became convinced that its mission could no longer be left to individual volunteers and volunteer agencies. It therefore decided that the mission of the church was the responsibility of the whole church and all its judicatories, agencies and members. Every member, by virtue of his/her Christian faith, was therefore obligated to participate in the mission of the church. However, this new concept of the nature of the church did not alter the idea of "separate-but equal" policy toward minorities which excluded them from leadership in any but their own circles. However, during this period and in the post-Civil War period, the church expanded its educational and service missions. Unwittingly, these missions laid the groundwork for a generation of people who later initiated and led the civil rights and liberation movements of the 1960s and the 1970s.

7. During the period which included two World Wars, the establishment of the United Nations, and the development of national and global ecumenical agencies, the concepts of Black Power, Brown Power, Red Power, Self-Development and Self-Determination developed in society in general and in the church. Most of the leaders in these movements were men and women with roots in schools and training programs established earlier by the church. And their banners were derived from lonely, individual voices of their forefathers and foremothers demanding liberation from the "separate-but-equal" and "never equal" chains of restraint. Under the prodding and lashing of these new leaders the church finally took a giant step forward when it officially demanded "an integrated church in an integrated society."

In conclusion, the record shows a slow movement from a mission of evangelism and civilization to advocacy, and finally to an integrated church in an integrated society. During each stage of development there were prophetic individuals who committed

themselves to the vision of a different future, and they led the church forward. The record also indicates that the church as a whole never manages to totally manifest in action the policies adopted by its solemn assemblies. Hence the Presbyterian motto, “Reformed—Yet Always Reforming.”

I. The Colonial Period

From 1562, the First Recorded Contact of Protestant Christianity with the North American Continent, to 1783, The End of the American Revolution.

Presbyterian policy toward their colonial compatriots, the native Americans (Indians), and the blacks, was clearly stated in the documents of the state and church of that time. In the language of the first Virginia Charter, it was the duty of the colonists “to propagate the Christian religion to such people as still live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God.¹” The original great seal of the Massachusetts Bay colony shows an image of an Indian shouting The Macedonian call, “come over and help us!” The actions of the first Presbyterian official church bodies stated that the objects of their Christian concern were “the destitute inhabitants of our frontiers,” the “savage tribes,” and the Negroes. Their mission was to share their faith, to organize new congregations, to train new believers in their faith, to search out and train leaders for the church (including Indians and Negroes), and to civilize.

Jesse Barber concluded that “preaching and imparting religious instruction to the slaves made up the total contribution of the Presbyterian Church to the Negroes of the South prior to the Civil War and emancipation.”² Becoming a Christian certainly did not change the civil status of the slave, the indentured servant, the Indian, or the frontiersman. At most it was a start of a new quality of life for them which would assist them and their descendants to change the social system toward what three centuries later came to be euphemistically called a “desegregated society.”

The conversion-civilization policy was motivated by three major concerns: the theological imperative to preach the Gospel to all mankind, the humanitarian concern that civilization was good for the ignorant and the savage, and the practical observation that Christian Indians and Negroes made better neighbors and better slaves.

In addition to the ill-fated Huguenots of 1563-65, Presbyterians were predominant among the Puritans who settled around

Massachusetts Bay after 1629. Cotton Mather estimated that about 4,000 Presbyterians had settled in the colonies by 1640. The vast majority were disenfranchised and poor. They were political dissidents, religious rebels, social idealists, prisoners released as indentured servants, economic adventurers ready to risk anything to make more money. These colonists gradually bought land from the American Indians, or took it by force. As early as 1619 the colonists began to buy Negroes to work their land.

The first Negroes to arrive in North America were a group of twenty bought from a Dutch warship which stopped at Jamestown for provisions on its way to Bermuda. These Negroes were not bought as slaves but as indentured servants with exactly the same status as indentured whites or indentured Indians. They were "bound out" for a specified period of years during which they were entitled to food, clothing and shelter. At the end of their indenture they were supposed to receive fifty acres of land and their freedom. But early in the game (1653), laws and customs began to deny the fruits of indenture to the Negroes and to bind them to perpetual servitude—slavery.³

1646 *The Presbyterian ministry to the Indians of North America is begun in Massachusetts by Rev. John Eliot.* He was supported by The Society for The Propagation of the Gospel in New England, to which many Presbyterians contributed. A Congregationalist himself, he established congregations with a Presbyterian type of polity which he called Congregational Presbyteries. By 1669 he had established six churches with eighteen communicant classes, and he had ordained twenty-four Indian pastors. He translated the Bible into Algonquin, the first Bible to be printed in North America.

1657 *The first Christian initiative on behalf of slaves is in the form of a letter from George Fox of the Society of Friends in England.* Addressed to "friends beyond the sea, who have black and Indian slaves," he urged them to "give consideration to their slaves, since all nations were of one blood."⁴

1673 Richard Baxter's *Christian Directory* includes a chapter, "Direction to those Masters in Foreign Plantations who have Negroes and other slaves." He reminded the masters that their slaves had immortal souls "equally capable of salvation with themselves."⁵

1706 The first Presbytery is established in Philadelphia.

1707 At the second meeting of the Presbytery an overture is adopted requiring every minister of the Presbytery to supply "neighboring destitute places where a minister is wanting, and opportunity of doing good offers."

1717 Philadelphia Presbytery divides into four parts and becomes the first Synod. A “Fund for Pious Uses” is established; designed for relief of widows and orphans of ministers, support of missionaries on the frontier, help for new congregations to get established in strategic places, and to pay the administrative expenses of Synod.⁶

1742 *The Synod appoints its first missionary to the Indians.* The Reverend Azariah Horton establishes two Indian congregations on Long Island.⁷

1744 David Brainerd is ordained to minister to the Indians of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. He dies of tuberculosis in 1747. His journal and notes, subsequently published by his good friend, Jonathan Edwards, became one of the books inspiring William Carey who went to India, Robert Morrison who went to China, and David Livingstone who went to Africa.⁸

1747 John Brainerd continues his brother’s mission among the Indians until 1754 when an Indian war forced him out.⁹

1747 *The first record of a Presbyterian preacher to the slaves.* Rev. Samuel Davis begins his work in Hanover County, Virginia. He baptized forty slaves during his first three years in Virginia. Later, he succeeds Jonathan Edwards as President of Nassau Hall (later Princeton University).¹⁰

1759 *The first Indian to be ordained by the Presbyterian Church is The Reverend Samson Occom, Mohican.* He is ordained by Suffolk Presbytery in New York.¹¹

1760 THE COLONY OF NEW JERSEY SIGNS A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS WHICH PROVIDES THEM WITH A 4,000 ACRE RESERVATION. BOTH THE INDIANS AND THE COLONIAL AUTHORITIES REQUEST THAT JOHN BRAINERD BE ASSIGNED AS A “GOSPEL MINISTER” TO THE INDIANS.

The Synod votes to undertake the mission and votes that a “general collection to promote this pious and good design . . . be made in every congregation.”¹²

1763 The Synod commissions Occom as a missionary to the Oneida Indians.

1767 Samson Occom and his teacher, Rev. Eleazor Wheelock, go to England to raise funds for Indian work in the colonies. They interest Lord Dartmouth in establishing a school for the Indians. The school later became Dartmouth College.¹³

1767 Synod calls for an annual collection for missions from all the congregations with the following statement:

"The Synod laying to heart the unhappy lot of many people in various parts of our land, who at present are brought up in ignorance, and that they and their families are perishing from lack of knowledge, who, on account of their poverty or scattered habitations, are unable without some assistance to support the Gospel ministry among them; considering also that *it is their duty to send missionaries to the frontier settlements, who may preach to the dispersed families there, and form them into societies for the public worship of God, and being moved with compassion toward the Indians, especially those under our care, who are extremely poor and unable to teach their children to read, or to instruct them in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, have resolved to attempt their relief, and to instruct such as may be willing to hear the Gospel.*"¹⁴

1771 MARYLAND ENACTS A STATUTE WHICH DECLARES THAT THE CONVERSION OR THE HOLY SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM DOES NOT ALTER THE STATUS OF SLAVES OR THEIR ISSUE.

1774 *The first recorded action of the Presbyterian Church on Negro slavery* is the result of a request by Dr. Ezra Stiles and Rev. Samuel Hopkins for the approval of the Synod to send "two natives of Africa on a mission to propagate Christianity in their native country." A committee is appointed to bring in an overture on the subject. The Synod approves the plan to send a mission to Africa but defers action on slavery.

1775-1783 THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Presbyterians, presbyteries, Synods, and the General Assembly are active in the support of independence. Dr. Inglis, Tory rector of Trinity Church, in New York City, writes in 1776, "I do not know one Presbyterian minister . . . who did not by preaching and every effort in their power promote all the measures of the Continental Congress, however extravagant."¹⁵ The first part of the Declaration of Independence states the moral grounds for the new nation. The "self-evident" truths articulate the principles which will be used over and over again to attack slavery and all other forms of human oppression: "all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights including life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; the purpose of government is to make these rights secure. . . ." ¹⁶

II. The Nationalization Period

From 1783, the End of the American Revolution, to 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation.

From the end of the American Revolution in 1783 to the end of the Civil War in 1865, the new nation was in a fever of consolidating the structure of government and establishing the forms of the social system. At the time that the United States was establishing and operating a new sovereign government it was also receiving the largest migration ever recorded in history in such a short period of time (from 3,929,214 in 1790 to 9,638,453 in 1820—an increase of 250 percent). The nation was also acquiring vast new territories. The period from 1837 to 1861 was the era of the greatest geographical expansion in American history. The people were laying the foundations for an economic system; and were developing a unique social system which attempted to assimilate, or exclude, the Negro slaves, the American Indians, the immigrants from every nation in Europe, the Mexicans and Spanish from the Southwest, and newcomers from Asia.

In the spirit of victory, and independence and patriotic nationalism which swept the nation after the Revolution, the various branches of the Church began organizing themselves on a national basis. Presbyterians organized the General Assembly in 1788 and its first meeting was in 1789. The organizing group modified the *Westminster Confession of Faith* and the *Larger Catechism* to fit the new American policy of separation of church and state. The *Westminster Directory for The Worship of God* was almost totally rewritten to be compatible with life in the new nation, and the *Form of Government* and *Discipline* was prepared to conform to the new life of the church.

By 1800, just seventeen years after the end of the Revolution, “the Presbyterian Church was perhaps the most influential single denomination in the country.”¹⁷ It had a learned ministry, a membership generally distributed over the whole country with many on the rapidly expanding frontiers, an efficient central government in the General Assembly, prestige for its patriotism, and renewed spiritual vigor from recent revivals. As citizens, the Presbyterians participated fully in every phase of national development, including slavery. In 1850 there were 70,000 slaves held by Presbyterians. One third of the Presbyterian ministers and one half of the members of the Presbyterian Church in the South owned slaves. Presbyterians participated in the oppression of the Indians and in the discrimination against almost every new wave of immigrants. Presbyterians took part in the exploitation of natural resources, and in the political corruption related to the gaining of economic and political power. As members of the church, they also nourished the Word of God, strengthened their faith in Christ, and sharpened the moral and ethical precepts of the Gospel which the church applied to the evils of their private and social lives.

Faced with a population that grew two and a half times in thirty years, and a land area which stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the Presbyterian Church strengthened the institutional base for its ministry; to the whites and Indians on the frontier, the blacks on the plantations, the immigrants from Europe, the Mexicans and Spanish in the Southwest, and the Asians in the West.

The Presbyterian Church dealt with two major policy issues during this period of nationalization; slavery, which it was determined to abolish; and church structure, which had to be changed to meet the rapidly growing responsibilities of those times.

Slavery was the most absorbing political, social and moral issue for the whole nation, and the Presbyterian Church provided the most significant Christian leadership toward bringing about its abolition. This was the first example in American history of the use of a theological conviction to change the social system. Slavery was also an issue in the conflicts between the Old School and the New School, the North-South split in the church, and the formation of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

The challenges of population growth and territorial expansion led to the formation of new mission agencies such as the United Foreign Missionary Society, the Plan of Union, the Standing Committee of Missions, the Western Missionary Society, the United Domestic Missionary Society, the American Home Missionary Society, the Board of Foreign Missions, etc.

The most important policy issue related to structural problems was basically a theological question as to the nature of the church. Should the mission of the church be performed by interested individuals organized into non-ecclesiastical organizations such as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, or should the church itself be a missionary organization acting through its own agencies? In 1802 the Synod of Pittsburgh "accepted the premise that a Christian by virtue of his membership in the church was under obligation to spread the Gospel." Therefore, the Synod considered itself as being, *ipso facto*, a missionary organization, and reorganized itself as the Western Missionary Society. This decision began a new era of ministry of the Presbyterian Church, both on the American scene and in other nations. The missionary and educational responsibilities of the church were thus built into the structure of the whole church, rather than assigned to voluntary agencies. These responsibilities now rested with individual members, with sessions, with presbyteries, with synods, and with the General Assembly.

1787 *The first action dealing directly with slavery is an overture to the Synod of New York, to recommend to the churches and families under their care “to do everything in their power, consistent with the rights of civil society, to promote the abolition of slavery and the instruction of Negroes, whether bond or free.”* The Synod also urges that “education and sufficient time and means for procuring their freedom be given to those held in servitude.”¹⁸

1788 THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION BECOMES LEGAL WITH NEW HAMPSHIRE’S VOTING THE NINTH AND DECIDING RATIFICATION.

The General Assembly is organized and the church is named The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. It is formed from the original four Synods of New York & New Jersey, Philadelphia, Virginia and the Carolinas, all of which consisted of 16 presbyteries, 419 congregations, and 117 ministers.

1789 *The first meeting of the General Assembly recommends that each Synod choose two members qualified to be missionaries on the frontier.*

THE NEW CONGRESS ACHIEVES ITS FIRST FORUM. TWELVE AMENDMENTS ON THE CONSTITUTION ARE SENT TO THE STATES FOR RATIFICATION.

1790 THE FIRST CENSUS SHOWS A POPULATION OF FOUR MILLION WITH NEGRO SLAVES MAKING UP 19.3 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL. THE CONSTITUTION FIGURES EACH NEGRO AS 3/5 OF A PERSON FOR PURPOSES OF CONGRESSIONAL APPORTIONMENT. ALMOST THE ENTIRE POPULATION IS RURAL.

The General Assembly appoints its first two missionaries, Nathan Kerr and Joshua Hart, to serve frontier settlements in New York and Pennsylvania where they will minister to the Oneida, Onandaga, and Cayuga Indians.

1793 A FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT IS SIGNED TO IMPLEMENT ARTICLE IV, SECTION 2 OF THE CONSTITUTION WHICH STIPULATES THE RIGHT OF A SLAVE-HOLDER TO RECOVER AN ESCAPED SLAVE.

*The General Assembly adopts the Synod action of 1787 on slavery as its own action and orders it to be published.*¹⁹

1795 Again, the Assembly points to the actions of 1787 and 1793 as the authoritative word on slavery.

GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE DEFEATED AN ALLIANCE OF INDIAN TRIBES AND IN THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE DEMANDED CESSIONS OF THEIR LAND. WHITE SETTLERS RUSH INTO THE “VACANT” LAND AND PUSH THE INDIANS OUT.

1800 Beginnings of the “Second Great Awakening,” camp meetings, revivals, and Presbyterian schisms.

FREE NEGROES OF PHILADELPHIA PRESENT CONGRESS WITH A PETITION AGAINST SLAVERY, SLAVE TRADE AND THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT. THE PETITION DIES IN COMMITTEE.

1801 *The first Negro ordained in the Presbyterian Church, the Reverend John Chavis, is licensed by the Presbytery of Lexington as a missionary "among people of his own color." Chavis was educated at Princeton, and preached to both white and black congregations until his death in 1838.*

The Assembly directs its presbyteries to report "as to the inclination of the tribes for civilization and religious instruction."

The Assembly enters into an agreement called the Plan of Union. It is designed to promote cooperation between the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists in frontier mission work.

1802 *The Synods of Virginia and the Carolinas report back, in response to the instruction of 1801, that they had sent out a missionary, a young man "of pious character, to instruct the Indians in agriculture and toolmaking" and that an Indian boy had been trained as an interpreter.*

The General Assembly establishes a Standing Committee of Missions and hears the report of John Chavis' work among the black and white congregations with great interest.

The Synod of Pittsburgh establishes itself as the Western Missionary Society less than four months after the General Assembly had established the Standing Committee of Missions. This policy changes the nature of the Presbyterian Church and is one of the factors leading to the Old School-New School divisions later on.²⁰

1803 *The General Assembly "observes with great pleasure that the desire for spreading the Gospel among the destitute inhabitants of our frontiers, among the blacks, and among the savage tribes on our borders, has been rapidly increasing."*

The General Assembly appoints its first missionary to the Indians. Gideon Blackburn is commissioned for "the purpose of carrying the Gospel, and the arts of civilization to them." The Assembly authorizes him to explore the possibility of opening a school.

1804 *The General Assembly indicates its first interest in a medical ministry. A publication on smallpox vaccination by Dr. Edward Jenner is distributed to frontier missionaries.*

Blackburn reports that he had opened a school among the Indians.

1806 *The Standing Committee of Missions orders a medicine chest to be assembled and sent to Blackburn for use at the Cherokee Indian school which he had established.*

The Reverend John Holt Rice is commissioned by the Standing Committee on Missions as the first white missionary to the Negroes.

1807 CONGRESS PASSES AN ACT PROHIBITING THE IMPORTATION OF SLAVES.

John Holt Rice is requested to prepare a letter on slavery for the church.

1808 THE OSAGE INDIANS CEDE MOST OF THEIR LAND IN THE LOUISIANA TERRITORY (MOST OF MISSOURI AND NORTH ARKANSAS) TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND MOVE TO RESERVATIONS ALONG THE ARKANSAS RIVER IN WHAT IS NOW OKLAHOMA.

1809 TECUMSEH, CHIEF OF THE SHAWNEE TRIBE, AND HIS BROTHER, THE PROPHET, BEGIN A CAMPAIGN TO ORGANIZE AN INDIAN CONFEDERATION OF TRIBES TO OPPOSE FURTHER WHITE INCURSION ON THEIR LAND. THE WHITE SETTLERS TOOK MORE THAN 30 MILLION ACRES NORTH OF THE OHIO RIVER IN SEVEN YEARS.

Rice's letter is received by the General Assembly—a document recommending that liberation of slaves be made easier and that slave owners treat their slaves kindly.

The Standing Committee of Missions appoints a Negro, the Reverend John Gloucester, to a mission among “his people” in Philadelphia. He had been a slave of Gideon Blackburn, missionary to the Cherokees. Blackburn freed him and assisted in his training for the ministry.

1810 THE POPULATION IS 7,239,881, A GAIN OF NEARLY TWO MILLION IN TEN YEARS. THE BLACK POPULATION IS 1,378,110. ALL BUT 186,746 ARE SLAVES.

The first board of foreign missions is established. A logical outgrowth of the idea back of the Plan of Union, it is named the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. More directly, it was developed by those in the famous “haystack prayer meeting” and other Presbyterians and Congregationalists who responded to their challenge. Its work among the American Indians is one of its outstanding achievements. Its success in its work and in securing funds from Presbyterians to support the work, in competition with other mission agencies, led to administrative conflicts which contributed to the Old School–New School schism.²¹

1812–1815 IN THE WAR OF 1812 WITH GREAT BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES REPULSES ALL BRITISH INCURSIONS. WASHINGTON, INCLUDING THE GOVERNMENT LIBRARY, IS BURNED.

1812 Serious questions are raised regarding the work of itinerant missionaries versus settled pastors.

The First African Presbyterian Church is founded in Philadelphia.

1813 General Assembly appoints the Reverend James Hugh to open a mission among the Wyandot Indians near Lewiston, Ohio, where he would teach agriculture and other practical knowledge.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church is founded as a split-off from Cumberland Presbytery in the Synod of Kentucky. The issue of the split is "the crying needs of the frontier communities for more ministers." The revival party ordained men who did not meet the educational standards of the Presbyterian Church. From the original presbytery, with three charter members organized in 1810, the denomination grew to 17 synods and 114 presbyteries by 1906 when it reunited with the parent body.²²

1814 GENERAL JACKSON FORCES THE CREEK INDIANS TO CEDE 20 MILLION ACRES OF THEIR LAND TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—ALL THE LAND THEY OWN.

By 1840 all the Creeks had been forced to move west of the Mississippi.

1815 The General Assembly recognizes that the transfer of slaves in some parts of the country is unavoidable, but *the Assembly condemned traffic in slaves as being "inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel" and called upon all presbyteries and sessions to make "use of all prudent measures to prevent such shameful and unrighteous conduct."*

The Union Humane Society (Emancipation Society) is founded by Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker. Many Presbyterians participated and supported the Society.²³

1815ff James G. Birney, a slave-owning elder in the Presbyterian Church of Huntsville, Alabama, is converted by Theodore Weld, who later founded the Abolition Movement. Birney disposes of his slaves, moves his family to a free state, and devotes the rest of his life to the eradication of slavery.

1816 *The first Board of Missions is established by the General Assembly.* The new Board is given "full power to transact all business connected with the missionary cause, including the appointment of missionaries and the payment of necessary funds." This Assembly also discusses the need for "foreign missions" but decides that it would be too complex for a single board to administer both. The Assembly hopes that "a new society for conducting foreign missions might be formed" and that it might include representatives of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Associate Reformed Church, and "other Churches that have adopted the same creed."²⁴

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions begins work among the Cherokee Indians.

The Reverend Robert Finley establishes The Colonization Society "to settle the free Negroes . . . with their consent, in Africa or such other places as Congress shall deem most expedient." Although this was a nondenominational organization it is approved by General Assembly and supported by many Presbyterians.

The Synod of New York and New Jersey appoints twelve of its members to organize and manage a school to give ministerial training to Negroes for service in Africa.

1817 The United Foreign Missionary Society is organized with the three denominations recommended in 1816. Now there are three mission agencies competing for the support of the church; the Board of Missions, the United Missionary Society, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

1818 *General Assembly declares that slavery was a “gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature . . . utterly inconsistent with the law of God, totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of Christ.” The Assembly declares that it is the duty of all Christians to “use their honest, earnest, and unwearied endeavors to obtain the complete abolition of slavery.”* The Assembly also declares that if a Christian slave should be sold by a member of The Presbyterian Church, without his consent, such a member should be suspended from the Church.²⁵

1822 The United Domestic Missionary Society is founded to enable missionaries and ministers to locate at one place for continuous work in contrast to the itinerant who spent as much or more time traveling as he did on ministries to people.²⁶

1826 *The American Home Missionary Society is founded, a cooperative endeavor through which the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists will aid weak churches all over the country.*²⁷

1828 Arthur and Lewis Tappan, wealthy Presbyterian laymen, agree to buy land and erect buildings in New Haven for a Negro college. The plan was abandoned in 1831 when the mayor, the aldermen, the Common Council and others pledged themselves to resist the proposal “by every lawful means within our power.”²⁸

1830 Individual missionaries begin efforts to convert “Spanish Papists” to evangelical Protestantism. Congregations are organized and schools started, supported by boards of home missions.

1831 In response to a request from the General Assembly to the Western Missionary Society to form closer ties with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Western Missionary Society becomes the Western Foreign Missionary Society—and seeks support from the whole church.

1832 The Association for the Religious Instruction of Negroes is formed by the Reverend Charles C. Jones. The work is confined to Liberty County, Georgia.

The New England antislavery society is formed with a program largely based on the thinking of William Lloyd Garrison, who opposes the resettlement of Negroes in Africa.

THE CHICASAW INDIANS CEDE ALL THEIR LAND EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI TO THE UNITED STATES.

1833 The first endowment received by the General Assembly (\$6,000) is used to support the Reverend Alan Coe as a missionary to the Chippewa Indians in the Northwest Territory (states such as Wisconsin and Minnesota).²⁹

The first missionaries of the Western Foreign Missionary Society are sent to the Wea tribe about forty miles west of Independence, Missouri. Instructions to these missionaries outline the policy of the mission at that time:

"Your object is to bring this people to the saving knowledge of the Bible and the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, as the only effectual means of their introduction to the arts of civilized life, and their consequent preservation as an intelligent, and prosperous, and happy people. . . .

No people, however, can become intelligent Christians without the benefits of such a degree of education, as may enable them to read the Bible and other useful books, and by this means to profitably instruct their children; and no people can be expected to become pious, and educated, and exemplary Christians, who follow the wandering, predatory habits, to which the aborigines of our Country have been accustomed. . . .

The only method to prevent the utter extinction of many at least of these tribes, and to insure to them a comfortable subsistence, is to induce them to exchange the habits of the chase for pastoral and agricultural pursuits."³⁰

1834 The Synod of Kentucky condemns slavery and urges the gradual emancipation of the slaves.

1835 PRESIDENT JACKSON RECOMMENDS A LAW TO PROHIBIT THE CIRCULATION OF ANTISLAVERY PUBLICATIONS THROUGH THE MAILS.

1836 SOUTHERNERS ARE OUTRAGED BY THE FLOODING OF CONGRESS WITH PETITIONS DEMANDING THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. THE SENATE RECEIVES AND FILES THEM. THE HOUSE REFUSES TO EVEN ACCEPT THEM.

The question of slavery comes before the Assembly but is "indefinitely postponed" because of the "urgency of other business" and the "shortness of time."

The Whitman-Spalding party arrives in Oregon where they introduce agricultural arts among the nomadic Indians of the Northwest. They drove cattle from Liberty, Missouri, over the trails to Oregon. They bought sheep from Hawaii, and bought pigs and chickens from the Hudson's Bay Company. They planted wheat and built mills. The potato was introduced to Idaho and

gardens and fruit orchards were cultivated. They set up blacksmith shops and sawmills and taught the Indians how to use them. They codified the laws of the Nez Perce' Indians, translated a hymn book into their language, and translated and printed the Gospel of Matthew.

1837 The General Assembly, with an Old School majority, abrogates the Plan of Union of 1801 and expels the Synods of Western Reserve, Utica, Geneva, and Genesee (New School dominated) from the church.

Chillicothe Presbytery excludes slave owners from communion and hires a school teacher to teach Negro children.

The Board of Missions begins work in the Republic of Texas.

1838 A new General Assembly is organized by commissioners from expelled synods. Both Assemblies retain the name "The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America," distinctions being made by the terms "Old School" and "New School."

1839 The first printing press on the Pacific Coast arrives from Hawaii for use of the mission to the Indians in Oregon. The first book off the press was a school book.

The Reverend William C. Blair is appointed to work with Mexican Americans in Texas with the primary purpose of later moving into Mexico which, at that time, would not allow Protestant missions.³¹

1841 The Board of Foreign Missions comments on the importance of the mission station at Victoria in the Republic of Texas. "Although this mission is for the present located in Texas, it is properly a mission to Mexico. The day is not distant when the intolerance of popery will no longer be able to retain in darkness and seclusion the missions in Mexico and South America."³²

1846 Pastor Peter Flury is commissioned by The American Home Missionary Society as a missionary in Iowa. He establishes a day school for children of German immigrants and a night school for adults in his home in Dubuque.

GENERAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE IDEA THAT IT IS THE "MANIFEST DESTINY" OF THE UNITED STATES "TO OVERSPREAD THE CONTINENT ALLOTTED BY PROVIDENCE FOR THE FREE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR YEARLY MULTIPLYING MILLIONS."

1847 The German Evangelical Church is founded in Dubuque with thirty-seven members and Flury as the minister.

1848 THE FIRST WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION IS HELD IN SENECA FALLS, NY.

THE SENATE OPPOSES A BILL EXCLUDING SLAVERY FROM OREGON AND FORBIDDING CALIFORNIA AND NEW MEXICO TO PASS LAWS ON THE SLAVERY PROBLEM.

1849 IN CALIFORNIA A CONSTITUTION PROHIBITING SLAVERY IS ADOPTED AND RATIFIED.

1850 A CONVENTION IN NEW MEXICO ADOPTS A CONSTITUTION THAT PROHIBITS SLAVERY.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL PASSES IN BOTH THE US SENATE AND THE HOUSE.

SLAVE TRADE IS ABOLISHED IN WASHINGTON, DC.

The Presbytery of Newark (New School) pioneers missionary work among the German immigrants. It concentrates on organizing congregations.

1851 ORATORS, NEWSMEN, WRITERS, COMPOSERS, AND REFORMERS IN GENERAL CONTINUE TO ARTICULATE OPINIONS CONCERNING SLAVERY, WOMEN'S RIGHTS, EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AND BLACKS, TEMPERANCE, AND SUFFRAGE.

1852 *UNCLE TOM'S CABIN* BY HARRIET BEECHER STOWE PUBLISHED; BECOMES A BEST SELLER.

The first Hungarian service of worship in America is held in a Presbyterian Church in New York City. The minister was the Reverend Gideon Acs, a Reformed Church minister.³³

The Reverend and Mrs. William Speer begin the first Presbyterian mission work among the Chinese in San Francisco.

1853 The Chinese Presbyterian Church in San Francisco is organized with four charter members, all of whom had been members of the Presbyterian Church in Hong Kong.

1854 The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions discontinues its work among the Indians of the Choctaw Nation over the issue of slavery. At the same time the Board orders its missionaries not to hire slaves as domestics, and not to admit slaveholders into Communion. The action was in response to a prior action of the Choctaw Indian Council which voted that "no slave or child of a slave is to be taught to read or write, in or at any school, by anyone connected in any capacity therewith, on pain of dismissal and expulsion from the Nation." The Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees had held slaves for about 100 years, and owned about 1,500 in 1850.³⁴ Some southern states also had laws forbidding the education of slaves.

THE MASSACHUSETTS EMIGRANT AID SOCIETY IS ORGANIZED TO PROVIDE ANTISLAVERY SETTLERS TO GO TO KANSAS TO INSURE THAT KANSAS WOULD NOT BECOME A SLAVE STATE.

DR. JOHN V. DE GRASSE, A BLACK PHYSICIAN, GRADUATES FROM BOWDOIN COLLEGE IN MAINE, AND IS ADMITTED TO THE MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.

1855 *The missionary as an advocate.* In response to California legislation designed to eliminate Chinese labor from the mines, Dr. Speer rallies public support, writes a pamphlet, and presents

a memorial to the California legislature, signed by many leading citizens of California, requesting repeal of the offensive act. It is repealed.

MASSACHUSETTS PASSES A STRINGENT PERSONAL LIBERTY LAW GUARANTEEING FULL PROTECTION TO ITS CITIZENS, INCLUDING BLACKS.

1856 The Board of Missions (Old School) reports having fourteen missionaries at work among French, Italian, Welsh and German settlers.

1857 The American Home Missionary Society reported 1,200,000 German-born in the US.³⁵

The first institution of higher education for Negroes, Ashmun Institute (to become Lincoln University), is established in Newcastle Presbytery, Pa. with four students.

The Board of Missions is changed to The Board of Domestic Missions.³⁶

1858 The United Presbyterian Church of North America is formed from the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church and the Synod of the Associate Presbyterian Church.³⁷

THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES BECOME ONE OF THE GREAT CONFRONTATIONS OF AMERICAN HISTORY. DOUGLAS ARGUES TO LET EACH STATE MIND ITS OWN BUSINESS REGARDING SLAVERY AND NOT TO MEDDLE IN THE AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES. LINCOLN'S POSITION IS THAT THE REAL ISSUE IS THAT ONE CLASS LOOKS UPON SLAVERY AS WRONG, AND ANOTHER CLASS DOES NOT LOOK ON IT AS WRONG.

1859 NORTHERNERS FEAR THAT THE SOUTH WILL DEMAND THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY INTO FREE STATES. SOUTHERNERS FEEL THAT THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE NORTH MUST BE SILENCED BECAUSE OF THEIR THREAT TO SLAVOCRACY. JOHN BROWN, SUPPORTED BY NORTHERN ARMS AND MONEY, ATTEMPTS TO LIBERATE SLAVES ON A GRAND SCALE. HE IS CAPTURED AT HARPER'S FERRY, TRIED AND HANGED.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY OPENS THE NINTH NATIONAL WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION ASKING, "WHERE UNDER THE DECLARATION OF OUR INDEPENDENCE, DOES THE WHITE SAXON MAN GET HIS POWER TO DEPRIVE ALL WOMEN AND NEGROES OF THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHTS?"

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN OPENS HIS THIRD ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS BY NOTING THAT THE JOHN BROWN INCIDENTS "ARE BUT SYMPTOMS OF AN INCURABLE DISEASE IN THE PUBLIC MIND WHICH MAY BREAK OUT IN STILL MORE DANGEROUS OUTRAGES AND TERMINATE AT LAST IN AN OPEN WAR BY THE NORTH TO ABOLISH SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH."

1861 TEN SLAVE STATES FOLLOW SOUTH CAROLINA TOWARD SECESSION. PRESIDENT LINCOLN INSISTS THAT NO MINORITY HAS THE RIGHT TO LEAVE THE UNION. CIVIL WAR BEGINS APRIL 12.

It is reported that there was one Negro Presbyterian Church in the South and between 12-14 in the North. There were 34,000 slaves belonging to Presbyterian congregations in the South. Old School congregations had 12,000 Negro members; New School congregations had 2,000 Negro members; Cumberland congregations had 20,000 Negro members.

The First Presbyterian mission to Freedmen is by the Reformed Presbyterian Synod (Old Side Covenanters) in Port Royal, South Carolina.

The General Assembly (New School) adopts a resolution pledging loyalty to the Union cause, prayer for the President and those in authority, and the removal of all slavery is recommended to pastors and congregations.

The Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America is founded by the southern constituency of the Old School. It consists of 10 synods, 45 presbyteries, 840 ministers and 72,000 members.

1862 *The General Assembly (New School) issues a scathing denunciation of slavery, declaring it to be "the one primordial root of . . . the whole insurrectionary movement."*³⁸

1863 THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION FREES FOUR MILLION NEGROES WHO HAD BEEN GROUND INTO THE RUTS OF SLAVERY FOR 250 YEARS. MOST OF THEM CANNOT READ OR WRITE, THEY HAVE NO FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING, TOOLS, NOR LAND. THEY ARE DESTINED TO EKE OUT THEIR LIVING IN A REGION DEVASTATED BY WAR.

NEW YORK CITY'S POOR, RESENTING THE UNFAIRNESS OF CONSCRIPTION AGAINST THEM, FORM MOBS AND ATTACK NEGROES AS SCAPEGOATS FOR THE FACT THAT THERE IS WAR. MANY ARE KILLED.

The General Assembly (New School) adopts a resolution of joy at "breaking of the yoke of oppression" and the "complete destruction of the vile system of human bondage."

The United Presbyterian Church begins its work among Freedmen with twenty-four teachers working in Tennessee and Alabama.

The Presbyterian (Oct. issue) comments, "We do not plead for social equality to be granted to the coloured man, but we are surely asking but little of Christians when we ask of them to be 'pitiful,' to be 'courteous.'"

The United Presbyterian Church starts work among 10,000 black refugees behind the Federal Army lines in Nashville, Tennessee. The church helped find homes, clothing, food, health care, education.³⁹

1864 The General Assembly (Old School-North), which had delayed every denouncement of slavery until this year, appoints two committees "to investigate the possibility of missions for Negroes," one committee in Philadelphia and one in Indianapolis. The plight of the freedmen and the policy of the church is revealed in the promotional circulars. "Without any agency of their own, colored people, lately in servitude, to the number, it is believed, of nearly half a million, have been thrown within the national lines, in a condition in most cases, of almost utter physical and moral destitution. Their sufferings in long weary

journeys—often almost without clothing, often without shelter in inclement weather, and long without bread, sinking exhausted by the way, sickening and dying in large numbers. . . . They need the ministration of the Gospel and to be taught the Word of God—they need instruction in the new duties [of freedmen] . . . in a word, they need everything that the ignorant, destitute and perishing can need.”⁴⁰ “If we fail to elevate and educate this people, they will justly be the enemies of the nation and country.”⁴¹

The General Assembly (Old School) Board of Domestic Missions reports, “The war will change the whole structure of the South; slavery will go down in the shock of arms—the face of society become as never before.” The Assembly establishes General Assembly’s Committee for the Education of Freedmen. It saw its work as part of the task of building a free society in the South, and it set up three programs to achieve that goal.

- a—Organization of churches for freedmen and the formation of Presbyteries from those congregations.
- b—Education for freedmen.
- c—Training of “native” ministers and teachers.⁴²

1864 A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES IS PROPOSED IN THE SENATE AND BECOMES THE 13TH AMENDMENT.

CONGRESS PASSES AN ACT LEGALIZING THE IMPORTATION OF CONTRACT LABORERS.

1865 ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN. END OF THE CIVIL WAR.

The Committee on Home Missions (New School) starts missionary work among the “Freedmen and Refugees” in St. Louis. Two black pastors are sent to minister to the Negroes of Tennessee and South Carolina.

The General Assembly (Old School-North) unites its two committees to work with freedmen into The General Assembly Committee on Freedmen.⁴³

The General Assembly (Old School-North) “declares that each southern minister must confess the ‘sin’ of secession and renounce the error of considering slavery a divinely sanctioned institution.”⁴⁴

1865-1870 The first two Negro schools above grade level were organized; Biddle Memorial Institute at Charlotte and Wallingford Academy at Charleston.

1867 The chasm between the policy of the General Assembly and the attitudes of local members vis-a-vis the missions of the freedmen is dramatically expressed in the General Assembly *Minutes*. “The complete social ostracism of any minister who enters the field . . . is hard to bear. To be despised by a wicked world,

through graces, leads the servants of Jesus to be strong but to be disgraced in the eyes of those who profess to follow the common Lord, saps the strength and wounds the soul. *To preach the Gospel in Africa makes a hero in the Church, and gives one a place in the prayers of all Christian households; but to preach the same Gospel to the Africans in our own land secures neither honor nor sympathy from the large body of Christian people.* And the fear of a supposed difficulty of obtaining a pastorate, even in northern churches . . . has deterred many."⁴⁵

III. The Period of Aggrandizement

From 1865, the End of the Civil War, to 1919, the Establishment of the League of Nations.

The Civil War was followed by a burst of westward expansion, which wiped out the American frontier in two decades. Government policies gave American industry a free hand in making the United States one of the world's great industrial powers by the turn of the century. This expansion was aided by a tidal wave of immigration from Europe which filled up the vacant prairies of the West and crowded the cities of the East with cheap labor. These problems of growth pushed the Negro from the center of public concern and left him to shift for himself. Having emancipated the Negroes, society systematically built new boundaries around their "freedom."

Recurrent terms in Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization* characterize the time: "transcontinental railways,"⁴⁶ "transcontinental telegraph," "settlers promoted," "economic barons," "financial feudalism,"⁴⁷ rise of the labor movement,⁴⁸ "gilded age,"⁴⁹ "imperial America."⁵⁰ Beard describes the period as the exploitation of the continent under barons of the new industrial age who were mostly church members in good and regular standing.⁵¹ Forces similar to those which developed interlocking fiefdoms between industry and government also constructed "immense agencies for economic service to the public and a philanthropic spirit that pours out money for charitable, religious, educational, and artistic plans and purposes."⁵² The energy of the Presbyterian Church was also consumed in meeting the needs of the expanding nation—primarily in establishing new congregations and training clergy to be their pastors.

At the same time the church was the major institution in American life which fought for those deprived of their rights and opportunities because of their race or culture. "Emancipation" deprived hundreds of thousands of Negroes of their homes,

food, clothing, and places of work; and the church marshalled some of its strength to meet those needs, as well as for its continuing concern for conversion and the formation of new congregations.

The whites and their governments massacred the native Americans, drove them from their tribal lands, destroyed their source of livelihood, and ruined their cultures. The church tried to stem the disaster. It failed, except to spearhead the development of schools with an emphasis on education which it was hoped would enable the native Americans to exist in the Euro-American society which was destroying Indian cultural identity.

Ministry to the Orientals, who had been imported primarily to build American transcontinental railways and telegraph lines, concentrated on social services and the formation of congregations of believers.

The European immigrants came from a Christian heritage in their own countries, and some pastors came with them. Consequently, the Presbyterian Church established ministries to aid the immigrants find homes, get jobs, get their children into schools, provide English language training, aid for the sick and the desperate, and assistance for youth in trouble. Ministries to the Jews was almost totally aimed at conversion.

Social equality for the non-European people was not one of the church's explicit goals. The poor European immigrants were expected to become equals in American society within one or two generations. For the Negroes, the Orientals, the American Indians and the Mexicans, the general policy became "equal but separate" which was a rhetorical subterfuge for "unequal and separate."

Andrew Murray concluded that in their relations with Negroes, white Presbyterians had been caught in a tension between their professed ideals and the realities of their cultural situation. In theory, they had nearly all rejected the idea of caste, but in practice they accommodated themselves to the racial patterns of the day. They worked within the "separate but equal" pattern. Therefore the national church developed its Negro work within the limits of separation—which meant that work in the South must be led by Negroes. "For most white Presbyterians, the best evidence of the progress of the Negro was his willingness to discard the backwardness of Negro life, and accept the values of white Presbyterians,"⁵³ and this criteria applied to the Reds, the Browns and those with strange European languages, as well as to the Blacks.

1865 CONGRESS ORGANIZES THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU WHICH ESTABLISHED THE RIGHT TO MARRIAGE AND THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE EMPLOYERS. IT ISSUED SUPPLIES, AND ACTED AS COURT OF LAW.⁵⁴

1866 PRESIDENT JOHNSON VETOES A CIVIL RIGHTS BILL THAT WOULD GUARANTEE EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAWS TO FREE NEGROES, AND WOULD GIVE FEDERAL COURTS JURISDICTION OVER CASES INVOLVING THOSE RIGHTS. THE CONGRESS OVERRIDES HIS VETO.

The first Negro presbytery, Catawba, made up of Negro congregations organized by white pastors, is organized.

1867 THE KU KLUX KLAN IS ORGANIZED TO SUPPORT WHITE SUPREMACY IN THE SOUTH.

CONGRESS PASSES A RECONSTRUCTION ACT IN WHICH NEGROES ARE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE. PRESIDENT JOHNSON VETOES THE ACT.

HOWARD NORMAL AND THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE FOR THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS AND PREACHERS IS CHARTERED IN WASHINGTON, DC BY THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU. LATER BECOMES HOWARD UNIVERSITY, THE NATION'S MOST PRESTIGIOUS INSTITUTION OF HIGHER LEARNING FOR BLACKS.

LUCRETIA MOTT, SPEAKING TO THE AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION, SAID, "WOMEN AND THE COLORED MAN ARE LOYAL, PATRIOTIC, PROPERTY HOLDING, TAX PAYING, LIBERTY LOVING CITIZENS, AND WE CANNOT BELIEVE THAT SEX OR COMPLEXION SHOULD BE ANY GROUND FOR CIVIL OR POLITICAL DEGRADATION . . . BUT ONE HALF OF THE CITIZENS ARE DISENFRANCHISED BY THEIR SEX, AND ABOUT ONE-EIGHTH BY THE COLOR OF THEIR SKIN."

An all-negro, Knox Presbytery, Georgia, is organized.

1868 A NEW TREATY PROVIDES FOR UNRESTRICTED CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES AS A SOURCE OF LABOR FOR BUILDING AMERICAN RAILROADS.

General Assembly (NS) directs the Standing Committee on Home Missions to prosecute work among Negroes with vigor regardless of the attitude of the Southern Presbyterian Church. The Standing Committee establishes the "Freedmen's Department of the Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions." The New School Freedmen's Committee has established a total of 61 schools in nine states and the District of Columbia.

The Old School Committee on Freedmen declares, "It is the true policy of the Church to combine, as far as practical, both parts of the work, evangelism and education."⁵⁵ The Atlantic Presbytery, including both black and white congregations, is formed in South Carolina. *The General Assembly (Old School) authorizes the formation of the first Negro Synod.*

1869 BLACK MALE SUFFRAGE IS ENSURED BY THE PASSING OF THE 15TH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Ministry to Italian immigrants is begun in cooperation with the New York City Mission Society.⁵⁶

It is reported that there are about 100,000 Chinese immigrants in California, and that the Church has more access to the Chinese in California than in China.

Sixty-one schools for Negroes had been opened in 8 southern states and the District of Columbia. Thirty-four of the 79 teachers were Negroes. There were 4,000 Negro students.

The Old School and the New School reunite across the country to be the Presbyterian Church in the USA.

The United States government requests denominations to cooperate with the government in selecting Indian agents and in selecting teachers for the Indian schools. The Presbyterian Church did this for the next ten years.

Cumberland General Assembly directs its presbyteries to ordain Negro ministers and to organize them into presbyteries of their own.

1870 THE 15TH AMENDMENT IS RATIFIED BY THE STATES, ASSURING THAT THE “RIGHT OF CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES TO VOTE SHALL NOT BE DENIED OR ABRIDGED BY THE UNITED STATES OR BY ANY STATE ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR PREVIOUS CONDITION OF SERVITUDE.”

The Old School Committee on Freedmen states its goal: “to cultivate intelligence and piety among the Freedmen of the south, by planting and maintaining where they live, the Church and the school conjointly.”

The Board of Domestic Missions employs a missionary to labor among the Jews in Philadelphia.⁵⁷

The policy of work among the Indians is apparent in a report of results by the Reverend Peter Dougherty. “I will briefly state some facts that show the work of the Board among these ignorant and degraded people has not been without many good fruits. Instead of heathen bands—ignorant, indolent, intemperate, clothed with a filthy blanket and living in smoky wigwams—we now see civilized families living in comfortable houses, with farms and teams, industrious and exercising all the rights and duties of citizens, reading the Testament, family prayer, social meetings for prayer, regular attendance on the house of God, and many giving evidence of heart piety. During these years there were gathered into the church here some 130.”⁵⁸

The Women’s Foreign Missionary Society in Philadelphia organizes and supports mission work among the Indians and the Orientals.

1871 Organization of the Tennessee Synod of the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church. There were about 20,000 Negroes in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church before the Civil War. Whites and Negroes belonged to the same congregations and worshipped together. After the Civil War, a new race consciousness among the Negroes led to the formation of a separate Negro church.

1874 Organization of the General Assembly of the Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

A rescue home for Chinese women and girls is established in San Francisco, a haven for Chinese girls sold into prostitution.

1875 BLANCHE KELSO BRUCE, A NEGRO FROM MISSISSIPPI, BEGINS HIS FIRST TERM IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE. HE BECOMES THE FIRST NEGRO TO SERVE A FULL TERM.

The United Presbyterian Church establishes Knoxville College for Freedmen in Knoxville, Tennessee.⁵⁹

The Women's Board of Home Missions begins day schools and boarding schools in Utah where all other schools were controlled by the Mormons.⁶⁰

1876 THE UNITED STATES ARMY PREPARES FOR WAR AGAINST THE SIOUX INDIANS.

1880 THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT RULES THAT BARRING NEGROES FROM SERVICE ON JURIES IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

1881 TUSKEGEE NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE IS CHARTERED AT TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA, AS A VOCATIONAL SCHOOL FOR NEGROES. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON LATER BECOMES ITS PRINCIPAL.



Navajo Indians at Ganado Presbyterian Church, Arizona

1882 A CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT SUSPENDS FOR TEN YEARS ALL IMMIGRATION OF CHINESE LABORERS AND DENIES CITIZENSHIP TO ALL FOREIGN-BORN CHINESE.

1883 THE SUPREME COURT SETS ASIDE THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT AS UNCONSTITUTIONAL, AND LETS THE NATION REVERT TO THE COMPROMISE OF 1877 BY WHICH THE NORTH AGREED TO LET THE SOUTH HANDLE THE NEGRO QUESTIONS IN ITS OWN TERRITORY IN RETURN FOR THE NORTH TO CONTROL THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.⁶¹

1884 An industrial education department is added to the program of Scotia Seminary. Brainerd Institute had training in both agriculture and industrial arts.⁶²

1885 Indian work which had been administered by the Board of Foreign Missions is transferred to the Board of Home Missions. THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT DECLARES UNCONSTITUTIONAL THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1875, UNDER WHICH THE RIGHTS OF NEGROES TO EQUAL ACCOMMODATIONS IN PUBLIC FACILITIES IS GUARANTEED.

1887 General Assembly establishes the Synod of Catawba from the Negro presbyteries of Cape Fear, Catawba, Yadkin, and Southern Virginia.

The General Assembly, obviously disturbed by Chinese immigration, asked that: "mission among them be prosecuted with increasing vigor, so that their coming among us may not occasion harm to American society, morals, and civil institutions and that their conversion, by the blessing of God, to the Christian faith may be followed by their consecration to the work of evangelizing their native land."⁶³

The church supported the Dawes Act which ostensibly would have made the Indian people citizens within twenty-five years if they displayed what the Whites called "responsibility." The plan was to make the Indians into farmers and to allot them acreages which they could own and develop. Unused or unclaimed land then reverted to the US government. The Indians thereby lost ninety million acres of land.⁶⁴

1890 POPULATION: 62,979,766—DOUBLED FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR—A 26 PERCENT INCREASE EVERY TEN YEARS. A LARGE PROPORTION OF THE INCREASE IS IMMIGRANTS—5 MILLION OUT OF THE 12.8 MILLION INCREASE.

A FORCE BILL—DESIGNED TO OBTAIN FEDERAL SUPERVISION OVER THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE VOTING RIGHTS OF MINORITIES (ESPECIALLY NEGROES) IS PASSED IN THE HOUSE BUT DEFEATED IN THE SENATE.

SLAUGHTER OF OVER 200 SIOUX INDIAN PRISONERS OF WAR AT WOUNDED KNEE CREEK IN SOUTH DAKOTA IS FOLLOWED BY WEEKS OF SAVAGE FIGHTING CALLED THE "GHOST DANCE WAR." THIS IS THE LAST OF THE MAJOR WARS AGAINST THE INDIANS.

RED CLOUD, CHIEF OF THE OGLALA TETON SIOUX INDIANS, SAID: "THE WHITE MEN MADE US MANY PROMISES, MORE THAN I CAN REMEMBER, BUT

THEY NEVER KEPT BUT ONE: THEY PROMISED TO TAKE OUR LAND, AND THEY TOOK IT."

Jesse Barber summarized the twenty-five years of work among the Negroes by missionaries from the North: "In 1865 the freedmen had no school or churches; they had no educated ministers or teachers, especially in the Old School branch. Now a line of churches and schools, beginning in Virginia, extended down the Atlantic seaboard through the Carolinas and Georgia into Florida, and from Virginia westward over the mountains into Tennessee and Kentucky, across the mighty Mississippi into Arkansas, and on to the Indian Territory and Texas. And by now for the greater part of the work of these fields was carried on by Negroes who had been trained for their tasks in Presbyterian schools by Presbyterian men and women. Those who gave this service and wrought this transformation were the pioneers: white men and women who came from the North as missionaries to the freedmen and whose coming brought light and life."⁶⁵

1891 THE PEOPLE'S PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WHICH HAD INCLUDED MILLIONS OF NEGROES IN ITS DEVELOPMENT, EXCLUDES ALL NEGROES FROM ITS MEMBERSHIP AND FIRMS UP A POLICY OF REMOVING BLACKS FROM ALL POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

Daniel Jackson Sanders, born a slave in South Carolina, is elected president of Biddle University. Biddle was the largest and most widely known institution under the care of the Presbyterian Freedmen's Board.

The first Presbyterian Italian congregation is organized in Newark, NJ. The first Presbyterian Italian pastor, the Reverend Francesco Pesaturo.⁶⁶

1892 THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT OF 1882 IS EXTENDED FOR ANOTHER TEN YEARS.

1893 The Occidental Board of San Francisco and the North Pacific Board of Portland sponsors work among Chinese women and children.⁶⁷

1894 A TREATY IS SIGNED WITH CHINA UNDER WHICH CHINESE LABORERS ARE TO BE EXCLUDED FROM ENTRY INTO THE USA.

Work is begun among the Jews of New York City.

1896 THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES STRIKES A HEAVY BLOW AT CIVIL RIGHTS FOR NEGROES, ACCEPTING AS LEGAL THE "SEPARATE-BUT-EQUAL" PRINCIPLE STATING THAT THE ASSIGNMENT OF NEGROES TO SPECIAL RAILWAY CARS, TOILETS, PARKS AND OTHER ACCOMMODATIONS DOES NOT DEPRIVE NEGROES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE 14TH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

1898 THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR ENDS WITH SPAIN CEDING PUERTO RICO AND GUAM TO THE UNITED STATES; AND GIVING THE U.S. THE "RIGHT" TO OCCUPY CUBA AND THE PHILIPPINES. THE U.S. IS NOW RECOGNIZED AS A WORLD POWER.

The first Alaska Indian was ordained by the Presbyterian Church. Edward Marsden was a graduate of Marietta College and Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati. He purchased a thirty-six foot steam launch for his mission work up and down the Alaskan coast.⁶⁸

The First Presbyterian Church was established in Salt Lake City—first congregation among Mormons.⁶⁹

1899 THE NATIONAL AFRO-AMERICAN COUNCIL IS ORGANIZED TO COMBAT THE RISING NUMBER OF NEGRO LYNCHINGS IN THE SOUTH (ABOUT 100 PER YEAR).

1901 Presbyterian ministry was begun on the Navaho Indian reservation.⁷⁰

1903 The Department of Church and Labor was formed to work in urban areas which included heavy concentrations of European immigrants.

1904 THE U.S. SUPREME COURT RULES THAT PUERTO RICANS, ALTHOUGH NOT U.S. CITIZENS, ARE NEVERTHELESS NOT ALIENS, AND MAY NOT BE REFUSED ADMISSION TO THE COUNTRY.

Negro presbyteries were proposed so that there would be no black congregations in the presbyteries of the union between the Presbyterian Church in the USA and the Cumberland Presbyterians. A member of the Committee on Organic Union reported, "The Southern people need have no fears of the Negro in this union. The members of the Presbyterian Committee, who were from all parts of the North, recognized as fully as did our own committee the absolute necessity of the separation of the races in the South."⁷¹

1905 After a year of bitter debate the presbyteries vote in favor of union, providing separate black presbyteries; 194 in favor, 39 opposed, 1 conditional approval, 5 no answer.

1906 Reunion with the Cumberland Presbyterian Church establishes separate (Negro) judicatories. This was official approval of the "separate but equal" concept.

1908 The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, representing most Protestant denominations, is formed in Philadelphia.

Organization of the Department of Church and Country Life.

Organization of the Department of Immigration.

1910 POPULATION: 92,228,496—INCLUDING 8,795,000 IMMIGRANTS WHO HAVE ARRIVED SINCE 1900.

1912 A German speaking synod (Synod of the West) is formed of the presbyteries of Galina, George and Waukon.

1914 EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION FROM 1905 to 1914 REACHES 10,500,000. THREE FOURTHS ARE FROM SLAVIC COUNTRIES AND SOUTHERN EUROPE. ABOUT ONE-SIXTH ARE FROM WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE.

Beginning of Negro migration from South to North. From 1910 to 1920 Michigan gained 251 percent increase, California 79 percent, Ohio 67 percent, Illinois 67 percent and eleven other northern states had increases of more than 25 percent.⁷²

Twenty-four Negro churches in the North had 2,958 members.⁷³

WORLD WAR I BEGINS IN EUROPE.

1915 GEORGIA GRANTS A CHARTER TO THE "NEW" KU KLUX KLAN.

1916 By 1916, after the organization of the first Presbyterian church for the Italians in Newark, NJ, 100 churches and missions had been established in the East. These congregations included nearly 5,000 members, 60 Italian speaking pastors, and about 50 lay workers.

1917 AN IMMIGRATION ACT EXCLUDING ALL ASIANS FROM THE UNITED STATES IS PASSED BY CONGRESS OVER PRESIDENT WILSON'S VETO. DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST GERMANY.

The National Advisory Committee on Jewish Evangelism is established to work in Newark, NJ.

1918 ARMISTICE SIGNED WITH GERMANY.

IV. The Period of Global Involvement and World Ecumenism

From 1919, the Establishment of the League of Nations, to 1977.

World War I ushered the United States into an ever-enlarging array of international relations. While rejecting membership in the League of Nations so vigorously promoted by President Wilson, never had the American people engaged in such extended and widespread debate regarding the international community. Warren Harding sidestepped the issue of a formal place in the League of Nations by proposing a "free association of nations." The United States signed separate peace treaties with Germany, Austria, and Hungary; and inexorably fought to secure and protect "rights" for American business to exploit the natural resources and labor of other nations all over the world. By 1926 the United States joined the World Court set up by the League of Nations, and by the end of World War II the United States had become one of the chief proponents of the United Nations and

set the stage for its organization in San Francisco in 1945. The United States continues to be one of the pillars of diplomatic and economic strength for the United Nations. During this period of history the United States has extended its economic and military influence into every corner of the globe and, as evidenced in Korea and Vietnam, the US went to war to “protect its national security.”

Racial and cultural groups grew in the United States during this period of history. In the ten year period from 1921 through 1930, over 4 million immigrants arrived from other nations (2.5 million of these were from Europe).⁷⁴ By 1950 there were 12,183,000 Negroes in the nation; 10,208,000 in the South and 1,975,000 in the North.⁷⁵ In 1949 there were 2,500,000 Spanish speaking persons in California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas, plus a rapidly growing population of Puerto Ricans, Cubans and Columbians in the East.⁷⁶ The Indian population, estimated at 20 million before the arrival of the Europeans, had dwindled to 460,000 in 1950. These minorities, despite years of sporadic and half-hearted efforts by the church and social service organizations, had the worst housing, the poorest jobs, the most inadequate education, and the fewest public services of all the American people.

Through its boards and agencies the Presbyterian Church was involved in ministries to other nations and to the racial groups within its own borders. It participated in the founding of the International Missionary Council in 1921, and was an active partner in the many international missionary conferences which led to the founding of the World Council of Churches in 1948. On the national front the Presbyterian Church was active in the Federal Council of Churches and in the transformation of that agency into the National Council of Churches. Paradoxically, the members of the church were significant partners in the social system which profited from international and national exploitation at the same time their church ministered to the victims of that exploitation.

During this period the church's ministry to racial and cultural groups shifted rapidly from the attempt to convert and to “civilize” to an emphasis on advocacy and the transformation of the unjust attitudes and structures of the church and nation. Such individual ministries of advocacy as those exemplified by Dr. Speer who, in 1855, went to the California legislature on behalf of the Chinese, and Dirk Lay who, in 1930, lobbied in Washington on behalf of the Pima Indians in Arizona, now became the ministry of the institutional church.

Acting for the whole church, the Council of Church and Race became “the focal point for the identification of issues and the development of churchwide policy relating to racial and intercultural justice and reconciliation.”

Two factors developed during this period. (1) the victims of racial and cultural discrimination became better organized and provided their own leadership to help change the mores and structures of injustice. Progress would have been severely limited without organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Congress on Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, La Raza, and the Association on American Indian Affairs; (2) the church, against much internal resistance, officially decided to cleanse itself of the racial and cultural injustices which permeated the whole of society.

The church decides that it will be a fully integrated community of believers with a mission to transform its social milieu into an integrated society. As a means toward that end it will foster self-determination and self-development for all racial and cultural minorities.

1920 WOMEN ARE GIVEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS BY THE 19TH AMENDMENT.

A hospital is established at Point Barrow, Alaska, the only medical service for Eskimos within a radius of 500 miles.⁷⁷

1921 WARREN G. HARDING REFERS TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, "WE SEEK NO PART IN DIRECTING THE DESTINIES OF THE WORLD."

CONGRESS PASSES THE EMERGENCY QUOTA ACT, LIMITING IMMIGRATION TO 3 PERCENT OF THE 1910 FIGURE FOR ANY ONE COUNTRY IN ONE YEAR—AND A TOTAL LIMIT OF 357,803 IMMIGRANTS IN ANY SINGLE YEAR. THE MAJORITY ADMITTED UNDER THE ACT WILL COME FROM NORTHERN EUROPE.

1923 The four Negro synods of Atlantic, Blue Ridge, Canadian, and Catawba have 260 ministers, 460 churches, and 26,964 members.⁷⁸

Nine agencies consolidate into the Board of National Missions: "the purpose of this Board shall be the extension of Christianity in the United States (including Alaska and the West Indies, and elsewhere as the General Assembly may direct); to extend the Gospel of Christ in all its fullness and His service in all its implications, by establishing and strengthening local churches, evangelism, organization and such special enterprises as may be deemed wise."⁷⁹

The work of the Board is divided into six general operating divisions. Most of the responsibilities for ethnic and cultural ministries are subsumed under the Division of Church Extension and Missions, the Division of Schools and Hospitals and the Division of Missions for Colored People.

The first page of the first annual report of the new Board of National Missions expressed the attitude of the church toward the

immigrants of that time. “Step out from the Presbyterian Building, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, and you are at the heart of one of the world’s greatest mission fields. Here in the ghetto is the new frontier of the America of the future. In the congested sections of the great cities, the church has its back to the wall. A flood of alien humanity threatens to overwhelm it.”⁸⁰

1924 CONGRESS PASSES ANOTHER IMMIGRATION BILL, FURTHER LIMITING ANNUAL IMMIGRATION FROM A GIVEN FOREIGN COUNTRY TO 2 PERCENT OF THE NUMBERS OF NATIONALS IT HAD IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1890, AND COMPLETELY EXCLUDING JAPANESE.

The ministry of the church is carried on in forty-nine different languages in the USA.⁸¹

1925 With a staff of about 200, the church ministers to about 51,300 Indians (15 percent of the total Indian population) through 163 congregations, hospitals, schools.

1926 The church operates 138 educational projects among Negroes, including 109 elementary schools, 22 coeducational boarding schools, two boarding schools for boys, and five seminaries.⁸²

1927 THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT RULES THAT A TEXAS LAW FORBIDDING BLACKS TO VOTE IN PRIMARY ELECTIONS IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL, IN VIOLATION OF THE 14TH AMENDMENT.

1928 Schools for Negroes begin to be gradually discontinued as communities take over educational responsibilities which the church had pioneered.⁸³

1930 The Reverend Dirk Lay, a missionary with the Pima Indians in Arizona, spends many weeks in Washington lobbying for appropriations to build a dam to provide water for the Pimas in place of that cut off by white farmers. Funds are appropriated for what became Coolidge Dam which provided water for 50,000 acres of arid Pima land.⁸⁴

1932 Dr. Josiah W. Holley, a Negro pastor, becomes the first black to be elected to any of the official boards of the church.⁸⁵

1935 By this time the church had two theological seminaries to train Negroes for the ministry; Lincoln in the North and Johnson C. Smith in the South.⁸⁶

1937 The church now includes 12 Chinese Presbyterian congregations and missions and 21 Japanese congregations, plus several of Koreans and several of Philipinos.⁸⁷

1938 PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT STATES THAT AMERICA IS DEEPLY SHOCKED BY THE INCREASE OF ANTI-SEMITIC ACTIVITY IN GERMANY AND THAT HE CAN-

NOT "BELIEVE SUCH THINGS COULD OCCUR IN THE 20TH CENTURY CIVILIZATION."

Dr. A. B. McCoy becomes the first Negro to serve as an executive of any official board of the church. He is elected Secretary of the Department of Work With Colored People which had previously been the Department of Work for Colored People.⁸⁸

The General Assembly meeting in Philadelphia is the first Assembly to sponsor a Sunday afternoon program in the interest of better race relations.⁸⁹

1939 ENGLAND AND FRANCE DECLARE WAR ON GERMANY.

1941 THE U.S. SUPREME COURT DECIDES THAT BLACK PEOPLE MUST BE OFFERED TRAIN ACCOMMODATIONS EQUAL TO THOSE OFFERED TO WHITE PEOPLE.

THE CALIFORNIA ANTI-IMMIGRANT LAW IS RULED UNCONSTITUTIONAL BY THE U.S. SUPREME COURT. THE LAW WAS DESIGNATED TO KEEP DROUGHT REFUGEES FROM OKLAHOMA FROM ENTERING CALIFORNIA.

DECEMBER 8: THE UNITED STATES DECLARES WAR ON JAPAN, AND ON DECEMBER 11 GERMANY AND ITALY DECLARE WAR ON THE UNITED STATES.

1941-1943 All the Japanese in the Western Defense Area are forcibly moved from their homes and placed in sixteen assembly centers. The Reverend Gordon Chapman, former missionary to Japan, heads the Presbyterian sector of a united Christian ministry to those in detention centers.⁹⁰

1943 MAY 27: PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT FORBIDS RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN ALL INDUSTRIES WORKING ON GOVERNMENT WAR CONTRACTS.

JUNE 4-8: IN LOS ANGELES BLACKS AND MEXICAN AMERICANS WEARING "ZOOT" SUITS ARE ATTACKED BY WHITE SERVICEMEN AND RIOTING CONTINUES UNTIL THE CITY IS PLACED OFF LIMITS FOR SERVICEMEN.

1944 AUGUST 21-OCTOBER 9: REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, GREAT BRITAIN, CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION GATHER AT DUMBARTON OAKS TO PLAN AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION TO SAFEGUARD PEACE. THEY SUGGEST THE ORGANIZATION BE CALLED THE UNITED NATIONS.

General Assembly declares "that discrimination or segregation on the basis of race, creed, or color in any form is undemocratic and unchristian," and calls on synods, presbyteries, local churches, seminaries, colleges, and other church agencies to do likewise. General Assembly commends the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education for undertaking the study of racial and cultural relations and directs that recommendations be prepared "whereby the Presbyterian Church may effectively work for a non-segregated Church in a non-segregated society."⁹¹

1945 NEW YORK STATE SETS UP THE FIRST STATE AGENCY TO FIGHT DISCRIMINATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN.

JULY 28: THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER IS RATIFIED BY THE UNITED STATES.

SEPTEMBER 2: JAPAN SURRENDERS TO ALLIED FORCES.

1946 General Assembly renounces the “principle of segregation.”

The Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education initiates a special study “on matters dealing with attitudes, relationships, practices, and policies of the individual Christian and the Christian Church toward racial and cultural minority groups.” Special emphasis is to be placed on Negro-White and Christian-Jewish relations.

General Assembly calls upon its members who belong to organizations still practicing racial discrimination to work for the elimination of such practices, and urges them to refrain from associating with groups that exist primarily for the purpose of fomenting strife and division on the basis of difference of race, religion, and culture.⁹²

1947 General Assembly reaffirms the 1928 through 1946 positions on race and discrimination.

General Assembly recommends that the Advisory Committee on Racial and Cultural Relations of the Department of Social Education and Action become the Committee on Racial and Cultural Relations. General Assembly directs the committee to recommend measures and policies “as well as make the practice of the church in matters of public worship, administration, church promotion and expansion conform to the standards of Christian fellowship and brotherhood taught by our Lord.”⁹³

JACKIE ROBINSON BECOMES THE FIRST BLACK TO SIGN WITH A MAJOR LEAGUE TEAM—THE BROOKLYN DODGERS.

1948 PRESIDENT TRUMAN ASKS CONGRESS TO PASS CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION THAT WOULD INCLUDE ABOLITION OF THE POLL TAX, AN ANTILYNCHING MEASURE, AND THE CREATION OF A COMMISSION TO STUDY JOB DISCRIMINATION.

JUNE 25: PRESIDENT TRUMAN SIGNS A MEASURE TO PERMIT IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES OF INCREASING NUMBERS OF DISPLACED PERSONS.

AUGUST 4: A FIVE DAY FILIBUSTER BY SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS KILLS THE CHANCE TO ABOLISH THE POLL TAX.

The Presbyterian Church participates in the founding meeting of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam, Holland.

1949 The *Gospels of Mark, John, and the Epistle to the Romans* are published in Eskimo by the American Bible Society heavily supported by Presbyterians.⁹⁴

General Assembly recommends that the US government eliminate the wardship of the Indians and provide the Indians with adequate opportunities for health, education, economic development, and that provisions be made for voluntary settlement of Alaskan land titles and grants.⁹⁵

1950 By this time there are 100 Presbyterian congregations and missions with 6,000 members serving Italian immigrants.⁹⁶

The Presbyterian Church is serving among the 2 million Jews in New York City through 2 congregations, 6 neighborhood houses, and 1 church school.⁹⁷

PRESIDENT TRUMAN SIGNS AN \$88,510,000 BILL DESIGNED TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE NAVAHO AND THE HOPI INDIANS OVER THE NEXT TEN YEARS.

THE UTE INDIANS ARE AWARDED \$31,700,000 AS COMPENSATION FOR TRIBAL LANDS TAKEN FROM THEM IN COLORADO AND UTAH FROM 1891 TO 1938.

The National Council of Churches of Christ is formed, combining twenty-nine churches with a membership of about thirty-two million.

1951 The Presbyterian Church operates three high schools and three junior colleges for Negroes. Two primary objectives of the schools are to "improve the Negro's economic situation and to develop Christian personality."⁹⁸

The church is ministering to thirty-one tribes of Indians in sixteen states.

1952 General Assembly calls for a "non-segregated church in a non-segregated society."

General Assembly calls upon Congress "to eliminate segregation within our nation's Capital" . . . and urges "church members to press Congressmen and Senators to support civil rights legislation. . . ."⁹⁹

1953 General Assembly calls on Congress to enact legislation to grant Indians the full rights of citizenship.¹⁰⁰

1954 THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT RULES THAT RACIAL SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS IS A VIOLATION OF THE 14TH AMENDMENT. THE DECISION ASSERTS THAT SEPARATE FACILITIES ARE "INHERENTLY UNEQUAL"—REVERSING THE 1896 RULING.

General Assembly requests the Moderator and the Stated Clerk to confer with synods and presbyteries organized on racial and cultural lines regarding the advisability of being integrated into the present synods and presbyteries in the same geographical regions.

General Assembly urges colleges to abolish any policies which prohibit the admission of students because of race.

General Assembly urges its boards and agencies to enlarge their channels for staff positions to include applicants from minority groups.¹⁰¹

1955 General Assembly calls for "Operation Desegregation" in all of its congregations, institutions, and communities. This includes desegregation of business, professions, unions, and housing. It also urges the election or appointment of representatives of Negroes and other minority groups to public offices. The pro-

gram requests Christians to help bear the burdens of those who lose their jobs or homes or suffer in other ways as reprisals for their actions in desegregation.

DECEMBER 1: ROSA PARKS, AN ELDERLY NEGRO WOMAN, IS ARRESTED FOR REFUSING TO MOVE TO THE REAR OF A BUS IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA. A MASSIVE BOYCOTT OF THE CITY BUS SYSTEM FOLLOWS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

1956 THE U.S. SUPREME COURT ORDERS A FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY TO ADMIT TO A PROFESSIONAL GRADUATE PROGRAM A NEGRO WHO WAS DENIED ADMISSION SOLELY ON THE BASIS OF RACE.

DECEMBER 13: THE U.S. SUPREME COURT RULES UNCONSTITUTIONAL A STATE LAW OF ALABAMA THAT REQUIRES NEGROES TO SIT IN THE BACK OF PUBLIC VEHICLES.

General Assembly approves the merger of the Synod of Oklahoma with the Synod of Canadian (black).¹⁰²

1957 SEPTEMBER 4-25: ARKANSAS GOVERNOR, ORVAL FAUBUS, SENDS THE ARKANSAS NATIONAL GUARD TO PREVENT THE FIRST SMALL GROUP OF NEGRO CHILDREN FROM ENTERING CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL. PRESIDENT EISENHOWER FEDERALIZES THE ARKANSAS NATIONAL GUARD AND SENDS THE 101ST AIRBORNE DIVISION OF THE U.S. ARMY TO LITTLE ROCK TO PROTECT THE CHILDREN FROM THE MOB.

SEPTEMBER 9: PRESIDENT EISENHOWER SIGNS THE FIRST CIVIL RIGHTS BILL IN EIGHTY-SEVEN YEARS, ASSURING VOTING RIGHTS OF ALL AMERICANS.

1958 HEW REPORTS THAT SCHOOL CLOSINGS TO PREVENT INTEGRATION CAUSED THE LOSS OF ONE MILLION SCHOOL DAYS IN 1958.

May 28: The Presbyterian Church of the USA and the United Presbyterian Church of North American merge to become The United Presbyterian Church in the USA.

1959 General Assembly supports voting rights, open occupancy and fair housing legislation.

VIRGINIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS ARE INTEGRATED WITHOUT INCIDENT AFTER THE STATE SUPREME COURT OVERTURNED AN ALTERNATIVE SYSTEM OF "MASSIVE RESISTANCE."

1960 A RACE RIOT ERUPTS IN BILOXI, MISSISSIPPI, WHEN NEGROES ATTEMPT TO DESEGREGATE THE CITY'S ALL-WHITE BEACHES.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER SIGNS A CIVIL RIGHTS ACT WHICH PERMITS FEDERAL JUDGES TO SEND REFEREES TO SUPERVISE VOTER REGISTRATION IN AREAS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

General Assembly demands equal access to accommodations for all its members: open access to the polls, to vacant pulpits, to employment, to schools.

1961 General Assembly pushes for continued desegregation of the congregations.

A BIRACIAL GROUP SPONSORED BY THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY RIDES BUSES FROM WASHINGTON, DC TO MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, TO DESEGREGATE BUS TERMINALS IN THE SOUTH. ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT KENNEDY SENDS U.S. MARSHALS TO PROTECT THE RIDERS FROM VIOLENCE WHICH HAD STARTED TO TAKE PLACE.

1962 THE U.S. SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS A LOWER COURT RULING THAT JAMES MEREDITH, A NEGRO AIR FORCE VETERAN, BE ADMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI.

The Assembly speaks again for equal voting rights and for community covenants of open occupancy.

1963 General Assembly requests the Board of Christian Education to reconstitute the Committee on Racial and Cultural Relations as the United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race, said committee to be the focal point for the church's concern for race relations. The General Assembly requests the committee to "immediately design a comprehensive and coordinate strategy for the United Presbyterian Church's approach to race relations."

Twenty-five official delegates of the United Presbyterian Church met with 600 religious leaders of the National Conference on Religion and Race—the first such conference in which Christians and Jews faced the problem together.¹⁰³

APRIL 3 TO MAY 12: MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING RACIAL INJUSTICE TAKE PLACE IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, LED BY MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. MORE THAN 750 OTHER DEMONSTRATIONS FOLLOW IN OTHER CITIES DURING THE NEXT TEN WEEKS.

SEPTEMBER 15: A NEGRO BAPTIST CHURCH IS BOMBED IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, KILLING FOUR CHILDREN AND INJURING OTHERS.

1964 JULY 2: THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 IS SIGNED BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON, OUTLAWING DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS, SETS UP AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION TO END EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION, AUTHORIZES THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE TO FILE SUITS TO FACILITATE SCHOOL INTEGRATION, OUTLAW DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY FUNDED PROJECTS, PROVIDES ADDITIONAL VOTING SAFEGUARDS.

OCTOBER 14: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. IS AWARDED THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

General Assembly calls for the expansion of the mandate of the Commission on Religion and Race, and renews its call for desegregation of all the work and life of the church.

1965 MARCH 7-9: A SHERIFF'S POSSE AND STATE TROOPERS IN SELMA, ALABAMA USE BULL WHIPS, CLUBS AND TEAR GAS TO BLOCK A MARCH TO MONTGOMERY IN PROTEST OF AN EARLIER KILLING OF A NEGRO. A UNITARIAN MINISTER FROM MASSACHUSETTS, THE REVEREND JAMES J. REEB, IS CLUBBED ON THE STREETS OF SELMA AND DIES A FEW DAYS LATER.

MARCH 21-25: PRESIDENT JOHNSON FEDERALIZES THE ALABAMA NATIONAL GUARD AND SENDS ADDITIONAL U.S. TROOPS TO PREVENT VIOLENCE DURING A MASSIVE MARCH FROM SELMA TO MONTGOMERY. VIOLA LIUZZO IS KILLED BY THE KU KLUX KLAN WHILE DRIVING MARCHERS BACK TO SELMA.

The Assembly repudiates racism as blasphemy and calls upon the church to cleanse itself of the sin of racism.

1966 The Assembly hires a consultant to monitor and facilitate racial policies in the business affairs of the church.

1967 The Commission on Religion and Race reports that “the gap between the Negro poor and the rest of our society has widened during the last few years. The Assembly approves the concept of “Black Power.” It endorses the program of “Project Equality.”¹⁰⁴

THE SUPREME COURT RULES THAT SEGREGATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IS UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

General Assembly urges all Christians to cooperate with authorities at all levels to integrate all public schools.

The last of the racially segregated presbyteries unite with a white judicatory of the same region.

RACE RIOTS ERUPT IN OVER 100 AMERICAN CITIES, INCLUDING WASHINGTON, DC. THE WORST ARE IN NEWARK NJ, AND DETROIT, MICHIGAN.

1968 APRIL 4: MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. IS ASSASSINATED.

The Commission on Religion and Race becomes The Council on Church and Race, and is to be administered by the Board of National Missions. Its responsibilities are to: (1) review and evaluate compliance of all judicatories and agencies in respect to “social and intercultural justice and reconciliation”; (2) to participate with the judicatories and agencies in designing program proposals in areas of “racial and intercultural injustice and reconciliation”; (3) to initiate and implement experimental and emergency programs “in critical areas relating to racial and intercultural justice and reconciliation.”¹⁰⁵

1969 General Assembly approves four recommendations of the Standing Committee on Church and Race in relation to Hispanic Americans and the “Crisis in the Nation” study: (1) affirmed “equal opportunity” and took steps to insure the participation of Hispanic Americans in all policy-making bodies at every level under a “single set of standards for positions, salaries, and working conditions”; (2) recognized the “existence of a new dynamic cadre of indigenous community leaders and churchmen” and urged judicatories to seek their services; (3) accepted the concept of cultural pluralism in education, favoring the teaching of Spanish as a second language; (4) urged the church to support “as a matter of conscience and witness, the demands of the farm workers for gaining rights and legislative protection.”¹⁰⁶

Hispanic problems and responsibilities highlighted.

1970 AUGUST 7: JUDGE HAROLD J. HALEY IS KILLED IN A MARIN COUNTY, CALIFORNIA COURTHOUSE BY BLACK PRISONERS AND HIS ASSAILANTS ARE KILLED BY THE POLICE. LATER, ANGELA DAVIS, A BLACK COMMUNIST INSTRUCTOR IN PHILOSOPHY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA IS CHARGED WITH OWNING THE GUNS USED IN THE MURDER AND COMPLICITY IN THE MURDER. SHE IS ARRESTED OCTOBER 15.

Self-Development of People program begins. The Emergency Fund for Legal Aid is established. "The purpose of the Emergency Fund for Legal Aid is to provide financial grants to persons and groups engaged in litigation, research and action in the field of equal justice. The Fund concentrates its resources on those situations where racial prejudice and poverty combine so as to limit persons and groups in sharing the guarantees of equal justice under law which are the inalienable right of every citizen of the United States."¹⁰⁷

1971 THE U.S. SUPREME COURT RULES THAT BUSING CHILDREN IS A PROPER METHOD OF ACHIEVING SCHOOL INTEGRATION.

The World Council of Churches sets up a Program to Combat Racism.

1972 MAR. 10-12: 3,500 DELEGATES MEET FOR THE FIRST NATIONAL BLACK ASSEMBLY AT GARY, IND. TO PROVIDE LEADERSHIP FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

1973 MAY 8: MEMBERS OF THE OGLALA SIOUX TRIBE AND FEDERAL NEGOTIATORS AGREE TO END A SEIGE AT WOUNDED KNEE, SOUTH DAKOTA, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WILL DISCUSS WITH THE INDIANS THE CONSISTENT VIOLATIONS BY THE UNITED STATES OF TREATIES BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SIOUX.

1975 The Assembly reaffirms the Self-Development Program and supports advocacy for Third World Women.

1977 Liberation Theology begins to be discussed.

Racial and Ethnic Ministries of the Program Agency establishes four racial/ethnic minority mission development offices. The offices serve as "broker" generalists within all the national and educational agencies to assist the church to meet the needs of racial and ethnic minorities.¹⁰⁸

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