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History of Black Catholic Education in the Chicago, 1871-1971

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Loyola University Chicago

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HISTORY OF BLACK CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN CHICAGO
1871-1971

By
Joseph J. McCarthy

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
May
1973
VITA


McCarthy taught various grades in Chicago public elementary schools, 1967-1970. In addition to his classroom experience, he has coordinated social and psychological services for Operation Headstart. He was responsible for providing these services for Black and Puerto Rican children in thirty-two schools. McCarthy served as principal of St. Anselm's Elementary School, Chicago, 1970-1972. While principal, he served as coordinator of the Mid-South Federation of Black Catholic Schools. He chaired and hosted the first symposium on Black Catholic education in Chicago. He has lectured on various aspects of education at Loyola University since 1969. He has served as a consultant for the Chicago Archdiocesan Principal Selection Committee since 1971.

A charter member of the Phi Delta Kappa Society, McCarthy has served as an officer of the Loyola Chapter of the fraternity. He is also a member of Alpha Sigma Nu, the National Jesuit Honor Society.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the late seventeenth century when Father Marquette and Louis Joliet explored the region which became Chicago, many facets of the city's history have been bound to the Roman Catholic Church. The oldest non-Indian inhabitant of the area was Jean Baptiste Pont de Sable, a Dominican Negro. Du Sable's operation of a trading post during the late eighteenth century marks the beginning of Chicago's Black history. Hazard the long chronicle of the town chartered as a city in 1837, which has provided educational facilities since the early nineteenth century, this is the pioneer study of Black Catholic education in Chicago.

The following study surveys the developments which, in the main, transpired after the Chicago Fire of 1871, when a new city sprang from the ashes, and the entire nation was in rapid transit from rural to urban.

Chicago, the largest Archdiocese in the world, governs the third largest school district in the United States. Nearly fifteen per cent of its present population are Black Catholics.

American Catholics traditionally have located in urban areas. The Blacks during the twentieth century have gravitated to the cities. Tracing the Negro in relation to Catholic education in a highly significant location fills a gap in
American educational history. The story of Black Catholic education in Chicago parallels the developments which occurred in other metropolitan areas. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to draw such comparisons. Making available for the first time numerous primary sources, such as holographs, letters, and rare documents will aid other researchers. These papers substantiate the thoughts, prejudices and experiences that led to policies which determined the course of education of Blacks.

The factors which solidified the Black as a second-class citizen are political, economic, sociological as well as educational. Treating the interrelationship of these facts in conjunction with the Catholic effort to upgrade instruction in historical perspective sheds light on courses of action to be followed in the future in the field of education of minority groups. Specialists such as Alvin Toffler and Charles Reich, who estimate the course the future is likely to take, are unanimous in their assessments of the paramount importance of finding solutions to traditional inequalities in education. Discerning human successes and failures in the past provides a foundation from which to build improved educational facilities in the future.

Henry Adams observed in *The Education of Henry Adams* that "Nothing in education is so astonishing as the amount of ignorance it accumulates in the form of inert facts." To
vivify the data gathered for this study, biography, city history, and parochial history are included, for people created the statistics and the human element, often on an individual basis, has been the most forceful and effective catalyst to the fulfillment of the needs of Black Catholics' education in Chicago.
CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO

During the first term of Chicago's first mayor, William B. Ogden, 1837-1841, the town of 4,479 had eight churches. In 1841 six of these houses of worship were in the area now designated as the Loop. The other two churches were across the Chicago River to the north. Each church belonged to a different denomination. In the 1850s the city grew rapidly. Population burgeoned to 28,269 and the city moved north and west.

In 1844 the only church south of the Chicago River was German Catholic. A decade later two of the six Catholic parishes were German. Immigrants fled from Prussian imperial oppression in such numbers that German Lutherans, Methodists, and Evangelicals all built churches in Chicago during the 1841-1850 period.

1 George W. Engelhardt, Chicago (Chicago: privately printed, Chicago Board of Trade, 1900), p. 15. This source contains many plates of Chicago's early churches.

See also Bessie Louise Pierce, History of Chicago (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), I, 46, 86-89, 11, 14, 36, 47-49, 103. Miss Pierce in her definitive history of the city treats the religious development of Chicago in conjunction with other events, many of which are political.
Between 1841 and 1850, 434,646 Germans came to America. The Irish, who were suffering the pangs of the potato famines and persecution under English rule, came to the New World in even larger numbers. The 780,719 people who came from Ireland to America during the same period also built churches. Immigrants not only required their own denomination, but also they needed to worship in their own language. The trauma of establishing a new existence in a foreign country was eased by praying in the same manner they had in the old land. The churches provided social life. They also functioned as havens which enabled the immigrants to retain elements of their old cultures while coping with the unsettling problems people encounter when adjusting to an entirely new way of life.

By 1860 there were eleven English-speaking churches and five German-speaking churches in Chicago. Although all sixteen parishes adhered to the teachings of the Church of Rome, these churches were distinctly national in parish life. If St. Michael the Archangel had helped those who boarded the

---

All religious services were conducted in Latin, the official canonical and liturgical language. The linguistic designation of Roman Catholic churches is based upon the tongue in which sermons were preached, confessions were heard, and the vernacular which most parishioners spoke.
ship at Rotterdam to endure the rigors of steerage, it was St. Columba who sailed with those who booked passage from Cork. The urban ethnic ghettos into which older American cities divided can still be traced by surveying the names of old churches. A Guardian Angel, St. Michael's, St. Boniface's indicate German settlement. A St. Bridget's, St. Columba's or St. Patrick's testifies to the Irish development of the area.

During the Civil War period two-thirds of the immigrants were from Ireland and Germany. Gerald Shaughnessy in Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith, a short monograph written for the diocese of Chicago, estimates that Irish immigrants of the era were seventy-five per cent Catholic.¹ The city census of 1860 shows that 19,559 persons were Irish. Of the 22,260 Germans in Chicago, thirty-two per cent were Catholic. The population of the city by Lake Michigan had risen to 112,172; the Catholic immigrants constituted forty per cent of the total number of people.

To serve the religious needs of the swelling community one hundred organized churches and seventeen missions of various denominations had been established by 1860. Many of these structures were still built in the Loop area, because pastors wished to have a central location to enable them to minister to as many of their flock as possible. During the

Reconstruction era the south side developed as rapidly as the town itself.

The income tax returns of 1863 indicate that the movement of population to the south side had begun, particularly along Michigan Avenue.¹ There were 591 business owners and entrepreneurs who reported incomes of $3,000 to $10,000; 131 reported incomes from $10,000 to $20,000; 51 incomes of $20,000 to $30,000; 19 incomes of $30,000 to $50,000; 9 incomes of $50,000 to $100,000, and three incomes over $100,000. Of these, 76 or about ten per cent were living in hotels. The plotting of the residences of these 803 individuals shows that the people of greatest wealth still lived comparatively close to the business center; points of concentration were along the thickly settled area between Van Buren and Twenty-second Streets along Michigan Avenue. On the west side, the center of population concentration was at Randolph and Sangamon Streets and on the north side at Cass and Ontario Streets. Wealthier inhabitants favored the north or south sides.

The churches on the three main stems of the Chicago River were largely American. The foreign-language churches

¹Chicago Daily Tribune, 8 Jan. 1864 [p. 1].
were located chiefly along the river itself. The beginning of disintegration is shown by the presence of Negro missions in the area next to the depots around Harrison Street. Few Catholics were involved in these missions. The major effort was exerted by the Methodist missionaries who had a history of African work.

By 1870 Chicago's population had increased to 298,977. During this decade the city experienced great economic growth. Churches and synagogues numbered 145. As the Jewish immigrant wave began, the Irish influx leveled then decreased. The Germans were becoming members of the establishment.

The pattern of immigration, struggle, and achievement is familiar. When language is the major barrier to assimilation the transition to acceptance is usually made in one or two generations. When color is a bar to economic and social acceptance the process takes longer. Throughout history the "superior culture" has looked down upon its inferiors. The Persians considered Greeks barbarians. The Greeks despised the Romans for their crude habits. The Romans felt the barbari Teutonii to be sub-human.

The newly arrived Americans treated greenhorns with condescension. The Germans, who were established, were intolerant of the Irish arrivals. When the Irish had carved niches for themselves in the New World they castigated the
Jews. Because the Blacks, newly freed from servitude, were instantly recognizable as different, the immigrants who were peculiarly conscious of the necessity of conformity, which they associated with acceptance in the country of opportunity, shunned those of different pigmentation. Europeans avoided Blacks and Orientals as did native-born Americans. Until they were established Europeans frequently avoided other nationals. In a number of instances it was the first or second generation American-born people of European stock who experienced the interchange of ideas and attitudes in the melting pot.

The Roman Catholic Church served its constituents from various backgrounds in a manner which owed much to its involvement in nineteenth century nationalist European politics. If this tradition constituted part of the framework, the venerable institution was also enmeshed in the problems attendant with large growth at an unprecedented pace. The records of the diocese of Chicago indicate that the Church followed the concepts of Imperial Rome in its expedient acceptance of the retention of customs. The distribution and concentration of parishioners shows the heterogeneous national groups which came under the aegis of the diocese.

The statistics compiled in Table 1 come largely from

the records of the Chicago diocese.¹

In studying the various nationality groups which influenced the composition of Chicago and determined directions growth would take, the time of establishment of parishes by the various groups is shown.

¹These approximations are based upon other available statistics such as school attendance, number of baptisms, or verbal estimates of the priests and parishioners.

The religious census of 1916 makes no statement as to the number of churches which they list as NR (No Report), nor does this document make due allowance for non-reporting churches. In the census of 1916, four churches were listed as making no report and seven churches definitely founded before that date (all having made reports to the diocese in 1910), do not appear on the list at all. Many of these churches were quite large. In several cases, the statistics of the report may be called into question. SS. Cyril and Methodius Church (Bohemian), reported a congregation 11,000. The report to the Chancellery of a census made in 1913 indicates that there were 2,600 parishioners in St. Cyril's; in 1920 this church reported 2,510 members.

St. John Berchman (Belgian) reported 5,000 parishioners, although their statement to the Chancellery in 1916 only lists 1,050 members.

These reports to the Bureau of Census are taken from the annual report to the Archdiocese and the discrepancies are probably due to mistakes in copying.

One may consider the discrepancies a balance to the omission of the ten non-reporting churches in estimating growth.
### TABLE 1

**SHOWING THE FORMATION OF CHURCHES IN THE CITY OF CHICAGO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>No. of Parishes Formed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1833-45</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846-50</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851-55</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856-60</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-65</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-70</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-75</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876-80</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-85</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-90</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-95</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-00</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-05</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906-10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-15</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-20</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-25</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-29</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table reads: In the years 1891-95 there were ten "English" churches established.

1 "Mixed" churches are classified here as National churches.

*This church disbanded in 1870.

aSt. Wenceslaus, which became Polish in 1925.
bIncludes St. Stephen's which became mixed in 1916.

+St. Monica's (colored) changed to St. Elizabeth's, 1925.
During the first twenty years of Chicago's history, there were five German parishes established and four English. One of the German parishes, St. Henry's, was outside of the city limits.¹

Tables 1 and 2 show that the Germans were among the earliest settlers in Chicago. Mass was said for these settlers as early as 1835, in St. Mary's Church. Father Schaffer was there in 1836 to minister to the Catholics. The second and third parishes to be formed in the city were German parishes, one on the north side and one on the south side of the river (1846), while St. Francis of Assissium was established on the west side in 1853.²

As Graph 1 indicates, the time of most rapid expansion in the number of churches was in the decade 1890 to 1900. During that period thirteen churches, which comprised thirty-nine per cent of the total number of installations, were established. This correlates with the statistics of immigration

¹St. Henry's Church served as a "clearing house" for the Luxemburgers immigrating to the suburban area. Of the five German parishes, only St. Henry's and St. Michael's had any sizable constituency. St. Henry's reported a German constituency. St. Michael's reported a transient membership.

### Table 2

**SHOWING THE NUMBER OF CHURCHES BY FIVE YEAR PERIODS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Churches at End of Year Designated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>124</td>
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This table reads: in 1915 there were thirty-five German churches in the City of Chicago.

1 "Mixed" churches are here classified as National churches.

- aSt. Francis Assissium became a Mexican mission.
- bSt. Stephen's became a mixed Polish parish.
- cSt. Monica's combined with St. Elizabeth's as a colored parish.
GRAPH 1*  

No. of Persons | No. of Churches  
---|---  
Showing Relation between German Catholic Churches, Members and Population  

- Number of German Catholics  
- German Foreign Born in Chicago  
- German Catholic Churches  

Year 1850 1860 1870 1880 1890 1900 1910 1920  
200,000 150,000 100,000 50,000  40 30 20 10  

*This is an attempt to visualize population growth showing relationships between variables.
which show that 1,452,907 immigrants came during the decade previous to 1890, while the census of that year indicated 2,784,894 Germans in the country. In the twenty years preceding 1900, the German churches in Chicago reported a one hundred fifty per cent increase in membership, and the number of institutions kept pace with an increase of one hundred seventy per cent.

Although the Irish immigration was more substantial than the German, the Gaels spoke English and became absorbed in parishes which are labeled English. It is interesting to note that the Irish, unlike the Continental Europeans, brought very little in the way of special liturgical custom with them. Hundreds of years of persecution of Catholicism by the English crown resulted in the "hedgerow mass," which of necessity was of short duration. If the Irish brought few liturgical trappings they were imbued with Janenist leanings and English puritanism. Evidences of these tendencies are patent in the deliberations of the Council of Baltimore.1 Aided by common language and determined to achieve advancement decided many Irish immigrant children on choosing religious life. The clergy for many decades of the twentieth century contained a

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disproportionately large number of Americans of Irish extraction. In the big cities particularly, the persuasions of this ethnic group greatly shaped American Catholic thought. By the 1890s, when the majority of American bishops had Irish names, decision making and administration of the American Church was largely the province of clerics of Irish extraction.¹

In the early twentieth century the Poles were the largest national group in Chicago. The press frequently observed that there were more Poles in Chicago than there were in Warsaw. They had the largest natural increase rate of any people.² The total number of Poles in the United States in 1920 was given as 1,139,978 while the number of foreign-born Poles in Chicago the same year was 137,611 with 318,338 giving Polish as a "Mother-tongue." The diocese estimated seventy-five per cent of the Poles to be Catholic which gives a very conservative total of approximately 236,500 Polish Catholics.³

The Polish wave of immigration which had begun about 1865 reached its flood tides in 1904, 1906, 1910, 1913, and 1914. It is difficult to tell the exact number of Poles coming

¹Ibid., pp. 389-391.


to the United States before 1900 since the statistics were kept according to country of origin rather than race, and the Poles were scattered among three countries, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Russia. Census reports of 1890 and 1900 indicate that the number of foreign-born Poles in the country doubled in that decade and also in the decade following. This rapid increase in population was closely followed by an increase in the number of churches, from nine to sixteen in the first decade named and from sixteen to seventy-seven in the second decade (see Graph 2).

The Polish church reports generally seem to be more accurate than any of the other groups. Many parishes took a very accurate census of their parish, at least bi-annually, and these statistics are as accurate as church statistics can be.

Another ethnic group that eventually turned its neighborhoods over to the increasing Black population in the early 1900s is the Italian. The census of 1860 listed no Italians in Chicago and the census of 1870 numbered 532. There was an effort made to establish an Italian congregation in that year. Our Lady of Sorrows became an English parish for lack of Italian parishioners. There was no Italian church until 1861, when the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary was established at West Illinois and Orleans Streets. The peak time in Chicago came in the decade 1900 to 1910 when there was an increase of 180% in foreign-born Italians (16,006 to 45,169). About half of the Italian churches were founded in that period (see Graph 3).
Graph 2

No. of Parishioners

Showing Relation between Polish Catholic Churches, Members and Population

- Number of Polish Foreign Born
- Number of Polish Catholics
- Number of Polish Catholic Churches

Number of Polish Churches

Year: 1870 1880 1890 1900 1910 1920

No. of Parishioners

- 200,000
- 150,000
- 100,000
- 50,000

- 40
- 30
- 20
- 10
Shaughnessy offers the explanation that this movement arose because of the attractions America offered.

Italy was one of the most densely populated countries of Europe continuing so despite the amount of emigration because of the high birth rate. However, although there is no general relation between over-population and emigration in the case of most European countries, the case is different with Italy because the resources of the country were not sufficient; or at least not at the present time sufficiently developed to afford means for the adequate support of the large growing population, and emigration was simply a natural consequence.¹

¹Shaughnessy, p. 86.
The founding of Italian churches did not follow the movement of the Italians west on Grand Avenue. There were no new churches founded after 1916 although the Italians had expanded west and north from their places of first settlement. There was no Italian church in South Chicago, although there was a settlement of Italians there.

Chancellor MacGuire stated: "as a group the Italians show less loyalty to the church than practically any other group." Shaughnessy estimates that ninety-seven per cent of the Italians were Catholic. In 1920, 125,000 people listed Italian as their first language; only 72,650 gave their religion as Roman Catholic. The Italians showed more laxity than any other group in establishing their own churches in the diocese.

A complete discussion of these factors and a thorough understanding of the society into which Black Catholics were moving, calls for a brief comment on the other middle-European groups—Bohemians, Slovaks, Lithuanians, Croatians, and Slovenes. A major difficulty is faced in discussing nationals from mid-Europe states such as Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Croatia. Prior to 1919 these states were non-existent and our census does not give available figures for

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1"The Diocese," The New World, XXVII, 18, 2 Nov. 1917, [p. 7].
these national groups.

The Bohemians settled first on the north side near North Avenue just east of Halsted Street. The first parish was established c.1863 on the west side of Des Plaines Avenue at Dekoven Street. After the fire of 1871, the Bohemians began to move west; St. Wenceslaus was moved also. The church had considerable difficulty in obtaining a Bohemian priest. Eventually Bohemians were assimilated into German parishes.

The first Slovak parish was founded in 1898. Four more churches were built in the following decade. This was a period of extensive immigration for this national group. There was only one other parish established before the First World War. The additional Slovak installations were established after 1920. The Slovak churches tended to be in highly industrial areas, for these nationals worked in the steel mills and the stockyards.

Lithuania is adjacent to Poland, but the two nationalities are historically not compatible. Lithuanians consider their language closer to Latin than Slavic and look to Western rather than Eastern Europe for cultural ties. The first parish for Lithuanians was organized in 1886 in Bridgeport, within three blocks of two Polish Catholic churches. All but the first of the Lithuanian churches were established in the period 1895 to 1915. An indication of the way these people poured into Chicago's stockyards district is exemplified by the growth of
Immaculate Conception Parish. This parish at 44th Street and Fairfield Avenue grew from sixty families in 1914 to four hundred in 1916 and six hundred sixty in 1922.¹

Lithuanians have retained remarkable parochial homogeneity to the present. Most of the smaller groups, such as Croatians, Slovenes, and French, were assimilated by parishes in their residential areas.

The Blacks in Chicago did not have a parish of their own until 1893, although registered Black Catholics had been served from pre-Civil War days in Chicago.²

Graph 4 shows the English-speaking parishes which were spread throughout the city. There were 124 English parishes in 1932. In the first twenty years of Catholic history in Chicago there were only four English churches and six "national" churches. Discouragement of retention of European customs as well as the necessity of learning English to survive in America early ceased to contribute to the gradual decline of national religious enclaves.

The year George Mundelein became Archbishop, nine new English parishes were formed. In 1916 the change from the

¹Parish History of Immaculate Conception Church.
²Chicago Tribune, 5 May, 1929; The New World, 5 May, 1929.
GRAPH 4

Parishioners

Churches

Showing Relation between English Catholic Churches and Members

--- English Catholic Population

--- English Catholic Churches

Year 1830 1850 1870 1890 1910 1930

100,000

10,000

100

10
European to American parochial concept gained ascendency. Since 1916 there have been only six national parishes established and of these, two were Slovak and three were Polish, and one was French-English. Prior to 1916 there were only ninety-two English churches and 118 national churches. Curtailed immigration, Americanization of foreign nationals and evolution of an American Roman Catholic Church contributed to the decline of the foreign-speaking parish.

Table 3 shows a summary of the increase or decrease from 1920 to 1932 on the part of the various groups of the Catholic Church in Chicago.

The oldest immigrant wave, the Germans, decreased most significantly. The establishment of European groups as members of the American establishment has invariably led to a decrease in their active participation in Roman Catholic parochial life.¹

Sociologists attribute this phenomenon to the strong identification of socioeconomic success with Protestantism in America. The Germans had had time to assimilate and were absorbed into English-speaking parishes.

Retention of and even increase of national church congregations occurred principally among those of East European

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Number of Catholic Churches</th>
<th>Increasing in Population</th>
<th>Remained Same</th>
<th>Decreasing in Population</th>
<th>Total No. of Parishes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>89</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovaks</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemians</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croats</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italians</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland (Dutch)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syrian</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assyro-Chaldean</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
extraction. Estimations of the reasons the Slavic bloc maintained the foreign character have been made. Autocratic clergy, small property owners who wished their neighborhoods to remain stable, stolid disposition are a sample of the answers which have been offered. ¹ The reasons, doubtless, are rooted in these factors as well as a religious conservatism and a heritage of loyalty to the Church.

Tables 4 and 5 present impressive statistics of organizational growth. The national parishes, which began as harbors of security for strangers in a new land, had become large and powerful installations. Whenever human endeavor succeeds in building a substantial organizational structure, vested interests are desirous of protecting and preserving that structure. Ideally people who were not of a particular nationality were not expected to go to a national church, but anyone attending a national church was free to go to the English-speaking parish in his area.

The ideal and the real are usually at odds; the Church also must contend with de facto and de jure distinctions. This is particularly true in conduct of parochial management. It was not uncommon for pastors of national churches to admonish

¹See Polish Americans (Chicago: privately printed, National Catholic Polish Alliance, 1967), pp. 2-14.
### TABLE 4

**PARISHIONERS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCHES OF CHICAGO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Polish</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Bohemian</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>14,992(2)</td>
<td>1,415(6)</td>
<td>NR</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>16,454</td>
<td>NR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>70,322(13)</td>
<td>42,176(1)</td>
<td>43,176</td>
<td>56,000</td>
<td>32,900</td>
<td>3,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>116,286(18)</td>
<td>42,504(6)</td>
<td>33,575(5)</td>
<td>54,200</td>
<td>29,430</td>
<td>6,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>202,663(5)</td>
<td>48,137</td>
<td>117,077</td>
<td>56,000</td>
<td>32,900</td>
<td>3,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916#</td>
<td>289,139</td>
<td>70,893</td>
<td>194,386</td>
<td>54,200</td>
<td>29,430</td>
<td>6,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>268,237</td>
<td>61,024</td>
<td>220,743</td>
<td>72,650</td>
<td>14,025</td>
<td>3,472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>343,610</td>
<td>59,714</td>
<td>223,504</td>
<td>68,000</td>
<td>12,504</td>
<td>2,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figures reported to Religious Census. For explanation see discussion in early portion of this Chapter.
*Figures for 1880 are families.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Lithuanian</th>
<th>Slovene</th>
<th>Croatian</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>3,350(1)</td>
<td>4,515</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>302,443</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>4,550(1)</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>557,736</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>35,011</td>
<td>7,200</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>11,733</td>
<td>788,213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>40,187c</td>
<td>9,112</td>
<td>21,216</td>
<td>17910</td>
<td>702,319</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>23,135</td>
<td>13,381</td>
<td>4,100</td>
<td>10,800</td>
<td>788,213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>25,883</td>
<td>13,863</td>
<td>7,992</td>
<td>17,910</td>
<td>788,213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table reads: "In 1910 the reports to the Chancellor of the Arch-Diocese of Chicago show that there were 157,077 souls under the care of the Polish Catholic Churches." When churches did not make reports, estimates were made and figures starred are the estimated totals. The number of churches not reporting is indicated by parentheses.

NR indicates No Report and no satisfactory evidence upon which to base estimate.
*Includes Slovaks, Slovenes and Croats.

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1. The cited statistics are based upon manuscripts in the Chancellory Office of the Archdiocese of Chicago.
TABLE 5
PARISHIONERS, FAMILIES, PAROCHIAL SCHOOL PUPILS, BAPTISMS AND CONVERTS FOR 1920 AND 1927

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Group</th>
<th>Parishioners</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>School Pupils</th>
<th>Baptisms</th>
<th>Converts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>268,237</td>
<td>61,274</td>
<td>54,163</td>
<td>9,258</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>61,024</td>
<td>17,022</td>
<td>14,053</td>
<td>2,837</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>220,743</td>
<td>49,767</td>
<td>39,062</td>
<td>11,812</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>72,650</td>
<td>12,176</td>
<td>3,806</td>
<td>4,410</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>23,153</td>
<td>5,023</td>
<td>3,571</td>
<td>2,194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemian</td>
<td>14,025</td>
<td>2,626</td>
<td>2,238</td>
<td>1,106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>3,472</td>
<td></td>
<td>885</td>
<td>176</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovak</td>
<td>8,961</td>
<td>1,908</td>
<td>1,568</td>
<td>553</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian</td>
<td>4,100</td>
<td>6,680</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>418</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenian</td>
<td>4,600</td>
<td></td>
<td>720</td>
<td>126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>16,504</td>
<td>3,655</td>
<td>2,264</td>
<td>794</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5,230</td>
<td>1,188</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>702,319</td>
<td>156,927</td>
<td>122,788</td>
<td>31,534a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table reads: "In 1927 there were 343,610 souls reported in English Catholic Churches, 79,035 families, 66,000 in the schools, 12,258 baptisms, and 1,347 converts."

aNote that although the number of families increased, the number of baptisms decreased.

b245 of the 265 were colored converts.

CMixed includes 2 French, 2 Polish, 1 Italian and 3 German.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Group</th>
<th>Parishioners</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>School Pupils</th>
<th>Baptisms</th>
<th>Converts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>343,610</td>
<td>79,035</td>
<td>66,000</td>
<td>12,256</td>
<td>1,347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>59,714</td>
<td>14,360</td>
<td>13,387</td>
<td>3,047</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>224,504</td>
<td>58,656</td>
<td>44,629</td>
<td>7,179</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>68,000</td>
<td>11,375</td>
<td>4,001</td>
<td>3,906</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>25,883</td>
<td>4,805</td>
<td>3,582</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemian</td>
<td>17,504</td>
<td>2,739</td>
<td>1,981</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>1,062</td>
<td>181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovak</td>
<td>11,207</td>
<td>2,663</td>
<td>2,420</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian</td>
<td>7,792</td>
<td>1,516</td>
<td>1,135</td>
<td>363</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovenian</td>
<td>2,656</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>17,910</td>
<td>6,993</td>
<td>3,740</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>43b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>11,733</td>
<td>4,674</td>
<td>3,111</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>266b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>788,213</td>
<td>187,963</td>
<td>145,357</td>
<td>30,504a</td>
<td>2,109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

German. dOthers: Mexican, Negro, Syrian, Belgian, Assyro-Chaldean, Hollandish, Hungarian.
unfamiliar faces in their congregations and unaccented voices in confessionals to go to their own churches.

Control of the vast religious network was exercised through enforcement of parochialism. The attitude popularly summed up in the son "Stay in Your Own Back Yard" is expressed in George, Cardinal Mundelein's letter of October 26, 1917, in which he advised Father J. A. Burgmer, S.V.D., that St. Monica's Mission would be "reserved" for colored Catholics.¹

In paternalistic benevolence, common among early twentieth century prelates, the Cardinal expressed his desire that Black parishioners should not be "embarrassed" by intrusion of others, and cast the segregation to a crowded facility as a charitable action. Mundelein mentioned his awareness of racial tension, a problem he chose to overlook, and sought to follow the example of New York's Harlem, where a city within a city had, like Topay, "just growed."

Mundelein exhorted the provincial to encourage the Blacks to clear the debt of St. Monica's and to make the parish a monument as the immigrants were doing. Imposition of European Christian tradition upon people whose immediate ancestors were slaves is not as preposterous as it might seem

when one remembers William Henry McKinley's policy of "benevolent assimilation of the little brown brother,"¹ which he proposed during the era Admiral Dewey won the Battle of Manila Bay. Through the florid episcopal rhetoric the condescension shines through the letter addressed to the priest who ministered to the Blacks whom the archbishop considered "fields white with the harvest" [italics mine].

During the World War I period Negroes of every hue flooded into the Black Belt from the South. This influx produced fear in whites; the emotion caused reaction. The 1915-1920 migration destroyed the complacent notion that the Black problem was in the province of the South. The mass movement from rural south to urban north was accompanied by problems. Poorly educated unskilled workers came from the southern border states. For the first time this mass movement north of the Mason-Dixon Line was charted, analyzed and evaluated. Government, church and press deplored and defended developments.

¹ McKinley arrived at the benevolent assimilation policy after prayer and soul searching, he told a group of ministers during a White House conference June 14, 1900. The president's decision included an effort to Christianize the natives of the Philippines (who had been predominantly Catholic for three hundred years).

The migration, which perplexed the estates, arose because of a variety of circumstances. Many Blacks chose to leave the rural South for the same reasons that induced thousands of white farmers to move to the city—diminishing returns in agriculture, the ebbing of opportunity on the farm compared with the city, and discontent with rural life and institutions. But other circumstances peculiar to the situation of the southern Black contributed to the exodus. The system of share tenancy and crop liens often prevented Black farmers from making a profit, and unscrupulous planters and merchants systematically exploited the ignorant tenants. Despite increasing industrialization, economic opportunity in the South did not keep pace with the growing population and the Black, excluded from the new industries, did not share in the opportunities that developed. The caste system had begun to harden in the 1880s; Jim Crow legislation, inferior schools, legal injustice, and lynchings were ever-present factors in southern Black life. Both economic and social conditions, therefore, contributed to what Gunnar Myrdal has called "accumulated migration potentialities."¹

This phenomenal sociological event and these times have been dissected by various groups and scholars. One of the

learned societies which studied these times and the influences they had was The Chicago Round Table of the National Conference of Jews and Christians. In their drive to learn more of these circumstances, they invited Reverend Joseph Eckert, S.V.D., to speak to them. Father Eckert was the first S.V.D. pastor of St. Monica's, St. Elizabeth's and St. Anselm's. These are the original Black Catholic parishes in the city. This pastor exhibited perspicacity in his leadership of the Catholic Negroes for over thirty years.

Father Eckert promoted the philosophy of equality through achievement and opportunity rather than through paternalism or legislation. The priest, who worked with a high degree of effectiveness in the Black community, presents an approach which contrasts markedly to that of Archbishop Mundelein's traditional position. The following extract from an undated talk made by Father Eckert provides present scholars with an interesting account of the Black belt and its problems during a bleak and formative period.¹

Black migration developed a certain coherence; it grew out of Black people's common historical experiences and common grievances. Prior to 1915, southern Blacks had no means of

expressing their discontent because no alternative was open to them. But with the broadening of opportunities in the North, they were able to act positively and independently to improve their status. Here then was a self-conscious, independent racial movement. Exactly like the immigrants from Europe, for to the southern Black the simile was perfect--Europe to America, South to North--but the reception, constrictions and growth for the southern Black immigrant to the North was not "paved with gold." The initial impetus was economic but as the movement took form, as the vision of Canaan put into sharper focus the tyranny of Egypt, the exodus became, in E. Franklin Frazier's words, "one of the most crucial mass movements in the history of the Negro in the United States."^1

As would be expected, all institutions were affected by this great population explosion. The churches, in general, were no exception. The Baptist churches, however, outpaced the Methodist during this period and secured a preeminent position in Chicago which they never lost. In 1916 Chicago had thirty-six Baptist churches and twenty-two Methodist. By 1920 the number of Methodist churches had increased to only thirty-four

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while there were eighty-six Baptist churches in the city.¹

Many of the new Baptist congregations were ephemeral little store-fronts but others, although beginning in stores or private homes, grew into large and substantial congregations. Pilgrim, Progressive, Provident, Liberty, and Monumental Baptist Churches, all founded between 1916 and 1919, began as prayer meetings in the homes of migrants who had recently arrived from the South. Within a decade, all of these congregations had acquired their own buildings and boasted memberships of over five hundred. Primarily migrant churches, they provided a middle ground between the formal, old-line, northern congregations and the emotional, uninhibited store-fronts.²

The churches affiliated with white denominations were least affected by the migration. Most of these were upper-class urbanized churches with little to offer the recent arrivals. There was one exception—St. Monica's Roman Catholic Church. St. Monica's beginning was not as conspicuous as some other parishes. In 1871, during the great fire, uncompleted


²Reports on Pilgrim, Progressive, Provident, Liberty, and Monumental Baptist Churches in Illinois Writers' Project Files of the Works Progress Administration, George C. Hall Branch, Chicago Public Library, cited hereafter as "Illinois Writers' Project Files."
Holy Name Cathedral was destroyed. Bishop Foley bought old St. Mary's Church at Eldridge Court and Wabash Avenue from the Plymouth Congregationalist group for a temporary cathedral.

A decade later, the pastor of Old St. Mary's, Father Joseph Roles, and his assistant, Father Lonergan, having noticed that the Black Catholics of the city were a completely shepherdless flock, gathered them together to form a club—the Augustine Society.¹

The members visited the sick, fed the hungry and buried the dead. Their members' good example in performing corporal works of mercy converted many Blacks to Catholicism. In 1882 permission was granted to have their own church services. For the first time Mass was celebrated for the colored Catholics of Chicago, as such, at their own request in the basement of Old St. Mary's Church by Father McMullen in 1882.² In a real sense one might consider this event as the inauguration of the Church's involvement and concern with what was to become the most difficult immigrant wave for the city to absorb.

The Augustine Society requested Bishop Foley to obtain

¹Parish History of Old St. Mary's provides the commentary on the formation of the Augustine Society.

the services of Reverend John Augustine Tolton as their spiritual director. The Bishop agreed and in 1889 Father Tolton arrived in Chicago from his home in Quincy, Illinois. He continued to hold services in Old St. Mary's basement for several years.

Father Tolton and his parishioners constantly petitioned for a parish of their own. In 1891 permission was granted. Mrs. O'Neill, a white woman, donated $10,000 for the purchase of the northwest corner of 36th Street and Dearborn Street.¹

The St. Augustine Society gave fairs, picnics, and socials and raised enough funds to start construction. White Catholics donated liberally. The church was dedicated to St. Monica, the mother of the African Bishop, St. Augustine. When the building was about half completed, construction was halted for lack of funds. A temporary roof was put on and services were begun in 1893. Father Tolton died four years later.

With the death of Father Tolton in 1897, the care of St. Monica's was entrusted to Father Daniel Riordan, pastor of St. Elizabeth's Church at 41st Street and Wabash Avenue. St. Elizabeth's was English, white, and affluent. Father Riordan sent a priest to hear confessions on Saturdays and on Sundays and Holy Days the priest said two Masses.²

¹Ibid., p. 15.
²St. Elizabeth's Parish History, [pp. 17-18].
Father Riordan realized that his mission required a resident priest. At his request, the Archbishop appointed Father John Morris pastor of St. Monica's. Father Morris took charge in 1909. In 1918 Archbishop Mundelein requested the Society of the Divine Word Missionaries to take over the mission.

St. Monica's had drawn its membership chiefly from Blacks who had been Catholics in the South. The large migration from Louisiana swelled its ranks between 1915 and 1920. The growth in the Black Catholic population in Chicago came at a time when anti-Black sentiment among the white Catholic groups in the city was mounting rapidly. Archbishop Mundelein formulated a policy that resulted in almost complete racial segregation within the Archdiocese.

The Archbishop said that he took this action so that his "colored children shall not feel uncomfortable in the Catholic Church." To give a semblance of equity, Mundelein added that he had "no intention of excluding colored Catholics from any of the other churches in the district."¹

In practice, however, the Archbishop's order provided white parishes with an excuse for excluding Blacks. Many white priests refused to marry and bury Blacks. Some clerics would

¹George W. Mundelein, Two Crowded Years (Chicago: Extension Press, 1918), pp. 291-300.
not even hear their confessions. Instead, they ordered them to go to their own church which the Archbishop had set aside for them.¹

The sprawling growth of the Chicago Archdiocese, which paralleled the expansion of the city itself, developed on parochial lines. The successive waves of immigrants from Europe required houses of worship, schools and recreational facilities to which parishioners would relate linguistically, spiritually, intellectually and emotionally. Nationalism reached its zenith during the 1880s when European leaders stressed differences rather than similarities in endeavors to give subjects pride and self-satisfaction which makes the populace easier to control.

The Catholic Church filled the needs of the various nationalities by establishing national parishes. As population shifted and neighborhoods which had been peopled by one group were taken over by the next immigrant wave, the national complexion of the churches changed. Many became Americanized. Rather than leading immigrant peoples to assimilation, the Church took a traditional course. It provided a link with the familiar.

The territorial expansion which took place across the

United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has something in common with the parochial growth that took place in Chicago. The Church met the desires of its congregations by constructing parishes in accordance with national preferences, even when the wisdom of parish clusters in terms of population formations made such expansion dubious. Thus the Church expanded its territory on the basis of what immigrants felt to be their territorial imperative. In surveying the development which occurred from the beginning of the diocese until the mid twentieth century, the changes on parochial levels are closely related to migration.

With the exception of Lithuanian and Black parishes, all other churches over fifty years old have experienced a change in the ethnic structure of their congregations. It is the stability the Black parishes retained which makes the consideration of their development valuable to the historian. In a city which has grown to the second largest in the United States, and which has witnessed more upheavals than most major metropolitan areas of the world in a relatively short space of history, the study of Black Catholic parochial education in Chicago may be considered a microcosm of developments which have occurred in other American urban centers.
CHAPTER II

DEMOGRAPHY OF BLACK CHICAGO

The history of Chicago may be viewed in terms of continuous conflicts between various economic, national, and racial groups. The conflicts and experiences preceding the growth of the Black population are harbingers of the peculiar tribulations Blacks experienced.

The earliest white history entails Europeans wrestling from the Indians a patch of land of horrible smell and marshy footing. Eight miles from the garlic patch the Indians called Chickagou was a river down which one could sail to the Mississippi and then to the Gulf of Mexico. For the Indians, Chickagou was a portage area. Enterprising traders and builders saw the area as the link between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi.

During the twenty years between its incorporation and the outbreak of the Civil War, Chicago became a center for speculation in farm lands, canal rights-of-way, railroads, and farm machinery. The pioneers' dream was finally realized in 1848 when the Illinois-Michigan Canal linked the lake with the Mississippi. Investment capital from eastern banks, savings
from migrants' pockets, and profits from farmers' milk jars financed early Chicago. The town began to prosper. Men gravitate to locations where money is to be made. Cyrus McCormick's farm implement store and George Pullman's machine shop provided jobs and material for the burgeoning work force.

In this pre-Civil War period, Chicago acquired the reputation of being a rugged town, when differences of opinion were often settled in a direct and brutal manner. In the 1850s many of the Protestant native-born Easterners, who had relocated in Chicago reacted violently against the customs of their Irish Catholic and German neighbors, particularly Sunday beer drinking. City officials, influenced by the semi-secret, anti-foreign "Know-Nothing Party," eventually succeeded in placing heavy license fees upon saloons and beer gardens and in passing Sunday blue laws. The foreign-born responded with a full-scale riot which was stopped with artillery.

This penchant for direct action was carried over into the anti-slavery struggle. Here, however, the lines were drawn in a different fashion, with Easterners, Germans, and Scandanavians united against the Catholic, pro-slavery Irish. All factions were more concerned with the prosperity to be had from the war between the states than with the slavery question.

The Civil War brought an economic boom. After the conflict, Chicago labored packing meat, shipping wheat.
Armour, Swift, Pullman, McCormick, Ogden, Field and others made large fortunes.

The stench of the stockyards had long since replaced the odor of garlic. The city Carl Sandburg was to call "hog butcher of the world" was famous before the inferno of 1871. The Chicago Fire served as the lynch-pin on which Chicago was transported from a growing western city to a powerful, self-reliant metropolis.

The post-fire generation was brash, and as the Railroad Riots of 1877 illustrate, inclined to action rather than negotiation. The riots began in the East and soon spread to Chicago. Pitched battles were fought in the streets and wealthy families fled the city in panic. Nine years later there was the Haymarket Riot.

This cause célèbre arose from the antagonism between capital and labor, as did numerous outbreaks in the late 1880s. Foreign-born workers fought for immediate labor legislation and talked of socialism. The city's wealthy were interested primarily in a cheap labor force. The leaders tried to foist off placebos, and proposed "moral reforms." Labor was in no mood for frivolous social exercises. The economic panic of 1893 had the city in its grips. Wage slashes and unemployment were swelling the ranks of the indigents who were sleeping on park benches. The Columbian Exposition
attracted almost as many job seekers as tourists. Discontent manifested itself dramatically when workers at the Pullman Palace Car plant went on strike. Eugene V. Debs' American Railway Union asked unsuccessfully for an arbitration. Debs then ordered railway men not to handle any trains using Pullman cars. The resulting transportation paralysis caused national panic. Federal troops were sent in to crush the strike, because the train stoppage interfered with mail delivery. For the second time in Chicago's history, arms were used to quell a civilian uprising. Debs went to jail for six months, despite Clarence Darrow's classic defense. By the time Debs was released he emerged as America's first prominent, native-born socialist.

Labor feuds were as consistent as attempts at reform in Chicago. Stopping vice and political graft made newspaper headlines as often as crusades to control "predatory big business." The free reign which Hinky Dink Kenna, Bath House John Coghlin and Big Bill Thompson enjoyed indicates the necessity if ineffectiveness of efforts to clean up the city.

During Thompson's terms as mayor, the composition of Chicago's population altered. At the outbreak of World War I the city was two-thirds native white and one-third foreign-born. When it ended, the proportion for foreign-born had been reduced by six per cent and over 50,000 Blacks had migrated
from the South to meet the demands of an expanded industry. In a very real sense this influx constituted another immigrant wave. This growth of the Black population, 1890-1915, from less than 15,000 to over 50,000 by the start of World War I is significant because these people were absorbed into the growing population. White Chicagoans took no notice of the newcomers. George Ade’s novel, *Pink Marsh*, which came out in Chicago, 1903, is the pioneer drawing of the urban Negro in fiction. The main character, a bootblack, is a "fellow you see around." For most Chicagoans the Black was unseen. Black arrivals clustered into increasingly constricted sections of the city. In the late nineteenth century, although most Blacks lived in certain sections of the south side, they were interspersed among whites. There were few all Black blocks. By 1915 the Negro ghetto had taken shape.

From the beginning of Chicago's history, most Blacks lived on the south side of the two-fisted city. As early as 1850, eighty-two per cent of the Black population lived in an area bounded by the Chicago River on the north, Sixteenth Street on the south, the south branch of the river on the west and Lake Michigan on the east.¹

The famous South Side Black Belt emerged. This narrow finger of land was wedged between industry, railyards and fashionable Wabash Avenue. By 1900 the Black Belt stretched from the downtown business district as far south as Thirty-ninth Street. But there were sizeable Black enclaves, usually a few square blocks each, in several other sections of the city.¹ The Thirteenth Ward's Negro community stretched along West Lake Street from Ashland Avenue to Western Avenue. The Eighteenth Ward's Blacks lived in an abandoned Italian immigrant neighborhood on the near west side near Hull House. On the near north side, Blacks had begun to settle in the Italian Seventeenth Ward. On the south side, beyond the Black Belt, communities of upper- and middle-class Negroes had emerged in Hyde Park, Woodlawn, Englewood and Morgan Park.²

Despite this concentration of Blacks in enclaves, the

¹Census figures for 1900 are available only on a ward basis. Because of the size of the subdivisions, these statistics must be used with caution.

Black population of the city was still relatively well distributed in 1900. Nineteen of the city's thirty-five wards had a Black population of at least five-tenths per cent of the total population of the ward and fourteen wards were at least one per cent Black. Only two wards had a Black population of more than ten per cent. In 1898, just over a quarter of Chicago's Blacks lived in precincts that were more than fifty per cent Black and over thirty per cent lived in precincts that were at least ninety-five per cent white.¹ As late as 1910, Blacks were less highly segregated from native whites than were Italian immigrants.²

Between 1900 and 1910 several significant changes in the population pattern of Blacks occurred. The growth rate, which had far outpaced the white growth rate in the 1890s, declined from one hundred eleven per cent to forty-six per cent, and the proportion of Blacks in the population increased from 1.9 per

¹Paul Cressy, who compiled these figures, used a school census of uncertain accuracy for his 1898 tabulations. But in the absence of statistics for subdivisions smaller than wards in any federal census prior to 1910, these data are the best available. Cressy, "The Succession of Cultural Groups in the City of Chicago," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1930, p. 93.

cent to only two per cent. Despite this stabilization, the Black population was still composed largely of migrants. Over seventy-seven per cent of Chicago's Blacks were born outside of Illinois. This represents only a slight drop from 1900 and was almost five times as great as the corresponding figure for white Chicagoans.\(^1\) Only three major Black communities in the country—Los Angeles, Denver, and Oklahoma City, all young western cities with highly mobile populations—had higher proportions of out-of-state migrants than Chicago. Even such burgeoning industrial centers as Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland had a lower percentage of Blacks born in other states.\(^2\)

Black residential patterns for 1910 can be seen most clearly through the use of census tract data. Of 431 census tracts in the city, Blacks could be found in all but ninety-four; eighty-eight were at least one per cent Black. Four tracts were over fifty per cent Black, but no tract was more than sixty-one per cent Black. Despite greater concentration, there were still few all-Black neighborhoods in Chicago.

\(^1\) See Table 2.

The eight or nine neighborhoods that had been distinguishable as areas of Black settlement in 1900 remained the core of the Chicago Black community in 1910. The principal South Side Black Belt began to widen as Blacks increased in number, not only laterally into previously all-white bordering areas, but also southward into Hyde Park and Woodlawn.¹

Statistical data reveal several definite trends in the pattern of Black population in Chicago in the early twentieth century. The growth rate between 1900 and 1910 had decreased from the previous decade, but was still fifty per cent greater than that of whites. Most of the population increase was the result of migration, particularly from the nearby border states. Blacks could be found throughout much of the city, and the Black neighborhoods were by no means exclusively Black. But the concentration of Blacks in two enclaves on the south and west sides was increasing. As the population grew, Blacks were not spreading throughout the city but were becoming confined to a clearly delineated area of Black settlement.

The increasing physical separation of Chicago's Blacks was one reflection of a growing pattern of segregation and discrimination in the early 1900s. As the Black community grew and opportunities for interracial conflict increased, so a

¹Chicago Defender, 30 May, 1914.
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*Middle West totals (including Illinois): 10,276 and 34.5 per cent.*
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<sup>a</sup> Region of Birth, 1900-1910, includes the North Central States (Illinois, Middle West), except Illinois.

<sup>b</sup> Figures for Oklahoma, 1910, are not available.
TABLE 2--continued

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<th>Area of Birth</th>
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Summary

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<td>Total Negro</td>
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a Middle West totals (including Illinois): 1900-36,612 and 43.3%; 1910-44,216 and 40.9%.

b Includes Indian Territory.
pattern of discrimination and segregation became more pervasive. And perhaps the most critical aspect of interracial conflict came as a result of Negro attempts to secure adequate housing.

The South Side Black Belt could expand in only two directions in the early twentieth century—south and east. To the north lay the business districts, which were moving south. Commercial and light industry pushed the Black population out of the area between Twelfth and Twenty-second Streets. West of Wentworth Avenue was a district of low-income immigrant homes, interspersed with railroad yards and light manufacturing. The lack of adequate housing made this area undesirable for Black expansion. East of State Street, on the other hand, was a neighborhood suitable for Black residential requirements. This area bounded by Twelfth and Thirty-ninth Streets, State Street and Lake Michigan, had, in the 1880s and early 1890s, included the most fashionable streets in the city—Prairie and Calumet Avenues. It was at Thirty-fifth and Calumet Streets where Father John A. Tolton died of a stroke. He was returning to St. Monica's Church at Thirty-eighth Street and Dearborn Street where he was pastor. It was just about this time, 1910, that some of the wealthy homeowners were moving to the North Shore area and leaving behind aging, but very large, comfortable homes. South of Thirty-ninth Street was an even more attractive residential area—Hyde Park–Kenwood—and across
Washington Park there was Woodlawn and Englewood. The Catholic parishes lying in the path of this movement were St. Elizabeth's, Holy Angels, Corpus Christi and St. Anselm's. It is the encroachment of the Blacks into the Washington Park area that triggered the tragic race riot of 1919.

If no major riot occurred before 1915, there were at least several preliminary skirmishes that set the pattern for future and more devastating confrontations.\(^1\) Bubbly Creek, a body of sewage waste from the stockyards had been used as a disposal since 1912 for the bodies of Blacks who were killed by white workers. Numerous Blacks were thrown into the slough during the riots of 1915, 1919, 1921, 1922, and 1924.

Black expansion did not always mean conflict, nor did it mean that a neighborhood would shortly become exclusively Black. In 1910 not more than a dozen city blocks on the south side were entirely Black;\(^2\) and in many mixed areas, Negroes and whites lived together harmoniously.\(^3\) But as Blacks became very

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\(^1\)For a consideration of the character of the neighborhoods surrounding the Black Belt, see Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago*, pp. 108-111, 113-17, 205-09, 212-13.


\(^3\)Chicago Commission on Race Relations, pp. 108-113.
numerous east of State Street and south of Fifty-first Street, friction increased and white hostility grew. The whites were often successful in keeping the Blacks out, either by buying the houses for sale or coercing the real estate brokers, or by actual violence to Black families that did move into the area. When their efforts failed, the whites gradually moved out, leaving the neighborhood predominantly, although rarely exclusively, Black.

In 1900 three Black families brought about a "nervous prostration epidemic" on Vernon Avenue.¹ Five years later, in 1905, an attempt to oust Blacks from a Forestville Avenue building resulted in a dismissed court action.² In 1911 a committee of Champlain Avenue residents dealt with a Black family in the neighborhood by the "judicious use of a wagon load of bricks." According to the Record-Herald the incident approached "the operations of the Ku Klux Klan."³ Englewood residents, two years later, did not have to go to such extremes. The objectionable party, this time a white man with a Black wife, agreed to sell his property to a hastily organized

¹Chicago Inter-Ocean, 19 Aug., 1900.
²Chicago Record-Herald, 9 March, 1905.
³Ibid., 7 Feb., 1911.
"neighborhood improvement association."¹

Perhaps the most serious incident, and the one which provides the most insight into the nature of the housing conflict, occurred in Hyde Park—Chicago's most persistent racial trouble spot in 1909. A separate town until 1892, Hyde Park was an area of pleasant, tree-shaded streets, large, comfortable homes, and a vigorous cultural life centered around the new and thriving University of Chicago. Blacks were not strangers to the community. Many of them, mostly house servants and hotel employees who worked in the neighborhood, had clustered on Lake Park Avenue near Fifty-fifth Street, on the eastern edge of Hyde Park. Now this community began to expand, and Blacks occupied homes in nearby white blocks.²

White Hyde Parkers responded to the Black "invasion" with a concerted drive to keep Blacks out of white areas. The Hyde Park Improvement Protective Club was organized in the fall of 1908, headed by a prominent attorney, Francis Harper. The group soon boasted 350 members, "including some of the wealthiest dwellers on the South Side."³ In the summer of 1909,

¹Chicago Daily Defender, 10 May, 1913, p. 1.
²Record-Herald, 22 Aug., 1909, p. 4; Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 114.
the club issued a manifesto: Black residents of Hyde Park must confine themselves to the "so-called Districts." Real estate agents were to refuse to sell property in white blocks to Blacks. Landlords were to hire only white janitors. To implement this policy, the Club appointed a committee to purchase property owned by Blacks in white blocks, and to offer bonuses to Black-renters, who would surrender their leases. Moreover, the Club threatened to blacklist any real estate firm that defied its edict. "The districts which are now white," said Harper, "must remain white. There will be no compromise."¹

Despite the efforts of the Black residents of Hyde Park to counter the activities with indignation meetings and boycotts, the white campaign continued. The neighborhood newspaper supported the Improvement Club and Harper maintained that he had "received hosts of letters commending the course of the organization."² When the Club was unable to persuade a Black family to move voluntarily, the neighbors used more direct tactics. Vandals broke into a Black home on Greenwood Avenue at night and smashed all of the windows. The family moved the next day.³ In September the Club announced a boycott of

³Ibid., 22 Aug., 1909.
merchants who sold goods to Blacks living in white neighborhoods. It urged separate playgrounds and tennis courts for Blacks in Washington Park and, in its annual report, advocated segregation of the public schools. "It is only a question of time," a Club spokesman predicted, "when there will be separate schools for Negroes throughout Illinois." The group operated more quietly after 1909, but it had achieved its major goal. The little Black community on Lake Park Avenue dwindled in size, and the rest of Hyde Park remained white for forty years.

The Hyde Park episode illustrates the intensification of anti-Black feeling in the early twentieth century. This feeling could have created strong sentiment among whites for a return to formalized segregation--separate schools and recreation facilities. Some white Chicagoans spoke of the necessity for a residential segregation ordinance. These proposals were characterized and promoted as the intellectual and socially-correct response to cultural pollution and economic status maintenance. Upper-class whites' exclusion of Blacks was done by manipulation. Lower-class exclusion of Blacks was done by violence.

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1 Chicago Commission on Race Relations, p. 114.
2 Ibid.
3 Record-Herald, 5 Apr., 1911, p. 1.
When the minority group is negligible, it is ignored. If the group grows, the majority is unable to remain diffident. The Chicago population had a heritage of change if not upheaval. In the course of rapid commercial expansion and financial growth, outbreaks of physical violence occurred. City fathers and dwellers were inclined to regard these clashes as growing pains, when in the course of the commercial scramble they took time to examine the violence which broke out. With a tough heritage, the citizenry becomes accustomed to countenancing violence. Because all immigrants had experienced adversities in acclimatization, struggle was generally considered to be a way of life. When a better living standard had been achieved, children of immigrants guarded the gain against any whom they believed would encroach upon their achievements. Native born and immigrant whites considered Negroes to be infringers. Among the most effective means of keeping the Blacks in subservience was limiting their areas of residence and their opportunities for employment.

Hostility bred by job competition, anger fed by frustration, and intolerance amplified by social scientists who advocated Social Darwinism, led the whites of all classes to unite in efforts to block Blacks from taking over Chicago's south side. In 1900 almost sixty-five per cent of the Black men and over eighty per cent of the Black women worked in
domestic or personal service trades. They were unable to gain a foothold in industry and commerce. Some Blacks were engaged in the professions which required talent, rather than unobtainable formal training. Careers for Blacks in music, the theater, and in the clergy were acceptable to whites. Very few Blacks were engaged in the legal, medical, and teaching professions.

Negroes entered occupations that were not desirable enough to be contested by whites. When white workers sought jobs in trades dominated by Blacks, they were usually able to drive the Blacks out. In the nineteenth century, many Blacks had worked as barbers and coachmen, but by the early 1900s, whites had replaced most of them in these capacities.¹

Several factors combined to keep Blacks out of industry and trade—especially the skilled and semi-skilled jobs. Most employers were not disposed to hire Blacks when white labor was plentiful. With open immigration from Europe a labor shortage seemed impossible. Skilled Black workers usually had acquired their experience in the South and were unable to meet high northern standards. Trade unions refused to admit Black

workers on an equal basis. Some unions completely excluded Blacks through clauses in their constitutions; others admitted Blacks, but then segregated them in subordinate locals, excluded them from specific projects, or made no effort to find them jobs.¹

Civil Service jobs theoretically were open to all without discrimination. State law required competitive examinations and appointment on the basis of merit for a wide range of municipal jobs.² The inability of many Blacks, particularly recent migrants from the South, to compete successfully on the examinations partially explains why few Blacks were employed by Civil Service.

The only way Blacks had to enter basic trades in the early twentieth century in Chicago was as strike-breakers. The use of Black scab labor heightened prejudice in the city. Bitterness and distrust between white and Black workers developed. During the 1904 stockyards strike and during the 1905 teamsters strike, the importation of non-union Black labor set off the most serious racial conflicts of the pre-war period.

¹Erie W. Hardy, "Relation of the Negro to Trade Unionism," unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1911, p. 73.
The use of non-union members to break strikes was nothing new in the meatpacking industry, but the 1904 strike was the first in which Blacks played a major role in crushing the union. From the packers' point of view, Blacks were ideal strike breakers. They generally had no scruples about working as scabs. Those brought in from the South were almost totally ignorant of the principles of trade unionism, while those who had had experience with unions had generally found them discriminatory. Moreover, the importation of Blacks in large numbers created panic and fear within union ranks.  

As the strike continued through the summer of 1904, the strikers focused their hostility upon the most visible symbol of their frustration—the Black workers. During the first weeks, as the packers announced the gradual resumption of operations with non-union men, the strikers began attacking the scabs as they entered the plants. Almost all of the victims were Blacks.  

The most serious incident occurred when a mob, estimated at between two and five thousand, stoned two hundred Blacks who, with police protection, were attempting to leave the

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Hammond Company packing plant. 1

The strikers and their sympathizers characterized the southern workers as "big, ignorant, vicious Negroes, picked up from the criminal elements of the Black belts of the country." 2

The antipathy toward the importation of southern Blacks helped create support for the union cause. The Ashland Avenue Business Men's Association, for instance, protested to the mayor about the strikebreakers:

These men and women are a menace to the city of Chicago; for to any responsible man it is plain that such people cannot permanently be retained by the trust and hence must be poured out upon the city at the beginning of the winter season; they are a menace as future paupers. 3

Although race relations before World War I were peaceful by 1919 standards, an ominous, if muted, current of racial violence was manifest. The stockyards and teamsters strikes and the disputes over housing occasioned the most serious outbreaks. Lynch mobs threatened violence frequently. In 1900 a crowd of angry whites stoned a Clark Street building in an attempt to capture a Black who had been arrested for attacking a seven-

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1Ibid., 22 July, 1904, p. 1; Chicago Record-Herald, 22 July, 1904.


3Ibid.
year-old white girl. On another occasion, five thousand whites left a sandlot baseball game to chase six Blacks, who were fighting with white men. Four of the Blacks were arrested, and the mob shouting "lynch them" then tried unsuccessfully to wrest them from the police.

By 1915 Blacks had become a special group in the social structure of pre-war Chicago. They could not be classified as merely another of Chicago's many ethnic groups. The systematic proscription they suffered in housing and jobs, the discrimination they often experienced in public accommodations and even in municipal services, as well as continual harassment set them apart from the mainstream of Chicago life.

This social milieu caused a selection process. Black men and women had to assume leadership roles, and to liaison positions to unite and try to save their people in Chicago. Leaders, however, were not abundant. Several dedicated, talented, clear-thinking people did come to the fore. This elite exerted some influence in amelioration of deplorable conditions.

With manumition only four generations old, Blacks often

1Chicago Tribune, 21 Nov, 1900.
2Record-Herald, 13 June, 1910.
echoed Booker T. Washington's words, "Do not judge us by the heights we have attained but by the depths from which we have come."

In a society that preaches equality of opportunity, Blacks inevitably resented the existence of the many restrictions that hampered progress. They were thoroughly American in their acceptance of the optimistic dogmas of betterment and in their insistent soft-voiced demand that they be given a fair chance to demonstrate ability on single and collective bases. Presence of a job quota system, city-wide ghetto mentality, and denial of certain civil liberties, bred widespread discontent. Such dissatisfaction becomes most apparent in periods of economic crisis or war, when extraordinary pressures explode upon those who suffer more than the majority.

Black discontent was present in Chicago during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Frustration grew because foreigners assimilated more rapidly into the mainstream of life in Chicago than American-born immigrants with different pigmentation. The real and felt injustices rarely produced spontaneous violence. Blacks were fearful that complaints would bring reprisals. Violence, they knew, would usually result in forfeiting life. Occasionally social movements to obtain a full measure of civil rights were organized. Attempts to change the status quo were less than spirited. In part, the lack of esprit
is attributable to the structured class system within the Black community.

The rhetoric of Chicago's black leadership in the early twentieth century frequently reflected the national debate between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. And the lines were frequently drawn on the basis of this ideological feud. Yet, it would be misleading to suppose that developments in Chicago were simply national developments in microcosm. Chicago produced no Marcus Garvey, nor did she nurture a DuBois or a Washington at this period.

The new leaders, who did emerge in Chicago in response to local conditions and problems, espoused a self-help ideology during the early twentieth century when white hostility increased. The adherents of patience, self-help and racial unity replaced the proponents of militant protest as the city's color line hardened and the prospects for integration grew dimmer.

On the national level Booker T. Washington's dominance of Black affairs forced many Chicago leaders to devote much of their time and energy to support or to oppose the Tuskegee philosophy. Given the ideological debate over Black goals, the rise of a new leadership class, and the growing size of the Chicago Negro community, it seems strange that the racial action organizations had such limited success. Several conditions in
the community, however, crippled their efforts. Despite the growing population, the leadership class remained small. Organizations splintered, but they continued to be headed by the same handful of leaders.

White hostility and population growth combined to create the physical ghetto of the South Side. The response of the Black leadership created the institutional ghetto. Between 1900 and 1915, Chicago's Negro leaders built a complex of community organizations, institutions, and enterprises that made the South Side not simply an area of Black concentration but a city within a city. The tightening color bar encouraged the development of a new economic and political leadership with its primary loyalty to a segregated Black community. By meeting discrimination with self-help rather than militant protest, this leadership converted the dream of an integrated city into the vision of a Black metropolis.¹

The oldest and most stable Black institution in Chicago was the church. The first Black church in the city, Quinn Chapel, A.M.E., was founded in 1847. By the end of the nineteenth century, Chicago had over a dozen Black churches. Between 1900 and 1915 the number of Black churches doubled. The

¹For a complete sociological investigation of this syndrome and other patterns of Black social action, see St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1945).
majority of these churches were affiliated with the two largest Negro denominations, African Methodist Episcopal and Baptist. New churches opened as the community grew, and perpetual dis­sension within the established congregations resulted in the formation of offshoots. Most of the Baptist churches sprang from the Olivet congregation, the oldest and largest Negro Baptist Church in the city. The A. M. E. churches were gener­ally founded by dissident parishioners from Quinn Chapel and Bethel Church.¹

During the late nineteenth century, some educated and relatively affluent Blacks gravitated to the major white denom­inations—Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, Congregational, and Roman Catholic. Most of these religious adherants had a heritage which dated from the days of their ancestors’ cap­tivity.

In the antebellum period a number of slaves had been assigned the religion of their masters. Blacks had been

¹The most complete source of information on the history of individual churches is the material on churches in "The Negro in Illinois," a file of reports and interviews compiled by the Illinois Writers' Project of the WPA (George C. Hall Branch of the Chicago Public Library). Most of this material is based on interviews with ministers and lay leaders. The files also in­clude some souvenir booklets and anniversary programs that contain historical sketches of particular churches. A great deal of the material has been synthesized in St. Clair Drake, "Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Com­munity," Report of Official Project 465-54-3-386 Works Progress Administration, mimeographed (Chicago, 1940), pp. 29-164. For a good discussion of nineteenth century churches and their minis­ters, see Chicago Tribune, 19 Nov., 1893.
subjected to demeaning treatment in Catholic and Protestant churches in the South. Footmen's boxes in the balconies of urban churches and "nigger pews" in rural chapels were assigned to Blacks. Negroes were permitted to sit any place in the congregation in northern churches before the Civil War, but during the Reconstruction those who had fought ostensibly to free the slaves restricted freedmen's liberty. Colored pews were labeled or tacitly assigned in the rear.

In Chicago Black Catholics worshipped in the basement of Old St. Mary's Church. When they became large and conspicuous, Blacks were assigned a parish at Thirty-eighth and Dearborn Streets, under the care of the first Black Catholic priest in America.

Father John Augustine Tolton arrived in 1889 to serve a congregation of nearly 1,500 souls. When Father Tolton died in 1897, St. Monica's reverted to the status of a mission. It did not again have a full-time priest until 1910. The Catholic Church expended slight effort to proselytize among Chicago Blacks at this time.¹

The white world justified itself periodically for its inequitable behavior. In 1902 the American Economic Association published a study by Joseph Alexander Tillinghast entitled *The Negro in Africa and America*. Like the earlier work of Frederick Hoffman, Tillinghast's study attempted to bring some sort of synthesis to accumulated evidence of race differences. He suggested that those characteristics of the American Negro which were most debasing are faults which he shared with his African ancestors and, therefore, were not attributable to the effects of slavery. While the institution of slavery had schooled the Negro in the fundamentals of Western Civilization, environmental influences had been unable to cope with the overwhelming force of heredity.¹ Those attributes most stereotyped in the Black indolence, carelessness, brutality, deception, and passion were not the products of American slavery, but were uneradicable elements that formed "an integral part of the West African's nature long before any slavery ever touched our shores."² The force of race heredity "obscurely but irresistibly dominated Negro life at every point," and the environmental influences of slavery were powerless "to set aside a fundamental


²Ibid., p. 148.
law of nature." The nearly nine million Negroes in the American population constituted an ethnic group "so distinct from the dominant race," Tillinghast wrote, that the United States was "threatened with the inability to assimilate them."\(^1\)

This brand of Social Darwinism influenced ethnologists and geneticists, who continued to promulgate the ideas of racial inferiority. The concept of racial superiority, which inspired the attempted genocide of non-Ayrians by Nazis during Hitler's regime, is a ramification of this inept theory.

During a period when the town, which has been called America's most masculine city, was slugging its way to the title of metropolis, violence became part of the way of many lives. Blacks, who migrated to Chicago, the city of fabled economic opportunity, were regarded as threats to whites' financial advancement. Color discrimination in housing and employment created Black ghettos. These areas mushroomed as population increased. Racial tensions exploded periodically, but Negroes frequently opted for patient suffering, because they feared the inevitable reprisals from the majority. The white majority evolved a philosophy which substantiated its actions. This viciousness could mask as respectability.

The demographic lines cut up physical areas and through generations of thinking; they encompassed every area of life, and finally made racial considerations a major American issue of twentieth century thought.

\(^1\)Tillinghast, p. 149.
CHAPTER III

BLACK CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

People, who are deprived of economic opportunities and who must struggle under the constraints of a philosophical notion that they are naturally inferior, need educational facilities, which are at least equal to those of the populace who inaugurated the philosophy. Blacks were in desperate need of outstanding instruction.

The first Black champion of Catholic education for his Chicago brethren was Father John Augustine Tolton, a slave who became a priest.¹ Tolton was educated for the clergy in Rome. He was ordained, 1889. Shortly after he sang his first Mass Father Tolton came to Chicago to minister to his race. In 1881 Father Lonergan, assistant pastor of Old St. Mary's, had formed the Augustine Society, a club for Black Catholics, which met in the basement of the temporary cathedral at Ninth Street and Wabash Avenue.

Because Father Tolton was the first American Negro to

receive ordination, his first Mass was covered in the national press. A committee of the Augustines requested Bishop Foley to obtain Father Tolton's services.

In 1891 Father Tolton obtained permission for the building of a Black parish. Father Tolton's parish was to be built one block west of State Street and one block south of Thirty-fifth Street. The donation of $10,000 from Mrs. Owen (Nora) O'Neill secured the lot, and construction was begun.¹

The Augustine Society gave fairs, picnics, and socials and thus raised a considerable sum of money. White Catholics donated liberally.² When the building was about half completed, construction had to be stopped, because funds were depleted. A temporary roof was put on and services were begun in 1893.

The future looked very bright for Father Tolton's little flock. About thirty people had joined him in Old St. Mary's. Now, in St. Monica's, his congregation grew by leaps and bounds. He lived in a small house behind the church with his mother and sister keeping house for him. He had a charming personality. His voice, when he sang high Masses, was beautiful. His culture was remarkable—the eternal city had left its mark on him. His community

¹St. Monica's Parish History [p. 2]
²Ibid.
was inter-racial. He dreamed and planned for the day when his people would finish the structure he had begun and have a building to which they could point with the greatest pride as their very own.¹

Most of the writing about Father Tolton is hagiographic. The man struggled to build a church for Blacks. The well-educated cleric undoubtedly encountered much prejudice and endured numerous frustrations in his efforts to build a Black Catholic church. He counselled his flock and made efforts to aid them to better themselves. Father Tolton's educational efforts were on a non-structured basis. He wrote Katherine Drexel three times for a company of sisters to establish a school, but since Mother Drexel was not at this time a professed religious, she was unable to comply with his request. Father Tolton taught classes in religion, but was unable to start a school.²

Little is known which can be documented historically of Father Tolton's seven or eight years of labor in Chicago. He died before he had accomplished his ambition. St. Monica's

¹The Beginning of an Era, p. 13. See also Illinois Project Writer's File, History of St. Monica's and Father Tolton.

was not completed when Father Tolton collapsed at Thirty-fifth and Calumet Streets and died hours later at Mercy Hospital.¹

With the death of Father Tolton, July 9, 1897, the care of St. Monica's came under the jurisdiction of Father Daniel Riordan, pastor of St. Elizabeth's Church at Forty-first Street and Wabash Avenue. The energetic Irish pastor soon had the debts of the church paid.² Father Riordan, however, realized that his mission needed a resident priest. At his request, the Archbishop appointed Father John Morris pastor of St. Monica's. Father Morris took charge in 1909.³

Three years later Elsie Hodges came to Chicago from Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania. Miss Hodges inquired about finding the Catholic church for Blacks. When she went to the rectory to ask Father Morris where the parochial school was located, she discovered that the parish was without one. The

¹There are at least three distinct and conflicting accounts of Father Tolton's death. Contradictory material on this figure as well as lack of reliable information on the subject indicates the need for a definitive biography of this priest, who pioneered in apostolic work with his people in Chicago.

²St. Elizabeth's Parish History [p. 8].

³Chicago Tribune, 13 June, 1909, p. 4.
seventeen-year-old newcomer suggested the pastor ask the Blessed Sacrament Sisters to teach at St. Monica's. Miss Hodge had attended St. Elizabeth's School in her hometown and was well acquainted with the apostolate of the SBS.¹

Two weeks later Father Morris went to Cornwells Heights equipped with a request by Archbishop Quigley for sisters. Mother Katherine Drexel brought five. They moved into 3669 South Wabash Avenue and for a year conducted classes in that building.

Father Morris, who relinquished his rectory to the sisters, rented a first floor apartment on the northeast corner of Thirty-sixth Place and Wabash Avenue.

Katherine Drexel founded the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament shortly before their arrival in Chicago. The foundress dedicated herself and her sisters to educating Indians and Negroes. Mother Drexel, the daughter of an old line Philadelphia banker, possessed uncommon financial acumen, which enabled her to use her large inheritance to great advantage in founding Xavier University and numerous other institutions. Father Morris asked Mother Paul of the Cross, the directress of the sisters sent to his parish, to request funds

¹Interview with Mrs. Elsie Hodge Shepherd, Harvey, Illinois, 14 Nov., 1972.
from the millionaire foundress to build St. Monica's School.\(^1\) Father Morris had been forgotten by the archdiocese. He had negotiated to obtain the old Armory for use as a school. The red tape which securing this building entailed was excessive, and the bureaucratic stalemate discouraged Father Morris' endeavor. Father Morris asked Mother Drexel to subsidize the school. Mother Drexel was unwilling to finance a school when diocesan funds were available. Father Morris then proposed that he beg from door to door for money if Sister Katherine would give financial assistance.

Mother Katherine ignored the fact that Chicago was one of the wealthiest and largest Archdioceses and aided St. Monica's. Mother Paul of the Cross, SBS, wrote to the foundress of the order, October 1, 1914, subtly requesting money to operate the Chicago school. She noted in this mission "how alone" the pastor was in his dedication to and concern for colored Catholics. A notation on an undated letter in the archives of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament indicates that

\(^{1}\)The following material is gleaned from two basic sources: Katherine Drexel, a Biography by Sister Consuela Marie Duffy, SBS, January, 1972, and the Archives and Journals of the Motherhouse of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania.
the foundress gave $36,750 to help the work of St. Monica's from 1893 to 1923.

The teaching order finally obtained the Armory. The school flourished. Education increased conversions.

Father Morris headed St. Monica's for eight years. In 1919 the Society of the Divine Word Missionaries from Techny, Illinois were requested by Bishop Mundelein to assume the directorship of the Black parish, which was continually in financial difficulties.

The Black Belt spread during the World War I population influx. By the early 1920s Negroes moved into the area of the parish adjacent to St. Monica's, St. Elizabeth's.

St. Elizabeth's was a wealthy parish in the early years of this century. Members of the congregation were irate when they heard that the Society of the Divine Word would take over the parish.

In 1922 the original Black Catholic parish was abandoned. The sisters moved down the street to St. Elizabeth's. St. Monica's was incomplete, but it had become too small for the congregation. Cardinal Mundelein ordered the SVD and SBS to abandon St. Monica's and to take charge of St. Elizabeth's, December 6, 1924.

Father Eckert and his assistants had a chilly reception those first few months from white parishioners who remembered
the days when the Comiskeys, Cudahys, and Swifts rented pews. There was great anxiety and regret among the great number of white Catholics who still considered St. Elizabeth's their home parish. The entire community was hostile to a Negro church in their neighborhood.

Two years after the arrival of the SVDs over 1,100 students were registered in the schools. The high school had been transferred to the present Sheil House, then known as the "Catholic Club."¹ The first Black Catholic Chicago high school graduated its first class of five in 1926. Sixteen years later, a LaSalle Extension University building at Forty-first Street and Michigan Avenue was purchased. This structure was remodeled and in 1942 the high school became fully accredited.

A convent had been acquired for the sisters, who had been quartered on the third floor of the high school at 4117 South Michigan Avenue. Father Eckert was the head of the

¹The diocese purchased the Old Swift Club. This was a $40,000 investment in prejudice. This structure was christened the Catholic Club and was converted into a school for the few remaining white students who lived in the confines of St. Elizabeth's. About 115 whites used the building one year. In 1926 the Catholic Club began educating Blacks.

In the 1940s the building became nationally known as the Catholic Youth Organization's home. It was renamed Sheil House. In the late 1960s the building became headquarters of the Chicago Urban League.
largest Holy Name Society in Chicago, according to the Eucharistic Congress held at St. Elizabeth's in 1926. The diligence of the religious is evinced in the parish records. In the year of the Congress 327 baptisms were performed. On May 9, 144 adults were received into the church at once—a record which was to remain unchallenged in American Catholic annals for a generation.¹

One of the major highlights of St. Elizabeth's Parish after the transition took place in March 1926, was when Father Norman Anthony Duckett arrived. He was one of the few colored priests in the United States at that time. Hours before he was to celebrate Mass, the streets surrounding the church were packed with an estimated 12,000 people. It had been over a generation since Black Chicagoans had had a priest of their own race.

Testimony to the loyalty and enthusiasm of the parish occurred October 1926 when Cardinal Mundelein came to confirm 400 people. A crowd of 2,000 people were unable to find standing room in the church which seated 1,400. His Eminence came to St. Elizabeth's as a gesture of appreciation for the apostolic work that was being done for the Black people of Chicago. Again the ecclesiastical leader exhibited his "little

¹St. Elizabeth's Parish History [p. 40].
brown brother" attitude:

At a recent meeting of the Catholic bishops of this country I told them that nowhere in the world today was there a richer or more promising field for labor than with the colored people of the United States; St. Elizabeth's is the outstanding parish in the United States, and its schools second to none. It is a personal distinction to belong to this church and to the Catholic Church.1

The "promising field for labor" became enflamed January 3, 1930. An extra-alarm fire destroyed the church.2 The cause of the fire was suspected to be the boiler which was being repaired and improved. The insurance for the building had just been increased from $40,000 to $150,000 a week before the fire.3 The roof was hopelessly destroyed. Necessary repairs to restore the structure were so extensive that the building was demolished. The skeleton of St. Elizabeth's was torn down and the rocks now form part of Chicago's lakefront. The recreation hall was remodeled and used for a permanent church.

1Beginning of an Era, p. 34.

2Clippings from New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland newspapers' coverage of the story are on file at St. Elizabeth's. The papers do not have complete names and dates for authentic documentation.

3Personal interview with Monsignor Brambrink, SVD, 10 Aug., 1972 at St. Peter's Church, Clifton, Illinois, where he is now pastor. Monsignor Brambunk was pastor of St. Elizabeth's, 1942-1952.
The Black population was spreading rapidly toward the south and the east. Cardinal Mundelein realized all Black Catholics could not crowd into St. Elizabeth's 400 capacity makeshift. Negroes would have to attend other neighborhood parishes. This was a primary reason why the Cardinal turned over St. Anselm Church and school complex to the SVD and SBS in 1932.

Ever since Cardinal Mundelein entrusted the parish of St. Elizabeth's to the Society of Divine Word priests in 1924, mission work among Blacks grew steadily. The school was filled with children, and conversions increased.¹

Because of the success the SVDs had achieved, Father Eckert requested a greater commitment by the Archdiocese to the Black population. Father Eckert, an astute observer of socio-cultural conditions, pleaded his case on the basis of well-grounded demographic examples and political realities. The great influx of Blacks after the war had caused Corpus Christi Parish to be surrounded by Blacks. This plant, located at Forty-ninth Street and South Park Avenue, was nationally known for its layout and architecture. The pastor, Father O'Hara, tried to extend the affluent life of his parish, but the inundation of Grand Boulevard caused wealthy whites to abandon

¹Personal notes of Father Joseph Eckert and parish records of St. Elizabeth's Parish, 1926. [pp. 18, 33, 36].
Corpus Christi. The Cardinal and his counselors balked at presenting Corpus Christi to Blacks.\footnote{Father Eckert, SVD, Notes [p. 82]: "They [i.e., the Archdiocesan Council] were afraid that the white parishioners would not only refuse to accept the Negroes, but they feared the old parishioners would cut off contributions. A number of them had written to the Cardinal threatening to do just that."} The archdiocese invited the Franciscans to start a lay retreat house to utilize the large complex, and to look out for the few remaining white parishioners. It is important to note that recruitment of Black converts was not sought actively. Only the SVD priests tried vigorously to enlarge the ranks of Black Catholics.

The Black Chicago Catholics who were not comfortable at Corpus Christi took their efforts, children, and money to St. Elizabeth's. There the priests and sisters welcomed them.

Things progressed poorly over the years at Corpus Christi. The Franciscan Fathers were not able to draw men for retreats and did not proselytize successfully in the community. Father Eckert met the Franciscan Provincial Vincent Schrempp in Venice, in 1930. They discussed the possibilities of the SVD taking over Corpus Christi.\footnote{Ibid., [p. 87].}

When the Franciscans proposed the transfer to Cardinal
Mundelein, his Eminence was not averse to the suggestion. He rationalized that this type of work should be carried out by a missionary community, dedicated to working with Negroes.

Father Eckert, anxious to expand the work among Blacks, hurriedly brought this idea to Father Provincial Bruno Hagspiel, SVD. Since the Franciscans had spent about $65,000 in converting the school into a retreat house, they expected to be reimbursed. The SVDs did not wish to expend this amount. The Franciscans remained.

In 1932 the Cardinal called Father Eckert to his office for a conference. St. Anselm's was in difficulty. White people were moving away, and the pastor could not cope with the new social strata moving into the parish. The Cardinal and his Diocesan Counselors turned St. Anselm's Parish over to the SVDs on Sunday, June 12, 1932. Father Eckert was requested to become pastor. Father Provincial promised to expedite matters with the Father General in Rome. \(^1\) Eckert quotes the Cardinal who said at this encounter:

> Take good care of all the people in the parish, irrespective of race or color, and make as many converts as possible. Go out as the Gospel told us last Sunday, and bring the good colored people into the Church. Fill St. Anselm's Church . . . .

\(^1\)Father Joseph Eckert, SVD, Notes [pp. 92-94].
I understand it [the school] is empty, fill it with colored children, but select them well from the better classes.¹

In the spring of 1932, when the parishioners of St. Anselm, many of whom helped build the church, heard that Father Gilmartin had been transferred to St. Agnes and the Divine Word priests from St. Elizabeth's would take over, they were shocked. Understandably, the parishioners identified the SVDs with Blacks; many thought Father Eckert was Black. The parish sent a delegation with petitions to the Cardinal to keep Father Gilmartin, the founder and builder of the church which had cost them $875,000 four years before. The Cardinal was adamant in his decision saying: "I am not only the Archbishop of the white people, but also of the colored and responsible for their souls before God, moreover, the colored people also deserve and must have beautiful churches and schools."²

On Sunday, June 12, 1932, white parishioners came to church, as they told Father Eckert, to bid farewell and especially to see the "niggerpriest" and hear what he had to say:

¹†bid. [p. 104].
²St. Anselm's Parish Records.
They were surprised when they saw me coming out of the sacristy for the six o'clock Mass. They whispered to each other that it was not a "nigger-priest" as they had anticipated, but white. I introduced myself as their new pastor and told the people that services would be carried on as heretofore by Father Gilmartin, whom I commended highly for the work he had accomplished and that I would do my best to do likewise. I also emphasized that from now on all people living within certain boundaries of the parish would be well taken care of, for that was the ardent wish of the Cardinal Archbishop Mundelein.¹

There were about two hundred white families left. Only a few Black Catholics were present on the first Sunday, although a large number were living in the area. Father Eckert wrote, "the integration process at St. Anselm's Church went on without many disturbances."² Most of the trouble which occurred transpired in the school. The Sisters of Providence of St. Mary of the Woods were in charge of the school from its beginning in 1909. Father Eckert did his utmost to keep them. He assured them that they would not regret this mission work with Black children. They would not stay and teach Black children, although they were also asked to do so by the Cardinal.

They [the Sisters of Providence] claimed they had no sisters able or willing to teach colored children. Finally, the Cardinal released them from


²Father Joseph Eckert, SVD, Notes [p. 110].
their contract, when Mother General came herself to him. However, the Cardinal made Mother General with another sister see me and tell me that they would withdraw the sisters from St. Anselm's School and that I should look for another sisterhood. One more time I tried my best to persuade them to remain. Later, the Cardinal asked me if the Mother General had come to see me. He wanted to teach them some humility, he added. However, in my bewilderment I approached Mother Katherine Drexel to take over St. Anselm's School. They assured me that they felt very sorry to have given up St. Anselm's School, after they saw themselves what a fine group of colored children were sitting side by side with white children.¹

Blessed Sacrament nuns came to St. Anselm School in 1932. Many taught two grades in one room. All had high memberships. Of the 214 pupils in attendance, 84 were white, the remaining were Black.²

The difficulties which arose between the pupils of different races were not Father Eckert's sole problems. Parish income from Sunday collections was meagre. The priest introduced the Sunday envelopes, which shocked white parishioners. Black Catholics were used to them from St. Elizabeth's. To increase revenue Father Eckert held parish picnics, card parties, dances, and raffles. Father Eckert's notes mention no white parishioners attended these affairs. They stood

¹Ibid.

²Administrative records of St. Anselm School were made available by Sister Mary Alma, SBS, Supervisor of Teaching, 1971.
aloof. Later he relied solely on the Sunday collections. Gradually the collections increased, which allowed Eckert to make improvements during his eight years as pastor. Renovations included: "... modernizing the heating system of the whole plant, cleaning and redecorating the church, painting the house, school, convent, and two new washrooms. Six new classrooms were added, and the convent was enlarged at a cost of $24,000. When we took over St. Anselm's Parish there was a small debt, which was reduced."¹

Chicago first had Black residents in 1863 when the James Armstrong family moved to town. After the Civil War freedmen came north in increasing numbers. Although Catholicism was a minority religion among Blacks, there were a sufficient number of adherents to establish a church by the end of the nineteenth century. The apostolate to the Negro was retarded by slavery. Because most Blacks were members of Protestant churches, the American hierarchy concentrated upon tending to the needs of immigrants from Catholic countries. The waves of Europeans swelled then stabilized. The flow of Blacks from the rural South to the urban North constitutes a parallel situation to that of the Europeans who were faced

with foreign environments. The Blacks like immigrants from the British Isles did not have a language problem, but Blacks could not assimilate into the population of an ethnically sensitive society prejudiced against those of different color.

The diocese of Chicago realized the delicacy of the situation it faced in making concerted efforts to convert Blacks. The Catholic constituency was predominantly white. Most of these were of European ancestry and members of the working classes. A number of secular clergy and some religious disdained working with Negroes. Clerics shared the heritage with the laity which disposed them to avoid Blacks.

Pioneers in the field of Catholic education of Blacks in Chicago were members of religious orders whose special mission was the evangelization of the Negro. The bishops called upon the Society of the Divine Word Fathers and the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament to dispense the obligation to preach the gospel to the poor—when the poor were colored.

Under conditions which were adverse these missioners labored. Inadequate finances, diocesan diffidence, and ghetto dilemmas made the education of Blacks particularly challenging. St. Monica's was built by Blacks. St. Elizabeth's, Corpus Christi, St. Anselm's became Black when complexion of the neighborhoods made the change feasible.
When Black Catholic education was in its infancy in Chicago, there was no thought of attempting integration. Religious worked with the dedication, which has become a hallmark of Catholic education, to teach their charges.
CHAPTER IV

PROBLEMS OF INNER CITY CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the rapid flow of people from Europe to the United States created unprecedented situations with which various institutions were forced to cope. The Catholic Church because of her multifaceted involvements had to deal with the attendant problems from religious, educational, sociological, and economic perspectives.

The immigrants generally settled in cities. Because of greater opportunities in population centers, thousands of native Americans who had been born on farms or in small towns moved to the teeming cities. Historians have aptly named this era the Watershed Period.

It is much easier to label decades than to solve their peculiar problems. Urbanization had begun with the Industrial Revolution. The shift from agricultural to industrial life patterns was a continuous development. The problems the shifts in population, which occurred between 1880-1920, created continue to burgeon through the late twentieth century. Henry David Thoreau observed in 1845 that the cities were doomed.
It is much easier to prophesy disaster for the complex sprawls that modern megalopoli have become than to identify the problems attendant with mushroom growth. It is supremely difficult to propose solutions to the perplexities and dilemmas of urban life, because issues overlap. Religious education is linked to race. Racial discrimination is bound up with industry. Industry is connected with finance. The cyclical conundrums stem chiefly from commercial expansion.

Industry became increasingly sophisticated and complex. Urban life paralleled this development. One may establish a ratio between the advances in industry and the complications of city life. Institutions which would serve the people experiencing horrendous change must adopt to ever-new situations. Churches of all denominations were faced with difficulties for which no traditional solutions existed.

Knowledge of demography or physical conditions and vital statistics is vital to service-oriented organizations if they are to function successfully in changing situations. Demographic investigations in the specific sense of statistical study of populations as well as in the applied meaning of studies of moral and intellectual conditions are vital to the understanding of the urban situations with which religious institutions had to contend. Chicago Protestant churches clustered in three sectors, north and south along the lake
(but not appearing for three miles south of Madison Street or
two miles north of it, with but three exceptions), and on the
west side around Madison Street west of Halsted Street.
Established religions were wary of building anywhere near
industry or proposed industrial areas. In 1863 the bulk of
the Protestant churches were planted very thickly in the heart
of the area where those who paid income taxes lived. Support
of ministers and their families had to come from congregations.
Under this system it was not feasible for these denominations
to build installations in neighborhoods which could not or
would not maintain churches.

Catholic churches were built to serve people in areas
regardless of ability of residents to support the parish.
The parochial concept by the Chicago diocese devolved upon
serving the people of the area hazard the changes in population.
The members were expected to enter into the religious and
social life of the parish in which they resided. Churches
founded to serve one group remained when that echelon moved to
another area. St. Anselm's and St. Elizabeth's Parishes illus-
trate how this procedure worked. When ethnic or racial changes
occurred, the incoming group used the facilities left by the
previous inhabitants.

The parochial concept to which the diocese adhered was
interpreted in a different manner for Blacks than it was for
whites. Until 1930 St. Elizabeth's Church was identified on all lists by the parenthetical label (colored). Territorial boundaries were sufficiently important to the diocese that they published maps showing the boundaries and disputed limits of parishes almost annually. There were no territorial boundaries for St. Elizabeth's. Color not land contained the Black parish. Rather than excoriating the Church for this apparent lack of equity, it is more accurate to assess this situation in terms of wholesale establishmentarian discrimination of the period. The Church was not in the forefront of social action aimed at obtaining civil rights for Blacks. The American Church was administered by the children of European immigrants, who instilled their prejudices in their offspring. It was to this group that the institution catered.

Prior to the advent of the great number of Blacks migrating to Chicago, the newcomers were largely people of European Catholic tradition. Most of these groups had a heritage of supporting and sacrificing for Church maintenance. The newcomers settled near places of employment in areas where rents were low, and in which other members of their ethnic group lived. Little Italy, Little Bohemia, Greektown, Chinatown, and other descriptive names for the neighborhoods in which immigrants settled and subsequently worshipped explain the criss-cross of parish boundary lines in old quarters of the
city. Each group felt the need of its own church, and the ecclesiastical authorities complied. A telling example of this modus operandi exists in the area of Forty-eight Street and Ashland Avenue where eight churches were built in a one-half mile radius to serve seven nationalities.

By 1950 the European national parishes had lost a large measure of their social influence. Whites experienced unparalleled prosperity after World War II. Betterment of financial status produced desires for better life-styles. Whites moved away from the hub of the city. Neighborhoods changed complexion rapidly. Negroes pushed out of the Black Belt. Whites then fled to the suburbs. Staying with one's nationality broadened to living with members of the same race. As people attained financial security, allegiance to religion seemed to diminish. In new suburban environments the proximity of churches was less a factor of concern to house hunters than it had been to the previous generation.¹

The secular approach to life which was materially satisfying weakened the influence of the Church. The traditional American white Anglo-Saxon Protestant ideal was adopted by numerous second- and third-generation Americans whose

ancestors had migrated from European Catholic countries. Racial tensions outweighed religious exhortations, and fleeing Blacks became a stronger motivation than preserving parishes or maintaining private property.¹

The Archdiocese was still publishing maps which charted its national parishes in 1950. Governance of membership on the basis of territory and nationality has its foundations in European political science and gives the student of Church history a good idea of the mentality of the ecclesiastical administration. This structure had proven effective in creating a powerful establishment. An institution which has a long history of relying upon tradition is loathe to change its principles and practices of operation. By the time the generation of Americans born during the World War II period reached adulthood, the national parish ceased to be an effective technique, for increasing numbers of people who were removed from the European tradition.

The increased mobility of an affluent society with diverse means of transportation made the convenience of parishes within walking distance less important than close proximity had been for previous generations of worshippers.²


The maintenance of the parochial system requires population in the vicinity of the installation to support the parish. When the major European waves took over areas successively, the parish was viable. If the Germans moved to another location the incoming Irish, Italians or Poles would support the church. When the Blacks or any other predominantly Protestant population took over a neighborhood, the Catholic parish was in financial straits.

There have been Blacks in Chicago since 1850. It was after 1890 that the first large influx took place. In 1890 there were 14,271 Negroes. Ten years later there were almost 29,000. In 1950 the number had swelled to 492,267.

The following graph shows the trend of the Black population of Chicago in comparison with the trend of the foreign born. A projection of both curves (based on 1960 and 1970 census figures) shows that 1950 was the crucial time in parish formation for Black Catholics.

The American Black was replacing the first generation immigrants in the job markets. If the Catholic Church was to be as vital a force in Black Chicago as it had been with European Catholic migrants, it had to exercise a stronger apostolate among the Blacks than it had through the years before 1950.
Graph 5.

U.S. Census 1950

EVLUTION OF FOREIGN BORN AND COLORED POPULATION

526,058 Foreign Born
492,267 Non-White

FOREIGN BORN

NON-WHITE

Catholic parishes are more immediately affected by population flow than the individually-chosen congregations of Protestant groups. The latter seeks to hold its members even though they may have moved away from the immediate vicinity of the church. The Catholic Church does not expect its members to return or continue to support a former parish. It requires attendance at the church in the neighborhood in which members live.

The rapid changes from white to Black which occurred in numerous sections of the city makes the continued viability of the parochial system questionable. A minority of Blacks are Catholic. When a predominantly Catholic area, e.g., Corpus Christi Parish, changes complexion, the large plant cannot be supported by the reduced number of adherents of a generally lower economic level.

Working with Blacks was considered a missionary labor. Rather than assigning secular clergy to care for Negroes, the Archdiocese sought out members of religious orders who were dedicated to working with Blacks. These orders were predominantly white. The Society of the Divine Word actively recruited vocations among Blacks.\(^1\) Blessed Sacrament Sisters encouraged

\(^1\)In 1968 the Society of the Divine Word had sixty priests and thirteen brothers who were Negro.
their charges to join Black orders such as the Holy Ghost Sisters or Oblate Sisters of Providence.

The continued reluctance to become involved in the spiritual care of Blacks is evidenced by the following citation which the souvenir booklet which the Divine Word Fathers published on the occasion of their golden jubilee celebration of their "Missionary Apostolate" in Chicago. In establishing Our Lady of the Gardens, the Archdiocese once more delegated the responsibility of caring for Blacks to the SVD. Through the ecclesiastical rhetoric the diffidence glimmers.

In 1944, as Altgeld Gardens, a new public housing project on Chicago's far south side began to take in residents, Fr. John Ryan, pastor of Holy Name of Mary parish, sent Fr. John Banahan to gather the Catholic members of the community, to offer Mass in rented public facilities, to arrange for bussing of school children to Holy Name of Mary School. The "Missions of the Miraculous Medal" was born.

Five years later Fr. John Owczarek, the new pastor of Holy Name of Mary, found the demands of time and energy for the growing mission too taxing to be able to do justice to it and to his own parish proper. He approached Cardinal Stritch with his problem. His eminence told him to inquire of the Divine Word Missionaries whether they would be willing to take the mission.

Fr. Gerald Heffels, a typical Divine Missionary, eager for deeper and more intensive involvement in the apostolate, accepted responsibility for the mission. He sent Fr. Jerome, who travelled to the "Gardens" for Masses and enlisted the help of the Blessed Sacrament Sisters for instructions and home visitations. The following year Fr. Ed Luis, of very recent beloved memory, was appointed to devote full time to this burgeoning mission. He rented the
apartment at 918 E. 131st Street. A short time later, when he became physically unable to carry on this work, Fr. George Stephan took over.

Fr. Stephan's zealous apostolate was so fruitful that Cardinal Stritch, who kept a warm spot in his heart for the "Gardens" agreed to establish a permanent parish there. Ground (actually it was more like mud!) was broken for a School-Rectory-Hall Church on March 1, 1952. The parish was canonically established on July 24, 1952 under the title: "Our Lady of the Gardens."\(^1\)

The attitude of racial superiority is evinced in the publications of the white orders dedicated to the Negro apostolate. The Beginning of an Era. History of the Work of the Catholic Church among the Negroes of Chicago, a booklet published in 1952 on the occasion of the silver jubilee of Father William Brambrink, SVD, contains a biographical notice of Father Tolton. In describing the Black priest's first Mass the writer notes: "In their religious fervor, race and creed were forgotten. As many white persons kissed Father Tolton's hand as Negroes." The anonymous writer quotes Father Stephen Duren's The Christian Family and Our Missions: "His [Tolton's] whole emotional musical Negro nature expanded, so that, at times, in the Preface and the Pater Noster his voice seemed to soar above the skies . . . ."

\(^1\)Divine Word Fathers 50th Anniversary Celebration (Chicago: privately printed, 1968) [p. 9].
Abundant substantiation of the Black stereotype can be found in the writings of the orders who cared for the Negroes. The writer of The Beginning of an Era described the Catholic educational expansion among Chicago Blacks in condescending fashion:

The Catholic schools of Chicago have undoubtedly contributed more than any other single factor in reclaiming colored people to their mother Church. The four good Sisters who drove religion, manners and learning into some two hundred heads in a converted stable in 1912 must certainly smile benignly today at the vision of five modern Catholic grammar schools within three miles of old St. Monica which housed well-nigh a thousand pupils each. That, besides the thousands of colored children in other Catholic schools and high schools throughout the city, who are taking advantage of the very best that science and religion have to offer them.  

Catholic Chicago is a mixture of cultural contradictions. The Church, whose government is grounded in autocratic principle, had to contend with a nation whose government is based upon democratic precedent. The Church was not equipped to deal with this demand for democracy, equality, and fair play raised by the city's largest minority. She tried to rely upon tradition in dealing with Blacks. Dicta such as "Rome has spoken the case is closed," were obsolete in an American

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1The Beginning of an Era. History of the Catholic Church among the Negroes of Chicago (Chicago: privately printed, 1952) [p. 10].
framework. The democratic process and its extension to include disenfranchised Blacks constitute part of the national dilemma. The country as well as the Church was, as Gunnar Myrdal observes:

... trying to defend their behavior to others, and primarily to themselves, people will attempt to conceal the conflict between their different valuations of what is desirable and undesirable, right or wrong, by keeping some valuations from awareness and by forcing attention on others. For the same opportune purpose, people will twist and mutilate their beliefs of how social reality actually is.¹

Unable to deal with the moral issues involved, Catholic Chicago stood paralyzed before its Black problem. Divergent and contradictory streams of thought as well as inability to envisage a different pattern of race relations, prevented it from conceiving a rational approach to a solution. Conservative churchmen abstained from action, because they believed that problems often solved themselves if one waited long enough. A vast number of Catholics, clerics as well as laity, convulsed by fear, found themselves unable to act rationally. Rather than direct confrontation of problems administrators contented themselves with planning by committee which in this instance was synonymous with inactivity.

White ecclesiastical authorities evaded the issues of race and religion. Civil authorities tried to repress the Black onslaught. Educators in parish schools which had been Black since the early twentieth century were accomplishing feats which provide striking contrast to the deeds of administrators who sought to grasp the overview in position papers.

Education is not a panacea, but is a potent if partial remedy to popular ascendance. Teachers must strive diligently with underprivileged children lest their pupils become underprivileged adults. Teachers at St. Monica's, St. Elizabeth's and St. Anselm's were cognizant of the import of their tasks. Long before notions such as the invalidity of intelligence quotients as a gage of interpreting minority youngsters' capabilities were widely held by educators, many sisters and lay teachers in Black Catholic schools knew that the determinism involved in the IQ label could prove detrimental to developing the full capacities of their charges.

What universities now call Education of the Urban Child was simply called "teaching" by the Motherhouse in Cornwells Heights. When questioned about the success of the SBS educational techniques, the many responses were best summarized by Sister Margaret Mary Sullivan. "How to maintain a high level of curriculum content and achievement? By teaching children, not Black children. We teach children how to learn. We don't
concern ourselves about how to get Black children to learn." The sisters teach children to learn because they empathize with their pupils, families, and community.

Teaching Black children effectively does not consist of using tricks. The decisive factor is the educator's basic attitudes. Successful teachers use different techniques—there is not just one right approach. There are, however, many wrong approaches. Toughness and brutality are most ineffective. The best principle is consistency. These children need a teacher on whom they can depend.

A stable environment provided by a consistent teacher, who establishes a routine and who conveys reliability, is a particularly salutary influence upon children who often have to cope with emotional instability and financial insecurity at home. More Blacks suffer from hypertension than whites. Hostile environments, real and imaginary, produce this disorder. The school situation in which children, such as those described by Frank Riessman in *The Culturally Deprived Child,* have greatest learning potential is a haven of order, where consistency provides the sense of equity and encourages creativity.

Pupils frequently emulate teachers. Imitation may be flattering but it is also a useful and frequently effective means of learning. Although religious dedicated to the high
and humanistic goals of educating youth are certainly laudable models, most class members do not enter religious life. Contemporary Catholic educational circles praise the more balanced approach to education for life which faculties composed of religious and lay people bring to students. In the days when the SBS and SVD began their apostolate among Chicago Negroes, this attitude was not popular. Parents sacrificed to send their offspring to parochial schools because they wanted them to be under the tutelage of members of religious orders. The hierarchy considered lay faculty an expedient rather than a desirable commodity.

Although the Chicago Archdiocese first records implementation of lay teachers since 1929 secular instructors were rare until c. 1950. Lay teachers were considered temporary employees who were hired until the required number of religious were available to staff elementary schools. High school teachers were hired on suffrancce, if no religious were available to teach particular specializations.

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1In an interview with Marie McNamara, 21 Feb. 1973, the subject noted that her second grade teacher at St. Bride's School, 1916, was a lay woman.
Because of the status of lay teachers, the archdiocesan system lagged behind the public school system in teacher requirements and teacher benefits. A college degree was not mandatory for teachers in Chicago Catholic schools until 1971. Salaries were left to the discretion of individual pastors who had variant concepts of equity. Until the late 1960s salary schedules were suggested but not enforced.

As the ranks of religious communities decreased, lay faculty became important. Religious vocations decreased. Large numbers of religious laicized. The members of orders and congregations as well as secular clergy who retired from active life or who died have not been replaced by comparable numbers of young people. Vatican II, which included reevaluation of the roles of clergy and laity, may be considered the beginning of the changes in vocations. The far reaching ramifications of Ecumenical Council continue to be felt throughout the Church.

Long before lay teachers became a necessity to the continuance of Catholic elementary and secondary education, the Blessed Sacrament Sisters welcomed lay teachers. One of their precepts was involvement of the community in their schools. Black lay teachers taught Black children decades before this situation was considered optimum in educational circles. Unfortunately, accurate records have not been kept but
examination of available pictures of parish school classes under the jurisdiction of Blessed Sacrament Sisters indicates that at least twenty per cent of the faculty was comprised of Black laity a generation before lay teachers became a vital part of the Chicago Archdiocesan system.

The following list shows the growth of lay faculty in Archdiocesan elementary schools of Chicago. These figures were gathered from the Superintendent's Reports. Parishes frequently had more lay faculty than they reported. Sometimes lay women taught only music, art, or part-time; these were not counted.

From 1954 to 1960 the number of lay teachers stabilized at about fifteen per cent of the total full-time teachers in Catholic elementary schools in Chicago. It was not until 1960 that the number of lay teachers increased markedly.
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<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Lay Elementary Teachers</th>
<th>Total No. of Elementary Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>3,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>3,812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>3,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>3,830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>3,336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934*</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>3,778</td>
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<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>3,798</td>
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<td>1936</td>
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<td>1937</td>
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<td>1938</td>
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<td>1939</td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td>111</td>
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<td>1941</td>
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<td>1943</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>3,853</td>
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<td>1944</td>
<td>93</td>
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<td>1945</td>
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<td>1946</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>1947</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>4,039</td>
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<td>1948</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>3,790</td>
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<td>1949</td>
<td>- not reported</td>
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<tr>
<td>1950**</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>4,068</td>
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<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>4,104</td>
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<td>1952</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>4,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>4,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>4,315</td>
</tr>
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*Kindergartens were promoted by NCEA for all schools in 1934.  
**The Superintendent suggested more lay teachers be hired to relieve overcrowding in 1950.
This change from a preponderance of religious to a majority of lay faculty came abruptly. It was not readily accepted by the established orders of sisters; many older Catholics saw it as an invasion of secularism. The minutes of meetings held by the Chicago Archdiocesan Supervisors Association (CASA) show the attitudes of the congregations toward lay teachers. The changing attitudes of this group reflects new perspectives on the place of lay faculty in Catholic schools throughout the nation. The CASA Minutes, June 3, 1955, note: "The discussion that followed showed the need for raising the standards of the lay teacher personnel. This remained an interesting research project for the scholastic year."

The study could remain an interesting project of study when less than $\frac{3}{20}$ of the personnel were laity. The CASA discussed "equitable distribution of lay teachers in the Archdiocesan system," January 27, 1958. At the CASA meeting, January 30, 1961, Father Clark, Assistant Superintendent, reported to the group that all principals and pastors "are encouraged to recruit lay teachers whenever and wherever

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Religious Teachers</th>
<th>No. of Lay Teachers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>4,524</td>
<td>2,034</td>
<td>6,558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>4,571</td>
<td>2,969</td>
<td>7,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>3,695</td>
<td>4,264</td>
<td>7,959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>3,406</td>
<td>4,435</td>
<td>7,841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>3,077</td>
<td>4,455</td>
<td>7,532</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
possible. Less than a decade later lay faculty outnumbered religious in the Archdiocesan system.

The minutes of Catholic school board meetings contain much evidence which substantiates the retarded development of consciousness of the necessity of providing salaries and benefits for lay teachers competitive with the city public school system.¹

The decline of religious, which necessitated wholesale hiring of lay teachers made additional expenditures necessary to maintain schools. This financial crisis brought attention to Black parochial facilities. The minutes of December 10, 1964 school board meeting note that Cardinal Cody asked Monsignor McManus, head of the board, to submit a proposed solution to financial problems of inner city schools.

The Board then discussed various plans for helping the inner-city schools bear the increased financial burden which will be caused by the new salary schedule. Father Clark reported that the estimated increase would come to approximately $250,000 a year for the forty-four parishes which are considered needy. The first proposal, and one which seemed to meet with general approval, suggested that the necessary funds be collected through the new school

development program.

Another proposal recommended that a special education collection be taken up in all the parishes of the Archdiocese. It was further suggested that this be a selective kind of collection, i.e., taken only by parishes which are out of debt and in those parishes only from parishioners who have no children in school. The main objection to this proposal came from the pastors who remarked that there are already too many special collections.

Another Board member suggested that this money could be taken from the annual collection for the Negro missions.

Monsignor McManus proposed that the Catholic School Board could raise the money by increasing the cost of spellers, diplomas, etc. and by raising the service fees. All agreed that this proposal should be considered only as a last resort.¹

In 1965 the school board mentioned the difficulty inner-city parishes had in paying lay faculty. Proposals were made to alleviate the grave needs of Black schools.

It was suggested that Sisters could be moved from more affluent schools to inner-city schools. Some Board members were opposed to this on the grounds that not all Sisters are able to work in the inner-city. It was also suggested the more affluent schools could pay the salaries of lay teachers in poor schools and in overburdened suburban schools.

It was moved and seconded that the pastors of parishes whose Archdiocesan obligations have been reduced under the new system of taxation be invited to contribute to inner-city schools and overburdened

¹CSBC Minutes, 10 Dec., 1964.
suburban schools a sum of money for the payment of lay teachers' salaries in lieu of reducing the number of Sisters on the faculties of the contributing parishes, the first appeal to be made to those parishes which are out of debt. This motion was approved by a vote of 14 to 1.  

Black Catholic schools in Chicago have a history of financial difficulties. St. Elizabeth's was referred to as a "Jim Crow Catholic school" by many Black newspapers of the 1920s. This adverse publicity did not aid the school in getting financial support from affluent members of the Black community. As parishes changed from white to Black in succeeding decades, the general trend was decreased enrollment. The writer of The Beginning of an Era estimated that one Black in thirty who migrated to Chicago during the post World War I period was Catholic. During the first half of the twentieth century Chicago Catholic elementary schools generally had large memberships. The classroom of thirty-five pupils was a rarity. Classes of forty to fifty children were not uncommon. Statistics for the decline of parochial school membership in racially changed neighborhoods have not been kept, but one may surmise the financial crises entailed in operation of parochial schools by partial figures available. Based upon class size

1CSBC Minutes, 8 April, 1965.
of thirty-five pupils to a room, the following schools all have a capacity of 600+ pupils. With the exception of Holy Angels School the following sample of parish schools are presently operating far below capacity. St. Elizabeth's and St. Anselm's Schools are still functioning in a viable manner. This alphabetically arranged list of parish schools cites the year of enrollment of the first Black pupils and the 1972-1973 total membership.

The schools run by the Blessed Sacrament Sisters and Divine Word priests are more active in recruiting, baptizing, and educating Blacks than the normal Archdiocesan parish.

The Church has, until the late twentieth century, been remiss in its duty to preach the gospel to all men when those men were American Negroes. In failing to recruit Blacks for the ministry with the same zeal she recruited whites, the Church has not provided sufficient numbers of clergy and religious of the same race, who would inspire and educate its Negro parishioners. The dilatory tactics of the Church of Rome are best exemplified by the length of time it took to consecrate an American Black bishop. Harold Ferry, SVD, was made Titular Bishop of Mons Maurentania and Auxiliary Bishop of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Admission of 1st Black Catholic</th>
<th>Enrollment 1972-1973</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Christi</td>
<td>49th &amp; King Dr.</td>
<td>1933 K-8</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Angels</td>
<td>500 E. Oakwood</td>
<td>1945 K-8</td>
<td>1145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Name of Mary</td>
<td>1400 W. 112th St.</td>
<td>1931 K-8</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Morgan Park)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Agatha</td>
<td>Kedzie &amp; Douglas</td>
<td>1938 K-8</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Anselm</td>
<td>61st &amp; Indiana</td>
<td>1932 K-8</td>
<td>487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Cecelia</td>
<td>220 W. 45th St.</td>
<td>1946 K-8</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(now St. Charles Lwanga)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Elizabeth</td>
<td>40th &amp; Wabash</td>
<td>1924 K-8</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(previously St. Monica-1912)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Malachy</td>
<td>Damen &amp; Washington</td>
<td>1935 K-8</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas the Apostle</td>
<td>Garfield &amp; Woodlawn</td>
<td>1942 K-8</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data compiled from Parish Histories and Archdiocesan School Directory.
New Orleans in 1965.¹

The Archdiocese of Chicago relegated responsibility for Black Catholics to missionary orders. These groups educated Negroes. They initiated use of lay faculty of the same race as their pupils, which proved a salutary influence upon the youngster's education. The dedication of the religious and discipline which they have instilled in the children they educated partially compensated for the missionary attitude of bringing the gospel to an inferior race.

The best Catholic educators of Black children have had little influence upon the Archdiocesan educational system. Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament have yet to be invited to join the supervisors' council. In 1971 thirty million dollars was allocated to Black Catholic schools. These funds under the control of Bishop Dempsey were used to refurbish parish schools and to subsidize Catholic high schools. A proposed magnet school, which would make the best facilities, faculty and administrators available to Blacks, has not met with approval. The eleven million dollar cost of this plant, which would doubtless upgrade Blacks' education by giving them opportunities

¹The obsolete practice of titular episcopacy underscores the manner in which tradition can work against institutional progress.
and advantages not presently available to most inner-city children, has deterred Archdiocesan administrators. Because the old parochial system is no longer viable in the inner city the future of Catholic education would seem to lie in construction and operation of magnet schools.
CHAPTER V
ARCHDIOCESAN RECOMMITMENT

During the decades following the Civil War Blacks migrated to the North from the South. During the second decade of the twentieth century more Negroes moved above the Mason-Dixon Line than during the entire period from 1865 to 1910. Twelve northern cities received the influx. Detroit's Black population increased 600%, 1910-1920; Chicago's increased 300%.¹ This was the second largest incursion in the nation.

The causes for the migration included dissatisfaction with social status; lack of adequate educational facilities; lack of opportunity to participate in cultural activities; low wages; the peonage system; exploitation under the sharecropping system; lack of equity in courts, which resulted in forced labor on chain gangs; renewed activity by the Ku Klux Klan.²

The reason the northern cities were willing to accept

¹Letter of A. L. Foster, Executive Secretary, Chicago Urban League to Father Joseph Eckert, SVD, 27 Oct., 1936. St. Elizabeth's Archives.

²Ibid.
the influx from the south was the demand for cheap labor by industries. The World War had created demand and the conflict had cut off the European labor supply.

The increase in population brought serious socioeconomic problems. Negroes were employed chiefly as laborers. Few had opportunities to advance to skilled trades.

Like all newcomers Negroes first settled in the least desirable neighborhoods, which were overcrowded, and these areas incubated vice, crime and health problems. Because of racial prejudice Negroes had limited opportunities to advance and to move out of the ghetto. The Black Belt expanded and the problems soared. During the post World War II period Mayor Martin Kennelly's 1950 report revealed the magnitude of the dilemma. Blacks, who constituted 11% of the city's population were crowded into 2.8% of the city's area. In this section human disaster flourished. In the South Central Community occurred: 45% of major crimes, 33% of juvenile delinquency, 30% of arrests, 40% of tuberculosis victims, 33% of disease, 30% of fires, 46% of holdups, 50% of venereal disease. The result of such alarming statistics was increased white fear of Blacks and the problems associated with them. The general attitude which

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prevailed from World War I through the first half of the twentieth century was "keep them in their place." When, of necessity the "place" expanded, whites moved away from Blacks. By the 1950s the mass exodus to suburbia was under way. Within a generation the move away from the city by the bourgeoisie caused serious urban problems with which state and Church must continue to deal for decades to come.

From the beginning of the Black growth in population the general attitude of Catholic hierarchy was one of tacit acceptance of the prevailing attitude of the white majority. In 1925, Father Joseph Eckert, SVD, then pastor of St. Elizabeth's, wrote an article entitled "Mission Work Among the Negroes of Chicago" for one of his society's publications, which illustrates the ambivalence manifest in numerous ecclesiastical documents. The white religious worked with Blacks. There is little doubt that many of the religious, like Father Eckert, felt themselves racially superior to the people with whom they lived and labored.

I have often been asked, during the last four months: What influence will the Church have on the non-Catholic colored population of Chicago, in consequence of this latest development? It cannot be denied that this movement, coming from one of the foremost and leading princes of the Church, has given the colored Catholic a great prestige among their own race, and has created among the parishioners a great enthusiasm for the Church. Clearly and impressively has it been demonstrated that the Catholic Church is a friend of the Negro, and not an enemy, as we were so often told by
certain types of Negro press agitators and prejudiced Negro leaders, and that the Church has simply proved, once again to be what Christ intended her to be, the Mother fold of all races.

In the next paragraph the pastor's rather patronizing perspective becomes evident.

The people seem to be gradually awakening to the fact that St. Elizabeth's Church and School mean a great boon to them, and that their like is not to be found in any city of the United States among Catholic or non-Catholic Negro populations. They feel proud of the confidence placed in them, and are ready to shoulder the financial responsibility as well as they are able. They also wish to prove that they can compete with their more fortunate white brethren in other parishes, if given a reasonable chance.¹

Since religious are products of a society before they are representatives of a Church group, when that society is racist they tend to reflect the biases of their milieu. The effect of this attitude is manifest in a letter a committee of Black parishioners addressed to Monsignor Riordan. The senders were conscious of their second-class position, and seem apologetic for their existence.²


²The self-deprecating attitude which many Blacks had was reinforced by the white majority. This perspective which fostered defeatism Black leaders have tried to change. Militancy, with its emphasis upon power and pride, in the 1960s and 1970s, is an endeavor to swing the pendulum to create a positive image.
While Catholics of all Nationalities from all over the country are tendering to you their congratulations upon the glorious occasion of your Golden Jubilee of your Ordination to the Priesthood, kindly permit us colored Catholics of Chicago, the minority number in the Lord's Vineyard, to express also our congratulations.

Your interest shown us only a few years ago in directing the destinies of our Missionary efforts here in Chicago among our misguided people in favor of Our Holy Mother, the Church, will never be forgotten by us.¹

With each generation Black problems increased. Difficulties grew in proportion to the population explosion. The Church in Chicago provided a mission operation at St. Mary's in the late 1800s. Before the new century dawned a Black parish was abuilding. St. Monica's, which was designed by a Negro architect and which was constructed by Black laborers, never rose above the first story.² The Romanesque building was abandoned before funds necessary to set all of the granite blocks in place could be raised. After the World War, when the Black population had grown to over one hundred thousand,

¹Letter to Rev. Msgr. D. J. Riordan, 22 May, 1919. St. Elizabeth's Archives, Chicago. The "Missionary efforts" to which the committee refers reflects the influx of Louisiana Blacks who had been Roman Catholic for generations. They made great efforts to convert their brethren of other faiths.

²This early instance of utilization of Black talent and labor to undertake a community project is one of the pioneer efforts in Chicago to create pride of accomplishment from within the ranks of the Negro bloc. See Pierce, II, 91.
the diocese assigned St. Elizabeth's to the Black populace, and by the late 1920s a parochial school was established. When Our Lady of the Gardens was established in 1944, the apostolate of the Negro was still regarded as missionary work, and the operation of Black parishes was turned over to religious orders whose mission it was to care for Negroes.

Since the days of the Augustine Society Black Catholics were segregated. Color rather than land determined boundaries. The parochial system is predicated upon territory. When neighborhoods that were segregated become integrated, then saturated, the Church continued to maintain its installations. During the twenties and thirties St. Elizabeth's, St. Anselm's, and Corpus Christi became Black parishes. With the increase of Black population, parishes became governed by Negro land limits. The de facto segregation remained.

The growth of the Black population subsided during the Depression years, because fewer Negroes migrated north, where competition for employment was keener than in the south, and where jobs no longer existed. Blacks began moving north again, when World War II created the need for additional workers in industry. During the forties the Black community once more expanded rapidly. In this decade Kenwood, Woodlawn and Hyde Park received large numbers of Blacks. In the fifties Chatham Fields and Avalon Park experienced racial change. In the
sixties South Shore and Roseland became integrated. The above selected list of Chicago neighborhoods, which have become predominantly Black, indicates the southerly direction of the expansion. It also indicates the increased affluence of the minority group. Although Blacks have always paid higher rents in their ghettos than have other ethnic groups, e.g., in 1919 when a flat cost a poor Irish or Italian family $9.00 a month, this same apartment rented to Blacks for $12.50. The rise of the Black middle class after World War II, which linked Blacks to white materialistic society, fostered the felt needs then demands for better housing and schooling. To better their existences Blacks have moved to more expensive areas. Because the parochial system is bound with territorial boundaries this movement has affected parochial education. It will continue as a prime factor of influence in the management of Catholic schools in the Archdiocese. These schools, which are private, rely partially upon tuition for maintenance. During the period when religious faculty were the overwhelming majority costs of operation were lower. Predominance of lay staffs has caused operation costs to soar. In addition ever-rising costs of staffing schools, purchasing increasingly sophisticated equipment necessary to implement updated techniques in teaching the latest developments in arts and sciences, make running parochial schools exercises in deficit spending. Throughout
the inner city area, because tuition rates are lower than in middle or upper middle class areas the cost per pupil creates a greater amount of deficit. Because parochial education is essentially a private educational system, the continuation of a network of schools, which cost more to run with each upward spiral of late twentieth century inflation, the present system will become economically infeasible.

One solution to the complex problem of the economics of this situation is the inauguration of magnet schools. Rather than operation of learning centers on the basis of territorial boundaries, areas could be restructured on the basis of children's ability to reach the school in their area. Nearly forty per cent of the Chicago population is Black. Because this segment of the population is predominantly Protestant, the number of Black children who attend Catholic schools is less than these buildings are capable of serving. Plants designed for white predominantly Catholic communities make operation most difficult as student bodies shrink and costs soar. The economics of the situation is one of the reasons for deemphasis in recent years of the necessity for all Catholics to send their children to parochial schools.\footnote{Greeley, pp. 161-172.} Urban specialists predict that by the end of this century, if present trends
continue, Chicago proper will be predominantly Black.¹

The middle-class Black community is the greatest potential user of the private educational system established by the Archdiocese. The myth that all Negroes are religious is second only to the myth that all Blacks have rhythm. The National Council of Churches estimates that Black church attendance has decreased forty per cent from 1960-1970.² This figure which is based upon a sample of predominantly Protestant denominations does point to diminishing congregations in Black communities. Numerous signs point to the reliability of the prediction that Catholic education of Blacks will diminish in future. Should this prophesy come to pass coming generations will be deprived of a valuable kind of learning experience.

The parochial school system has not been totally ideal for children of any race. No human institution can achieve perfection. In Black Catholic educational circles segregationist practices, predominance of white administration and like


practices indicate that racism filtered into parochial educa-
tion in Chicago. The Church might have taken a stronger
position on racial issues earlier in the twentieth century.
Other Caucasian-oriented agencies were perhaps less eager to
change their attitudes toward Blacks than was the Church. In
considering Cardinal Mundelein's paternalistic attitude toward
St. Elizabeth's parishioners or any of the numerous expressions
by other Church officials which strike contemporaries as
patronizing, this attitude, hazard its acceptability, was of a
more benevolent sort within the confines of the Church than
without. The dedication of the teaching orders and the lay
faculty who have worked in Chicago Catholic schools is acknow-
ledged even by the most severe critics of Black Catholic educa-
tion. An editorial in the April 17, 1934 issue of The Chicago
Defender lashes out at the "house nigger manners" Catholic
school pupils were taught, but admits:

These children are better schooled in the four
R's of reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic and religion
than the children who attend public schools . .
. . they are kept after school, and they are dis-
ciplined, and they learn, because the sisters don't
take "I can't get that" for an answer.

The teaching excellence in Catholic schools has helped
thousands of children to aspire and to achieve better lives
intellectually and spiritually. Rather than fostering divine
discontent, aiding students to cope with the universe, has been
the positive goal of parish schools. In the front lines of the classroom, teachers, who have been instructing children, rather than teaching Negroes, have been most effective. They have demanded much and inspired more. For nearly a century the Archdiocese has provided facilities for education of people who were the city's most shunned minority. Blacks were deprived of freedom in housing and employment; they lacked political power; they rarely were provided with quality public education. If diocesan circles were reluctant to take over spiritual and educational guidance, they did engage orders of religious who provided high calibre services to the Black community.

Blessed Sacrament Sisters maintained the philosophy of community involvement with school activities generations before this practice became a tenet in public education. The sisters recruited Black lay teachers as well as paraprofessionals from the neighborhood. The nuns' concern for the youngsters' welfare prompted the religious to walk with the children down Cottage Grove Avenue during the Depression when the street was inundated with prostitution. If the sisters naively thought that their presence would discourage blandishments, they were nevertheless concerned with all facets of their students' well being.¹ People with a heritage of suffering and injustice need

¹Interview with Sister Anne Doyle, 26 Jan., 1971, St. Anselm's School, Chicago, Illinois.
the expression of concern as well as teaching excellence if they are to compete in a world dominated by a majority in a racially conscious society. The recommitment of the Archdiocese of Chicago to provide education for Black Catholics is illustrated by Bishop Dempsey's, 1971, thirty million dollar appropriation for inner city diocesan schools. If the Archdiocese will continue and increase its financial support of minority installations which will enable dedicated religious and lay faculties to continue and to grow the Catholic educational fields will be Black with harvest.
CHAPTER VI

RECOMMENDATIONS

Historical and statistical data of the past are valuable because these findings aid in understanding the future. In proposing a remedy to any educational problem the consideration of what has gone before provides perspective. Mere archival accounts, valuable as they are to scholarship, do not solve the difficulties entailed in upgrading or continuing the learning experience for the disadvantaged.

Education for Blacks has not functioned as a vehicle of mobility. Utilization of education and acknowledgment of its value have not been promoted in the majority of Black families. Until 1950 geographic flexibility was insubstantial. The influx of Southern Blacks stretched the Black Belt, and the overcrowded slums became breeding grounds for crime. The majority of the Black population were frustrated rather than educated. Black leadership, religious, political and economic fell upon an elite, who too frequently promoted personal interests at the expense of the common good.

1 James Baldwin, Notes of a Native Son (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1965), p. 31, discusses the frustration of the ghetto and suggests that schools were blamed for family troubles rather than praised for helping Blacks to better themselves. Despite Baldwin's penchant for polemics this attitude is born out by the research of Horace Mann Bond, The Education of the Negro in American Social Order (New York: Octagon Books, 1966).

To relieve the abysmal situation of the Blacks in the ghettos religious educators worked diligently. They have worked within the parochial structure for more than half a century to ameliorate conditions by teaching children. The good SVD priests, SBS Sisters and dedicated lay faculty have done is incalculable. Because these fine teachers have done legion service the following proposal is designed to continue their outstanding education in a viable manner.

In 1965 87.7 per cent of all non-public school students were enrolled in Catholic elementary schools, and 80.7 per cent attended Catholic high schools. Until 1965 parochial education grew steadily. The spread of Catholic schools throughout America was so rapid after World War II that enrollment in Catholic schools increased 171 per cent. During the 1950s it was necessary to double the number of teachers and classrooms to serve the soaring enrollments engendered by the post war baby boom. After 1965 the inevitable decline began. The implications of this decrease, which has shown no evidence of ceasing or leveling, are discussed by Father Neil G. McCluskey,

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Pius XI's goal of "Catholic education in Catholic schools for all Catholic youth,"\(^2\) has not been achieved. It is unrealistic to suppose that it ever will be approached in white America, and it is totally without the realm of possibility for the Black population. The cost of sending children to private schools is the greatest prohibition.

Because the economics of the situation grows more serious in Catholic educational circles with every year, the parochial school is in danger of becoming an increasingly elitist institution.\(^3\) Mary Perkins Ryan as well as other authors who have recently discussed the plight of American Catholic education indicate that phasing out Catholic schools and school systems may be the best solution.\(^4\) These experts argue that the parochial school system has not been necessary to the survival of


\(^4\)Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966), are of the same opinion as Miss Ryan.

American Catholicism. They therefore question the **raison d'etre** of Catholic schools. In the education of Black children, Catholic schools had proven to be effective. The inculcation of value judgments is desperately needed by the inhabitants who must cope with the complexities and problems of inner-city life. Supreme Court decisions have made it increasingly difficult for public schools to give this value orientation. Those who question the efficacy of moral and ethical training are apparently unfamiliar with the problems Black children are called upon to face. The white middle class may rebel against values and standards. Rebellion, however, presupposes indoctrination. The church and parochial school in the Black community in numerous instances function as the sole sources of learning values. In addition to teaching principles by which learners may guide their lives, the academic quality at least matches that of comparable public schools. The test scores of children in public and private Black schools are compared with difficulty. This inaccurate means of measurement of achievement consistently indicates that children in both school systems perform about equally. Personal experience and observation leads to the hypotheses that parochial school children, who are better disciplined, achieve higher academic proficiency than their public school fellows.

To continue to foster such achievement the Church might
initiate a cluster system to maintain inner-city schools. The cluster system of parishes has met with success.¹ A cluster comprised of five parishes might form to operate one magnet school. The operation of one school for approximately 1,500 pupils is more feasible economically than endeavoring to maintain five separate installations below capacity. The operation of one school, in place of five would save approximately one quarter of a million dollars annually.² Rather than building new school facilities, the building in best repair of the five schools in participating parishes could be renovated.³ The buildings not being used for educational activities could be utilized for community activities. To assist Black capitalism the former schools might be rented out to small businesses.⁴

¹The following Chicago parishes form a cluster: Christ the King, Holy Redeemer, Queen of Martyrs, St. Barnabas and St. Bernadette. Interviews with pastors and curates indicate the unanimous favor with which the participants hold the cluster concept. Meeting for dissemination of information on the activities of their area, sharing facilities, greater opportunities for understanding an overview of their sector of operation, were repeatedly mentioned by the subjects.

²In the ten parishes surveyed the average deficit encountered in maintaining school operation was $50,000 per year. This figure has been used in estimating savings.

³If necessary mobile classrooms would provide a temporary solution to overflow.

⁴Thomas Gerrad, "Black Capitalism: Where Is It Going?" Fortune, XXIV (Oct., 1971), 48+, establishes that most Black businesses are small enterprises. "Lack of positive cash flow necessitates the payment of excessive interest rates, steep rentals and advance cash payments [italics mine] for merchandise. . . . These factors would cripple a preponderance of white established firms presently netting under $150,000 annually."
ESTIMATED COSTS OF OPERATION OF A MAGNET SCHOOL VS. ESTIMATED COSTS OF OPERATION OF FIVE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Magnet School</th>
<th>Five Parochial Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff Salaries</td>
<td>40 teachers at $8,000 per yr. (average)*</td>
<td>50 teachers at $7,500 per yr. (average)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant Maintenance</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repairs and Improvements</td>
<td>5,000*</td>
<td>25,000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilities</td>
<td>2,750</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>10,000*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The figures in this schema have been based upon averages of costs of running ten Chicago parochial schools in 1972. Because the cost of living has risen six per cent in 1973, according to the National Bureau of Statistics, starred entries have been computed upon that increased percentage.
Arcades of shops under one roof would be convenient, economical, and safer than many present business locales in the inner city.¹

The cluster school would be able to provide a better teaching staff. The opportunity for greater selectivity as well as the purchasing power of qualified and experienced faculty should upgrade staff. The concentration of funds would mean the acquisition of more and better equipment. With an outstanding faculty and improved facilities more complete and innovative programs of instructing could be offered. More and varied course offerings, extra and co-curricular activities and better library facilities are a sampling of the benefits to be accrued from pooled resources.

At the high school level the liaison between church, business and school could be used effectively to provide on the job training for youths who need positions and experience in business.

The complete ramifications of this proposal are beyond the scope of this dissertation, but the initial suggestions point to directions the Church may take which will put her in

¹Rental of one building at reasonable rates to numerous small businesses would, after overhead, which would include custodial maintenance, guards' and night watchman's salaries, as well as improvements and repairs, show a profit which could be utilized to make up the cluster school's deficit.
a leadership capacity in the Black community. Cardinal Newman said: "To live is to change; to have changed often is to become a saint." The spiritual as well as temporal leadership the Catholic Church has shown in ages past must come to the fore once more. It must extend itself in the Black community, and it should take shape in new and better forms. The methods of past operation are guides to further direction. The changes which have occurred in the last twenty-five years Buckminster Fuller observes are more horrendous than those which occurred during the past two hundred and fifty. Because of the speed with which this era has developed, the Church must seek new ways of dealing with problems. Black Catholic education can be a vital force for the betterment of the condition of the second American city. Money is needed to accomplish this task. Ideas, however, are more important. The concept of the cluster school may be an answer. The most important factor is the realization that parochial structure must be reevaluated, new methods of problem solving must be tried rather than discussed and implementation changed so that Black Catholic education may live.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Roman Catholic Church has played a significant role in the development of Chicago, from its beginnings as a trading post through the many transitions the city has experienced in becoming one of the major metropolitan centers of the world. The Archdiocese of Chicago governs the nation's third largest school district. Fifteen per cent of the student population in this system is Black. The developments which shaped the educational growth of Chicago's Catholic Negro population parallel the developments which occurred in other cities, and are comparable to patterns which formed in public education. The second-class citizenship status of Blacks, which developed after manumition, led to social unrest which burgeoned with each succeeding decade of the twentieth century.

Examination of the early growth of the denominations that comprised the religious life of the city presents a study in the expansion of sectarian installations; the sphere of influence which denominations exerted is directly related to the immigrant waves of religious adherents who settled in the area. During the mid-nineteenth century, Germans and Irish, a major portion of whom were Catholic, settled in Chicago.
The Church provided national parishes for these worshippers, and thus was the growth of Chicago into the world's largest archdiocese inaugurated. The formation of parishes of more than nine different national and ethnic groups swelled annually from 1866 through 1929. Poles and Italians came to Chicago in large numbers during the pre World War I period. Middle Europeans forsok their ravaged homelands after "war to end all wars" had made emigration the only means of survival.

The white immigrants assimilated into the American-born, English-speaking population in a generation or two. To ease the transition from European to American, the Church built parishes which were havens of home to the newcomers.

Blacks migrated from the rural South to the urban North in sufficiently great numbers to disturb whites during the World War I period. Although native born, Negroes were frequently as displaced in their new environment as persons who trundled straw bags through the wire mesh gates of Ellis Island. In 1917 the first parish was assigned to Blacks. St. Monica's was instituted to keep Blacks in one church as much as to provide a place of worship in which parishioners would have familiar surroundings. Black parishioners who had come to Chicago seeking a better life than the existence over which Jim Crow loomed in the South, certainly needed a comfortable and conducive atmosphere for worship. The color prejudice which they encountered in every other phase of life
permeated into their religious experience as well, when that experience was linked to a major denomination governed by the white majority. Catholic hierarchy through the mid-nineteenth century relegated Black Catholic parishes to mission status and delegated responsibility for the care of Black sheep to pastors who were members of religious orders whose special mission consisted of serving minority groups.

The demography of Black Chicago is a blueprint of the "wildcat" growth. The brawling, lusty town brashly spreading out and rising up to become a citadel of power provides insight into the temper of a city that housed a Bubbly Creek. Lorraine Hansbury's metaphoric *Raisin in the Sun* is devastatingly accurate.

In the late 1800s, when Father John Tolton, America's first Black priest, performed apostolic work for the members of his race, there were less than 15,000 Negroes in Chicago. By 1917 the Black population of the city had increased almost two hundred per cent. The Black Belt began threading its way through the South Side. Racial tensions mounted, conflicts between Blacks and European immigrants and their descendants erupted. During the second and third decades of the present century, race riots broke out with alarming frequency. Newspapers under the spell of yellow journalism reported the ugliness in detail. White supremist organizations gathered adherents. Grand Dragon Jack Stevenson, who wielded great
influence over the statehouse and governor's mansion in Indianapolis during the 1920s, made the fiery cross a powerful symbol of hate in Chicago as well. White Chicago was, in great measure, a city of merchants and blue-collar workers. These people lived in a place where money was a commodity to be made rather than inherited. Blacks, they regarded, as threats to enterprise. Subduing the threat became a way of life.

Since the job has a peculiar importance in a city where "What do you do?" remains the question asked with ultra high frequency after a social introduction, whites were extremely diligent in excluding Blacks from desirable posts. Economic disadvantage caused deplorable ghetto conditions. Assimilation into the segment of the populace who attained the American dream was impossible for most Blacks. Organized efforts to obtain civil rights and other socioeconomic advances were hampered by a lack of first rate leadership within the Chicago Negro community. The need was great for strong leaders because the majority who wishes to oppress the minority was in control of the three estates, and did not hesitate to use this power to maintain white supremacy.

The estate most pertinent to this study is the Church. Blacks had been predominantly Protestant since the days of slavery. The Chicago Archdiocese, from the days when it relegated the Augustine Society to the basement of Old St. Mary's, conformed to the general pattern of white behavior to
Blacks. In an era when Social Darwinism became a theory seriously considered, the Church in Chicago manifested an attitude of benevolent condescension to its Negro communicants. She contributed to the segregated demographic lines on a parochial basis but more importantly, on an intellectual bias that strengthened the invisible chains forged after 1863 when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued. The manacles of racial relegation cut as deeply as open discrimination.

If the Catholic Church was not in the social forefront on the parochial level, she was at least consistent in maintaining her system of installations encompassed by territorial boundaries for parishioners of every hue. It is to the credit of the Church that she established Black Catholic schools. Black Chicagoans most desperately needed quality education. For over sixty years Blacks have been provided with parochial schools. The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament were first sent by their foundress, Mother Katherine Drexel, to St. Monica's in 1912. This congregation established to educate Blacks and Indians, has focused upon teaching children rather than minority youngsters. This admirable and imitable educational philosophy has resulted in the desired end all educational thought seeks to produce—well trained youth.

Seven years after the SBS began their apostolate on the shores of Lake Michigan, the Society of the Divine Word Fathers commenced caring for spiritual needs of Chicago's Black
Catholics. Tracing the progress of the SBS and the SVD in their educational and parochial endeavors is inspirational, for their records show significant achievements. Coping with white prejudice and Black hostility, they have succeeded in providing service and learning for over three generations.

The teachers who dedicated their lives to God and to the education of children faced problems attendant in inner-city schools. The overlapping of urban sociological issues makes these problems take on the stature of dilemmas or conundrums. Race, industry, finance interweave in continually changing patterns.

The Archdiocese as a segment of Peter's rock concentrated upon maintenance of stability, for an unchanging institution provides solidarity to which those caught up in change can retreat and gain perspective. The parish and its continuing existence, despite developments in the area the installation serves, exemplifies the Latin axiom, the more it changes the more it remains the same. Although complexion, not land, confined the old Black parish, St. Elizabeth's, the spread of the Negro ghetto necessitated provision of more Black parishes.

National parishes persisted until the middle of this century. Black expansion caused financial crises in parochial operation, because installations built to serve areas populated by European groups, who were predominantly Catholic, were in difficulty when the neighborhood became inundated by people who
were, in the main, Protestant.

Because of Blacks' status and religious tradition, clerical administrators considered working with Negroes a missionary effort. Diocesan clergy encharged the responsibility to religious orders.

A number of clergy reflected the prejudices of the society in which they lived. Conservatism delayed action in effecting social justice, because sacerdotal members of the establishment feared the white backlash. When decision makers refrain from problem solving, perplexities mushroom.

In the front lines of classrooms, religious and lay teachers instructed their charges. The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament welcomed Black lay to faculty decades before the practice of providing pupils with teachers with whom children can identify became popular in Catholic educational circles. Although the congregation of sisters proved innovative in method and effective in performance, Archdiocesan recognition and support was such that the most charitable description of the prevailing attitude is reactionary.

The events which occurred during the 1960s have underscored the need for recommitment by the Chicago Archdiocese. Black militancy has discouraged tendencies to patronize minorities. Black expansion has reached the stage whereby continuance of the present Catholic school system may depend upon Black patronage. Chicago, numerous urban planners insist, will
possess a Black majority before the end of this century.

In attempting to assess the future by consideration of past events, it becomes transparent that no facile remedies will be effective. Economic problems beset private schools. The reason for the existence of parochial schools is being called into question by an increasingly secular society. The values which Catholic education espouses and disseminates are to this era, which has been labeled post-Christian, perhaps more vital than to previous periods. To continue Catholic instruction in the inner-city magnet schools which would upgrade faculties and facilities might be implemented. Pooling existing resources of parish clusters would provide a transition to bridge the distance from the obsolescent parochial concept to future methods of improved organization which will foster increasingly better instruction.

The *Time* Magazine cover story, "The Jesuits Search for a New Identity," illustrates the need for a Daniel Berrigan, as well as an Edmund Campion.¹ The Catholic Church had some windows opened by Pope John XXIII. If fresh air is to continue to renew its many mansions, the winds of new ideas must be

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encouraged to blow in the educational echelons.

Brainstorming sessions conducted in a spirit of free interchange of ideas should be conducted on varied levels. If Catholic schools in the eclectic manner of John Dewey, could incorporate the better revolutionary and new educational concepts and practices, they would approach the ideal. In the real realm, more open acknowledgment of problems and encouragement of all ranks of personnel to offer partial solution would establish a bank of data vital for successful future operation. From this source of information gathered from those in the field, from those persons responsible for administration and supervision of schools within the system, as well as from consultants from extra-religious and non-educational fields, a total and Catholic input would contribute vital ideas and material from which continuous development could proceed.

The Archdiocesan school system is in need of increasingly detailed information concerning practical aspects of maintaining schools from a financial standpoint. As the Black Protestant population increases and as Black and white parents, who feel an obligation to send their offspring to Catholic schools and to support these operations diminish, the economics of operating private schools will become an ever more taxing question. Undoubtedly much future research will be undertaken to explore ways and means of financing Catholic schools. Perhaps from such studies, restructuring of the Archdiocesan
network will be effected.

There is need for definitive biographies of Father John Tolton and Mother Katherine Drexel. The existing studies are appreciative rather than critical.

The contributions of Society of the Divine Word Fathers to Chicago and how these priests' philosophy and activities have helped shape Black parishes merits detailed consideration.

When John XXIII convened Vatican II, he called for fresh perspectives. This outlook should serve future scholars as the guidepost in undertaking further studies of Catholic education, for upon this support hinges the gate to a future of Roman Catholic educational growth for men of all colors and races.
NOTE ON THE APPENDICES

Appendix A consists of the Letter of George, Cardinal Mundelein to Father J. A. Burgmer, SVD, 26 Oct. 1917. This missive illustrates the Catholic episcopal attitude toward Blacks during a most formative period in the history of Negro migration to Chicago. The length of this letter has determined its placement in an appendix.

Appendix B consists of Father Joseph Eckert's "The Negro in Chicago." The SVD pastor of St. Anselm's delivered this speech to a conference on race and religion held at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, c. 1935. This difficult to obtain manuscript in the parish records of St. Anselm's Church traces the history, problems and progress of Blacks in Chicago during the early twentieth century. Father Eckert writes from the perspective of one who is living and working among a people. The attitudes and insights of Father Eckert form a motif of comparison and contrast to the letter of Cardinal Mundelein. Inclusion of these documents may inspire future scholars to edit a collection of white Catholic clerics' writing on the Black issue in twentieth century America.
APPENDIX A

Archdiocese of Chicago
Chancery Office
740 Cass Street

Chicago, Ill.
October 26th, 1917.

Very Rev. J. A. Burgmer, S.V.D.
Provincial,
St. Mary's Mission House,
Techny, Ill.

MY DEAR FATHER BURGMER:

I am confiding to your care, and that of your Fathers, the Mission of St. Monica. The Rev. John B. Morris, who has been until recently its Rector, has been transferred to the pastorate of St. Ailbe's, Chicago. Until such time as negotiations I have initiated with your Father General are concluded, you will kindly look after the spiritual welfare of the people of St. Monica's and the temporal affairs of that parish as administrator, either personally or through one of your Community.

With the change of Rectors, a change of police is likewise to take place at St. Monica's. Until now practically anyone who so desired could affiliate himself with St. Monica's, attend the services and receive the Sacraments there. But now
I desire St. Monica's to be reserved entirely for the colored Catholics of Chicago and particularly of the South Side; all other Catholics of whatsoever race or color are to be requested not to intrude. It is, of course, understood that I have no intention of excluding colored Catholics from any of the other churches in the diocese, and particularly if they live in another part of the city, but simply of excluding from St. Monica's all but the colored Catholics.

My reasons for this regulation are briefly: 1) Because there are two large parishes with extensive parochial plants in the immediate vicinity of St. Monica's where these people can receive every attention and where, if they live in the vicinity, they by right belong, which parishes they are bound in conscience, and, in accordance with their means, to support; 2) St. Monica's was founded for the colored Catholics, is only a comparatively small church, the substructure alone being as yet completed, and by the intrusion of others, they are crowding, incommoding and embarrassing those for whom this mission was built; 3) When St. Monica's was first established, the colored population in Chicago was comparatively small, very poor, and there may have been reason to appeal for support to others outside. Now, however, the colored population of Chicago has grown very large, the men are nearly all at work and obtaining a much more adequate wage or salary, the number
of Catholics among them has grown proportionately, and they feel, I believe, even as I do, that they are able and willing to support their own church and school, and if they do, the credit therefor should go to them and to nobody else. In a word, because of circumstances that do exist here in this city, I am convinced that our colored Catholics will feel themselves much more comfortable, far less inconvenienced, and never at all embarrassed if, in a church that is credited to them, they have their own sodalities and societies, their own school and choir in which they alone will constitute the membership, for even stronger reasons the first places in the church should be theirs just as much as the seats in the rear benches are.

It would be puerile for us to ignore the fact that a distinction as to color enters very often into the daily happenings of our city. I am not going to argue as to the reasons for or against this line of distinction which causes so much bitterness, nor will I say anything as to the justice or injustice of it. It is sufficient to say that it does exist and that I am convinced that I am quite powerless to change it, for I believe the underlying reasons to be more economic than social. What I am concerned about is that my colored children shall not feel comfortable in the Catholic Church. But the existence of this line of distinction, it seems to me, ought to be the very reason why St. Monica's ought to show splendid
growth and progress within the next few years, now that its future lies with the colored race of this city. I am mindful of the fact that in the city of New York, in a district the population of which is almost entirely colored, they have their own institutions, their theatres, their hotels and restaurants, in some instances not even surpassed by the best of similar establishments farther down-town. Why, then, should we not accomplish as much here when there is a question of the one and only church the colored Catholics can call their own in this city? At all events, I have confidence in the colored Catholics of this city, and as a preliminary step in this direction, I shall place the sole responsibility for St. Monica's in their hands. If they succeed in building it up, as I think they can, then one by one, as they are able to take care of them, we will add other religious and educational features; if they fail they will have shattered the faith I have in their earnestness and steadfastness in their religion as well as the laudable spirit of pride they should show in their own and their people's progress and welfare. In this city we have people who come here from all parts of Europe. Far poorer in this world's goods much fewer in numbers and but poorly equipped in knowledge of customs and conditions here, yet we find them erecting splendid churches and schools, as much to perpetuate their customs and conditions, as to preserve their country's language. And yet
later on, when they will have been absorbed into the great American people, their children and their children's children will point with pride to the sacrifices their forefathers made in the days of their poverty to preserve their nation's ideals. Shall it be said then later that the children of the colored race have nothing to point to as the "footprints in the sands of time" of the early generations of colored Catholics in this city? I refuse to believe it, and for that reason I am appealing to the three or four hundred colored Catholic families in this city to come together and do something to make their name and their faith live, a monument for them and for their children. Let them of their own accord, by bringing sacrifices, even as others do, build up St. Monica's, clear it of debt, make it attractive, equip the school, and if they do,—if we see their good will, their ready response, their generous cooperation, then this will simply be the beginning of what we are prepared to establish for our colored Catholics. Should they fail, I would be disappointed and sadly mistaken in my judgment of them, and a parish distinctly for them would die like a poorly nourished infant. But when I consider their many good qualities, their peaceful family life, their love for their children, their strong religious spirit, I fail to see how they can fail. I have never yet met a colored man who was professedly atheistic or blasphemous. The Creator seems to have given them a spirit
of reverence and religion that is often lacking in other races. Then too, the deeply affectionate nature of their children. Our Sisters who engage in the work of teaching the colored children soon become strongly attached to them, so that it is very hard later to part them from their charges. Surely when they consider the self-sacrificing work the two communities of our Sisters have done for their children, for those of the parish, as well as the orphaned and dependent, there is no colored man, woman or child in Chicago, even those outside of the Church, who will not be anxious that the opportunity of doing something for the good of the race, for the honor and pride of their people, that this work of religion and education which means so much for the future welfare of their people be not allowed to fail, but rather must be maintained at any cost.

Nor can I permit the opportunity to pass of reminding the colored Catholics of this city of the great debt of gratitude they owe to that noble woman who has been such a great benefactor to them and their children, Mother Katharine Drexel, who has spurned every worldly comfort and advantage that was hers, who contributed every penny of her great wealth, who has devoted her services and her life and her self-sacrificing Sisters in religion to the care of an almost neglected corner of the Lord's vineyard, to the work of saving the souls of the little colored children in the crowded and often squalid city quarters as well
as in the scattered and lonely country districts of this land. Only on the last day, when all things will be made clear to us, will the colored people really know how much these devoted handmaidens of the Lord have done for the uplifting, the education and the sanctification of the children of their race.

The handful of colored Catholics in Chicago have indeed a work to do. To them there is entrusted the mission of the layman's apostolate. The colored population of the city now numbers, I am told, nearly one hundred thousand. Though the Lord has created them religiously inclined, yet the great mass of these people are unchurched. What a mission there is here for the Catholic layman, "how white the fields are with the harvest," yet when we consider the apathy, the indifference, the absolute neglect of their spiritual duties and opportunities on the part of so many so-called Catholics, may we not justly say, but how pitifully few are the laborers therein! It is for this reason that I have, through you, Reverend Father, addressed this communication to them. It is the first time, I believe, that a Bishop has directed an appeal to his colored children alone. Surely their appreciation, their sense of duty, their very pride will not permit it to be fruitless.

I am placing in their case St. Monica's Mission. I am entrusting to them, as the objects of their constant and particular solicitude, its temporal growth and its spiritual
progress. I hope to see their house of God increase in size and grow in beauty. I hope to see the parish activities become more numerous, and its burden of debt slowly but surely melt away. And more than all I desire to see the number of school-children increase and the recipients of the Sacraments multiply week after week and month after month. And I pray with all my heart that many a soul now dwelling in darkness and in the shadow of death may enter its door and find the light, the truth and the peace that the Master has hidden in His Church, and which those alone find who enter the true fold. Finally, I remind them that they and their children are as dear to me as their white-skinned brethren and that for them and for their children, too, I must one day render an accounting before the Eternal Judge, who looks not at the color of our faces, but searches for the purity of our hearts and judges us by the fruits we have to show. And may the saintly patroness, under whose protection we have placed our colored children, show for each of them that same maternal solicitude that she showed her only son, Augustine, and, like him, bring them to eternal life.

To you, therefore, and to all the parishioners of St. Monica's, I send my blessing, in the hope that a new era of material and spiritual prosperity is about to dawn for this
mission and its work.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

George W. Mundelein

Archbishop of Chicago
APPENDIX B

THE NEGRO IN CHICAGO

Our Fellow Citizen the Negro

In recent years the Negro and his problems have arrested in some form or other, the attention of many people in Chicago. Some, and their number is by no means small, positively dislike him; they cannot and do not want to understand him; they ostracize him, for they consider him a parasite and a menace to the American family and a liability to a cosmopolitan city, such as Chicago. Others are indifferent to him. These take the age-old attitude: "Why should I be my brother's Keeper." Again others are thoroughly interested in the Negro. They see in him not a liability to a community, but an asset who actually has exercised a vital influence in the economic and cultural development of our great Commonwealth, the United States. They try to study him and learn to understand him and his many vexing racial problems,—often not of the Negro's making. They make evident efforts, with tangible results, to help him wherever they can to overcome his disabilities and difficulties, and to realize his ambitions and to advance in all phases of life. In other words, they try to be just and sympathetic towards the Negro. And that is all the Negro expects, and let us add, has a right to expect from his white neighbor. Unfortunately this latter group is
still rather small, but growing more and more every year, as this present assembly so well proves and as the many thorough studies of the Negro and his problems, made and published by eminent students and authorities of Social Sciences. Indeed, in contacts with the Negro, white people soon discover that beneath the darker skin there are as many fine qualities and noble traits as there are faults and shortcomings, and that he is just another human being who, as they do, thinks American, talks American and reads American.

Growth and Immigration

At the very dawn of the history of Chicago, we meet the Negro. It is claimed to be an historical fact today that Jean Baptiste de Saible, a Negro from Santo Domingo, was the first foreigner to settle in 1779, on the northern bank of the Chicago River near the Michigan Avenue bridge. It is well to remember that this de Saible tradition has been used by a number of Negro societies in the city interested in building up race consciousness and civic pride. The new Wendell Philipps High School has lately been rechristened De Saible High Schoo.

When Chicago was incorporated as a city a hundred years ago there were only a few Negroes in the city. One was the town crier. The growth of the Negro population was considerable during the eighty years between 1850 and 1930. According to the U. S. census there were in 1850: 323 Negroes in Chicago;
before the Civil War, less than 1,000; 1860: 958; 1870: 3,696; 1880: 6,480; 1890: 14,271; 1900: 30,150; 1910: 44,103; 1920: 109,594; 1930: 233,903; the estimated figure for 1936 is 250,000.

In Evanston the Negro population was in 1920: 2,522; and in 1930 it had grown to 4,938—100% in ten years.

Though by law Negroes may live in Chicago where they choose, they are constrained by covenants, entered into by neighborhood property associations, to live in six well-defined neighborhoods. Approximately 200,000 live in the so-called "Blackbelt" on the near Southside between 26th street and 67th street, Wentworth and Cottage Grove Ave., a district 5 miles long and one mile and one-quarter wide. Smaller groups live in Lilydale, along State and 95th Str., Morgan Park, Near Westside, and Northside, Englewood and Woodlawn.

What caused the Negro to leave the South in such large numbers during the last two decades and settle mostly in 12 northern cities? Here is the answer: general dissatisfaction with their social status in the South, including the lack of opportunity to gain an adequate education and to avail themselves of the ordinary cultural activities; lack of work or low wages and the peonage system; unscrupulous exploitation under the sharecropping system; unfairness in the courts resulting in being forced on the chain gangs of the constant specter raising every so often its hideous head of being lynched; renewed
activity on the part of the Ku Klux Klan.

The chief cause, however, as admitted by Negroes themselves to the Chicago Commission on Race Relations in 1921 was the demand of northern industries for cheap labor. The World War had abruptly and almost entirely cut off the labor supply formerly pouring into this country from Europe. Our own entrance into the War necessitated as much brawn and muscle in our factories as could be secured without weakening the actual army in the field. Therefore, labor agents scouted around the great South and recruited large armies of Negro labor and brought them to Chicago, not caring whether they were fit or not.

Another great factor causing such an unprecedented migration of people from the South to the North as history has not recorded before was undoubtedly the Northern Negro Press. The Chicago Defender, which was widely read in the South, deserves special mention although plantation owners employed every cunning means to suppress the circulation of this paper. The fantastic descriptions of Negro life in our northern cities, especially in Chicago, had a deep affect upon the less fortunate southern brother, and made the southern Negro sense and long for his golden opportunity to advance in every sphere of life, to earn a decent livelihood, to be treated fairly in the courts, to enter fine up-to-date educational institutions, to live in decent homes and neighborhoods without an enforced "Jimcrowism,"
to have his women protected from assaults of sadistic men, and last not least, to exercise freely his rights of citizenship at the polls. The Chicago Defender really appealed to the Southern Negro in and out of season to leave the poor South and try his "luck" in the North. Or as Alain Locke expresses it so well and succinctly, "The tide of Negro migration northward and cityward was a mass movement toward the larger and the more democratic chance—in the Negro's case a deliberate flight not only from country side to city, but from medieval America to modern."

Social and Economic Status

This sudden increase in the Negro population Chicago brought along, as was to be expected, serious economic and social problems. The Negro came into his promised land, but was not prepared at all for the various and complicated phases of city life. Dr. Charles S. Johnson, at present the head of the Department of Social Sciences at Fisk University, has pointed out that the Negro came mostly from the rural sections of the South, where his education had been entirely neglected and where he enjoyed no social or cultural life outside of his religious affiliations. He was brought here by labor agents primarily to work in large factories and yet, on this arrival there were chiefly employed in menial jobs as laborers. He was given little or no opportunity to advance into the ranks of
semi-skilled and skilled trades. Most labor unions refused to admit him, even today, to their membership, though he may be well qualified. Of course, all this added to his trouble and made it difficult for him to adjust himself to the new conditions of urban life.

And yet, in spite of these many hardships, the Negro was able, before the depression, to work himself into a very interesting niche in the economic and political life of Chicago. He did not become discouraged, but, on the contrary, he was determined to progress, and to the chagrin of his former masters in the South to make good in the new surroundings. Negro Social Agencies, Negro Churches, Negro Politicians and The Negro Press all helped the newcomer to find his way into the customs and intricate labyrinth of city life, and to secure and hold a job. When, for instance, during the minor depression in 1926 many Negroes became jobless, the Negro Press, under the leadership of the then Chicago Whip, created jobs, and good ones at that, by the slogan one could read and hear everywhere, especially in the Negro Churches: "Do not spend your money where you cannot work." This boycott by the Negro customers and housewives worked like magic. It had the desired success. It landed numerous new jobs, heretofore held from the Negro. According to a survey made in 1927 by that efficient Negro Social Agency, the Urban League, we find Negroes, both men and
women, working as laborers, skilled and non-skilled, as middle
ten, as artisans in little shops which he often owned himself,
as clerks and cashiers in stores, as typists and stenographers
in investment houses and real estate offices, in short, he had
succeeded in getting into the natural machinery of industry,
trade and complicated business in a big city. According to
statements made to me by presidents and managers of business
establishments, his services were as a whole, satisfactory.
The Negroes even owned and themselves managed two banks in the
"Blackbelt," where both races transacted their business; he
owned and managed finely appointed funeral homes, a few insur-
ance companies which weathered the severe storm of the de-
pression and are functioning normally today. The Negro district
had become more and more a self-supporting community with dis-
tinctive features of its own cultural and social life.

Everyone who is a little acquainted with the political
life in Chicago knows that the Negro has become an important
political factor to be reckoned with by all political factions
of the city and state. Through settling in a restricted area,
the Negro created, whether consciously or not, such a racial
solidarity that his political leaders could bring about tre-
mendous political influence in a manner such as few other racial
or national groups have been able to achieve. In consequence of
this acquired political influence, the Negro has received
considerable political patronage and appointive positions in all departments of the city, state or federal government, as other citizens regardless of political party affiliations. Let me mention that according to official statistics there were in 1934: 321 regularly appointed teachers; policemen, firemen and out of 12,199 postal employees of Chicago there were 3,008 or 25% of the Negro Race.

Relief

Today the economic, and consequently the social life, is far from satisfactory for the majority of the Negro people in Chicago. According to a statement printed recently by the Chicago Urban League in its brochure: "Two Decades of Service:" there are probably 56% of the Negro population in Chicago on relief. An astounding gross percentage! What a sad story it conceals only those know, who were in constant touch with the miserable conditions of the Negro during the last few years and helped to bring relief wherever possible. Pictures of the utter want and need in Negro homes rise before me, which I will never forget! We know from personal contact with the Negro that he is the first one to be fired when depression looms on the horizon, and the last one to be hired when the dawn arises. In many industries and lines of work the Negro appears to have lost his vantage point, gained prior to the depression. Its signs do not deceive me, then, it will take many years before
the Negro will have reoccupied the place and position in which he was so strongly entrenched before the depression. Cheap white labor is available, and the industries often prefer it to taking back Negro men or women, and willingly do the work, formerly done only by Negroes.

Often I have heard severe and bitter criticism launched against the Negro on relief. He is condemned as shiftless, lazy and of the spendthrift type. To me that criticism sounds very unfair, nay even unjust. It is as much true of other groups who are forced to live under similar conditions as of the Negro. Even the self-respecting, ambitious, industrious and professional Negro was forced to seek relief as a last desperate resource to keep his family from cold and hunger. It should never be forgotten that most Negroes, because of low wages, never made enough to put up a reserve for an emergency like his more fortunate white brother. And yet he had considerable savings at the beginning of the depression. According to my recollection there were almost eight million dollars of Negro deposits in the loop and in postal savings accounts. Whatever he had put away in the Southside banks, was lost in the bank crashes of 1930-31. His considerable savings in the loop banks were soon used up, as soon as he lost his job or was deprived of his professional clientele. He needed his hard earned savings to educate his children; to buy or pay on his home or
insurance, which obligations he tried to fulfill as long and as conscientiously as he could. Finally, as the depression continued, he had to give up, and unwillingly join the long line of relief seekers.

Ever since the southern Negro arrived in Chicago, and especially with the loss of his economic prestige, he was compelled to be satisfied with inferior housing conditions to that of other groups, and was morally forced to settle in restricted districts, not to his liking. It is true that the housing conditions of the Negro to my observation, are as rule much better in Chicago than in other large cities; yet, there are districts which are not fit for human habitation and are only breeders of sickness and crime. To illustrate: much of the district north of 39th Str.

The Negro population has increased, but not housing facilities. And yet, the self-respecting Negro loves a good home in neatly kept surroundings. Therefore, as soon as his means permit it, he moves but always into better districts and there he becomes a stable and good tenant until such time as the district physically and morally deteriorates. We know only too well how the landlord both black and white often mercilessly exploits his Negro tenants. He neglects to keep the property in ordinary repair or to make the necessary improvements. Modern conveniences and sanitation are not installed, and yet
he has the audacity to ask for higher rents than in other districts. If the tenant fails to pay the rent promptly, he is evicted without any consideration for sick mothers or children. These deplorable housing and renting conditions were partly responsible for the eviction riots a few years ago, and brought agitators for Communism into the district.

Before the depression Negroes had bought, built and owned a considerable number of homes and apartment buildings on the Southside. In fact, it is the ambition of many a Negro to own his own home. Many Negroes lost their homes which they had acquired at inflated prices during the boom days. Even if he was able to keep his home or building during the depression, he could not keep the building and the surroundings in as attractive condition as he perhaps wanted to, because of lack of sufficient income. It appears to me that the average Negro property owner takes as much pride in keeping and improving his property as his white neighbor does, for he knows that well-kept apartments are at a premium and command a higher rent from the better class Negro.

Today the Negro district is overcrowded. In six or seven room flats or homes, there are three or four families herded together. Every room is used as a bedroom; kitchen and bathroom serve all. Even the better families are forced to take in roomers in order to meet the rent. Now, it is an axiom in Social Science, wherever we have overcrowded districts and
lack of privacy in homes, we invariably encounter the problem of vice and crime together with disease and increased mortality, all of which are out of proportion in certain Negro districts. Morals of both young and old will and must suffer; the sense of modesty and decency in sex behavior will be dulled where large families are living in one or two rooms and where there are many roomers. The latter are often men and women who deserted their partner and children or were torn from their families during the rush of the migration period and drifted along with their friends to Chicago and are living today in common law marriages.

Morality

Therefore, cases of desertion and illegitimacy are more numerous in the Blackbelt of Chicago than elsewhere. A few years ago, 15% of all the Negro babies born in the County Hospital were illegitimate. During the last five years over 500 Negro childmothers came under the supervision of the juvenile court and were entrusted to the care of the Chicago Urban League to be rehabilitated.

However, it must be noted that moral conditions are better whenever we meet good housing conditions, and where family life takes its normal course. Here a very interesting picture presents itself even to the casual observer on the Southside. The nearer the Blackbelt is to the Loop, the more slums with all their ugly views and scenes. Everywhere are
deteriorated and dilapidated properties. The behavior of the people occupying these premises, mostly condemned by the city, is not inviting nor commendable, but almost repulsive. Raggedness and uncleanliness, boisterousness and boldness, are to be met. In these districts we have the haunts of crime both white and colored. Disease and mortality are rampant and demand their toll. But these hideous scenes change the further south we travel. Better homes and well-kept properties are evident. The conduct of the people bespeaks culture and refinement. Here live well organized and one-house families and, therefore, crime and vice, disease and mortality, are not much more prevalent than in any other similar city districts. Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, who a few years ago made a study of the Negro Family in Chicago, convincingly proves in his book published by the University of Chicago Press that the further the Negro is away from the Loop and can live in better surroundings, the rates of crime and vice, delinquency and sickness in general decrease. He also concludes that the social problems are not so much determined by the inferior innate qualities of the Negro, as is often erroneously assumed, but are the direct results of a community situation and geography, to which conclusion I must now agree, though years ago I held a much different view on this subject.

It is a well-known fact that many Negroes left the South
in quest of the better educational facilities offered in the North to all, regardless of creed or color. We know that in the Chicago Public Schools the Negro child enjoys the same school opportunities as the white child. Here he is not "jimcrowed" into inferior schools as in the South, though most schools in the Blackbelt are attended almost entirely by Negro children. One, the Keith School, is under the direction of a very efficient Negro principal, and has both white and Negro teachers.

Catholic Influence in Education

During the last fifteen years I have been in charge of a large school, both grammar and high school. This brought me in close touch with thousands of parents and their children. I have always found that Negro parents are very eager to have their children receive by far a better training and education than they were offered or had themselves in the South. Many older Negroes had no schooling whatever, or at best a very meager one. Their children, however, must go to school. Today more than 45,000 Negro children attend the grammar and secondary schools in Chicago. However, the schools in the Blackbelt are not by any means adequate to handle the children in one session. Most schools must carry on in two sessions and one school even has three sessions a day. Besides being old structures, they are not large enough to accommodate all the children in one session. It stands to reason that such a makeshift cannot be
beneficial to discipline, or help the child to make the necessary progress. Parent-teacher associations have lodged protest after protest against this deplorable condition in our schools on the Southside, but without much success.

Often I have been asked why is it that there is such a large ratio of truancy among the Negro children, more so than among the white pupils. That is true, though I must here also state that in our Catholic schools on the Southside we have, so to speak, no truancy problem among the Negro children. But I know only too well, that it exists in public schools and causes great worry to both teachers and parents. It should be remembered that many Negro children came from the South without much education. When these children were graded in our Chicago schools, they were placed in lower grades. What was the result? These new children sitting at the side of younger and smaller children, also more alert and quicker to learn, found themselves over-aged and over-sized and, therefore, they naturally felt out of place. They remained away from school and the truancy officer picked them up. Moreover, both parents had to work from early morning until late at night in order to get along. The children were left to themselves and lack, then, that parental supervision and discipline, so necessary to the child's moral welfare and progress in school. The children miss school and they roam the streets and join gangs which lead
later to juvenile vice and crime. Other children stay home and are marked as truants because they feel ashamed to go in bad clothes or torn shoes. Here again we must underline the fact emphasized before when speaking about the housing conditions of the Negro, that where children have well-organized homes, and sufficient parental supervision, both truancy and juvenile delinquency are of about the same ratio among the Negro youth as in other city districts of the same type.

After the completion of grammar school, Negro children are generally pursuing their education in the high school. A goodly number do graduate from the high school and continue their studies in colleges and universities. In order to see their children forge ahead, Negro parents and their relatives make tremendous sacrifices. They actually forego pleasure and even necessities of life that their children may achieve a better position in life and a more comfortable living than they have had. So we find today among the younger generation of the Chicago Negro a group a well-educated and cultured men and women, the so-called New Negro. We have in Chicago 370 actors, 388 ministers, 281 physicians, 134 dentists, 175 lawyers, 452 teachers and a great number of social workers and nurses.

It is a fact to any unprejudiced observer that the Negro has made a successful high climb on the ladder of the economic, political and social life in Chicago, though the odds were
stacked against him. One of the factors which to my mind must not be underestimated that aided him in going ahead so rapidly, was undoubtedly, his religion. Down South his religion was intimately woven into the woof and warp of the Negro life. Until recently most of his social activities revolved around his church. It kept alive and strengthened his racial solidarity. It kept his faith in better times to come and encouraged him to labor on, until he also would be recognized and accepted by his white brother. During the World War when the mass movement from the South to the North set in, the minister together with the doctor, lawyer and undertaker, followed his flock northward. He established his new church in stores or basements of homes where his former members could assemble for their "old time religion." However, already established Negro churches in Chicago gained most. Their membership grew by leaps and bounds, so that they found it necessary to expand and bought, therefore, large massive churches and synagogues, abandoned by their former white congregations. A few Negro congregations built new churches. Here in the churches the newcomer renewed his old social contacts with former friends; here he found new friends, who advised and helped him to adjust himself quickly to new surroundings and customs. These churches also cooperated closely with Negro Social Welfare Agencies, such as The Chicago Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Negro Press which all helped the
newcomer to prepare himself for his new economic and cultural life, to secure jobs, and to watch that social justice was done to him by his new employers as well as by the citizens of Chicago. Today there are, according to information gathered from the Chicago Church Federation, 182 Negro churches in the city of Chicago; but according to government statistics, there are 300, which figure no doubt includes the so-called storefront churches. Of the 182 Negro churches in the Chicago area, 129 belong to the Baptist Church, which is divided into four different groups: namely, the Friendship, Northwood River, New Era, and Bethlehem. It is interesting to note that 24 Baptist churches are today without a minister. Their membership amounts to 89,378 and their property value is estimated at $2,888,150. Besides the Baptist churches, there are seven Methodist, ten colored Methodist Episcopal, thirty-five African Methodist Episcopal, six African Episcopal Zion, four Presbyterian, four Episcopal, three Independent, two Congregational, two Disciples of Christ, one Church of God and one Lutheran. Just how many members belong to these various churches outside of the Baptist is difficult to say. Some of these congregations have large church plants, and maintain social centers which do great social and educational work among the Negroes under the leadership of prominent Negro clergymen of national reputation.
Catholic Influence

At this juncture, being a Roman Catholic priest, the question might be asked as to what the Catholic Church is doing for the Negro in Chicago? Forty-five years ago the first Colored Catholic Priest in the U. S., the Rev. Father Augustine Tolton was asked by Archbishop Patrick Feehan to organize a Catholic congregation--St. Monica's--which would look especially after Catholic Negroes on the Southside just the same way as other Catholic Congregations take care of their various national or racial groups. A little basement church was built which served the few Catholic Negroes even at the time when just fifteen years ago I was placed by his Eminence, George Cardinal Mundelein in charge of the congregation. A little school with a few Sisters as teachers was attached to St. Monica's Church. Through well-organized instruction classes and through reclaiming the fallen-away Catholic Negroes, I was able to increase membership considerably in a few years. St. Monica's became too small in December, 1924 so that His Eminence, George Cardinal Mundelein, merged little St. Monica's with St. Elizabeth's, which for many years had been the largest and most prominent Catholic parish on the Southside, but had been partly abandoned by its parishioners, who had moved further South. Here at St. Elizabeth's we had a great social center. The missionary activities were continued. A large up-to-date
School with twenty-four Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament and a few lay teachers was attended by over 1,000 children and a high school took care of 100 more. The membership grew so rapidly that in a few years St. Elizabeth's became one of the largest Catholic congregations in the country, perhaps in the world, that was made up and well supported by Negroes, and was as well organized as could be accomplished. Today besides St. Elizabeth's Church on the Southside, another Catholic Church is attended by Negroes; namely, Corpus Christi, which has one of the most beautiful and impressive church plants in Chicago and is located on the great Chicago thoroughfare, South Parkway at 49th Street. This Church is in charge of the gentle Franciscan Fathers. Besides these two Negro Congregations, there is still another on the border line of black and white, St. Anselm's Church, Michigan Avenue at 61st Street, of which I have been the Pastor for the last four years. It serves both races, black and white, and both worship peaceably side by side. On the near West Side there is St. Joseph's Parish, which is attended by Catholic Negroes of the neighborhood and is administered by Jesuit priests. Each of the Southside churches is solely supported by Negroes, who are generous contributors. They operate large schools which are being attended by over 2,200 Negro children, both Catholic and non-Catholic and taught by forty-five Sisters. We also operate Sunday Schools which
give religious instructions to an additional 300 public school children. All the children attending our parochial schools must pay tuition and supply their own books and school material. In my fifteen years work with the Negro I always have found the finest cooperation from the parents. Truancy and juvenile crime among our school children are hardly known, as statistics will bear me out. Besides the large membership in our four Churches which serve the religious interest of the Catholic Negro in Chicago, there are other Catholic Churches which are attended by Negroes who happen to live in their immediate vicinity. So today we have about 12,000 Catholic Negroes in Chicago and fifteen years ago there were perhaps not more than 1,200, a glaring evident proof that the Negro field is ripe for the harvest.

The other day I asked a prominent Negro, who is a thorough student of Negro life in Chicago and, therefore, can speak with authority, whether in his opinion and observation the Negro is drifting away from religion and his good old church. Without any hesitancy he answered in the affirmative, and that also is my opinion. The New Negro is not a churchgoer. According to a survey made a few years ago of the religious situation of the Negro in some twelve larger cities, it was found that about 33% of the Negroes belonged to some church, 67% were without any church affiliation. This survey shows the
deplorable religious condition of the Negro in our larger cities, though Chicago has more churchgoers than other cities. It also brings vividly to the attention of our religious leaders the dire need of more organized efforts of the various churches not only to increase the membership, but also to hold them in the fold. The number of young people who never received any religious instructions is astounding. And yet I know only too well from personal experience with the young Negro boy and girl, how anxious they are to learn about the Why and How of Religion, and finally after thorough study, to embrace a definite form of religion. Only recently I organized a religious study club for high school students, and without any effort, twenty-five boys and girls who are unchurched and not baptized responded.

Somebody has well stated: "It is useless to criticize the Negro for his failure of his religion, while whites make it impossible for him to be otherwise." Indeed the New Negro has become disillusioned in Religion and especially in Christianity. The emotionalism of the Old Time Religion of his parents which almost borders on hysterics, he adhors as lacking intellectual-ity. That his minister should cater to, or turn politician himself, appeals still less. As he grows up and begins to think for himself, he finds to his bewilderment that the Church preaches one thing from the pulpit, and the hearers practice another. So-called Christians, with their prejudices, became a
stumbling block to him. He is made to suffer gross injustices for no other reason than his darker skin. The very ones from whom he thought he could expect fairness and justice in life, let down barriers and blocked his advancement in every walk of life by slamming the door in his face, or by trying to excuse this unchristian attitude. Therefore, it is not surprising that the New Negro, as the young generation loves to be called, thinks that the Church cannot solve his problems and help him materially, that he spurns the Church and turns with longing to those systems which promise him social justice and opportunities to advance in life. He seeks his salvation in New Thought, Bahaism and, last but not least, in Communism.

Conclusion

The Blackbelt of Chicago, just like Harlem in New York City, has become a city within a city, the second largest Negro community known the world over. It is not just a slum, filthy and immoral, but has a beautiful section, refined and cultured. It is not only a quarter of dilapidated buildings and tenement houses, but also is made up of modern well-kept apartments and handsome dwellings with well-paved and well-lighted streets. It has its own churches, social and civic centers, shops, newspapers, magazines and its own places of amusement to suit the tastes of all. It has its own distinct racial population, from
the poorest to the wealthy, from the illiterate and half barbarous to the highly educated and well-mannered, from the lowest moral creature to the virtuous, saintly person. To me who has been brushing elbows for the past fifteen years with the best and lowest of the Negroes, and who has had every opportunity to observe him in the hovels and charming homes, from his innocent schooldays until he settled down as a young man or woman in well-organized family life of his choosing and making; to me who has learned not only to know and understand but also to excuse his faults and shortcomings, though they meant sometimes severe suffering and disappointment; to me who also has learned to know and appreciate his good qualities and virtues through a source no social worker or student of social sciences will ever be able to get, namely, through the Catholic confessional; to me the Negro is just another creature of God, made according to His own image and likeness. The Negro, indeed, has his own problems. No one knows this better than he. Many are not of his own making, for he has been the victim of circumstances, over which he had no control, as his sad history only too clearly proves. He himself does his best to solve the problems, no matter of what intricate nature they are, or whether they concern him individually or the whole Race. And he will solve them, if the other American groups only meet him halfway and let him have that Social Justice and well-known American fairness which he as an American citizen
and a human being may justly and fairly claim and expect. As far as the New Negro is concerned, and he is within the gates of our great city, the fierce unrelenting battle for his spiritual, economic and social emancipation has begun.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

To make the following list of sources a more useful tool for research this bibliography is divided into four sections: Black Studies; Chicago Material; General and Educational Sources; Special Collections.¹

In some instances sources overlap. Because of the local nature of this study whenever possible literature which covers Chicago affairs has been placed under the heading Chicago Material.

Because of the ephemeral quality of newspaper writing and because of the infrequency of intelligible identifications of many manuscript records and other archival sources, emendations identify entries where necessary and describe contents of parts of special collections. These holograph sources have provided invaluable first hand data for this dissertation.

¹The four sections are alphabetically arranged.
Black Studies


Ridge, Antonia and Frederick W. Moller. The Black Experience. Detroit: Dudley Press, 1969. [This pamphlet is one of a series which this Black publisher issues which affords Blacks opportunities to express themselves on various topics in a manner which would not be acceptable to commercial publishers].


Chicago Material


[This piece purports that adherence to Catholicism impedes progress to equality for the "New Negro"].

Chicago Daily Tribune. 8 Jan., 1864.
[This untitled article gives population].

[This untitled article on population lists statistics].

"The City's Colored and Their Religion." Chicago Tribune. 5 May, 1929.

[This news story treats of a Black family's efforts to move into a house in the Forestville School area].

[This study contains many statistics on population not found elsewhere].

[This article deals with Catholic population statistics].

[This souvenir booklet is devoted mainly to the SVD apostolate in Chicago].


Drake, St. Clair. "Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community." Chicago: Works Progress Administration, 1940.

[This mimeographed study synthesizes most of the material formerly written on Chicago's churches.]


[Typescript copy of article is included in Father Joseph Eckert, SVD, "Personal Notes." Chicago. St. Elizabeth's Parish.]

Editorial *[Chicago]. Broad Ax. 28 Aug., 1909, p. 1.*

[This article which supports the Hyde Park Improvement Association may have been written by Francis Harper, the founder of the organization.]

Editorial. *Chicago Daily Defender, 10 May, 1913 p. 1.*

[This piece treats of a white neighborhood improvement association which bought out Blacks attempting to move into the Forestville area.]


[This article recounts prejudice Blacks met when attending Catholic churches.]


[This piece describes the Black enclave on the west side.]


[This article treats of Blacks moving into Hyde Park and Woodlawn.]


[This article treats of "Jimcrowism" in Chicago Black parochial schools.]


[This article deals with attempts to integrate the Lake Park area.]
Engelhardt, George W. *Chicago.* Chicago: privately printed for Chicago Board of Trade, 1900.

"Families Panic. Nervous Prostration Epidemic, etc." *Chicago Inter-Ocean.* 19 Aug., 1900, p. 1. [This article treats of Black families moving into the Washington Park area.]


Hardy, Eric W. "Relation of the Negro to Trade Unionism." Unpublished Master's thesis. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1911. [This study focuses upon local labor problems. The author makes it evident that Chicago problems were widespread across the nation.]


"The Hyde Park Improvement Protective Club, etc." *Chicago Record-Herald.* 21 Aug., 1909, p. 2. [This group was founded to keep Blacks out of Hyde Park.]


"Lynch Them' Was the Cry, etc." *Chicago Record-Herald.* 13 June 1910 [p. 1]. [The violence which broke out between Black and white workers erupted because of whites' fear that Blacks would get their jobs.]


"Meat Packing Industry Riots." Chicago Record-Herald. 22 July, 1904, p. 1. (Although animosity was racial, the underlying reason for these riots was whites' fear of losing jobs to Blacks).


Mundelein, George W. Two Crowded Years. Chicago: Extension Press, 1918. (Cardinal Mundelein's partially autobiographical recollection provides insights into his opinions of ethnic matters).


The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922. (This study was made by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations).


Polish Americans. Chicago: privately printed for National Catholic Polish Alliance, 1967. (The introduction highlights Polish accomplishment in America. The main focus is the Polish experience in Chicago).


General and Educational Sources


Miller, Neil E. and John Dollard. Social Learning and Imitation. Published for the Institute of Human Relations. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1941.


Straton, John R. "Will Education Solve the Race Problem?" *North American Review*, CLXX (June, 1900), 118-133. [This article argues for the universal acknowledgment of social Darwinism].


Special Collections

The following citations are not meant to be complete. Listing entire holdings of a special collection such as the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament Archives is beyond the scope of this study. Because of peculiar problems which arise in listing materials, among which are uncatalogued and untitled items, the bibliographer can only strive for consistency.

Archdiocese of Chicago Archives, Mundelein, Illinois contains:
Archdiocesan School Directories, 1929+.
[Prior to 1929 the collection is incomplete].
Correspondence Files.
[Several filing systems have been used: prior to 1920 letters are filed alphabetically according to the last name of the sender. Files after 1920 contain folders of correspondence relating to specific subjects and parishes].
Tables, Charts and Graphs, pertaining to Chicago Parishes and Parishioners.
[This collection contains much valuable information, much of which has been used in compilation of statistics used in this study. These files are alphabetically arranged according to title of the table, chart or graph. Because the title does not always convey the complete information contained, a helpful research project would be the compilation of a checklist with cross references of these informative statistical materials].
Maps of Parishes of the City of Chicago.
[The files of maps, in general, are chronologically arranged].

Archdiocese of Chicago Chancery Office Files.
[Material prior to 1940 is located in the Archives at
Mundelein, Illinois. The infrequency with which one finds cases involving inequities with regard to Blacks in the files from 1890-1940 is significant in establishing administrative diffidence. Exhaustive search of these files provided only five cases brought before the Chancery.

Illinois Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration. Chicago: George C. Hall Branch Library contains:
Catholic Churches in Chicago
Negroes in Chicago
(The writers of the period convey the attitudes and prejudices of their era. Most of the material is slightly disguised recasting of previously published information).

Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament Archives. St. Elizabeth's Convent (Mother House of the SBS), Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania, contains:
Correspondence Files. ([These files are arranged alphabetically according to the name of the sender. Many important documents are cross filed according to the name of the recipient. All of Mother Katherine Drexel's letters are filed under "Foundress."])
Journals of Mother Katherine Drexel. ([The eight account books contain manuscript accounts of the progress of the order by the foundress. These books are unpaginated].)
Lives of Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. ([This file contains typescript and manuscript biographies of selected members of the order. Of particular help in the study were papers: "Our Beloved Foundress" and "Sister Paul of the Cross."])
School Files. ([There is a folder on the history and activities of each school in which the SBS have taught. Files on St. Anselm's and St. Elizabeth's, the two Chicago schools of the congregation are replete with ferverinos; they also contain financial data].)

Society of the Divine Word Archives, Techny, Illinois contains:
Correspondence Files. ([These files are alphabetically arranged according to the name of the sender of the letter. If a series of letters are related they are stapled together].)
Information Submitted by Members of the Society.

Of those priests who worked in Chicago, Father Joseph Eckert, S.V.D. submitted the bulk of material which comprises the available information on Chicago Black parishes. Copies of these papers are also found in the Parish History of St. Elizabeth's.

Father Herman Zachman, S.V.D. "Life of Father Jansen." c. 1932.

This typescript biography of the founder of the Society contains much information on determinants which led the S.V.D. to the Black apostolate.
Histories of Chicago Parishes

The histories and correspondence files of old Chicago parishes present special bibliographical problems. Scrap books, account books, folders and boxes of material comprise the histories. Old letters are rarely kept in order. These documents shed light on the stories of the churches and schools and in a number of installations are included in the collections marked "Histories." Invariably the books in which historical material has been gathered are unpaginated. In the case of St. Elizabeth's History, I have supplied pagination for ease of reference.

The following Parish Histories (hereafter cited PH) have been consulted for this study:

Corpus Christi.
Contains: Scrap book of 12 pages of material, pictures, letters, unidentified newspaper clippings.

Holy Angels.
Contains: Account book filled with manuscript citations and information in the hands of various pastors. Box of papers, pictures, memorabilia.

Holy Name of Mary (Morgan Park).
Contains: Scrap book of clippings, many of which are dated and have newspaper source given.

Immaculate Conception.
Contains: Notebook of manuscript notations in hands of various pastors and curates. Pictures and letters are included.

Old St. Mary.
Contains: Assorted untitled papers, documents, letters.
This is the best source of information on the formation of the Augustine Society.

St. Agatha.
Contains: Account book of parish finances, deeds, letters, box of newspaper clippings. Source newspaper is identified but the clippings are for the most part not dated. Folder of letters, financial statements and pictures. Other material, e.g., notebook kept by former pastors on parish events could not be found.

St. Anselm.
Contains: Folders of materials, scrapbook, pictures, pamphlets, memorabilia.

St. Cecelia.
Contains: Box of memorabilia, a few newspaper clippings. Pictures of many parish events.

St. Dorothy.
Contains: Scrapbook of public relations material; "St. Dorothy's Church."
[Typescript on founding of parish and survey of highlights from the founding of the parish until 1949].

St. Elizabeth.
Contains: Scrapbook of notes, letters, pictures, newspaper clippings, many of which are unidentified.

Contains: "How Our Society Was Given St. Anselm Parish," c. 1940.
[This article was written for publication. There is no record that it was printed].
Newspaper clippings from Chicago press on Black community events.

St. Monica folder is filed at St. Elizabeth's.
Contains: Manuscript account of parishes and newspaper clippings.
St. Malachy.
Contains: Scrap books with a few press clippings and pictures; box of notes, papers and letters.

St. Thomas the Apostle.
Contains: Folders of correspondence, public relations, club activities; notebook containing rather complete account of parish history until 1940.

School Records

Archdiocese of Chicago, Chancery Office Records on Schools, 1928-1972.

Parochial School Administrative Records.
(The following schools' records were consulted:
Corpus Christi, Holy Angels, Holy Name of Mary (Morgan Park), St. Agatha, St. Anselm, St. Cecelia, St. Dorothy, St. Elizabeth, St. Malachy, St. Thomas the Apostle).
The dissertation submitted by Joseph J. McCarthy has been read and approved by members of the Department of Educational Foundations.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 21, 1973  Gerald Lee Tatek
Date  Signature of Advisor