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ARCHBISHOP RUMMEL'S LEADERSHIP IN TROUBLED TIMES: SPIRITUAL AND
SECULAR DISCOURSES TO INTEGRATE PAROCHIAL AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN
NEW ORLEANS

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The School of Education

by

Kristina McKenzie-Hudson
B.A., Louisiana State University, 2004
M.A., Louisiana State University, 2009
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ABSTRACT

This study examines the pastoral letters of Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel. Rummel served as the archbishop of the New Orleans archdiocese during a very tumultuous period in New Orleans' history, 1935-1964. In the four decades before Rummel's arrival, the archdiocese of New Orleans became increasingly segregated. Segregation became Church policy, as the New Orleans Catholic Church shunned its integrationist roots. As the infamous school crisis of 1960 raged in New Orleans and gained national attention, as leader of the Catholic faithful, Rummel would be confronted with the seminal question of his tenure, what was his stance on segregation in the Church and in public schools?

Rummel soon made it clear that he was opposed to segregation in the Church and in the spaces of the public. His increasing age, fragility, and fear of repercussions from racists within his Church and in the state legislature made him appear quite timid on the issue, as the Catholic schools integrated after the public schools in New Orleans. Further, his refusal to advocate for public marches, at a cursory glance, might make him seem weak and out of place in the discussion of the civil rights movement in New Orleans.

However, this research examines five of his pastoral letters to contend that Rummel did engage in a form of protest. This protest was rooted in principles of Catholic universalism, Christian principles, and democratic ideals. His words opposing segregation, as examined in his pastoral letters, were rooted in spiritual discourses, not legalistic ones. These discourses were largely very different from the discourses engaged by more well-known Protestant ministers and from the legalistic discourses used in the legal fight to end segregation in this nation. His form of protest was not a public one, but a spiritual one. The Modern Civil Rights Movement is often examined from the vantage point of *Brown* and its aftermath. Consequently, the Catholic Church

is largely excluded from the story. This historical study uses historical methods, including using the archives as sites of memory, thematic analysis, and primary and secondary sources to show that Rummel does have a prominent place in the story of integration in New Orleans.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and universality of the Redemption. The Eternal Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, came into the world to redeem and save all men, to die for all men on the cross, to make the life of grace available through the Church and the Sacraments for all men, to embrace all men in his Mystical Body on earth and in the life of glory in heaven....

Joseph Francis Rummel¹

This project is an historical analysis of the pastoral letters of Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel, the 9th archbishop of New Orleans during the 1960's integration of New Orleans' parochial and public schools. His service of almost thirty years has been the longest tenure of any archbishop in New Orleans' history. The position of archbishop of New Orleans comes with great responsibility and visibility because New Orleans is a largely Catholic city, and its Catholic roots run deep. The city was and still is home to the largest concentration of black Catholics in the country and the largest concentration of Catholics in the South (Manning & Rogers, 2002; Nolan, 2012). Rummel stepped into the role of leader of the Catholic faithful during a time of great turmoil in the nation, in the city, and in the New Orleans Archdiocese. He served from 1935-1964 as the city and nation underwent great change and social unrest. As the nation contended with contradictions of its very creed, the question of how and if it would rectify its disparate treatment of black Americans rose to the forefront of the nation's conscience.

It was during Rummel's tenure that *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) was decided. Although the premise of this case was that segregated educational facilities were un-Constitutional, it was this case that effectively overturned a case that initially had nothing to do

¹ Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"The Morality of Racial Segregation"]. Amistad Research Center [hereafter T-ARC], (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

with education and that had New Orleans roots, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Not only was *Brown* decided during Rummel's stint as archbishop, but the infamous New Orleans school crisis of 1960 in which four black first grade girls, Ruby Bridges, Tessie Prevost, Gail Etienne, and Leona Tate integrated New Orleans' public schools happened during his tenure as archbishop. During this civil unrest, Catholic schools and many other Catholic institutions remained segregated since Catholic schools were not directly impacted by the *Brown* decision. However, Rummel was an integrationist who began the arduous task of integrating Catholic facilities a little over a decade after he arrived in New Orleans. Despite his position as an integrationist, his arguments against segregation, and the fact that he led a very large archdiocese, the Catholic Church and its leader's influence on the entire integration process of both public and parochial schools is not particularly well known-even in a city as Catholic as New Orleans.

A primary way in which Rummel sought to influence public opinion was through pastoral letters. He used this medium to argue that segregation was against the universalism of the Catholic Church, against the Bible, contrary to the teachings of Jesus, and was contrary to the democratic principles of the nation. Despite his position of prominence as a leader in the Catholic Church and despite New Orleans' place in educational history, Rummel's controversial integrationist discourses, prominently displayed in his pastoral letters, have not been studied, and the role of the Church and Church leaders in the integration of public schools in New Orleans has largely been ignored.

The history of desegregation and education have been told primarily from the point of view of *Brown* and its impact on public education and indirect impact on private education; it is understandable, as *Brown* is often seen as a seminal case in American legal history, and its ramifications are far reaching and resonate over 60 years later. Innumerable educational policy

decisions and court judgements are made today in response to this case. Many are familiar with the story of Ruby Bridges in New Orleans, have seen the famous Norman Rockwell painting,² and have heard of the New Orleans school crisis of 1960. In fact, *Brown* has been heralded as a tour de force that radically changed this nation. The traditional, linear narrative that places *Brown* at the nexus of radical change is flawed. Antonellis (2013) points out that in New Orleans, *Brown* did not cause some wave of great social justice in the city, and some have argued that public education in the United States today continues to be largely segregated (Bell, 1980; Kozol, 1991; Kozol, 2005; Ravitch, 2014). So, why do we continue to situate legal discourses inherent in the Brown case in the history of education as the site of desegregation? Why does educational history continue to privilege the court system as a site of social change when it has been argued that it largely benefits elites in society? Given the power of legal discourse, what historical narratives have been “left out” that provide alternative trajectories of the history of desegregation?

What has been excluded, largely, from the history of integration in New Orleans and from educational histories is the story of the Catholic Church’s role in integration and the Catholic discourses used by Rummel and other Catholic leaders. The arguments used by Rummel were rooted in historical, universalist, Catholic principles that were as old as the Church itself. Ironically, these cherished ideals were challenged when the Church became active participants in slavery in the 15th century (Sharps, 1994) and, ultimately, segregation. These universalist principles also provided the foundation for a tradition of an Afro-Creole-Catholic

² For more on this painting, see Rockwell, N. (1964). *The problem we all live with* [Painting]. Retrieved from http://arthistory.about.com/od/famous_paintings/ss/The-Problem-We-All-Live-With-By-Norman-Rockwell.htm.

protest that influenced the quest for integration in New Orleans. This marginalized history and Archbishop Rummel's discourses and role in integration deserve to be studied. This study provides a new lens through which educational history can be viewed.

Research Questions

The research questions are as follow:

1. What themes emerge in Archbishop Rummel's pastoral letters regarding the integration of Catholic schools in New Orleans?
2. How do Archbishop Rummel's discourses differ from other discourses that were engaged to dismantle segregation?
3. What are the implications of the discourses of Archbishop Rummel's pastoral letters for re-thinking the role of the Catholic Church in New Orleans integration? Do those discourses still have any relevance today?

A History of Catholicism and Race in Louisiana

Prominent Catholic historian, Davis (1990) contends that the Catholic Church held principles of universalism at its core. There were very few issues of "race" in the early Catholic Church, and some of the most well-known and prominent saints in the Church were of African descent (Davis, 1990). As the most powerful Catholic nations in Europe, Portugal and Spain became involved in the trade of African people before the 12th century, and as exploration of the Western Hemisphere spread, so did Catholic nations' involvement in the slave trade, and Catholic leaders continued to sanction the enslavement of African people. Consequently, secular racial stratifications were in constant battle with spiritualism and universalism that were the foundations of the early Church (Davis, 1990).

Regarding New Orleans, Catholicism has permeated and influenced every aspect of New Orleans life, especially education and race relations. French colonial policy mandated that all subjects receive a Catholic instruction. Because there was little separation of church and state, and education was seen as necessary, the Church, "...dominated education," (Hebert, 1999, p. 9). The Church was at the forefront of educational initiatives in the country. The Capuchin fathers founded a school around 1723 and educated white, male students and a few Natchez students (Hebert, 1999). The Ursuline sisters recognized that women of all races and social stations deserved to be educated and created the oldest continuous educational institution in the United States for girls (Hendry, 2011). The second oldest order of sisters for black women established in the United States, the Sisters of the Holy Family, also educators of New Orleans' women, was founded in New Orleans in 1842 (Brett, 2011). It was the universalist principles of the Catholic Church, the Catholic history of Louisiana, the prominence of Africans in the colony, and the emergence of an active creole population that set the foundation for the battle for integrated public spaces in New Orleans seen in the *Plessy* case and later in the battle for integration in New Orleans' public schools.

New Orleans was controlled for over 100 years by Catholic nations-France, Spain, then briefly, France again. Although white sisters had integrated schools, they were slave owners (Hendry, 2011). Even though laws such as the Code Noir forced slave owners to recognize a measure of slaves' spirituality by mandating communion with the Church, these laws still recognized the rights of slave owners as paramount and enforced harsh provisions on slaves. Manumission was virtually impossible, property rights were limited, and slaves were forbidden to gather in large groups without the permission of their masters; the punishment for the failure

of slaves to obey these mandates was violent retribution-including death (Ingersoll, 1991; Ingersoll, 1999; Taylor, n.d.).

Catholicism bred an atmosphere of exceptional racial relations that was different from anywhere else in the country (Bell, 1999). There was a prosperous Catholic *les gens libres de couleur* (free people of color) community, many of whom were persons of African ancestry, largely Catholic, who also owned slaves and viewed themselves as distinctly different from blacks (Davis, 1990). New Orleans was Catholic, with its core spirit of universalism and openness to all; yet it was Southern, with its acceptance of slavery, and still it became American, with the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, the failure of Reconstruction, and its acceptance of established racial norms and segregation. It was this Americanization that radically challenged the fabric of what New Orleans was, and in no other institution was segregation's effects as evident as in the nation's schools.

Usually, the story of Catholic and private schools becomes relevant in the discussion of education in the South because they became the site of white flight after integration (Bankston & Caldas, 2000; Bankston & Caldas, 2002; Fairlie & Resch, 2002; Hannon, 1984). New Orleans is predominantly a Catholic city, and it was during integration, as it was home to 600,000 Catholics-including almost 70,000 black Catholics. The Church was a prominent educator of the city's children, and New Orleanians flocked to Catholic schools prior to integration (Devore & Logsdon, 1991; Manning & Rogers, 2002). At the time of public school integration, the Archdiocese educated almost half of the 169,000 school children who lived in the parameters of the New Orleans Archdiocese (Manning & Rogers, 2002). Also, New Orleans is home to the only Catholic Historically Black College and University (HBCU) in the country, Xavier

University, making New Orleans home to the only Catholic educational kindergarten through college system in the country (Alberts, 1994).

The Catholic Church has had a presence in Louisiana for almost 320 years; it was this foundation of Catholicism, the presence and acceptance of slavery, and the French and Spanish influence that created a unique environment unlike any other place in the country. New Orleans has always had unique race relations (Hall, 1992). It has also been a study in paradox, ripe with racial contradictions. It had integrated schools during Reconstruction and unprecedented legal rights for black males (Barnes & Connolly, 1999; Harlan, 1962; Scott, 2007). Yet, this experiment with legalized protections and integration was short lived, and soon after the failure of Reconstruction, it was the battleground for a case that would make it to the Supreme Court, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Homer Plessy was part of a rich Afro-Creole-Catholic protest tradition. His very complexion symbolized the racial fluidity of the city, and his stance against segregation on public railways serves as a reminder of the boldness of New Orleanians who fought for social justice during a very dangerous time for black Americans.³

The leader of the archdiocese, Archbishop Rummel, faced with a strong, black Catholic body that resisted segregation, unwavering priests who detested the American tradition, and a populace that both supported and reviled racial injustice, soon confronted one of the greatest questions of the 20th century in America. How would this leader of a religious body that impacted every aspect of life in New Orleans respond to increasing assaults on segregation in every aspect of society, most importantly, in the city's schools? How would he respond to

³ For more on the Afro-Creole protest tradition, see Bell, C. (1997). *Revolution, romanticism and the Afro-Creole protest tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1868*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.

racists within his Church and appease white and black Catholics who were appalled with segregated Catholic churches and schools? These questions drive this study.

Public Schools and Integration

The efforts to provide public education for blacks began in earnest when Maj. General Nathaniel Banks authorized the creation of black schools and created a board of education to govern them in 1864 (Anderson, 1988; Devore, 2015; Devore & Logsdon, 1991). In another first, these newly established schools in New Orleans, "...represented the first organized attempt by a public agency to educate Southern blacks," (Devore, 2015, p. 12). Schools were overcrowded and underfunded, however, even in these trying conditions students remained eager to learn. When Congress authorized the Freedmen's Bureau in 1865, education became part of the Bureau, and the board of education in New Orleans became part of it. As Devore (2015) points out, this inclusion encompassed drastic re-organization, including the creation of districts, district offices, and classrooms classified by grades 1-5. 1867 marked an expansion of black public education in New Orleans, and more schools were opened. Public education for blacks was by no means equal to the educational offerings for white students. Only 16% of the projected school budget was allocated for black schools. These glaring inequalities drove the desire for desegregated schools among black New Orleanians (Devore, 2015).

Reconstruction in Louisiana was a time in which blacks had unprecedented legal rights (Barnes & Connolly, 1999; Devore, 2015; Harlan, 1962). The demand for suffrage by black males and the articulation of the long-held concept of public rights advocated by Louisiana's blacks resulted in the most radical reconstruction plan in the south. According to Scott (2007)

At a crucial moment in Reconstruction New Orleans, one such set of beliefs was formulated as the entitlement of all citizens to the same 'public rights.' Public-rights thinking took shape in the 1867-1868 Louisiana Constitutional Convention and was written into the state's new constitution through fragile cross-racial and cross-ethnic

electoral alliances. The construct of public rights anticipated many aspects of what we now recognize as the dignitary component of claims to equal access to public accommodations and public transportation. Moreover, it adroitly circumvented the efforts of white supremacists to characterize claims to equal rights as impermissible pretensions to ‘social equality.’ (p. 727)

The Louisiana Constitution of 1867 prohibited the creation of separate schools and required that no student be denied admission based on race, and about one-third of public schools in New Orleans were integrated (Scott, 2007). In fact, the only other state during Reconstruction to adopt a resolution prohibiting segregation in schools based on race was South Carolina (Bell, 1997).

Not all white parents opposed integration as one might assume, and enrollment of white students in public schools did not drastically decrease with integration. Although enrollment in public schools, due to integration, briefly declined as parents sent their children to parochial and private schools (these schools increased ten-fold during integration), enrollment soon increased due to parents’ lack of financial means. While the number of students enrolled in public schools decreased at first, by the end of 1877 the numbers of pupils enrolled increased to numbers that surpassed pre-desegregation numbers. Some white parents fought to send their students to integrated schools because these schools were funded at higher levels and had a lower teacher to pupil ratio (Harlan, 1962). These integrated schools were largely successful; students at Fillmore Elementary School, an integrated school, passed entrance exams at higher rates than any other students in New Orleans (“New Orleans Schools Integrated in 1873,” 1962). Further, many whites hoped to earn the black vote by supporting the integration of schools (Harlan, 1962). It was suffrage that sustained integrated schools in New Orleans (Harlan, 1962). However, the failure of Reconstruction, Southern attitudes, and the re-writing of the Louisiana Constitution in

1879, which allowed for segregated schools based on race, signaled that integrated schools would not survive in New Orleans.

Black New Orleanians were faced with limited educational opportunities, and Alberts (1994) and Logsdon and Bell (1992) point out that in 1879, P.B.S. Pinchback, a man of color elected governor of Louisiana during Reconstruction, convinced the legislature to approve the construction of Southern University in New Orleans for blacks. In 1881 the university was opened to provide upper elementary and high school education to children enrolled in public schools. Even with the completion of Southern, the quality of public education for all New Orleanians declined substantially (Devore & Logsdon, 1991). Schools were closed for several months of the year, and the schools lacked financial resources. Although white education suffered, black education struggled mightily under the weight of underfunding and racism. In 1910, there were 6,616 black students enrolled in New Orleans public schools, and there were 36,117 white students enrolled in New Orleans public schools; black students comprised roughly 15% of the enrolled population (Devore & Logsdon, 1991). In 1910, there were sixteen black, public schools, and there were sixty-eight white public schools, and over the next ten years, of the seventeen new schools that were built, only two were built for black students (Devore & Logsdon, 1991). When Southern relocated to Baton Rouge, there was no public high school for black students until McDonogh 13 was converted to McDonogh 35 High School for black students in 1917 (Devore & Logsdon, 1991). Public schools would remain segregated until a series of challenges to established case law and state policies occurred in the nation, and these victories won by the integrationists dismantled segregation at the university level, beginning at

the graduate level.⁴ These tactics and the strategic challenging of race based educational segregationist policies in these cases eventually led to the filing of the *Brown* law suit. It would not be until 1960 that public schools would be desegregated again in New Orleans.

Parochial Schools and Integration

The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 brought many changes to New Orleans, including an increased acceptance of American racial mores. Around the 1830's the Church began creating schools for free black Catholics, and by 1841, black sisters took over the instruction of black children (Alberts, 1994). With the *Plessy* (1896) decision, the Church policy began to increasingly mirror segregation in society. When Catholics met at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, it was decided that Catholic education needed to be expanded. Although Catholic schools in New Orleans were segregated, it was the 1888 appointment of Janssens, the fifth archbishop of New Orleans, that signaled the expansion of both educational initiatives and segregation into Catholic education as segregationist policies became Church policy; the bishops at the 1884 Plenary Council of Baltimore decided that it was necessary to expand black, Catholic education and suggested segregated schools for black Catholics (Alberts, 1994).

⁴ The NAACP enacted a policy of beginning to dismantle segregation in education at the university level. Some of the relevant cases were *Pearson v. Murray* (1936) which established that when there is no black school for a black applicant to attend, he or she cannot be denied admittance to a white school; *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada et al.* (1938) established that the "separate but equal" policy of *Plessy* cannot be fulfilled by paying for students to attend universities out of state at state expense; *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950) established that hastily constructed HBCUs were not equal to established Predominately White Institutions (PWIs); *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950) established that black students cannot be segregated within an integrated university. For more on *Pearson* see *Pearson, et al. v. Murray*, 169 Md. 478 (1936); for more on *Missouri* see *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada, Registrar of the University of Missouri, et al.*, 305 U.S. 337 (1938); for more on *Sweatt* see *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629 (1950); for more on *McLaurin* see *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U.S. 637 (1950).

Archbishop Janssens began to create an entirely separate system of schools for black Catholics (Poche, 2006). Although he justified this with rhetoric of inclusion, this reeked of “separate but equal” within the confines of the Church. In 1897, his successor, Placide Chapelle, attempted to halt this worrisome trend in the New Orleans Church by opening schools for blacks in integrated parishes, but with the *Plessy* decision, and the increasing of segregation in public spaces, the Church also fell prey to similar policies.

Similarly, just as St. Katherine, the first segregated black Catholic Church, was built in 1895, the Catholic Church attempted to create black schools and cement policies of segregation. Educational offerings for black Catholics were severely limited in New Orleans. In the 1880s Catholic schools were segregated, and Catholic educational initiatives were haphazard and minimal. The Catholic Church provided twelve schools for black Catholics, and the average enrollment was seventy students. Although lay Catholics operated private schools, they were underfunded and had very low enrollments. Combined, the black, Catholic schools enrolled between 750-1000 students, and there were an estimated 60,000 black Catholics in New Orleans in the 1890’s (Alberts, 1994). The Sisters of the Holy Family provided the only black, Catholic secondary school in New Orleans, but the sisters refused to teach boys who reached puberty. Consequently, black, male Catholic children had few educational options and no secondary school. Because public secondary schools were closed to black children as well, and in a compromise for the re-segregation of public schools that occurred after Reconstruction, Southern University provided education in upper elementary and high school levels to black children, including black Catholic male children who had few options regarding parochial education when it opened in 1881 in New Orleans. The relocation of Southern to Baton Rouge in 1913 meant

that black education was virtually nonexistent for males on the secondary level until the creation of Xavier University (Alberts, 1994).

Alberts (1994) points out that black Catholic education diminished quickly, as many small schools operated by sisters closed in the first fifteen years of the 20th century, and the increasing racial stratifications in society were reflected in the Catholic schools. As the numbers of American born sisters increased, many sisters refused to educate black students. Parishes began to close black schools, orders such as the Carmelites quit teaching black children, and in 1915, the Catholic Institute, a school for black children, was destroyed by a hurricane. Mother Katharine Drexel offered a portion of the property that was bought for Xavier University as a church, and the second segregated parish in New Orleans, Blessed Sacrament, was established.

Segregated parishes continued to expand as French prelates returned to France, and black Catholic schools began to expand as those segregated parishes built schools; with the opening of Xavier University, later called Xavier Preparatory, black Catholics, including males, had a system of schools unlike any Catholic system in the country. The founding of Xavier, which educated black children, was crucial to Catholic education because, besides St. Mary's operated by the Sisters of the Holy Family, it was the only other Catholic high school for blacks in the city. Until the establishment of St. Augustine High School in 1951, Xavier Preparatory was the only Catholic high school that educated black boys, as St. Mary's only educated girls (Alberts, 1994).

The following charts offer a breakdown of black Catholic education in both New Orleans and the larger New Orleans Archdiocese in the 1935-1936 school year, the first full year of Rummel's tenure. Table 1.1 represents the black elementary parochial and private schools in New Orleans. The charts show the black schools and the number of children served. Parochial

schools are operated directly by the Archdiocese. Private schools are operated by private entities such as Catholic religious orders. Both private and parochial schools fall under the auspices of the Archdiocese.

Table 1.1⁵
Black Elementary Parochial and Private Schools in New Orleans, 1935-1936 School Year

Name of School	Boys	Girls	Total
All Saints	127	132	259
Blessed Sacrament	160	173	333
Corpus Christi	680	760	1440
Holy Ghost	234	225	459
St. Joan of Arc	142	154	296
St. Katherine	164	177	341
St. Louis	86	91	177
*St. Mary's Academy	0	103	103
St. Monica	152	155	307
St. Peter Claver	271	286	557
St. Raymond	75	71	146
Total Enrolled	2091	2327	4418

*denotes private school

Table 1.2 illustrates black high schools in New Orleans during the 1935-1936 school year; Rummel's tenure began in 1935.

Table 1.2⁶
Black High Schools in New Orleans, 1935-1936 School Year

Name of School	Boys	Girls	Total Enrolled	Graduates (included in the total enrolled)
*St. Mary's Academy	0	91	91	13

⁵ Information retrieved from the Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Archdiocesan Schools of New Orleans, 1935-1936. (1936). New Orleans, LA: Office of the Superintendent. Copy in Archdiocese of New Orleans Archives [hereafter ANOA], p. 18.

⁶ Information retrieved from the Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Archdiocesan Schools of New Orleans, 1935-1936. (1936). New Orleans, LA: Office of the Superintendent. Copy in ANOA, p. 18.

(Table 1.2 continued)

Name of School	Boys	Girls	Total Enrolled	Graduates (included in the total enrolled)
*Xavier Preparatory	175	194	369	44
Total Enrollment	175	285	460	57

*denotes private school

Table 1.3 illustrates black elementary parochial and private schools outside of New Orleans in the Archdiocese during the 1935-1936 school year.

Table 1.3⁷
Black Elementary Parochial and Private Schools Outside of New Orleans, 1935-1936 School Year

Name of School	Location	Boys	Girls	Total
*St. Francis Xavier	Baton Rouge	133	138	271
*St. Michael	Convent	59	63	122
*St. Augustine	New Roads	225	0	225
*St. Catherine	Reserve	96	131	227
*St. Francis Xavier	Covington	27	38	65
*Holy Family	Mandeville	0	0	0
*St. Joseph	Barton	54	36	90
*St. Augustine	Donaldsonville	105	114	219
*St. Augustine	Klotzville	47	77	124
*St. Augustine	Plaquemine	55	50	105
St. Benedict	Bertrandville	56	46	102
St. Benedict	Labadieville	0	0	0
St. Luke	Thibodaux	81	83	164
Total	-----	938	776	1,714

*denotes private school

Table 1.4 illustrates the black Catholic high schools outside of the city of New Orleans but within the New Orleans Archdiocese during the 1935-1936 school year.

⁷ Information retrieved from the Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Archdiocesan Schools of New Orleans, 1935-1936. (1936). New Orleans, LA: Office of the Superintendent. Copy in ANOA, pp. 21-22.

Table 1.4⁸

Black High Schools Outside of New Orleans, 1935-1936 School Year

Name of School	Location	Boys	Girls	Total Enrolled	Graduates (included in the total enrolled)
St. Augustine	Donaldsonville	12	19	31	0

Table 1.5 is the total black and white population in Catholic schools in the entire New Orleans Archdiocese.

Table 1.5⁹

Catholic School Population in New Orleans Archdiocese, 1935-1936 School Year

Type of School	White Enrollment	Black Enrollment	Total (Black and White)
Parochial Elementary	24,591	6,029	30,620
Private Elementary	2,265	103	2,368
Parochial High	1,316	31	1,347
Private High	4,821	460	5,281
Asylums	473	103	576
Normal Schools	72	0	72
Universities	1830 (Loyola University)	853 (Xavier University)	2,683
Colleges	288	0	288
Grand Total	35,656	7,579	43,235

Although the number of black Catholic schools did increase, these schools were segregated much to the dismay of black Catholics (Alberts, 1994). The presence of Archbishop Rummel gave hope to integrationists within the Church because of the words that he spoke against segregation. However, the idea of integration of Catholic schools in New Orleans was a

⁸ Information retrieved from the Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Archdiocesan Schools of New Orleans, 1935-1936. (1936). New Orleans, LA: Office of the Superintendent. Copy in ANOA, p. 23.

⁹ Information retrieved from the Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Archdiocesan Schools of New Orleans, 1935-1936. (1936). New Orleans, LA: Office of the Superintendent. Copy in ANOA, p. 27.

radical idea. Manning and Rogers (2002) note that efforts to desegregate the Archdiocese would be the first large scale integration of Catholic schools in the deep South. Further, an integration of the Archdiocesan schools would create a ripple throughout the South, as the Archdiocese educated over 90,000 students by the 1960-1961 school year, the year of public school integration.

Initially, Rummel made firm statements to integrate and then postponed plans for integration due to intimidation by his congregants. Rummel reiterated his position regarding the immorality of segregation and announced that plans to integrate schools would not begin until September 1957. In the meantime, the necessary preparations would be made (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, July 31, 1956).¹⁰ These preparations included the submission of desegregation plans to the archbishop. A plan was presented to Superintendent Monsignor Henry Bezou and Rummel for the 1957-1958 school year by the Committee of Catholic Laymen. However, this plan was rejected because the Church had economic and political concerns, so the schools were not integrated (Manning & Rogers, 2002; McKenzie, 2009).

Manning and Rogers (2002) note that anti-segregationists in the Church continued to vocalize their displeasure and criticize Archbishop Rummel for his failure to integrate Catholic schools. The delay caused segregationists to frame the conversation as one in which delay indicated indefinite postponement, as they attempted to suggest that Rummel's inaction indicated that schools would not integrate. The archbishop reiterated his support for integration in Catholic schools, and a cross was burned on his lawn (Manning & Rogers, 2002).

¹⁰ Rummel, J. (1956, July 31). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"Integration in Catholic Schools"]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/195/integrationincatholicschools.pdf.

Segregationists linked integration with Communism, and again, the Church was forced to delay integration. After the desegregation of New Orleans’ public schools in 1960, the Church’s inner division became even more apparent, as many lay persons were ardent and powerful segregationists (McKenzie, 2009). To force compliance with his mandates and to silence the racism that was espoused by some of these Catholics, Rummel threatened and later excommunicated three of the most outspoken segregationist Catholics (Fairclough, 1995; McKenzie, 2009). By 1961, the Archdiocese educated 12,873 black students. This is an increase of almost 40% during Rummel’s tenure.

Table 1.6 represents the total black and white Catholic school population in the 1960-1961 school year in the entire New Orleans Archdiocese.

Table 1.6¹¹
Catholic School Population in New Orleans Archdiocese, 1960-1961 School Year

Type of School	White	Black	Total
Parochial Elementary	61,414	10,574	71,988
Private Elementary	2,293	113	2,406
Parochial High	4,533	459	4,992
Private High	9,088	1,682	10,770
Eleemosynary Institutions	345	45	390
Grand Total	77,673	12,873	90,546

The appointment of Archbishop John Cody in 1961 as co-adjutor seemed to provide a catalyst for integration, as he was as supporter of integration. On March 27, 1961 Archbishop Rummel, despite pleas from other Louisiana bishops, announced that the first eight grades of parochial schools would be integrated in September of 1962 (Fairclough, 1995). On September

¹¹ Data retrieved from the School Year Records-Archdiocese of New Orleans Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Archdiocesan Schools, 1960-1961. (1961). New Orleans, LA: Office of the Superintendent. Copy in ANOA, p. 37.

4, 1962, Catholic schools were integrated, and 200 students, mostly elementary, integrated thirty-two schools (Manning & Rogers, 2002).

Relevance

The role of the Catholic Church in the Civil Rights Movement is often marginalized in historical narratives of education. First, public education is the dominant focus of educational history. Second, social change is understood to occur through legal discourses and are privileged over spiritual discourses and other means of resistance. It is certainly important that citizens are protected through legal means of protest, as many Protestant leaders and attorneys in secular organizations were fighting for the recognition of the citizenship of black Americans and the simple enforcement of Constitutional principles. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), led by Martin Luther King, was a Christian organization that emerged from the Montgomery bus boycotts, the Baton Rouge boycotts, and the Tallahassee boycotts (Fairclough, 1986). With boycotts that focused on the illegality of segregated buses, Fairclough (1986) points out that the boycotts were called off after the Supreme Court affirmed the illegality of Alabama's segregationist bus laws. Harvesting the power of the black Protestant churches and often led by Protestant ministers such as Fred Shuttlesworth and C.K. Steele, many of these organizations, including the SCLC, drew upon moral and religious arguments, as Rummel did, but were mostly concerned with using nonviolent protest to achieve civic rights. They certainly recognized and articulated that the injustice faced by black Americans was a "spiritual problem," but the SCLC was a decidedly political organization led by many Protestant ministers. In fact, the SCLC's first major initiative was called the "Crusade for Citizenship," and it was sparked by pending Civil Rights bills. The campaign's objective was to register disenfranchised blacks to vote, sought to establish voter education clinics, and argue that black Americans' chances for advancement were

rooted in a basic civic right-the right to vote. Their goal was to provoke the nation into change by exposing the blatant civil rights violations that existed throughout the nation, but particularly in the South (“SCLC,” n.d.) The SCLC, its leaders, and other organizations with similar goals often relied on public means of protest, such as marches, to affect change. While some of the causes of these leaders were the same as Rummel’s-economic disparity and the immorality of segregation, these leaders often used their capital to advocate for political agendas and national legislation.

Of course, the laws of this land must reflect social justice, but the problem with over reliance on legalistic means of protest is that just as a law can be enacted, it can be revoked. Further, litigation and legalistic discourses do very little to affect the ways that segregation influences our day to day interactions in society. As Klarman (2004) acknowledges, “Constitutional litigation can only redress those problems that are grounded in law. Because white supremacy depended less on law than on entrenched social mores, economic power, ideology, and physical violence, the amount of racial change that litigation could produce was inevitably limited,” (p. 461).

Bell (1980) points out that laws advocating for integration were repeatedly attacked and upheld by the Supreme Court after its initial decision, and the Court has made it increasingly difficult for plaintiffs to get relief in cases of discriminatory practices, as they must prove intent and practically conspiratorial efforts to re-segregate. Others are even less sanguine regarding the long-term impact of changes to the law regarding integration in schools. Bell (2004) cites G. Rosenberg to illustrate this point. Rosenberg says that Brown’s impact is, “limited to reinforcing the belief in a legal strategy for change of those already committed to it,” (G. Rosenberg cited in Bell, 2004, pp. 134-135). Further, as Merritt (2008) argues, overreliance on legalistic means of

protest and the court system is disproportionately beneficial to elites. Klarman (2004) explains that because litigation requires extensive resources, including economic resources, access to attorneys, and the ability to keep oneself safe once the litigation is pursued, it is often a tool of the elites. Merritt (2008) contends,

Although courts have vindicated both the downtrodden and the powerful during the last fifty years, three factors make them particularly attentive to elites. First, elites understand the obscure customs of judicial process and are comfortable invoking that process. Second, elites can afford to hire the lawyers needed to navigate legal channels. And, finally, judges respond well to the highly intellectual arguments that elites compose. For these reasons, Brown's legacy is double edged. It promises relief to racial minorities and other disempowered groups in some cases, but also gives elites the power to evade democratic controls. (p. 129)

Archbishop Rummel knew that morality cannot be legislated. Therefore, he promoted social justice through a moral lens and through a recognition of the commonality that we all share as humans, not through a legalistic lens. This is a powerful contention because the basis of it is that morally based social justice is accessible to all, despite race, socio-economic status, or any other arbitrary distinction that we use to divide humanity. Although this was clearly a divided Church, there was a clear and outspoken segment of the New Orleans Catholic Church that was pro-integration and very active in social justice reform, and these priests, lay persons, and the archbishop drew on different discourses for integration than those primarily used by the mainstream Civil Rights Movement. Catholic schools did integrate after public schools, and this is a frequently cited criticism of Rummel. It is valid. The Church lost its claim to moral righteousness because it hesitated to do what it said it needed to do. However, the historian and those who grapple with historical occurrences must be careful to not view history through the lens of today. If the time period in which Rummel lived is contextualized, we would realize that he was in a difficult position because if he acted too quickly, he risked alienating members of his Church, legislative retribution, and perhaps even violence. However, his hesitation to integrate

immediately also was a source of contention among black Catholics who had been loyal to the Church for centuries and white, integrationist Catholic lay persons and priests who saw the Church's hesitation as a moral lapse (Anderson, 2005).

The process of integration in New Orleans is certainly not a new topic in academia, as there have been many historians who have studied public and parochial school integration in New Orleans (Baker, 1996; Bankston & Caldas, 2002; Bennett, 2005; Crain & Inger, 1966; Fairclough, 1995; Inger, 1963; Manning & Rogers, 2002). However, no one has analyzed and historicized Rummel's most famous pastoral letters. The discursive choices that he uses are complex. Interestingly, this leader of the Church seamlessly weaved both secular, democratic and distinctly spiritual and Biblical arguments together to argue for the morality of integration. The themes that emerged most prominently in his pastoral letters were themes of Catholic universalism, Catholic legitimacy, the Catholic as the peacemaker, a democratic ideal, prayer as contemplative action, and Christianity. He argues that segregation is antithetical to Church dogma, Jesus' words and life, and the Constitution.

The History of the Pastoral Letter

The pastoral letters of the bishops are usually written in a time of conflict or turmoil in the Church or the diocese. Archbishop A.C. Hughes¹² notes that the pastoral letter tends to be a lengthy document that focuses on a single important issue. This issue is a weighty issue and

¹² This interview was conducted with Archbishop A.C. Hughes in his personal office at the Notre Dame Seminary in New Orleans, LA on November 4, 2016. A.C. Hughes was the 13th archbishop of New Orleans. He served from 2002-2009. He was born on December 2, 1932, and he was educated at St. John's Seminary College and Gregorian University in Rome. During his tenure in New Orleans, he led almost a half-million Catholics and steered the archdiocese through Hurricane Katrina. He is currently serving as the Archbishop-emeritus of New Orleans. For more information on the archbishops of New Orleans, see Bishops of the Archdiocese (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.stlouiscathedral.org/bishops-of-archdiocese>.

touches on universal topics that the bishop needs to address with his flock in his jurisdiction. It is a way for him to instruct his flock on that issue or inform them of policy, and the words carry the weight of the Church. Hughes says that it is, "...The most serious way for a bishop to address a pressing issue or a series of issues," (A.C. Hughes, personal communication, November 4, 2016). The letter also serves as a teaching mechanism. A bishop has the authority to speak concerning matters of faith and morals (D. Kelly, personal communication, November 4, 2016).¹³ The letter has its origins in the New Testament. For example, each of the letters of St. Paul to the Corinthians,¹⁴ Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians are all pastoral letters.

When the pope writes, the letter is called an encyclical letter to all the churches. The term pastoral letter may encompass brief letters or the most serious extended letters addressing a very important topic. However, Rummel wrote hundreds of mundane letters that addressed the day to day operations of the Church, i.e. announcements and fundraising initiatives. Since he authored the letters, and he was the leader of the archdiocese, they are technically pastoral letters, but the term usually applies to letters that touch on universal issues and are more serious in nature. So, it may be helpful to divide pastoral letters into two categories: formal pastoral letters and informal pastoral letters. I refer to the letters referenced here as formal letters because they address the serious issue of segregation. They are all "pastoral" because they come from a bishop of the Church (A.C. Hughes, personal communication, November 4, 2016). Rummel wrote

¹³ Father David Kelly is a teaching priest at the Notre Dame Seminary in New Orleans, LA. This interview was conducted in Archbishop Hughes' personal office on November 4, 2016 in New Orleans, LA.

¹⁴ Paul's first letter to the Corinthians addressed matters of conscience on which early members of the Church needed guidance. For example, he wrote about sex and theological questions. For more on Paul's letters see *The First Letter to the Corinthians* (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.usccb.org/bible/1corinthians/0>.

hundreds of these informal letters while he was archbishop. For example, in 1955, he wrote over 60 of these letters. All bishops do not write as much as Rummel chose to. For example, Archbishop Hughes of New Orleans wrote 4 in 7 years that he personally termed “pastoral letters.” The topics were the Eucharist, prison reform, racial harmony, and penance (A.C. Hughes, personal communication, November 4, 2016).

Methodology

“The Historical method comprises the techniques and guidelines by which historians use primary sources and other evidence to research and then to write histories in the form of accounts of the past,” (“Historical Method,” n.d.). Types of historical sources will be described and explained. In this study, there is a combination of primary and secondary sources utilized to provide historical context. To understand Rummel and his words, the texts are contextualized and historicized to understand the world in which the originator of the text lived (Howell & Prevenier, 2001). So, Rummel’s words are always placed in historical context. Analyzing words in isolation creates false histories.

Archbishop Rummel’s letters and several other documents came from the Tulane University’s Amistad Research Center and the New Orleans Archdiocesan Archives. Gaillet (2012) asserts that the definition of archives has changed. The archives’ usefulness to the researcher go beyond being static places of record keeping. “Archives are now viewed as primary sources for creating knowledge rather than mere storehouses for finding what is already known,” (p. 39). Archives are, “sites of memory,” (Panitch cited in Gaillet, 2012, p. 40). This project historicizes and contextualizes Rummel’s letters. Therefore, archives, as sites of memory, are excellent sources to use to understand, not in presentist terms but in historical ones, what was occurring at the time, what the archbishop meant with his words, and how they were

relevant in the time in which he was writing. The Archdiocesan Archives, especially, are storehouses for Rummel's time as prelate and snapshots of Catholic history in New Orleans.

Also, archival research requires the researcher to understand that objectivity is impossible, as it is a denial of the humanity that we bring to the project. So, the researcher must always contemplate positionality. In this project, I have had to contend with the reasons why I chose this project and how my background may have influenced my choice, recognizing that it is impossible for me to be an objective researcher. The Catholic Church has played a vital role in not only my educational journey, but in the journeys of my parents and siblings. My mother who was reared in Lake Providence, a segregated community, attended St. Martin de Porres School and fondly notes that all her classmates attended college. My father attended Xavier University for graduate school, and my siblings and I attended St. Antony of Padua School in New Orleans for three years. My siblings both later attended the University of Notre Dame. My youngest sibling notes the care that she received when a priest broke the news of a close family member's death because my parents were not in South Bend, and when she broke the bones around her eye playing a spirited game of football and the Controller's wife cooked for her before her surgery because our parents had not yet arrived in Indiana.

Although I lived in St. Tammany Parish, just east of New Orleans, the fact that my parents worked in New Orleans meant that, as a family, we all made the daily trek across Lake Pontchartrain at 6:00 a.m. to attend St. Anthony. The principal, Sister Ruth, the other sisters, and teachers were very respectful of all religions, and although children tend to be aware of difference, I was never concerned that I was a Protestant in a sea of Catholic children. I could not participate in the sacraments, of course, but the sisters stressed inclusion and acceptance, in our religion classes and in their interactions with their students. In fact, although I am Protestant,

my parents were invited to our “first communion,” I wore a pretty white dress, and I blended right in—something that is very important to a child. This was an integrated space, and it was a place in which our teachers felt called to teach. Their calling was surely rooted in religious belief, but they viewed this calling as a moral endeavor, and the school was a community. This was radically different from my experience in public schools. My public schools were places of white flight and had very little diversity. Frequently, racial slurs casually rolled off the tongue, and the punishment for such language was cafeteria duty or after school detention. The schools emphasized the right of the individual to enroll his or her child in schools with limited integration, as many of these schools provided refuge for those seeking to evade schools with large black populations. My view of Catholicism has been partly shaped by my positive educational experiences in a Catholic school.

Thematic Analysis Method

I am researching emergent themes in Rummel’s pastoral letters by using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is an effective method to use because it is compatible across disciplines and is not tied to any particular philosophical stance (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). This method is unconventional, as it calls for the researcher to first understand the text by grappling with it, understanding it, and getting a feel for it prior to attempting any type of formal analysis (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). The historical nature of this study requires me to contextualize the letters prior to attempting to do any type of data analysis of the letters because if I do not, I will get no real understanding from simply quantifying words or ideas. This method requires the researcher to, “familiarize yourself with the data, generate initial codes, search for themes, review themes, define and name themes, produce the report,” (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013, p. 440). Further, although Rummel certainly weaved secularism into his letters, the

foundation of them is spiritual. He is, first, a religious leader. Therefore, Savin-Baden and Major's (2013) contention that analysis happens at an, "...intuitive level," (p. 440) makes thematic analysis a viable option for the analysis of pastoral letters. Also, because Rummel often weaves his secular arguments and spiritual arguments, it is important to recognize that, for him, there is an interconnectedness in his arguments. "It is through the process of immersion in data and considering connections and interconnections between codes, concepts and themes that an 'aha' moment happens..." (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013, p. 404).

Chapter Overviews

Chapter II: The History of the Catholic Church and Constructs of Race: "Remember the Days of Old; Consider the Years of Many Generations"

Chapter II provides an overview of the history of the Catholic Church, slavery, and race and how these concepts translated in North America. First, I draw on the work of historians such as Davis (1990) to show that there was a Catholic universalism, grounded in a Catholic tradition, that was accepting of all in the early church. The contentions that the early Church had very African roots are used to establish the argument that I make regarding the universalist principles of the Church. Historians Carey (1993) and Walch (1989) provide excellent narratives of the foundations of Catholicism in America and an explanation of how it spread. As the Church began to actively participate in the slave trade, this tradition continued in the colonies that were supervised by Catholic nations, including Louisiana.

I then turn to the topic of black Catholicism and draw heavily upon the resources in the New Orleans Archdiocesan Archives in New Orleans to argue that Catholicism promoted a universalism that appealed to its black parishioners. Next, I explain the French Code Noir and Siete Partidas' provisions and how they impacted black slaves in Louisiana. It was

Americanization that radically transformed New Orleans from a paradoxical place in which there was slavery, racial fluidity, unique race relations, and integrated Church facilities. It was the Church's adherence to American norms and mores that ensured that it capitulated to the segregated racial norms of the 19th century. Although numerous Catholics resisted this transformation, many did not, and segregation became firmly cemented in the New Orleans Catholic Church when Archbishop Francis Janssens decided to segregate Church facilities by building black churches and by building segregated schools (Alberts, 1994; Devore & Logsdon, 1991; Poche, 2006). Finally, I contend that the timing of the legalization of segregation in American society with the *Plessy* decision and the creation of more segregated facilities within the Church was not coincidental. The Church was decidedly influenced by Southern and American social norms and mores.

Chapter III: A Life History of Archbishop Rummel: “Blessed are the Peacemakers”

There is no comprehensive biography written about Archbishop Rummel. So, I draw heavily on the primary sources of the New Orleans Archdiocesan Archives to paint a portrait of Rummel's life as a young priest in New York followed by his appointment as bishop of Omaha and finally his time in New Orleans. During his time in New Orleans, Rummel was a supporter of World War II efforts and worker's rights, and again, the New Orleans Archdiocesan Archives are helpful in providing the primary sources used to explore these topics.

Next, after he integrated seminaries, I trace his path to integrating the remaining vestiges of the Church-including removing “colored” pew signs, and writing the pastoral letter “Blessed are the Peacemakers” in which he declares that segregation has no place in the Church and he outlines his authority to make such proclamations. Also explained are instances when Rummel stood up to segregationists within his church-including challenging traditional, racially based,

paternalistic notions of the priesthood (“Touches of Color,” n.d.)¹⁵ and challenged segregation in public spaces in the pastoral letter, “The Morality of Racial Segregation.” The chapter ends by contextualizing the integration of Catholic schools, Rummel’s excommunication of the most vocal segregationists within the Church, and his death and legacy.

Chapter IV: The Pastoral Letters of Archbishop Rummel: “We Who Teach will be Judged with Greater Strictness”

This chapter serves as an introduction to the five pastoral letters of Archbishop Rummel that were analyzed. The chapter outlines the content of the letters and historically contextualizes them. The contextualization allows us to understand the environment that was influencing Rummel and the environment that he was seeking to influence. The environment was ripe with racial animus, and the deep South was still a place that was often very frightening to black Americans.

Chapter V: Archbishop Rummel’s Spiritual Discourses: “The Tongue of the Wise Commends Knowledge”

This chapter analyzes “Blessed are the Peacemakers” written in 1953, “The Morality of Racial Segregation” written in 1956, “Integration in Catholic Schools” also written in 1956, “The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Peace” written in 1958, and “Reopening of School” written in 1960. The chapter historicizes the letters and draws comparison and contrast between the spiritual discourses and discursive choices used by Rummel and two Protestant leaders in the Civil Rights Movement. I am not suggesting that the discourses of Dr. King and Rev.

¹⁵ Touches of Color (1955, October 15). *Osservatore Romano*, pp. 1-2. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, Archbishop Joseph Rummel Pastoral Letters, June-December 1955, AF/2011/6150), New Orleans, LA.

Shuttlesworth represent all the discourses coming from the black, Protestant, Baptist churches, but I use these two figures because of their prominence in the movement and to represent the conversation at the time.

Many of the emergent themes in Rummel's discourse and the themes of two of the giants of the Modern Civil Rights Movement, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Fred Shuttlesworth, are the same. Themes of universalism, Christianity, and democracy are present in both Rummel's spiritual discourse and the discourses of these Protestant ministers. However, there are marked differences. Rummel is rooted in a Catholic, teacher tradition, but many of the Protestant leaders are rooted in a Protestant, Prophetic tradition. A major theme in Rummel's letters is the theme of Catholic universalism not seen in Protestant ministers' discourses. Also, the Protestant ministers focused on whole notions of social justice, not the singular issue of segregation, and their sources of legitimacy are different. Further, the discursive devices used are very different because the purposes of the discourse and the audiences of the leaders differed greatly and are explored in this chapter.

Chapter VI: Archbishop Rummel's Secular Discourses: "I, the Lord, Command you to do What is Just and Right"

Chapter VI analyzes the pastoral letters of Archbishop to find emergent themes that arise in the letters to ascertain what his arguments were. Also, I compare Rummel's secular arguments to arguments that were used in prominent Civil Rights Legislation and examine the emergent themes that arise from these arguments. Explored in this chapter are the specific legal discourses used by *Brown* attorneys to dismantle segregation and the themes that emerge from these discourses. Rummel argues that segregation is un-Constitutional based on democratic ideals. The *Brown* attorneys also argue that segregation is un-Constitutional based on a specific

amendment, the 14th amendment. Rummel contends that segregation harms black Americans, and the closure of schools caused by segregation harms us all. The psychological discourse that emerges from the *Brown* decision is that segregation harms black children; attorneys and the justices mention nothing of the harm that comes to white children (Bell, 1980). Another emergent theme is the mutuality of rights, as Rummel argues that segregation violates the concept of mutuality of rights rooted in the idea of the “common good,” and *Brown* attorneys argue that segregation violates the mutuality of rights based on legal principles (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954; J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953). Their contentions about the origin of justice also differ, as Rummel contends that justice is rooted in divine law and democracy, and the *Brown* attorneys argue that justice is rooted in equal application of the law (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954; J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956; J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, August 17, 1960; Kluger, 1975).

Chapter VII: Implications for Conducting Educational Histories

This chapter describes the conclusions reached in the study. This chapter also discusses the importance of the work and how it can impact educational histories and the way that we conduct educational histories in the country.

Key Terms

1. Afro-Creole-Catholic Protest Tradition- This term refers to a movement for social justice involving people of African and European descent that originated in colonial New Orleans. The group of people who comprised this tradition were influenced by, “...a Latin European religious culture, a tripartite racial order, and the outbreak of revolutionary upheaval in Europe and the Americas...” (Bell, 1997, p. 6). This group

- was often well-educated, Catholic, and affluent, and they were early proponents of social justice for people of color (Bell, 1997).
2. Americanization of the New Orleans Catholic Church- This process began in 1803 with the Louisiana Purchase, but was truly implemented with the appointment of Archbishop Francis Janssens as he sought out American priests, instead of European ones, opened the first strictly segregated Catholic Church in New Orleans, and erected parish schools (Alberts, 1994; Pitman, 2008).
 3. Catholic Universalism- This term refers to a religious ethic that holds that all people, regardless of race or social status, should be given access to all aspects of the Church (Bell, 1999).
 4. Creole- The children of Europeans and Africans. The term means, “born in the New World.” These New Orleans Creoles were often Catholic (Ingersoll, 1999).
 5. Les gens libres de couleur (free people of color)- This term refers to a group of people, often of African and French descent, who often separated themselves from other blacks. These blacks typically had lighter complexions and recognized the social and economic advantages of maintaining this distinction based on skin color. These people were free, and many owned slaves, themselves (Davis, 1990).
 6. Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU)- An HBCU is an institution of higher learning that was established to educate black Americans. HBCUs typically emerged during segregation as a response to the limited educational opportunities for black Americans and exclusionary educational policies of white institutions.

7. Spiritual Discourses- Spiritual discourse, as I define it, is language that represents knowledge gained through a relationship to concepts based in the spiritual realm; these relationships are based in foundations of religiosity.
8. Secular Discourses- Secular discourse, as I define it, is language that represents knowledge gained through a relationship to concepts that are rooted in rationalism or reason.

I now turn to the history of race and Catholicism, slavery, and race and how these concepts intertwined were manifested in North America-particularly in Louisiana.

CHAPTER II: THE HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND CONSTRUCTS OF RACE: “REMEMBER THE DAYS OF OLD; CONSIDER THE YEARS OF MANY GENERATIONS”

This chapter outlines the history of Catholicism and race and explores how these manifested in North America. The chapter briefly expounds on colonization and evangelism efforts of early Catholics. Also discussed are the Catholic Church’s views on slavery, acceptance of slavery, and participation in the slave trade. Constructs of race in Louisiana and New Orleans are explored to see how race and Catholicism merged to form an Afro-Creole-Catholic tradition that was unique to New Orleans.

Africa, a Cradle of Catholicism

Catholicism and notions of race have been complex and varied over the course of 2,000 years. Davis (1990) contends that the Catholic Church held principles of universalism at its core. Indicative of this complexity is the fact that Catholicism was present and embraced in parts of Africa since the early centuries. Early saints and bishops in the Church were African. Further, three of the earliest popes in the Catholic Church were said to be African. St. Victor I, St. Miltiades, and St. Gelasius were supposedly all African Catholic popes (Davis, 1990). It is no coincidence that a prominent Catholic church and black school in New Orleans were named after St. Augustine. Augustine, who was African, was born in 354 and became one of the most prominent theologians of all time (Davis, 1990).

To the dismay of some early leaders in the Church, many Africans adapted parts of their own belief systems with Catholicism. For example, when the Portuguese colonized Africa in the 15th century, many Angolans accepted abstract ideas such as the Holy Trinity; they also continued to worship and revere ancestral spirits (Sweet, 2003). Catholicism was understood

very well by some Africans. The Kongolese drew comparisons between Catholic symbols and elements in their own belief systems. Ideas of God, the saints, and symbols such as the cross were understood within the context of Kongolese cosmology (Sweet, 2003). Certainly, the suggestion that all or most Africans were exposed to and converted to Catholicism is a fallacy, but the early Church certainly did have a presence in Africa. There was no issue of “race” in the early Catholic Church. Notions of slavery initially had very little to do with blackness. As the Church needed to survive and expand, it became increasingly aware of race and not only supportive of oppressive racial stratification systems but active participants in the slave trade.

The Protestant Reformation

Martin Luther’s vision that the individual could access God through the infallibility of the Bible was a radical departure from the tenants of Catholicism. Authority, for Luther, did not lie with the Church and its hegemonic structure but with the individual’s ability to perceive, hear, and read the word of God. The word of God allowed one to have a divine experience-not a priest or authoritative figure (Howard, 2005). Martin Luther believed that the Bible was clear and literal, and the message that was central to the believer should be the message of Christ, not the message of a priest or figure who was interpreting scripture (Krentz, 1975). Individual salvation, without the interference of the Church, was a revolutionary idea. For Protestants, women were somewhat included in this idea that salvation was available to *any* individual. Hendry (2011) notes, “On the one hand, the Reformation did provide a site of self-authorization for women. Despite its restrictions on women and rhetoric of inferiority and sub-servience, the new Protestant denominations called on women religious to promote their faith through education and even preaching,” (p. 119).

The openness of Protestantism created excitement, as its focus was on the word of the Bible as central to salvation. To survive, Catholic missions needed to change to maintain relevancy. As part of the Counter-Reformation, and in a desire to spread Catholicism, the Church encouraged teaching orders to expand, including the Jesuits and Ursulines, both of whom were central to evangelization efforts in New France (Hebert, 1999).

Portuguese Missions

The Catholic Church expanded in Africa with the Portuguese missions. Afonso, a Congolese king, was Catholic and allied himself with the Portuguese. He viewed the Portuguese as technologically advanced and thought that with their help, he could spread Catholicism throughout the Congo. Eventually, it became clear that the Portuguese's primary mission was not the spread of Catholicism but the expansion of slavery through the slave trade. The spread of Catholicism in the Congo was halted by the Portuguese's expansion of slavery. Africans were sold into slavery, captured by war, and kidnapped; this disgusted many Congolese and made them reject the complicit Church (Davis, 1990). By 1530, 4,000-5,000 Kongos and Angolans were being sold into slavery each year by the Portuguese (Sublette, 2008).

Slavery

Slavery, historically, differed substantially from American notions of racial slavery. Slavery has existed since the beginning of recorded time, and it was very prominent in the Roman Empire (Madden, 1996). Africans were enslaved by the Spanish along with prisoners of war, criminals, and those who sold themselves into slavery (Landers, 1999). Early notions of universalism despite one's status as a slave can be seen in the early Church. As Logan (1932) points out, early slavery looked very different from the way we view modern slavery. Slaves

could worship with their masters, eat from the same table, and become priests; Pope Callixtus I was said to be an escaped Roman slave.

African slavery expanded at the end of the eleventh century throughout Europe (Davis, 1990). As many Africans in African nations became disenchanted with the Church because of Catholic and Catholic nations' support of the slave trade, slavery also served to introduce other persons of African descent to Catholicism. St. Benedict the Moor, of African descent, was born in Italy, and he was the child of slaves. He was a holy and respected man. In fact, his canonization, almost three hundred years after his death, was one of the ways that the Church made a statement on its displeasure regarding the continued African slave trade (Davis, 1990). Perhaps feeling embarrassed about the blatant disregard of its own established ideals, leaders in the Church began to make the arbitrary distinction between "just" and "unjust" enslavement. African slavery was just, according to several of the popes of the 15th century, when it was imposed upon non-Christian Africans or when the Church was in economic need (Green, 2013). Slavery was accepted as necessary and was spread by Catholic nations. In fact, African slaves arrived in the "New World" with the Spanish. The Spanish Catholics attempted to justify their choice to enslave African people under the guise of religion. Many Africans were Muslim, so they cloaked their behavior in language of conversion (Davis, 1990; Sharps, 1994). Sharps (1994) asserts that slavery was formally sanctioned by the pope as early as 1450, and in 1501 the first slaves were brought to the "New World" by the Spanish.

Religion of Imposition

Spanish Missions

While it is problematic to begin any history with Columbus, it is a practical place to begin when outlining the history of Catholicism in what was to become America because the

encroachment upon the “New World” marked the beginning of the spread of Catholicism throughout the Western Hemisphere (Ellis, 1969; Prest, 1991). Spain was a Catholic nation, and these deeply embedded religious beliefs spurred a desire to spread Catholicism in the New World (Prest, 1991). State and religion intertwined as priests served as representatives of Spain, and the government felt obliged to spread religion. Priests acted as unofficial government officials-both supporting the Spanish crown and responsible for spreading Catholic doctrine throughout what is now known as the southwestern United States and Florida (Ellis, 1969; Prest, 1991).

A 1493 decree by Pope Alexander VI and a treaty with Portugal were the basis for Spain claiming the right to the Americas. Catholic missionaries were determined to spread Catholicism throughout the Americas, including Florida, Georgia, and Texas. Ferdinand and Isabella decided that they needed to unify the Spanish Catholic Church and promote nationalism by engaging in an aggressive campaign to convert the unsaved to Catholicism. St. Ignatius of Loyola founded the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits, and they soon joined in the mission to convert Native people in the American South (Woods, 2011). A Spanish colony was established with St. Augustine as the center (Davis, 1990).¹⁶ Some of the earliest Spanish settlers were of African descent. Consequently, St. Augustine is the oldest home for blacks in the United States, as they were part of the settlement of the city (Davis, 1990). The first slaves arrived in St. Augustine in 1581; African slavery and Indian missions were part of the larger attempts by the Spanish to convert the unsaved to Catholicism (Sharps, 1994).

¹⁶ For a comprehensive history of the Spanish settlement of the Americas and the role of black Catholics, see Davis, C. (1990). *Black Catholics in the United States*. New York, NY: The Crossroad Publishing Company.

The first diocese in the New World was established in San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1565 without initial success. Catholic missionaries encountered resistance to the imposition of their Catholic faith upon Native people who had their own religious traditions and cultures. Further, Catholic missionaries conflicted with civil authorities because they objected to the dehumanization, mistreatment, and enslavement of the Native people (Prest, 1991). In New Mexico, Franciscan priests spread Catholicism rapidly throughout the territories, and by 1630 there were 50,000 baptisms (Prest, 1991). Native people rebelled against the intrusion of Catholicism, and they revolted in 1680. The Spanish retreated from New Mexico to Texas. Although by the time of this revolt, there were 28,000 Spaniards and 35,000 Christian Native people in this region of New Mexico (Prest, 1991).

Interest in California began in the mid 1700's, and by 1772 missions existed across California. Over 90,000 Native people were baptized during the mission period, and life was difficult for them at the missions. High mortality rates due to exposure to new diseases resulted in widespread death, as most Native people did not reach the age of twenty-five during the spread of the missions throughout California. With the Mexican Revolution, missions were placed under state control, and the missions were thrust into chaos as government officials reneged on promises to give land to the Native people (Prest, 1991).

All in all, "The Florida missions lasted 198 years (1565-1763), those in New Mexico 230 years (1598-1680); 1692-1840), those in Texas 134 years (1659-1793), those in Arizona 142 years (1700-1842), and those in California 65 years (1769-1834)," (Carey, 1993, p. 5). These missions also included blacks, as many of the soldiers were black soldiers from Cuba. These "morenos" are mentioned in records that span the 1500s-the 1700s in Florida, alone (Davis, 1990).

French Catholicism

Trade opportunities and a desire to spread Catholicism brought French Catholics to North America, including Canada, in the seventeenth century (Carey, 1993). The spread of French Catholicism began with the travel of the Jesuits, Capuchins, and diocesan priests through Canada, Maine, New York, and to the Mississippi River (Prest, 1991). Like the Spanish, the French were concerned with spreading Catholicism throughout the Native population, and the primary missionary effort of the Jesuits was among the Huron Indians (Prest, 1991). Clark (2007) contends that besides loyalty to French expansion, conversion of the unsaved was necessary for one's own salvation. The author notes,

If one believed that one's own soul could be saved only if one had done everything possible to turn others from the path of heresy or nonbelief, missions to the Indians and the African slaves of the Americas made sense.... Catholicism stipulated that the individual had to work for salvation through acts of devotion, charity, and proselytizing.... (Clark, 2007, p. 166)

When Louis XIV became King of France, missionary efforts of the Jesuits spread considerably as they traveled throughout all of New France, which today make up Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. Eventually, missions spread throughout the Native tribes along the Mississippi River and south to Mobile, Alabama (Prest, 1991). With the founding of Louisiana by the French, the Capuchins continued their missionary and conversion attempts of the Native people (Prest, 1991). Although, as Carey (1993) points out, the French missionaries had limited success.

Measured by the rod of human efficiency, historical efficacy, and ecclesiological stability and permanence, the French Indian missions within the present border of the United States were generally failures. They produced few lasting results and collapsed for many of the same reasons that the Spanish missions miscarried. The French efforts were also doomed by the cession of Canada to England in 1763, the decline of Jesuit presence after the papal suppression of 1773, and a more general lack of sufficient personnel to serve the huge geographical expansion from the Niagara to New Orleans. By the end of the

eighteenth century, for all practical purposes, the French Indian missions ceased to have any major impact.... (Carey, 1993, p. 12)

However, Catholicism had taken rank in Louisiana.

English Catholicism

English Catholics also sought to spread Catholicism throughout the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, but they had an arduous task because they spread their religion without governmental backing. These Catholics were surrounded by Protestants, which also made their missions more difficult (Carey, 1993). The English Jesuits quickly decided that their missionary efforts should not be spent converting Native people but spent converting Protestant colonists (Carey, 1993). In fact, their attempts were so successful that the Catholic population grew from 2,500 to approximately 20,000 between 1700 and 1765 in Maryland (Walch, 1989).

Generally, Catholics were accepted in Pennsylvania due to its commitment to religious tolerance, but during the late 17th century there were several laws passed in the various colonies to inhibit the spread of Catholicism, as it was seen as a threat to Protestant values (Walch, 1989). Just as there was dissent in England regarding the place of Catholicism in a Protestant society, there was the same dissent in the colonies regarding the place of Catholicism (O'Donnell, 2011). However, it was the American Revolution and its ideals of freedom that made Catholicism more palatable in the new nation (Carey, 1993; Walch, 1989), and the new states' constitutions lessened the restrictions on the practice of Catholicism (O'Donnell, 2011). Maryland had the largest concentration of Catholics in the early colonies (Farrelly, 2012).

These ideals of freedom did not extend to enslaved blacks, as this was a slaveholding society. The combination of the prevalence of slavery and Catholicism produced an American Catholicism largely accepting of racism (Farrelly, 2012). The Jesuits began to acquire plantations in Maryland in the 17th century and began to introduce African slavery onto their

plantations (Davis, 1990; Sharps, 1994). The issue of slavery was a complex issue for the Jesuits, but ultimately greed superseded any moral inhibitions. Not only did the Jesuits own slaves, but they also sold slaves.¹⁷ However, many other Jesuits opposed slavery and advocated for emancipation (Davis, 1990). It was not uncommon for Catholic religious leaders, including the Jesuits and as will be later discussed, the Ursuline sisters, to be slave owners. Although these slave owners were very complicit in the maintenance and expansion of slavery, an edict was issued in the latter part of the 17th century that required Maryland Catholic slave owners to allow slaves to receive Catholic sacraments (Sharps, 1994). Consequently, blacks comprised 20% of Catholics in Maryland following the American Revolution (Pasquier, 2008).

In general, the Jesuits approved of the sale of slaves if the slaves were sold to Catholic slave-owners and if families were not separated (Davis, 1990). Although blacks were enslaved, this was a slight recognition of their humanity, a representation of the Church's position of universal spiritualism, and symbolic of the Church's philosophy that God and heaven were accessible to all through the sacraments, even if the enslaved suffered inequality on earth. While some Jesuits aided slaves in escape, as soon as the Jesuits needed money, they capitulated to the agricultural economy powered by human beings; this is indicative of the complex and contradictory history of the Catholic Church in regards to race in America (Davis, 1990).

¹⁷ A copy of a bill sale of 272 slaves by the Jesuits to Louisiana can be found at the Georgetown Slavery Archive. Thomas Mullydy was a Jesuit priest and the president of Georgetown University. See Articles of Agreement between Thomas F. Mullydy, of Georgetown, District of Columbia, of one part, and Jesse Beatty and Henry Johnson, of the State of Louisiana, of the other part. 19th June 1838. The Georgetown Slavery Archive (Sale of Maryland Jesuit Slaves to Louisiana in 1838), Washington, D.C. Retrieved from <http://slaveryarchive.georgetown.edu/collections/browse>.

John Carroll, of Maryland, was elected as the first American bishop in 1789 (O'Donnell, 2011). Carroll expanded the Church in America and helped to establish Georgetown.¹⁸ Carroll served on several boards of trustees for nondenominational schools, and he worked to expand Catholic education for laypersons and clergy (Carey, 1993). During Carroll's time, the Church also became more focused on being an "American Church," as the Church could realistically no longer be considered to be engaged in "missionary work" in a foreign land. The Catholic Church was no longer a stranger in America and was becoming ingrained in the fabric of the nation as it expanded (Carey, 1993). Not only was the Church becoming ingrained in American society, Americans' curious ideals regarding democracy were shaping the Catholic Church. Dolan (2002) points out that, "In desiring to have the church adapt to American culture, Catholics wanted Roman Catholicism to be more in step with the times by breathing in some of the democratic spirit that was blowing across the landscape," (p. 33). While the Church was becoming more established in American society, it was already firmly established in Louisiana among blacks and whites alike.

Louisiana Catholicism

The French and the Spanish missionaries' desire to spread Catholicism extended to the South. In July 1673, on the Mississippi River just above its connection with the Arkansas River, a French Catholic missionary first encountered Native people in what would become the American South. Robert La Salle was born in 1643, and he left Lake Huron in 1681 for a

¹⁸ Georgetown participated in slavery by selling 272 enslaved people from Jesuit plantations in Maryland in the 1800's. This is an example of the Jesuit and Catholic Church's role in slavery. Beyond owning slaves, themselves, these Catholics used the sale of slaves to save a prominent Catholic university. See Swarns, R. (2016, September 1). Georgetown University plans steps to atone for slave past. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/02/us/slaves-georgetown-university.html>.

voyage to the Gulf of Mexico. His entourage included Frenchmen and Native people. La Salle and his expedition came to the junction of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers on March 12, 1682 and named the lands that touched the Mississippi River Louisiana in honor of Louis XIV. Although La Salle was soon murdered, the expansion continued as the expansion of France became synonymous with the expansion of the Catholic Church. The quest for land and the religious missions had different goals but were intertwined. The religious missions were supported by France's military might and capital, and those who desired to expand the state did so under the rhetoric of religious zeal (Woods, 2011). Per Baudier (1939), the first mass was held in Louisiana on March 3, 1699 on Mardi Gras Tuesday, and the first attempts at establishing the Church in the lower end of the Mississippi Valley were undertaken under the direction of Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville and Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville by the Jesuits and Quebec seminary priests. Again, the desire to expand France collided with religious figures' desire to spread Catholicism.

The same year the first mass was held in Louisiana, 1699, Iberville asked permission to use a ship belonging to the king to buy African slaves and bring them to Louisiana. In 1709 Nicolas de la Salle requested that 200 slaves each year go to Louisiana (Hall, 1992). Although no blacks were listed in the 1708 census, the 1721 census counted almost 700 slaves in the New Orleans and Mobile areas (Hall, 1992). In 1724 the French Code Noir required slaveholders to baptize slave children as Catholics as well as provide for the instruction in preparation for the first communion. This baptism of slaves coupled with the later influx of Haitians to Louisiana increased the number of black Catholics (Nolan, 2012). This is particularly relevant because in the rest of the country religious instruction of slaves was limited.

As the Spanish continued to move eastward, Bienville claimed more land in Louisiana for France (Baudier, 1939). There were constant attempts to introduce Catholicism to the Native people, and Bienville granted permission to the Franciscan fathers to minister to the French and to the Native people, and mass was said in Natchitoches and surrounding areas in 1717 (Baudier, 1939). In 1717 Louisiana was given to the Company of the West, the Mississippi Company, to expand the French colony. The company was charged with expanding the colony with both white settlers and black slaves. Importantly, the charter of the Company notes that it was charged with, "...Procuring the salvation of the inhabitants, Indians, savages and Negroes, whom we desire to be instructed in the true religion," (cited in Baudier, 1939, p. 41). This charter was the basis of an organized effort to establish and spread Catholicism throughout Louisiana. In 1719, the Company of the West merged with the Company of the East Indies and China and became the Company of the Indies. This company maintained colonization efforts and the spread of Catholicism in Louisiana until it gave up its charter in 1731; religious affairs were directed by the king of France and under the direction of the Coadjutor of the Bishop of Quebec, Monseigneur de Mornay (Baudier, 1939).

New Orleans was founded in 1718 under the Company of the Indies. Originally, the Province of Louisiana belonged to the Diocese of Quebec as the seat of the French Catholic Church (Rummel, 1936).¹⁹ The first record of a priest in New Orleans was in 1720; the priest was Father Prothais Boyer, a Recollect Franciscan missionary. This was the first year that a sacrament, the Sacrament of Marriage, was recorded in New Orleans (Baudier, 1939). The first

¹⁹ Rummel, J. (1936, June 15). *The Catholic Church in Louisiana: One hundred years in retrospect*. Archdiocese of New Orleans Office of Archives and Records Finding Aids and Digital Collections (Most Rev. Joseph Rummel Collection), New Orleans, LA. Retrieved from <http://anofindingaids.omeka.net/items/show/11>.

church in New Orleans was completed in 1727, St. Louis Parish Church. However, missionaries were in Louisiana almost thirty years before New Orleans was founded. The first mass in Louisiana was held in 1699, and missionary work was taken up by priests from the Seminary of Quebec in 1699. Subsequently, churches were established at various places in Louisiana, but the principal church in the entire Mississippi River Valley was St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans (Rummel, 1936).²⁰

Black Catholicism

The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress (1941)²¹ provides a brief overview of the historical significance of the Catholic Church in New Orleans. The Eucharistic Congress, October 17-20, 1938, was held in New Orleans. New Orleans was chosen because of the historic significance of Catholicism in the city. New Orleans, besides its “Old-World atmosphere,” physical facilities, and age, was the city of the second oldest diocese in the nation and had a population that was sixty percent Catholic (p. 4). Further, New Orleans was a city of firsts in the history of Catholicism in America. The author notes the following,

New Orleans has been aptly called ‘the cradle of the Church in the Mississippi Valley’. It was here that the first permanent church was erected. It was here that Sisters established the first school and convent in this country. It was here that the first Bishop in the great valley resided. It was here that Confirmation was first administered. It was here that officials of the Church having ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the vast expanse of territory resided for more than a century. It was here that the first great Eucharistic processions were held and that the first Forty Hours' devotion was established in the South. It was from here that heroic missionaries sallied forth into the limitless wilderness for the conversion of savages and for spiritual ministrations to the hardy pioneers. It was from here that God's ministers went forth to inaccessible sections to offer the eternal

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ *The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress*, New Orleans, Louisiana, October 17, 18, 19, and 20. (1941). Marrero, Louisiana: Hope Haven Press. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records), New Orleans LA.

Sacrifice. It was, in short, the spiritual capital of a vast mission field for more than one hundred years, the humble home of the Sacramental Savior, Emmanuel, God with us. (p. 9)

Despite the illustrious history and despite its belief in spiritual universalism, the New Orleans Catholic Church completely yielded to racial segregation by the early 20th century. Prior to this time, the Catholic Church, despite participating in slavery, had integrated churches as well as equal access to most church rituals (Anderson, 2005). Out of the universalism of the Church and the French, African, Creole racial background of Louisiana, particularly in New Orleans, emerged a unique environment that was contradictory in nature. It was morally acceptable for Catholics to own slaves, yet the Church accepted blacks as Catholics with all of the rights to Catechism as other Catholics. It was out of this environment that an integrated Catholic Church emerged.

The Chocolate City

New Orleans has recently been called a “chocolate city,” much to the chagrin of many of its inhabitants. However, this phrase is rooted in historical fact. Louisiana is, culturally, a very African place (Hall, 1992; Sublette, 2008). According to Ingersoll (1991), by 1731, New Orleans (the town center and the nearby plantations) had almost 3,700 slaves compared to 200 French troops, 900 white settlers, and a few dozen free blacks and Indian slaves. Although there were instances of black manservants accompanying French settlers from France under the assumption of continued freedom in Louisiana, white settlers, upon arrival, soon challenged the freedom of many of these men. Although planters needed labor, they soon understood that it was not advantageous to have a growing class of free people of color, and emancipations were discouraged (Ingersoll, 1991).

However, New Orleans did have a population of free people of color, and this ever-growing population led to a societal fluidity unlike any social system in the South. The arrival of African slaves simultaneously with French societal castaways led to a power dynamic that was not strictly defined along racial lines, as blacks were frequently in positions of limited power in New Orleans (Hall, 1992).

The Code Noir

The Code Noir of 1724,²² a revision of Louis XIV's code of 1685, had a primary aim of separating races so that the class of free people of color and mixed race people would not increase. Various articles were explicitly written for this purpose. Article VI forbade white men and women to marry blacks under the threat of penalty. Further, clergy were forbidden to perform such marriages. This article also forbade whites to live with black slaves in a sexual relationship. Any children resulting from these relationships were enslaved. The purpose of these articles was to discourage the growth of a mixed race of people (Taylor, n.d.).

The Code Noir further subjugated slaves by cementing their place in society. Slaves had little legal recourse, as they could not sue or bring complaints in court, and if they wanted to be heard in court regarding a civil matter, their masters would have to bring the case before the court. Slaves had little control over their own families. Marriage of slaves required permission from their masters, not their parents. It was clear that most children born to a slave and a white person were in relationships in which the woman was the slave, so the Code stipulated that children of these relationships follow the station of their mother; if the woman was a slave, the

²² This chapter does not outline the origins of the Code Noir or its authors. For more on that see Palmer, V. (1996). The origins and authors of the Code Noir. *The Louisiana Law Review*, 56 (2), 352-407.

children were slaves also. Fearing insurrection, slaves of different masters were forbidden to gather in crowds. If they were caught, the punishment was violent retribution-whips, branding, or death (Taylor, n.d.).

The Code made manumission extremely difficult. Slaves were forbidden property rights, so it was difficult for them to earn enough money on their free time to purchase their own freedom (Ingersoll, 1991). Further, Article XV forbade blacks to sell commodities without the written permission of the master or without proper identification. The Code punished people who purchased goods from slaves who sold commerce without the permission of their masters with a fine (Taylor, n.d.).

Slaves were exempted from forced labor on Sundays and religious holidays and could use this time to hire themselves out. As Johnson (1991) points out, the Code was not always explicitly followed, and it was customary for many slaves to sell their own products and hire themselves out to others without formal written permission, despite the law. While there was nothing unique about slaves getting Sundays “off,” as the Sabbath was respected as a non-work day throughout the South, French Louisiana was unique because slaves could practically use their time with little or no supervision from the master, as masters usually disregarded the law. Consequently, masters began to see the benefit in allowing slaves to hire themselves out and earn some money, as slaves could then purchase some of their own necessities. Practically, slave commerce was necessary to the struggling colony because these vendors provided supplies to a city that was frequently short of food and supplies (Johnson, 1991).

The Code also levied arbitrary fines and punishments, including re-enslavement, against slaves for failure to show respect to former masters, theft, or failure to pay fines levied against them (Riddell, 1925). Ingersoll (1991) also points out that the sole “noteworthy” act of

emancipation of several slaves in New Orleans occurred in 1729. The French commandant tried to steal land from the Natchez Indians, and the Indians fought back with the assistance of some slaves. Fearing continued alliances between blacks and Native people, a group of black slaves were granted freedom for agreeing to join with whites to attack peaceful Native tribes (Ingersoll, 1991).

The purpose of the Code was to control the increasing slave population to prevent a slave rebellion (Everett, 1966). As Ingersoll (1991) points out, the slow growth of the slave population also was a factor in limiting emancipation. Due to the limited supply of incoming slaves, slaves were rarely freed, and from 1731 to 1763, the end of the French period, approximately 300 slaves were imported (Johnson, 1991). Ingersoll (1991) surmises that the collapse of the slave supply caused masters to treat their slaves better because they understood that they had access to fewer new slaves to replace those who they tortured or beat.

In 1751, regulations that supplemented the Code Noir were adopted. These regulations stipulated the governance of all blacks, not just slaves. Taverns were regulated and forbidden to serve alcohol to blacks, and provisions in the Code Noir, often ignored, were re-established—namely the illegality of the gathering of blacks in groups and the illegality of blacks carrying weapons or large sticks. Blacks, not just slaves, could be killed if they refused to stop on demand and could be violently punished for being disrespectful to whites (Ingersoll, 1991).

As oppressive as the Code Noir was, it did offer protections to slaves that were unique to French Louisiana. If slaves could acquire freedom, the Code Noir granted free people of color full legal rights to citizenship (Hanger, 1990). As Ingersoll (1991) points out, “It is true that the Black Code extended unique protections to slaves: it required masters to provide religious instruction, adequate food, and clothing; it forbade whites to torture slaves, separate husbands

and wives, or sell children under fourteen years of age away from their parents,” (p. 178).

Although these provisions were enforced to varying degrees, slave owners in French Louisiana were probably less harsh with their slaves because despite the collapse of the incoming slave supply, the slave population steadily rose, indicating that fewer slaves were dying (Ingersoll, 1991).

Catholic Universalism; Catholic Duality

There was a paradoxical relationship between slavery and the Catholic Church. Slaves in Catholic Louisiana, while still degraded by slavery, did have a measure of their personhood recognized by the Catholic Church. “Catholic leaders in Rome and in New Orleans simultaneously emphasized slaves’ religious rights as well as their necessary obedience to their owners in all religious matters. Slaves were property and people; while their souls belonged to God, their bodies belonged to their owners,” (Pastor, 2005, p. 9). While many argue that religion was forced upon slaves as a way of controlling them, sole reliance on this argument denies the agency of the slave in choosing his or her own faith. Also, the entrance of any person into the Catholic faith signals a recognition of the universalism of the Catholic religion and its openness to all souls. Consequently, the Code Noir stipulated that slaves be baptized in the Catholic faith (Clark & Gould, 2002). Slaves were instructed in Catholicism, as the Code required slave owners to instruct their slaves in Catholicism, and all Catholics received sacraments in St. Louis Church, regardless of race or status of freedom. Further, although slaves had to get permission from their masters to wed, the Code recognized these marriages and prohibited the separation of husbands and wives. This is radically different from what was typical of the deep South, as families were frequently forcibly separated. At death, slaves were also required to be buried in a Catholic cemetery in segregated sections signaling the recognition of membership in the Church,

not equality (Bell, 1999; Pastor, 2005). However, Ingersoll (1999) downplays the significance of these sacraments, and the author contends that all provisions were to the benefit of the master, even the religious ones which were superficial.

Although slaves suffered the inhumanity of human bondage, they were given some protections through the Catholic faith. Many Catholic priests rebuked slaveholders for inhumane treatment of slaves and sought to incorporate slaves into the Catholic faith by recognizing the common humanity of slave and master by baptizing both slave and master into the Catholic faith (Pastor, 2005). The Code made Catholic Louisiana unique. While the Code was extremely oppressive with its restrictions and provisions, it did recognize the humanity of the slave, as slaves were recognized as spiritual beings. Further, radically, it did allow freed slaves to be recognized as “partial” citizens with certain rights.

The Ursulines

Robenstine (1992) asserts that education policies in colonial Louisiana were meant to be extensions of the education policies of France. While the first educational opportunities for boys in New Orleans were recorded in 1725, this effort met with great resistance, as colonists questioned the need for formal education of the colony’s boys (Robenstine, 1992). The Ursuline sisters agreed in 1726 to come to Louisiana, from France, to educate girls in the colony and assist with care for the infirmed (Hebert, 1999). “The Ursulines were the first order of teaching nuns established in the Catholic church,” (Clark & Gould, 2002, pp. 416-417).

The sisters had their own curriculum. Hebert (1999) points out that, “There are three fundamental features of the Ursuline method of teaching: attention to the individual pupil, value of good example and mildness in discipline,” (p. 22). The education provided by these sisters was regarding the moral imperative to be prepared for the next life through religious instruction

(Clark, 2009). However, beyond religious instruction, the sisters offered instruction in the basic subjects: reading, writing, and arithmetic (Robenstine, 1992).

This desire to prepare the “mothers” of New Orleans with a Catholic education extended to both enslaved and free people of color, and the sisters’ boarding school was integrated from their arrival in 1727 until the end of the 19th century (Clark, 2009). Hendry (2011) notes that, “When they opened their doors, they admitted French, Native American, free Black and enslaved African girls who attended the free catechism classes offered during the day,” (p. 127).

The sisters tried to prepare women for earthly survival and teach them how to attain heaven. Practically, the focus on the next life might appeal to the sisters as they were ministering to black slaves who may be eagerly looking forward to freedom in next life and questioning why their masters were religious sisters. The sisters established a confraternity that included the rich of New Orleans and women of color who may have been slaves; they approached Catholicism and education through a lens of universalism that emphasized the common humanity (Clark & Gould, 2002). Robenstine (1992) points out that the sisters educated all girls-regardless of race and class. The sisters did instruct black slaves and Indian girls, but they did attend school for half the time the French girls attended school and their instruction differed slightly (Robenstine, 1992). Although the Ursuline sisters’ school was integrated, the sisters owned slaves since their appearance in New Orleans in 1727 (Davis, 1990).

The sisters, slave owners, desired to work within French codes, moral imperatives, and Catholic beliefs to create a unique master/slave relationship (Hendry, 2011). Arguably, the worst fear of the slave was the separation of his or her family. Respectful of the institution of marriage among all people, the Ursulines encouraged marriage among slaves and had many families living

together (Hendry, 2011). Not only did the sisters encourage marriage, there was a predominance of nuclear families among the population of the slaves owned by the sisters (Clark, 2007).

Concerned with the souls of all people, the sisters ensured that slaves participated in and received the Catholic sacraments just as anyone else did (Hendry, 2011). Further, Deggs (2001) notes, “The influence of the Ursulines...on women of African descent of New Orleans is evident throughout the colonial period. The Sacramental records of St. Louis Church demonstrated that most women of African descent, both slave and free, were brought into the church,” (p. xxvi).

It must be noted that the sisters were not only slave owners but substantial slave owners. By the late 18th century, the sisters were, “...among the top 6 percent of slaveholders in this category [those with plantations on the Lower Mississippi River],” (Clark, 2007, p. 169). Not only did they own slaves, they, like the Jesuits in Georgetown, sold slaves to fund their convent and outsourced their slaves’ labor to generate revenue (Clark, 2007).

Although the French Code Noir mandated that slaves receive certain Catholic sacraments, the sisters were different from some of their slave owning counterparts. As Davis (1990) notes, some Catholic owners were neglectful in their mandate to provide their slaves with sacraments and were not welcomed totally into the Catholic way of life (p. 73). However, the sisters were the only religious order to undertake a large scale and continuous program of evangelization among the slaves. While other male clergy did baptize slaves, their actual conversion efforts were limited to a few sacraments (Clark, 2007). The sisters helped to facilitate the creation and endurance of a Church that was integrated until the Church capitulated to legal, societal segregation and segregated itself at the end of the 19th century (Clark, 2007).

Spanish Rule

Spain took over the colony in 1763, and French Catholic tradition and Spanish tradition merged to create an experience unique to Catholic New Orleans. When Louisiana was taken over by the Spanish, jurisdiction of the New Orleans Catholic Church was transferred to the Santiago de Cuba. The Louisiana diocese was erected on April 9, 1783, four years after the establishment of the first diocese in America (Rummel, 1936).²³ This transfer was not without consequence. Catholic Louisiana was in disarray. The change from the French to the Spanish left the colony in a “disgraceful” state (*The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress*, 1941, p. 13).²⁴ In fact, for a period at the very beginning of the 19th century, New Orleans did not even have a presiding bishop when its bishop, Bishop Penalver, was transferred to Guatemala. Although St. Louis Cathedral was dedicated in 1727, after a fire destroyed it, it wasn’t rebuilt and re-dedicated until the end of the 18th century. Besides changes in the leadership of the diocese, the Spanish brought with them new laws and codes for the governance of the colony.

Parts of Las Siete Partidas,²⁵ the seven-part code, were implemented during the reign of Alfonso X of Castille in the 13th century. The Spanish encouraged the growth of the free black population in Louisiana and approved of codes that granted the right of slaves to purchase their

²³ Rummel, J. (1936, June 15). *The Catholic Church in Louisiana: One hundred years in retrospect*. Archdiocese of New Orleans Office of Archives and Records Finding Aids and Digital Collections (Most Rev. Joseph Rummel Collection), New Orleans, LA. Retrieved from <http://anofindingaids.omeka.net/items/show/11>.

²⁴ The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress, New Orleans, Louisiana, October 17, 18, 19, and 20. (1941). Marrero, Louisiana: Hope Haven Press. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records), New Orleans LA.

²⁵ For more information on the evolution of Las Siete Partidas in Louisiana, see Lislet-Moreau, L., Carleton, H., & Parise, A. (2014). Translators’ preface to the laws of Las Siete Partidas which are still in force in the state of Louisiana. *Journal of Civil Law Studies*, 7(1), 311-336. For an analysis of the seven codes and their origins, see Nichols, M. (1932). Las Siete Partidas. *California Law Review*, 20(3), 260-285.

own freedom from their masters for an agreed upon sum of money. Spanish codes permitted slaves to initiate the process of purchasing their own freedom without official permission. Further, masters no longer needed permission or “cause” for manumitting slaves, unlike in the Code Noir. Slaves had property rights in Spanish Louisiana and inherited, sold, and bought property (Baade, 1996; Hanger, 1990). Theoretically, slaves had certain protections from overly harsh treatment, such as starvation or excessive punishment (Landers, 1999). While the cruelty of slavery and the dehumanization of slaves cannot be overstated, this legal code did provide slaves, theoretically, with some protections that were different in Spanish colonies and settlements.

The Spanish continued to welcome blacks and slaves into the Catholic faith. Baptisms of infants continued, and large group baptisms of adult slaves were performed on special holidays (Clark & Gould, 2002). Legislation of the Spanish government, as was the case with the French Code Noir, mandated that slaves be given Catholic instruction (Davis, 1990). Church services were integrated, as churches accommodated large congregations of slaves. Free people of color also served as Godparents of the enslaved, as Catholic priests increasingly believed that black Godparents could be effective leaders in the spiritual life of the child (Clark & Gould, 2002; Clark, 2007). Despite resuming the slave trade, the infusion of African slaves and various religions did not greatly change the devotion of black slaves and free people of color to Catholicism, and free people of color, particularly women of color, focused their efforts of conversion on the newly arrived slaves from Africa (Clark & Gould, 2002).

Americanization

By the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century, there were pockets of black Catholics in other cities in the United States. For example, black Catholics had thriving

Catholic communities in Maryland, New York, and Washington D.C. (Davis, 1990). However, perhaps none as prominent as the black Catholic community in New Orleans. By the 19th century, blacks held a distinct place in the New Orleans' Catholic Church, and Nolan (2012) notes that when the Louisiana Purchase occurred in 1803, largely, "...the face of New Orleans' Catholicism was black..." (p. 1). Also, New Orleans was a place in which women held a unique social position that was contrary to Protestant, American social mores. Women were the face of Catholicism in New Orleans, educated other women, fostered high literacy rates among women, were highly independent, were slave owners who mastered their own fates, and were somewhat tolerant of a society with a powerful free people of color class. These very ideals of "Catholic femininity" were curious to the Americans (Clark, 2007; Hendry, 2011).

Not only were people of African descent active Catholics who God parented and participated in Church sacraments, the Church, itself, was integrated (Anderson, 2005; Clark, 2007, McKenzie, 2009). Until the legalization of Jim Crow in society, the Catholic Church in New Orleans was an interracial Church. The Church was an Afro-Creole space that was ripe with contradictions. Priests owned slaves, but other priests spoke out against slavery (Davis, 1990). Sisters educated black women, but sisters owned slaves (Clark, 2007; Hendry, 2011). Louisiana was certainly a place that had racial stratifications, per the Code Noir, the Siete Partidas, and custom, but it was also a unique place in which slaves had more defacto rights than in other Southern communities. However, it was when Church leaders decided to "Americanize" the Church that segregation took hold in all facets of the Church.

American Colonization of Louisiana

Spain returned the colony to France in 1803, and France soon sold it to the United States. This presented unique problems in such an African space. Johnson (1991) asserts that,

The flood of Americans into Louisiana and New Orleans raised unprecedented problems of adjustment. For the first time in its history the United States faced the challenge of integrating a sizable non-Anglo-Saxon cultural group into the twenty-seven-year-old republic. While the city, during its long colonial history, had accommodated several other incoming cultural groups-the Indians, the Africans, some Germans, and a few Spaniards-it had never had to deal with anything like the numbers, assertiveness, determination, or sheer foreignness represented by the American invasion. (p. 135)

White Americans were quite disturbed by race relations in New Orleans. They were concerned about the large population of free people of color, the ability of slaves to move more freely than in other Southern cities, and the way that Catholic New Orleans observed the Sabbath. The fact that slaves gathered in Congo Square to dance, perform African music, and enjoy the Sabbath was a source of indignation for the Americans. Unlike the French, who generally permitted the expression of other cultures, and the Spanish, who because of their history with slaves had a familiarity with African slaves when they came to power in New Orleans, Americans, already concerned by the fact that they were outnumbered, were appalled at the city's tolerance and appreciation of its African heritage (Johnson, 1991). Protestant ministers truly disliked, "...the city's deeply rooted Afro-Latin way of life that offended their Anglo-Protestant sensibilities..." (Logsdon & Bell, 1992, p. 236). This heritage was infused into every aspect of New Orleans, as early Louisianans would not have survived without African labor and inventions. Further, African slaves, although assimilated into this "Creole" culture of Louisiana, still maintained aspects of their distinct African culture in what was now an American city (Hall, 1992). The Congo Square dancing, the practice of ancestral religious custom and Catholicism, the unique liberties given to the enslaved, and the sheer population of blacks in New Orleans made New Orleans a unique place in the oppressive South. Truly, New Orleans was a place that allowed slaves and people of color to, "...forge an alternative path of development for African American culture," (Sublette, 2008, p. 299).

The societal position of some blacks and the racial fluidity of New Orleans was also concerning to the Americans. The free people of color or “les gens libres de couleur” formed a separate class of people in Louisiana society. Although they were considerably socially and financially better off than the slaves, and in a separate class, they were admonished not to think of themselves as white (A. Dumartrait cited in Davis, 1990, p. 74). This was a distinct class of people, and although communities of free people of color existed in other parts of the deep South, their communities were the strongest in Louisiana. Further, the fact that these black Catholics often owned slaves,²⁶ themselves, meant that they accumulated a great deal of wealth and power in Louisiana (Davis, 1990).

French priests resisted the Americanization of Catholic New Orleans, and they continued to speak French and rarely participated in segregated church services. However, during the 1800s the Church did maintain and later adopt some mainstays of the American, Southern ideal. For example, in a nod to paternalism, the priesthood was generally closed to black men, as it would not be acceptable for black “fathers” to minister to white parishioners. Further, the Church was an active participant in slavery, as laypersons and priests owned slaves (Alberts, 1994; Davis, 1990; McKenzie, 2009). Even leaders of the Church, the bishops, owned slaves,

²⁶ Even after slavery some of these Catholic Creoles continued to separate themselves from black Protestants and blacks who were not of the same skin color or in the same social caste system. For more on the elitism of these Catholics of color, see Pitman, B. (2008). Culture, caste, and conflict in New Orleans Catholicism: Archbishop Francis Janssens and the color line. *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, 49 (4), 423-462. For a brief introduction of scholarship that is critical of these Creoles’ racial stratifications, see the introduction in Bell, C. (1997). *Revolution, romanticism, and the Afro-Creole protest tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1870*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press. Others remained very active in the fight for social justice from Reconstruction to the Modern Civil Rights Movement and beyond in New Orleans for all New Orleanians of color. For more on these Creoles, see Thompson, S. (2001). "Ah Toucououtou, ye conin vous": History and memory in Creole New Orleans. *American Quarterly*, 53(2), 232-266.

and many Southern bishops defended the institution, "...on the basis of Catholic tradition and Scripture," (Davis, 1990, p. 46). Louis William Dubourg, a bishop with New Orleans in his jurisdiction, not only owned slaves, himself, but also helped others purchase slaves. The bishop of Natchitoches, Auguste Martin, spoke passionately about the need of Southerners to bear arms and fight in the Civil War on the side of the Confederacy in a pastoral letter. He argued that slavery was a blessing for blacks and was in no way an evil institution (Davis, 1990). However divided Catholics were on the issue in the United States, Rome made it clear that not only did it not approve of the trade of people, but it also contradicted Bishop Martin's claims that the slave trade was sanctioned by God, a direct refutation of Pope Gregory XVI's assertions. Consequently, his pastoral letter articulating the attributes of the slave trade and slavery was condemned by the Church, and he was advised to correct his assertions (Davis, 1990). Since pastoral letters reflect serious issues that the bishops perceive to be affecting the Catholic members in his jurisdiction, pastoral letters on the issue of slavery would have been appropriate. However, Bishop Dubourg's letter that refuted established doctrine of the larger Roman Catholic Church is atypical. However, his letter illustrates that the New Orleans Catholic Church was a hodgepodge of American ideals and Southern mores.

The Sisters of the Holy Family

The Sisters of the Holy Family was the second black order of nuns in the United States. Henriette Delille, born in 1818, with the assistance of a French sister, Soeur Ste-Marthe Fontier, opened a school for free people of color and slaves, who received their instruction at night. Juliette Gaudin, born in 1808 in Cuba, came to New Orleans as a young girl and made friends with Delille. These women, along with Josephine Charles and Very Rev. Etienne Rousselon established a religious community to minister to blacks in New Orleans on November 21, 1842

(Davis, 1990; Deggs, 2001). These sisters cared for destitute and ill blacks, catechized slaves, and cared for the homeless (Brett, 2011; Davis, 1990). Although the foundresses wanted an interracial order, social restrictions prevented this from materializing (Davis, 1990). Alberts (1994) asserts that by 1841 the Sisters of the Holy Family took over the instruction of black children, and these black sisters, along with white orders of nuns in New Orleans, cultivated the highest black literacy rates in the United States before the Civil War. These sisters of color also were slave owners themselves, as many free people of color were in New Orleans (Fessenden, 2000).²⁷

After the Civil War the sisters faced great adversity. Deggs (2001) noted that Americanization, discussed later, brought racism to the forefront of New Orleans society. She notes,

It is only since the Civil War that this state has become so very prejudiced and the people of this city have so much hard feelings against the colored class. We have always been like one and the same family, going to the same church, sitting in the same pews, and many of them sleeping in the same bed.... (p. 25)

Other white Catholic sisters also became increasingly racist towards the black sisters, and some even tried to force them to remove their habits (Deggs, 2001). Even the archbishop of New Orleans, Archbishop Perche, did not accept the sisters as being legitimate. Fessenden (2000) notes an incident in which a sister with a fair complexion was accepted for an audience with the archbishop until she fell upon her knees before him and revealed herself to be a woman of color. He angrily yelled at her and told her to remove her habit. Yet, the sisters persisted and

²⁷ In one of the great ironies of slavery, many free people of color owned slaves. In 1830, over 2,000 slaves were owned by people of color. Often these free people of color owned their own family members. However, they were at times considered to be crueler than their white counterparts. See Fessenden, T. (2000). The sisters of the Holy Family and the veil of race. *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, 10(2), 187-224.

took a prominent role in the care of and education of black women in Louisiana. They opened St. Mary's Academy for girls in New Orleans in 1867.²⁸ These sisters were active agents in the quest to educate black females. Despite the prejudice they faced, even at the hands of members of their own Church, the sisters persevered and became an educational force, as they opened schools throughout the state. These sisters continue to assist the destitute, educate children, and care for the elderly; they have expanded to multiple states in the nation and internationally ("Brief History of the Sisters of the Holy Family," n.d.).

Black Agency and Educational Initiatives

Black New Orleanians saw education as a means of protest against the increasingly restrictive social order that Americanization brought to the city. Revolutionary activity in Haiti (1843) and the Revolution in France (1848) brought French emigres insistent on attacking oppression in Louisiana. Further, this spurred revolutionary thought and a flurry of literary activity in New Orleans by the black intelligentsia in New Orleans determined to expose conditions of slavery and racism and produce a distinct educational movement. This manifested itself in the publication of literature, art, writings, and the opening of schools (Bell, 1997). Increasing Americanization imposed harsh restrictions on black education in New Orleans. Although black New Orleanians paid taxes, whites barred blacks from attending newly established public schools. Although black elites had some educational avenues because they could afford tuition payments, poor black children had few options. Marie Couvent, a Catholic and a former slave, bequeathed money and land to establish a black school, and in 1848 a facility

²⁸ St. Mary's Academy, despite devastation from Hurricane Katrina, still exists today. The school still educates black women and includes an elementary school, middle school, and high school. For more information on St. Mary's Academy see History of St. Mary's Academy (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://smaneworleans.com/>.

was opened with a black woman of color as the principal. The school, the Société Catholique pour l'Instruction des Orphelins dans l'Indigence, was opened to boys and girls, and the teachers were members of the free black community. This school, as well as the schools opened by the Sisters of the Holy Family, were largely supported by black slaveowners and philanthropists (Bell, 1997; Alberts, 1994).

Pre-Civil War Years and Civil War

In 1850, New Orleans was made an Archdiocese, and Bishop Blanc became the first archbishop. *The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress* (1941) notes that this administration was very productive.²⁹ Archbishop Blanc established almost fifty new parishes, schools, and charitable institutions. He also brought in several religious orders, including the Jesuits and the Redemptorists, both noted orders regarding education in the state. It was under his jurisdiction that the archdiocese was divided with the erection of the Diocese of Natchitoches (Rummel, 1936).³⁰ It was also Archbishop Blanc who gave free people of color permission to build St. Augustine. With land donated by the Ursulines, the church was dedicated on October 9, 1842. This church became the most integrated church in the country-serving slaves, free people of color, and whites (“History of Saint Augustine Catholic Church,” n.d.).

Archbishop Blanc’s successor, from Galveston, was Archbishop Jean Marie Odin.

Archbishop Odin was loyal to the South and to the Confederate army, providing it with aid and

²⁹ The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress, New Orleans, Louisiana, October 17, 18, 19, and 20. (1941). Marrero, Louisiana: Hope Haven Press. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records), New Orleans LA.

³⁰ Rummel, J. (1936, June 15). *The Catholic Church in Louisiana: One hundred years in retrospect*. Archdiocese of New Orleans Office of Archives and Records Finding Aids and Digital Collections (Most Rev. Joseph Rummel Collection), New Orleans, LA. Retrieved from <http://anofindingaids.omeka.net/items/show/11>.

chaplains (*The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress*, 1941).³¹ Indicative of the struggle between an Afro-Franco-Creole-Catholic culture that was established in New Orleans prior to the Louisiana Purchase and Americanization of New Orleans, Archbishop Odin suspended New Orleans priest, Claude Pascal Maistre, born in France, because he refused to stop preaching against the evils of slavery from the lectern, and consequently the church was placed under interdict.³² In 1863, the priest formed his own church, Holy Name of Jesus, and this church was schismatic (Davis, 1990). While Catholics within the United States were divided on the slavery issue, it was largely Catholics outside of the United States who spoke out fervently regarding their moral intolerance of slavery, and Archbishop Odin's suspension of a priest who spoke out against slavery is largely symbolic of the internal divide regarding the slavery question in the Catholic Church in New Orleans.

Archbishop Joseph Perche became the third Archbishop of New Orleans in 1870. He expanded the Church and established many new parishes and schools, and he constantly stressed the importance of Catholic education. Further, he reestablished the seminary that was closed due to lack of funds during the Civil War. Archbishop Leray became the fourth archbishop in 1883 when Archbishop Perche died in 1883. The Church, staggering under the weight of debt, was

³¹ The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress, New Orleans, Louisiana, October 17, 18, 19, and 20. (1941). Marrero, Louisiana: Hope Haven Press. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records), New Orleans LA.

³² To place a church or group of people under interdict is a punishment meant to garner submission. Those under interdiction are excluded from certain sacraments-including Catholic burial. For more examples of Catholic interdiction see *The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*. Copyright © 2013, Columbia University Press. Retrieved from <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Papal+Interdiction>. Eventually, the priest reconciled with the Church (Davis, 1990).

forced to sell churches at auction, and only one parish was established. He died suddenly in France in 1887 (*The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress*, 1941).³³

Segregation and Education

In 1884 at the Third Plenary Council of American Bishops held in Baltimore, it was decided that every parish should build a parochial school, and Catholic parents should send their children to these schools rather than to public schools (Anderson, 2005). The Council also urged seminarians to spread the gospel and faith among blacks. The bishops lamented that many blacks were Protestants and spoke of the need to introduce blacks to Catholicism (Davis, 1990). While the lack of exposure to Catholicism was not a concern for New Orleans' bishops, this Council's recommendations did mark the beginning of the introduction of segregation in all facets of Catholic Church life in New Orleans.

Anderson (2005) points out that for more than 150 years, prior to *Plessy*, Catholic churches were integrated, with whites and blacks worshipping together. Francis Janssens served as the fifth archbishop of New Orleans from 1888 to 1897. This archbishop was responsible for reinforcing a black/white caste system by establishing segregationist policies based on race (Alberts, 1994). Janssens was also very vocal about the need to provide a Church more reflective of the racial mores of the larger American Catholic Church (Alberts, 1994). Janssens, allegedly concerned with the pastoral care of blacks, wrongly claimed that blacks wanted a separate Catholic experience (Davis, 1990). Janssens established St. Katherine in 1895, the first segregated New Orleans Catholic Church established for blacks. New Orleans' Catholics

³³ The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress, New Orleans, Louisiana, October 17, 18, 19, and 20. (1941). Marrero, Louisiana: Hope Haven Press. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records), New Orleans LA.

historically rebuffed some established Southern racial mores such as segregated churches. Besides stipulations in the Code Noir that mandated the baptism of Catholic slaves, black Catholics frequently attended integrated church services with white Catholics. However, Janssens' attempts to "Americanize" the New Orleans Catholic Church called for the erection of parish schools to service Catholic children. Just like there were not enough public school facilities for blacks, there were not enough Catholic schools for black students as well (Alberts, 1994; Devore & Logsdon, 1991). Janssens also was responsible for creating a separate system of schools for black Catholics as he continued to segregate black Catholic school children from their white counterparts (Poche, 2006). Although this was denounced by black Catholics, the Church shrouded its bigotry in language that expressed concern for the black Catholic and the notion that segregated churches and schools would, in fact, be beneficial to black Catholics (Anderson, 2005; Davis, 1990).

Black Catholics stringently opposed the establishment of St. Katherine, the first segregated church for black Catholics in New Orleans and the increasing segregation in the Church. Some black Catholics wrote directly to Janssens in protest and disputed the notion that segregation was beneficial for them. Several black Catholics wrote a "protest" letter to Janssens asserting their Catholicism but protesting the, "...injustice designed against us, in the endeavor to establish a church exclusively for colored people, in the Parish of St. Joseph, against our wishes or consent," (C. Richard et al. letter to Francis Janssens, January 3, 1894).³⁴ This letter was signed by dozens of black Catholics.

³⁴ Richard, C. et al. (1894, January 3). [Letter to his Grace, Archbishop Francis Janssens]. ANOA (Negro Church, Protest Against Building Colored Missions, 1888-1894 Hanging File), New Orleans, LA.

Black Catholics also made their displeasure known in public forums. A black Catholic wrote a letter to the editor of *The Crusader*, an historic black New Orleans' newspaper, lamenting the increasing segregation in the Church. The author argues that black, Catholic children have been submitted to, "...degrading and humiliating discrimination" in the Catholic churches of New Orleans due to increased segregation. The author goes on to point out the hypocrisy of segregation in the Church and express feelings of exclusion from the Church. The writer says, "Mr. Editor, belonging to the Catholic faith; not willing to change it for any other one, yet I must confess, that it does us a great injustice, that it treats us in a disgusting manner; its dogmas, so far as we are concerned, are dead letters; it seems that the Catholic Church wants to do everything to remove us from its bosom" (Y.Y.Y. letter to the editor of *The Crusader*, June 2, 1891, p. 22).³⁵

The Afro-Creole-Catholic protest tradition extended beyond protesting religious injustices. The Citizens' Committee (Comite des Citoyens) which brought *Plessy* to the Supreme Court not only protested segregation in public spaces, but the members protested segregation in the Church. Members of the Committee published a "protest" in *The Daily Crusader*, another historic black newspaper in New Orleans, in which they argued that there was no justifiable reason for the establishment of churches based on race or any other arbitrary distinction, and they asked black Catholics to abstain from frequenting churches established for

³⁵ Y.Y.Y. (1891, June 2). [Letter to the Editor of *The Crusader*-“Prejudice in the Catholic Churches”]. T-ARC (Charles B. Rousseve Papers, 1842-1994, Box 2, Folder 4), New Orleans, LA.

purposes of segregation (A. Esteves and N.E. Mansion, publication in *The Daily Crusader*, February 14, 1895).³⁶

Briefly, for a short period after Janssens died, the new archbishop, Placide Chapelle, sixth archbishop, began to attempt to halt the increasing desire for segregated facilities by white Catholics. Also, concerned with the education of black Catholics, he also opened a school for blacks in an integrated parish. Although Archbishop Chapelle tried to maintain integrated churches, it became increasingly difficult as de-jure segregation began to increasingly take hold in public spaces with the *Plessy* decision and other court cases. Catholic schools and churches embraced Jim Crow (Alberts, 1994). By 1900 segregation in the private spaces of the Church became the rule of the Church (Fairclough, 1995).

Archbishop James Blenk became the seventh archbishop in 1906. Archbishop Blenk's focus was Catholic education. He established many parishes and established many new parochial schools in the archdiocese (*The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress*, 1941).³⁷ Although blacks resisted segregated churches for twenty years after *Plessy*, in 1916 Archbishop James Blenk established Corpus Christi, the first segregated parish in downtown New Orleans for black Catholics signifying that the Church's policy had clearly shifted to one of segregation (Alberts, 2004; Fairclough, 1995; Nolan 2012). Over the course of the next ten years segregated churches were organized throughout the entire state. It is not a coincidence that segregation was

³⁶ Esteves, A. & Mansion, N.E. (1895, February 14). [Letter published in *The Daily Crusader*- "Citizens' Committee Meet and Take Action Against Jim Crow Jury and Jim Crow Church"]. T-ARC (Charles Rousseve Papers, 1842-1994, Box 2, Folder 14). New Orleans, LA.

³⁷ The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress, New Orleans, Louisiana, October 17, 18, 19, and 20. (1941). Marrero, Louisiana: Hope Haven Press. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records), New Orleans LA.

introduced into the church body in Louisiana while it was developing in society (Labbe, 1971). As Jim Crow swept New Orleans, it took hold within a largely previously integrated New Orleans Catholic Church (Nolan, 2012). Segregated parishes continued to expand, and black Catholics had several segregated schools in New Orleans-including in St. Katherine (Alberts, 1994).

Poche (2007) contends that from the end of the Civil War to beyond *Plessy*, the Church's policies toward its black parishioners were shaped by white Southern racist attitudes. Blenk also decided to charge the Josephites with the responsibility of the black Catholic ministry in New Orleans, but black Josephites were not allowed to serve as pastors (Alberts, 1994). Those who shared Southern racist attitudes were not only antagonistic towards the thought of a black pastor, but in the spirit of these attitudes, Archbishop Blenk would not even allow black Josephite priests to conduct missions in New Orleans (Ochs, 1990).

Archbishop John Shaw became the eighth archbishop in 1918. He opened thirty-three new parishes and the Notre Dame Seminary ("Bishops of Archdiocese," n.d.). He personally believed that races should not co-mingle (Bennett, 2005). Segregation became further cemented in New Orleans as native French integrationist priests began to largely leave New Orleans (Alberts, 1994). The French, Catholic spirit of universalism that was part of the New Orleans society soon gave way to the segregationist attitudes of the South and the larger American society. Table 2.1 lists the black Catholic churches in New Orleans in 1934, the year before Rummel began his tenure in New Orleans.

Table 2.1³⁸

Black Catholic Churches in New Orleans, 1934

Name of the Church	Year Established	Location
All Saints	1919	1441 Teche Street
Blessed Sacrament	1915	5018 Constance Street
Corpus Christi	1916	2022 St. Bernard Avenue
Holy Ghost	1916	2015 Louisiana Avenue
Holy Redeemer	1919	2122 Royal Street
St. Joan of Arc	1909	919 Cambrone Street
St. Katherine	1895	1509 Tulane Avenue
St. Monica	1924	2335 S. Galvez Street
St. Peter Claver	1920	1923 St. Phillip Street
St. Raymond	1927	2916 Paris Avenue

Table 2.2 lists the black churches in the archdiocese that were outside of the city of New Orleans in 1934.

Table 2.2³⁹

Black Catholic Churches in the Archdiocese- Outside of New Orleans, 1934

Name of the Church	Year Established	Location
St. Francis Xavier	1919	Baton Rouge
St. Catherine of Sienna	1924	Donaldsonville
St. Augustine	1922	New Roads
St. Luke	1923	Thibodaux

Upon Archbishop Shaw's death in 1934, Bishop Joseph Rummel of Omaha was announced to be the successor, the ninth archbishop of New Orleans. All facets of Catholic life were segregated; Jim Crow had a stronghold on public New Orleans and Catholic New Orleans. Consequently, Catholic schools, churches, church pews, sacraments, seminaries, hospitals, etc. would largely remain segregated until the mid to latter part of the 20th century. It was into this environment of societal, legal, and Church segregation that Archbishop Rummel stepped.

³⁸ Data retrieved from The Official Catholic Directory Anno Domini 1934 (1934). New York, NY: P.J. Kenedy & Sons. Copy in ANOA, pp. 110-111.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 112-113.

CHAPTER III: A LIFE HISTORY OF ARCHBISHOP RUMMEL: “BLESSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS”

Joseph Francis Rummel’s very name suggested that he was destined to be a vessel for earthly justice. Jesus’ earthly father was named Joseph, and he was, biblically, a just man. This chapter outlines the life history of Archbishop Joseph Rummel and traces this history from his early life in Germany and New York to his tenure as Archbishop of New Orleans. Rummel stepped into a chaotic environment in New Orleans with a black class of Catholics and priests who decried the segregation in their Church and with lay people who were fighting to maintain segregation in society and in the Church.

Education and the Priesthood

Joseph Rummel was born in Germany on October 14, 1876 and immigrated to New York City with his parents when he was six years old (Platt, 2014). Rummel was naturalized as an American citizen on February 2, 1888. He attended St. Boniface Elementary School in New York, St. Mary’s High School and College in Pennsylvania, St. Anslem’s College in New Hampshire, St. Joseph Seminary in New York, and North American College in Rome (“Biographical and Heraldic Notes,” n.d.).⁴⁰ It was at the North American College in Rome where the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology was conferred on him (Everett, 1953).

In 1902 Rummel was ordained as a priest, and he served for twenty-five years in New York (Platt, 2014). Archbishop Rummel served as a priest in St. Joseph Church from 1903-1907. He then served as pastor of St. Peter’s Church in Kingston, New York from 1907-1914.

⁴⁰ Biographical and Heraldic Notes (n.d.). Archdiocese of New Orleans Office of Archives and Records Finding Aids and Digital Collections (Most Rev. Joseph Rummel Collection), New Orleans, LA. Retrieved from <http://anofindingaids.omeka.net/items/show/1>.

His next service as priest was as pastor of St. Anthony's Church in the Bronx from 1914-1924. Finally, he served as pastor of St. Joseph's Church in Harlem from 1924-1928. He was appointed as Bishop of Omaha in 1928 ("Rummel Biography," n.d.).⁴¹

Race Relations in Omaha

Post World War I, Omaha was a city teeming with racial tensions. Blacks fled the South for better employment opportunities and a reprieve from the violent lynchings that plagued the South. Plants and other businesses actively sought black workers, and racial tension increased as blacks were used to break strikes in Omaha (Mckanna, 1994; Menard, 2010). Simultaneous to all the racial tension in Omaha, black Catholics established the first black parish, St. Benedict's (Angus, 2004). By the summer of 1919, racial violence exploded when a white woman accused a black man, Will Brown, of assault; her accusations ended in a lynching and murder. Brown was hung, riddled with bullets, and eventually burned alive. Federal troops were called in to restore order, and this lynching encouraged the Ku Klux Klan to organize two years later in Omaha and caused an increase in racially prohibitive ordinances (Menard, 2010).

Spiritual leaders of all faiths, including Catholics, denounced the lynching (Angus, 2004). Although Rummel was not the bishop of Omaha when this lynching occurred, it is illustrative of the tense racial environment in Omaha when he arrived ten years later. The anti-Catholic Klan was in the throes of a power surge when Rummel was appointed Bishop of Omaha in 1928 (Schuyler, 1985). Still, despite the violence, black Catholics persevered with their dream of expanding their own parish. Bishop Rummel was fervent about tending to the spiritual needs of

⁴¹ Rummel Biography (n.d.). ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Hanging File), New Orleans, LA.

black Catholics and expanding St. Benedict's. One of his first orders of business was to build St. Benedict's a new school, and on April 7, 1929, a new \$36,000.00 school was dedicated (Angus, 2004). While this parish was a symbol of the segregation of all facets of Omaha life-including the Catholic Church, it must also be noted that the establishment of St. Benedict's was championed by black Omahaians, as it symbolized their agency in a racially oppressive environment. Further, St. Benedict's continued growth during Rummel's tenure was a source of inspiration and pride, and it was a representation of the loyalty to the Church of black Catholics (Angus, 2004). Figure 3.1 is a photograph of Archbishop Joseph Rummel in 1938, three years after the beginning of his tenure as archbishop of the New Orleans Archdiocese.



Figure 3.1: Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel⁴²

Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel (1876-1964)
9th Archbishop of the New Orleans Archdiocese
Courtesy of the Archdiocese of New Orleans Archives

⁴² Archbishop Joseph Rummel. (1938). [photograph]. Copy in ANOA (Photographs Box, Archbishop Joseph Rummel File), New Orleans, LA.

New Orleans and Archbishop Rummel

Szmrecsanyi (1978) notes that on November 2, 1934 Archbishop John Shaw of New Orleans died of a heart attack unexpectedly.⁴³ On March 9, 1935, Pope Pius XI announced that Rummel would be transferred to New Orleans and serve as Archbishop Shaw's successor. The bishop expressed gratitude and intrigue at serving in a city as old and as Catholic as New Orleans (Rummel cited in Szmrecsanyi, 1978).⁴⁴ This was a promotion for Rummel, as the Archdiocese of New Orleans had over 300,000 Catholics and Omaha had 95,000. Angus (2004) notes that St. Benedict's, seen as the home parish for all black Catholics in Omaha, had between 300 and 350 black Catholics from 1930 to 1936. Manning and Rogers (2002) place New Orleans' black Catholic membership at over 60,000 by the 1950s.

According to the archbishop, the issue that was closest to his heart, the issue that he continuously stressed attention to was orphaned children-not racial matters (Szmrecsanyi, 1978).⁴⁵ It was clear that in 1935 Archbishop Rummel had no desire to press the issue of integration. There were more than one dozen black parishes when Archbishop Rummel arrived in New Orleans, and, ironically, such parishes were antithetical to Canon law. Canon law provided for the establishment of different parishes in the same locality based on diversity of language or nationality, not because of race (Kight, 1994). This is relevant to New Orleans because it meant that the New Orleans Catholic Church with its policies of segregation was afoul of official Church policy.

⁴³ Szmrecsanyi, S. (1978, July 28). Omaha bids farewell to Joseph Rummel. *Archdiocesan Historical Highlights*. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Hanging File), New Orleans, LA.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Indicative of Rummel's early desires to approach race with a "hands off" approach, Fairclough (1995) points out that Rummel advised the Holy See that discussions of racial matters were harmful and that the racial question, "...should be permitted to work itself out," (Rummel quoted in Fairclough, p. 176). The solution to racial issues in New Orleans should come organically, Rummel initially believed. However, whatever his misgivings were regarding injecting himself directly in issues of racial integration and equality, many black Catholics thought that a friend to black Catholics had arrived in New Orleans (Poche, 2007). The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress, and the prominence of black Catholics in it, gave black Catholics reason to believe that Rummel would unite all Catholics because they hoped that their inclusion in the festivities would be symbolic of a united Catholic Church that shared the concerns of its black parishioners (Poche, 2011).

Eighth National Eucharistic Congress

The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress, held in New Orleans in 1938, was seen by black Catholics as an opportunity to push the issue of equality in the Church, and the archbishop assured black Catholics that they would have equal access to every ceremony (Poche, 2007). This was important because prior to the Congress, Rummel seemed to be accepting of segregation, as he did not order the integration of the archdiocese, and he continued to build segregated parishes and schools (Alberts, 1994). This national meeting was an opportunity for Archbishop Rummel to show that the faith that black Catholics had in him was warranted. Unfortunately, while some processions were integrated, there were still "colored" signs and designated areas for black Catholics during the Congress and in the procession. However, black Catholics were moved from the rear of the procession.

It was clear, through a speech given by David Joseph Jackson, a professor at Xavier, that Archbishop Rummel tried to address the concerns of black Catholics by inviting the professor to speak. In his speech, David Jackson spoke to the inequities embedded in historically black colleges and universities, including the lack of adequate graduate programs, even at Xavier (*The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress*, 1941).⁴⁶ Education and the expansion of black schools were a focus for Rummel (Alberts 1994).

World War II

Rummel was a zealous supporter of the war effort. He saw World War II as a fight for the triumph of good. He supported President Roosevelt's war efforts and frequently referenced him and the war in speeches. In a speech titled, "The Twentieth Century Crusade," given at the Cooperative Club Luncheon on September 10, 1942, he juxtaposed the "crusades" with World War II, which he called a crusade. He outlines America's efforts at peace and the antagonism experienced by the allies. He eviscerates the axis ideology and says, "Axis ideology is a new and most vicious form of tyranny, a tyranny which aspires to dominate the very mind, the very soul, the very life of each subject...a tyranny which stifles the aspirations of the individual soul towards its own perfection and towards communion with the Creator..." (Rummel, 1942, p. 8).⁴⁷

It is particularly ironic that Rummel offered great critique of an "Axis ideology" that was rooted in racism but was silent, at this point, on the racism that pervaded the United States and

⁴⁶ The Eighth National Eucharistic Congress, New Orleans, Louisiana, October 17, 18, 19, and 20. (1941). Marrero, Louisiana: Hope Haven Press. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records), New Orleans LA.

⁴⁷ Rummel, J. (1942, September 10). *The twentieth century crusade*. Archdiocese of New Orleans Office of Archives and Records Finding Aids and Digital Collections (Most Rev. Joseph Rummel Collection), New Orleans, LA. Retrieved from <http://anofindingaids.omeka.net/items/show/17>.

the South. To further link the allied war efforts with Christian righteousness, Rummel expresses that there are four freedoms that the allies are fighting for: freedom of expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. He encourages Christians to pray for a brief conflict but also to pray for strength and courage to confront evil in this modern-day crusade (Rummel, 1942).⁴⁸

The Catholic Church's Position

In 1939, the bishops in the Southern parishes formed the Catholic Committee of the South. The organization had a committee devoted to integration. The larger Catholic Church's doctrine was now one of integration and condemnation of a segregated Catholic Church. Pope Pius XII was pope from 1939-1958. In his first encyclical, he re-affirmed that the Catholic Church was a religion of all people and equal in the Church. He said,

Our immediate predecessor, of holy and venerated memory, applying such norms to a particularly delicate question, took some generous decisions which are a monument to his insight and to the intensity of his apostolic spirit. Nor need We tell you, Venerable Brethren, that We intend to proceed without hesitation along this way. Those who enter the Church, whatever be their origin or their speech, must know that they have equal rights as children in the House of the Lord, where the law of Christ and the peace of Christ prevail. (Pius XII, *Summi Pontificatus*, 47)

He also expressed that he would continue along the path of his predecessor. According to Harbutt (1959), the new pope was referring to Pius XI's policy of appointing bishops in the South who were integrationists (p. 8).⁴⁹ Although, surely, with World War II in its beginning

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Harbutt, C. (1959). The church and integration: A survey of Catholic's response to the South's most pressing problem. *Jubilee*, 6(10), 5-14. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

stage, the larger issue of racial superiority, eugenics, and discrimination were on the new pope's mind.

Black soldiers came home from fighting in World War II to a segregated and ungrateful nation, particularly in the South. Blacks resented the unjustness of sacrificing abroad and fighting against racism, only to return to second-class citizenship at home (Patterson, 2001). Indeed, Archbishop Rummel acknowledged the impact of the war on Catholic consciousness. Rummel cited in Poche (2007) notes that the war brought forth the impact of segregation, and that the rights of minorities must be acknowledged. Black Catholics were eager to participate in social activism while fully participating in their religion. They refused, however, to accept segregation, in the public or in the Church (Poche, 2007).

The Labor Movement -1930s-1950's

Archbishop Rummel was an advocate for laborers. In an address titled, "St. Joseph, Patron and Model of Workers," delivered in January of 1931, while bishop of Omaha, Rummel draws parallels between laborers and Jesus, who was a carpenter. Rummel points out the relationship between the Holy Family and carpentry by saying, "In the foreground is the Boy Jesus, working with square and hammer and chisel..." (Rummel, 1931, p. 7).⁵⁰ He also urges workers to use laws at their disposal to fight injustice and unfair labor practices (Rummel, 1931).⁵¹ He continued to speak on behalf of workers and what he saw as fair labor practices, and established the role of the Church in social issues. In a speech titled, "The Church and Social

⁵⁰ Rummel, J. (1931). *St Joseph, patron and model of workers*. Archdiocese of New Orleans Office of Archives and Records Finding Aids and Digital Collections (Most Rev. Joseph Rummel Collection), New Orleans, LA. Retrieved from <http://anofindingaids.omeka.net/items/show/2>.

⁵¹ Ibid.

Order,” given on April 7 and 8, 1940 at the Catholic Industrial Conference, Rummel asserts that he is not simply speaking for Catholics but for humanity. In a declaration of his divine authority, that foreshadows his argument that he is within his right to speak on the issue of integration, he says,

...Be it remembered that it is not the intention of the Church to deal with technical problems, economic science or business administration.... These details the Church regards with comparative indifference.... But the Church does claim a right to speak on the social issues, because they are fundamentally moral and spiritual. (Rummel, 1940, pp. 4-5)⁵²

He says that this right is the Church's because it was bestowed by Christ, as Christ commanded His followers to teach. In more foreshadowing of the arguments that he would later use to oppose segregation, Rummel claims that social questions deal with rights that exist in society but ultimately, at the heart of questions that deal with individual happiness, peace, and social stability, is a moral question. Moral questions can be answered by the Church, even when the question does not directly reference spirituality. He proclaims that man, in the image of Christ, is entitled to dignity, and because the Church is the, "...divine custodian of the human soul...." (p. 6) the Church has a divine duty to speak up in the interest of the dignity of man. After establishing the role of the Church in matters that impact society, even outside of the realm of the "Church," and the imperative to oppose injustice, Rummel asserts the right for industry to exist, but he says that people have a fundamental right to unionize due to the individual's relative powerlessness in society. Economic principles should be morally just, and he advocates for not just a living wage, but a wage that is sufficient to comfortably support a family, purchase

⁵² Rummel, J. (1940, April 7 & 8). *The Church and social order*. Archdiocese of New Orleans Office of Archives and Records Finding Aids and Digital Collections (Most Rev. Joseph Rummel Collection), New Orleans, LA. Retrieved from <http://anofindingaids.omeka.net/items/show/15>.

necessities, conveniences, and comforts. The right of the worker to be able to provide for his family takes priority over profits for the capitalist (Rummel, 1940).⁵³

On April 21, 1941 during a radio address from the convention for the Catholic Committee of the South, Rummel directly attacked the system of sharecropping and unfair labor practices, still pervasive in the South, arguing that that they affected both blacks and whites alike and subjected people to abject poverty. He says,

All this has resulted in social conditions which have characterized the South-land on the whole for its backwardness and lack of ambition and progress. With low wages and salaries, inadequate living conditions and frequently poor provision for the protection of human life and health, it is not surprising that we find in the South large groups, both White and Colored, who consider themselves doomed indefinitely to a way of living that is little, if at all, removed from abject poverty and want. It must be remembered that contentment and prosperity are not achieved in an area by advanced culture and economic circumstances favorable to a few, but by the lifting of the entire mass of population to a level of life that guarantees to all reasonable dignity, security, comfort, and enjoyment. (Rummel, 1941, pp. 9-10)⁵⁴

Beyond questions of the laborer and the industrialist, Rummel began to see a disconnect between Catholicism and some of the systems of segregation in Louisiana. Aligned with the National Farm Labor Union, the archbishop saw a clear issue with the conditions of the sugar cane fields of Louisiana-80% of which were tended by black farmers. Annoyed plantation owners did not see a conflict between their Catholic faith and the conditions that they subjected their workers to (Poche, 2006).

Fairclough (1995) points out that when the sugar cane workers went on strike, the archdiocese funneled thousands of dollars to the union that organized the strike, even though

⁵³ Ibid., p. 6.

⁵⁴ Rummel, J. (1941, April 21). *The Catholic Church and some problems of the South*. Archdiocese of New Orleans Office of Archives and Records Finding Aids and Digital Collections (Most Rev. Joseph Rummel Collection), New Orleans, LA. Retrieved from <http://anofindingaids.omeka.net/items/show/16>.

most of the sugar growers were Catholics. Further, the archbishop showed his willingness to challenge the law by vocalizing his opposition to an anti-union “right to work” bill all within the confines of Catholic doctrine. Although couched in the language of the labor union, he still articulates that he does not support this bill out of an interest in, “...social justice, equity, and public welfare” (J.F. Rummel, telegram, June 1, 1954).⁵⁵ These themes would be echoed throughout Rummel’s tenure when he made proclamations on pressing issues. In a letter addressing the importance of the laborer written in commemoration of Labor Day, Rummel proclaimed the following,

Labor Day brings home to us certain rights and responsibilities that are an intimate part of the framework within which a healthy labor relationship can thrive and prosper. These rights and responsibilities are based upon principles of justice and charity, which must be recognized and observed mutually by those who labor and by those for whom they labor. The worker has indeed the duty to render faithful and efficient service...but he also has the right to decent working conditions and a decent living wage. Decent working conditions include adequate provisions during the hours of labor for the workers’ health and safety, reasonable working hours and allowance of time for rest and nourishment. A decent living wage must be proportioned to the nature of work and responsibility expected of the worker; must be adequate to provide decent housing and subsistence not only for the worker but also for his dependents; must envision not only his immediate needs but also his needs in time of sickness, unemployment and old age. (Rummel, pastoral letter, August 22, 1955, p. 2)⁵⁶

The archbishop understood that this strike had racial connotations, and the ending to the saga exemplifies his gradualist approach to improving racial relations up to that point. This is precisely the approach that he would later take in the school integration fight. The archbishop

⁵⁵ Rummel, J. (1954, June 1). [Telegram to the Chairman and Members of the Senate Industrial Relations Committee]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, Archbishop Joseph Rummel Pastoral Letters, June-December 1954, AF/2011/614B), New Orleans, LA.

⁵⁶ Rummel, J. (1955, August 22). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Labor Day-1955”]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, Pastoral Letters & Open Letters to Clergy, 1949-1959), New Orleans, LA.

articulated the moral reasons he supported an action, established his authority to speak on the issue, then he urged his congregants to approach these controversial issues with prayer. Further, Rummel saw a connection between anti-labor and segregation, as many saw oppressive labor conditions as a new form of slavery. Industrialists, he declared in a speech at the University of Notre Dame, "...promoted white resistance..." (Poche, 2006, pp. 52-53). Racist Catholics saw the connection as well. Rummel's stance against anti-union legislation coupled with his formal rebuke of segregation in 1956 served as motivation for pro-segregation organizations such as the Citizens' Council (Poche, 2006). Further, Rummel's support for laborers echoed his belief in integration years later. Rummel appointed Father Twomey to act in his stead in the legislature when the bill was being debated. Father Twomey noted that those in favor of the right to work bill used the language of "individual rights" to argue that the bill should pass. Twomey noted that this language and the bill ignored, "the serious obligation that every man has as a social being to render his proportionate contribution to the common good," (Twomey quoted in Poche, 2006, pp. 51-52).

Rummel's Changes

Rummel changed the archdiocese during his tenure. He overhauled the way records were handled and how reports were filed by introducing new business regulations and procedures (Everett, 1953).⁵⁷ Further, according to Everett (1953), numerous lay societies were established and reorganized during his tenure. He notes that the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, the Catholic Evidence Guild, the Council of Catholic Nurses, the Catholic Rural Life Conference, the Seminary Guild, the National Organization for Decency, the Archdiocesan Councils of

⁵⁷ Everett, M.F. (1953, May 14). Archbishop Rummel is one of truly great leaders of Church in New Orleans history. *Catholic Action of the South, 25th Episcopal Jubilee Supplement*, pp. 1-8. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Hanging File), New Orleans, LA.

Catholic Women and of Catholic Men, the Catholic Youth Organization, and the Catholic Students' Crusade were all established under his direction.⁵⁸

Rummel's Contradictions- 1940's-early 1950's

Seminaries. It was in the late 1940's that the archbishop began to shift his focus from ensuring that black Catholics felt welcomed in certain spaces of the Church to acting definitively in the interest of integration within the Church, itself. In 1948, Archbishop Rummel decided to integrate the Notre Dame Seminary in New Orleans (Platt, 2014). During the Third Plenary Council of 1884, separate facilities for black and white Catholics were suggested. Notre Dame Seminary was established for whites, whereas the Josephite House of Studies was established for blacks. With the integration of these seminaries, Archbishop Rummel became the first Southern bishop to accept blacks into major and minor seminaries (Platt, 2014).

Holy Hour cancellation. It was becoming clear that the archbishop felt that segregation within the confines of the Church was antithetical to canon law and moral righteousness. Although he did not come to the archdiocese ready to make radical changes regarding segregation, his fervent support for World War II and his belief that the allies were fighting against racism and injustice, shifted his focus in the archdiocese from trying to appease black Catholics with gestures such as moving them from the back of the processional of the Eighth National Eucharistic Congress, to realizing that one did not have to look abroad to find injustice; injustice was embedded in both America's consciousness and in the New Orleans Catholic Church. World War II and the return of black soldiers shifted his mentality, and the war caused him to fully realize the effect of segregation, and he realized that rights must extend to all, regardless of race (Poche, 2007). Further, Rummel was under increasing pressure from black

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Catholics, including Catholic students who were becoming tired of the hypocrisy of the Church and the refusal of Rummel to integrate Catholic schools (Anderson, 2005).

He made it clear that there was no difference between black and white Catholics in the public and private spaces of the Church. So, in his first widely publicized stance against segregation in New Orleans, in 1949, disgusted that the Holy Hour service held in City Park was a segregated event, he canceled the event. Members of the City Park Commission required segregated seating at the event and insisted upon the exclusion of black Catholics in the Eucharistic processional. This demand was unacceptable to the archbishop; he canceled the service and censured the commission (Kight, 1994; Nolan, 2010).

St. Augustine High School. Although black Catholic grammar schools were being improved and blacks had Xavier to attend for college, black males were still being neglected, as they had no black Catholic high schools staffed by an order of priests. Although black Catholics fought mandated segregation, many of their institutions had become a source of pride, and they wanted to build a black Catholic high school solely for males (Alberts, 1994). Due to the perseverance of an active and proud black Catholic community, in 1951, one of the most prominent schools in New Orleans, St. Augustine High School was established in New Orleans (Platt, 2014). The building and land were purchased by the Society of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart (“History of St. Augustine High School,” n.d.). The legacy of St. Augustine High School is remarkable and well-known, as Alberts (2004) notes that many prominent New Orleanians are alumni of the school.

Silence on the integration of universities. The fight to integrate schools went beyond public universities and extended to Catholic universities in Louisiana. Bennett (2005) asserts that the archbishop had little involvement in the fight to integrate Loyola University. Loyola was

threatened with membership revocation in the Association of American Law Schools if it continued to reject applicants based on race. Further, Loyola's new president, Patrick Donnelly, was far more open to integration efforts, and this position was clearly known by the Jesuits. So, when Loyola was faced with an application from an extremely qualified candidate, Norman Francis, the future president of Xavier University, there was much inner turmoil. Francis hailed from a proud black Catholic family. Priests such as Louis Twomey⁵⁹ were disappointed in the failure of the Church to be more forceful in the fight to integrate, arguing that the Church's failure to integrate Catholic universities before public universities meant it lost moral high ground (Bennett, 2005; Fairclough, 1995; Platt, 2014). Father Fichter, a priest and faculty member, was often chastised by the board of directors for his fervency and insistence upon integration and his sermons that were critical of segregation in the Church and society (Anderson, 2005; Fairclough, 1995).

Meanwhile, the Jesuits put Francis' application on hold until they could gather to create a formal race policy. On 28–29 August 1952, fifty members of the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus met at Saint Charles College in Grand Coteau, Louisiana, to hammer out their policy. They decided that segregation, itself, was immoral and evil. However, they determined that it could be tolerated for the time being in certain circumstances. Yet, they did decide that all Jesuit run schools, the order, etc. would be eventually be integrated. This decision extended to Loyola University (Bennett, 2005).

Although the law school was integrated by two black students, Loyola faculty and alumni

⁵⁹ Father Louis J. Twomey founded the Institute of Industrial Relations in 1947 to encourage fair labor practices. He also was a fierce advocate for integration, fair labor practices, and social justice. Father Twomey was born in 1906 and died in 1969. For more information on Father Twomey, see About the Twomey Center (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.loyno.edu/twomey/about-twomey-center>.

were mostly in favor of maintaining a segregated dental school because there was no outside pressure from a professional organization to integrate. Because the American Dental Association did not have a policy that stated licensure would be revoked for dental programs that remained segregated, there was no desire to integrate Loyola's dentistry program. When the issue was put to a vote, the president was the only vote in favor of integration (Bennett, 2005). All Jesuits were not in favor of integration, and some wrote against integration and in favor of separate but equal. In fact, Fairclough (1995) points out that other Jesuits mockingly referred to integrationist priests, Father Twomey and Father Fichter as the, "social salvation boys," (Fairclough, 2005, p. 174). Strong leadership from Archbishop Rummel on the issue could have meant increased pressure on the Jesuits to integrate all of Loyola University's graduate programs and undergraduate programs simultaneously. The integration of the law school meant very little, morally, because it was outside pressure that was the impetus for Loyola's law school integration, but it did not face the same pressure with its other graduate level programs. Loyola integrated its law school out of an interest in self-preservation, not in the interest of social justice. Despite the failure to integrate Catholic institutions in Louisiana, other dioceses in other states did integrate their universities and/or schools before Catholic schools in New Orleans.

Integration in Other Catholic Dioceses

To contextualize Rummel's stance and integration, we must understand what was occurring in other Catholic diocese in the country and in the South. While there were dioceses that integrated before Rummel, we must put his stance in context of the area in which he lived-the South. Southern prelates largely began to realize that segregation was against the teachings of the Church and against the teachings of the pope. However, these prelates were impacted by local circumstances. The bishops who integrated before Rummel lived in less hostile racial

environments. Further, outside of Southern Louisiana, the deep South was a Protestant place. Therefore, integrationist initiatives by Southern bishops would have served to make white Protestants even more suspicious than they already were of Catholics. Bishops in these areas had to contend with a powerful Ku Klux Klan and white supremacist structure that targeted Catholics as well as blacks and Jewish Americans (Newman, 2011). Archbishop Rummel was not ready to integrate Catholic schools but neither were other Southern bishops in the deep South,⁶⁰ and few bishops in border states integrated their schools. Four cities in border states, St. Louis, Louisville, Washington D.C., and Wheeling, W. Virginia, did Catholics integrate before the *Brown* decisions (Harbutt, 1959).⁶¹ There were also cities in the South that integrated before New Orleans. Although he did not integrate immediately, Rummel's proclamation made New Orleans the first major city in the deep South to be committed to large scale integration because as Poche (2011) points out, the promise to integrate parochial schools in New Orleans meant that almost half of New Orleans children would attend integrated schools. However, the fact that some schools in heavily Catholic cities, entrenched in segregation, integrated before Rummel's New Orleans schools should be noted.

The integration of the St. Louis parochial schools had many similarities to the process that occurred in New Orleans, and there were marked differences as well. Almost ten years before the integration of Loyola University in New Orleans, St. Louis University became the first university in the South to experiment with integration (Linehan, 2001). New Orleans and St.

⁶⁰ The author is defining the "deep South" as the states of Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

⁶¹ Harbutt, C. (1959). The Church and integration: A survey of Catholic's response to the South's most pressing problem. *Jubilee*, 6(10), 5-14. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

Louis did have a player in common, John P. Cody. The archbishop who integrated St. Louis parochial schools was Joseph Ritter. His predecessor, John J. Cardinal Glennon, was comfortable with segregation. Segregation in parochial schools and in public accommodations was the practice and law, and he saw no reason to challenge the status quo (Anderson, 2004). Similarly, Rummel's predecessor, Archbishop John Shaw was comfortable with segregation in parochial schools and in society because he believed that races should not co-mingle (Bennett, 2005). Joseph Ritter was made archbishop of St. Louis in 1946, and some might argue purposefully so. He came from Indianapolis, and he desegregated the Catholic schools there. Taken aback with the state of race relations in St. Louis, he immediately set out to integrate the schools in 1947. The same archbishop who was sent to New Orleans to ail a frail Rummel towards the end of his life, Archbishop John Cody, also served as the co-adjutor in St. Louis.

Ritter was a bold leader because as Anderson (2004) points out, no other Southern diocese had integrated its educational institutions except for one university-Catholic University. Further, the federal government was firmly engaged in legal battles that were challenging segregation in public schools and was striking segregationist policies down one by one, but it would still be seven years before the court would decide *Brown I*. Ritter and Cody were faced with great opposition, as parishioners were unconvinced by Cody's arguments of Catholic universalism.

Faced with threats of legal action against himself and the Catholic Church, Ritter reaffirmed his authority. Ritter declared that excommunication would be the punishment for those who attempted to drag him and the Church into court. He decided that dictates, without explanation, were the way to contain a volatile situation. This was a difference between St. Louis and New Orleans. St. Louis' leader did not feel the need to instruct or give second and

third chances to disobedient Catholics. He was swift in his resolve to integrate, set forth a program of integration one year after his arrival, and refused to entertain or tolerate dissention (Anderson, 2004).

Louisville was “progressive” compared to other Southern cities regarding race relations. Louisville, a segregated city, in the middle of the 20th century had many black owned businesses and a large group of educated black professionals. Further, often in the South Jim Crow meant total exclusion. However, Louisville was different, and blacks did have access to certain facilities. Also, in 1956, Louisville became the first city in the South to desegregate its public facilities peacefully (Adams, 2006). Public schools were desegregated in 1957, three years before public schools in New Orleans were desegregated (Linehan, 2001).

Bishop Vincent Waters was born in Virginia, and he attended the Pontifical North American College in Rome. While there, a great deal of his studies centered on American slavery and the Catholic Church. He returned to Virginia in 1932, and in 1945 he was appointed as the Bishop of Raleigh by Pope Pius XII. This bishop had a keen interest in the suffering of blacks in the United States but particularly in the South. He perceived racism to be a real problem in Raleigh, and he could not understand why the Church, which should be a unified structure, was so segregated (“Bishop Vincent Waters,” n.d.). In North Carolina, like New Orleans, total segregation in Catholic facilities slowly took root in the beginning of the 20th century. However, the Church did not have the presence in North Carolina that it had in New Orleans (Slonecker, 2006). Newton Grove, a city in the Raleigh Diocese, also was a benefactor of the generosity of Katharine Drexel, who donated money for a Church in Newton Grove with the stipulation that several pews be designated for black Catholics (Slonecker, 2006).

Waters recognized that his Southernness probably made him prejudiced at some point.

However, he asserted that racial prejudice and Catholicism were incompatible, and that he had to, "...get rid of my prejudice in order to get to be a little more Catholic..." (Waters quoted in Slonecker, 2006, p. 329). Waters, like Rummel, decided to continue opening separate schools and parishes for both races, but he sought the solution to how to end segregation in his jurisdiction ("Bishop Vincent Waters," n.d.).

Waters faced hostile white parishioners and got even more forceful in his words and compared segregation to a tool used by Satan to divide the Church. According to Waters, the only way to unify the Church and reject Satan's attempts at destruction was through integration (Slonecker, 2006). In 1954, Waters announced the statewide desegregation of parochial high schools and hospitals (Slonecker, 2006). The success of the integration of the schools is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it is a story that garnered the attention of Catholics in New Orleans who were attempting to integrate the Catholic facilities. On July 28, 1961, Rev. George Lynch, chancellor of the diocese, wrote to Henry Cabirac, director of The Catholic Council on Human Relations (CCHR).⁶² Cabirac wrote to him and inquired about the desegregation process in Raleigh, North Carolina. Lynch replied that where schools for blacks were nonexistent, they could attend school with white children (G. Lynch, personal communication, July 28, 1961).⁶³

Washington D.C.'s Catholic schools were integrated in 1951, three years before the *Brown* rulings. The schools were integrated by Cardinal Patrick O'Boyle, then Archbishop

⁶² The Catholic Council on Human Relations was formed in 1961. This group became visible and active in the fight to integrate Catholic schools. A copy of the Articles of Incorporation can be found in The Articles of Incorporation of The Catholic Council on Human Relations: Parish of Orleans of the Archdiocese of New Orleans (1961, March 23). T-ARC (Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 17), New Orleans, LA.

⁶³ Lynch, G. (1961, July 28). [Letter to Henry Cabirac]. T-ARC (Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 2, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

O'Boyle. The archbishop was appointed in 1948, and three years later he integrated the Catholic churches and schools. Archbishop O'Boyle, unlike Rummel, seemed to find merit in public marches, and he participated in, arguably, the most famous civil rights march, the March on Washington by giving the invocation (Saxon, 1987). He also was active in politics, and he served as the chair of the inter-religious Convocation on Civil Rights held at Georgetown University. He served as the chair of the event and gave the invocation. He stated in his prayer, "There is in every man a priceless dignity which is your heritage. From this dignity flow the fights of man, and the duty in justice that all must respect and honor these rights..." ("Archbishop Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle Prayer on Civil Rights Act," n.d.). He further asked that God impress upon legislators to pass the Civil Rights Bill. So, while both he and Rummel both saw merit in trying to influence legislation (Rummel tried to influence labor friendly legislation), the main difference in the integration in these two cities was their location, and the fact that one man believed not only in integration based upon morality and common dignity, but Archbishop O'Boyle also believed in participating in the marches. Rummel did not.

Jordan (1955) provides an overview of public school integration in Wheeling, West Virginia. The author points out that race relations were different in West Virginia. Restrictions on slaves were less limiting. Further, although segregation permeated every aspect of society in West Virginia, West Virginia quietly took steps to integrate its schools, in defiance of the law, in the mid-1920s. Shortly after the announcement of a seminal case in Civil Rights history, *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, black students were admitted to professional schools at the University of West Virginia. While states like Louisiana found ways to circumvent the rulings of the Supreme Court, West Virginia began integration. It was this environment that allowed the integration of Catholic schools which was completed by 1955 with relative ease (Jordan, 1955).

It seems that while these places had some things in common with New Orleans-segregation in society, segregated Catholic churches, and parishioners opposed to integration, there were also some differences that seemed to make integration more palatable in these places. First, these cities were not part of the “deep South.” Many of these parochial schools integrated around the time of public school integration. However, we must remember that New Orleans’ public schools were the first to be integrated in the deep South (Klarman, 2004). Further, as Rummel was, these bishops were authoritarian and relied on their position in the Catholic hierarchy to make policy. However, Rummel was also a teaching archbishop. He not only created policy, but he attempted to explain to his parishioners why he felt the way he did and the dogmatic and scriptural foundation for his declarations. Further, at least one of these bishops, the bishop of Washington D.C., also believed in marches and participated in the Civil Rights Movement’s most famous march, The March on Washington. There were marked differences between Rummel and these leaders.

The success of public school integration in the border states was mixed. Places like Kansas City and St. Louis integrated with relative ease, whereas in Delaware the process was much more difficult. Louisville integrated with calm, but rural areas in Kentucky defied the law until the 1960s (Klarman, 2004).

Even though *Brown* did not directly impact Catholic schools, the indirect impact was great, nonetheless. The decision galvanized Southerners, and the deplorable behavior of segregationist Catholics in New Orleans had dual and contradictory impacts. These people threatened Rummel into postponement of Catholic school integration, yet their outlandish behavior also seemed to be a catalyst for action.

The states of the former Confederacy responded to *Brown* differently than the border

states responded to the decision, as many of the border states had residential segregation, so integration in schools was not as large of a concern. Further, some of the districts in border states saw the decision as a relief because they realized that they could not afford to maintain two school systems based on race. Finally, some of this integration, while it did exist, was tokenism. We must contextualize the atmosphere of the South because Rummel was impacted by his environment. In fact, by 1957, very little public school integration had occurred in the South. Besides two districts in Tennessee (one of which was federally operated), five districts in Arkansas with small black populations, and approximately one hundred in Texas which had a miniscule population of black children, segregation in schools was still maintained. In the fall of 1957, thirteen black children integrated schools in Nashville, Tennessee. That fall there were nine students who integrated one high school in Little Rock, and there were eleven students disseminated across three North Carolina cities that integrated those schools (Klarman, 2004). After the chaos of Little Rock and legislative action to halt desegregation in Texas, integration was halted in the South until 1959. Further, in the five states that made up the deep South, there was no integration until the New Orleans crisis of 1960 (Klarman, 2004). It was the environment of the deep South that paradoxically necessitated Rummel's words, yet kept him from integrating prior to public school integration in New Orleans. However, he did begin to integrate the spaces of the Catholic church.

Rummel's New Orleans and Common Racial Discourses

Rummel was a man who was seemingly full of contradictions. He integrated seminaries, but he remained silent on the integration of Loyola. He spoke out against segregation in the Church, but he refused to integrate the parochial schools before the token integration of the public schools in New Orleans. Certainly, he was a man who was bullied by the lay people in

his congregation but also by the prevailing thoughts on black Americans at the time. The prospect of teaching the faithful, combatting race based discourses, contending with white supremacist groups, encouraging white Catholics to support the Church financially and black Catholics to continue supporting the Church, despite the persistence of segregation in the Church, all proved daunting for Rummel.

The prevailing discourses regarding race after the failure of Reconstruction remained largely unchanged when Rummel arrived in New Orleans in the 1930's. These widely circulated and repeated discourses, particularly in the South, contended that black Americans were inferior, that males were a constant danger to the purity of white women, that Jim Crow was necessary to control blacks, segregation and discrimination were distinct doctrines and unrelated, black subordination was God's plan, and it was in the interest of whites to control blacks (Myrdal, 1944). Landry (1945) provides a snapshot of the views of many in white America and white New Orleans at the time. In a treatise on race published in New Orleans, the author contends that there is a "cult of equality" in America that is growing in the nation. This cult has the potential to destroy the white race, so it must be contended with. The premise of the cult is the underlying fallacy, the author claims, that people are equal. Further, the author laments the fact that black Americans are demanding a recognition of the rights that they should naturally possess as Americans-the right to vote, the demolition of Jim Crow, job protections, and societal equality. Further, the author argues, the goal of these people is miscegenation which is a terrifying concept to the white supremacist. Landry's book's theses can be summed up in the following ways,

That the doctrine of racial equality is fallacious. That such a doctrine if practiced means harm to the white race. That races can be graded according to superiority. That history proves the racial superiority of the Caucasian race. That nations and peoples that have interbred with inferior races do not progress. That countries controlled by Negroes do

not progress. That there are physical and mental differences between Caucasians and Negroes which indicate the former to be superior. That, in fact, the race problem will not be solved by the doctrine of Equality which leads to the doctrine of amalgamation. The amalgamation of all racial elements means the wiping out of superior Caucasian race and the decline of civilization. (p. 27)

Regarding education, Landry (1945) contends that black Americans, generally, do not even want an education because they lack ambition. Even though many do not want an education, the author believes that the educational opportunities afforded to black Americans are sufficient.

Rummel was undoubtedly influenced by these racist discourses. He knew that he would have to attack these stereotypes in his arguments against segregation. He asked medical doctors for statistics on venereal disease by race, illegitimate births by race, infectious diseases, etc. because he knew that Catholics like Leander Perez and the members of the White Citizens' Council were using stereotypes about black Americans, particularly males, to frighten whites into not supporting integration (W. Harris, J.D. Martin, & M. Pareti to J. F. Rummel, February 17, 1956).⁶⁴ Therefore, he tried to respond to and combat some of those discourses by arguing that some of the stereotypes are unfounded and some of the conditions of black Americans are actually due to racial inequities in society. Continuing segregation would be counter-productive, he argued, as blacks were being criticized for the consequences of not having equal educational opportunities. He says,

The amazing fact is that 'as a race' they are not still more generally lacking in mental ability, culture, moral self-control, immunity from social diseases, criminal propensities, etc. when you consider the neglect and barriers to which they have been exposed in education, general culture, economic opportunities, respectable housing facilities, contact with stable social intuitions and the more dignified ways of life. Although living and moving in the maelstrom of city or rural life, the laws and customs built up around the mystic term 'segregation' have practically relegated Negroes to an island-like

⁶⁴ Harris, W., Martin, J.D., & Pareti, M. (1956, February 17). [Letter to Joseph F. Rummel]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963).

existence... 'segregation' cuts off the free avenues to progress in the better things of life that are synonymous with Christian civilization. This condition in itself is an indictment against continuing segregation 'indefinitely' as its advocates envision. (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 4)⁶⁵

1940's-1960's Activism

Pew signs. The "colored" pew signs were a source of disenchantment with the Church for black Catholics. Poche (2007) notes that families like A.P. Tureaud's French-Creole family appreciated the racial fluidity of New Orleans because in flux racial lines of New Orleans extended to the Church, prior to the end of the 19th century. As was seen in the *Plessy* case, blacks, especially fair skinned blacks, historically took advantage of blurred color lines in New Orleans and were often seen as higher on the racial stratification hierarchy. These pew signs marked the beginning of many black Catholic families feeling as if their ancestral Church abandoned them. The "colored" pew sign and creation of segregated parishes were a slap in the face to the legions of loyal black Catholic families that supported the Church financially and traditionally for hundreds of years, and they threatened to leave the Church (Fairclough, 1995).

So, in 1949, Rummel ordered the colored and white signs removed from the spaces of the Church (Nolan, 2010; Harbutt, 1959).⁶⁶ Although defacto segregation still permeated the Church. Father Joseph Fichter, a Loyola faculty member, priest, and Harvard educated sociologist, pointed out that congregants were still often segregated by the ushers in the church. In a letter to the chancellor of the Archdiocese, Rev. Msg. Charles J. Plauche, Father Fichter

⁶⁵ Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"The Morality of Racial Segregation"]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

⁶⁶ Harbutt, C. (1959). The Church and integration: A survey of Catholic's response to the South's most pressing problem. *Jubilee*, 6(10), 5-14. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

informed the chancellor that he saw permanent and movable signs in several churches throughout the Archdiocese that mandated “colored,” “colored only,” or “reserved” pews. To appear to comply with the Archbishop’s mandate, other churches simply used ushers to segregate congregants rather than put up signs (J.F. Fichter, letter to C.J. Plauche, May 9, 1950).⁶⁷

Blessed are the Peacemakers. In the early 1950’s, a war was raging in New Orleans. In late 1952, a lawsuit was filed by Oliver Bush Sr. against the New Orleans School Board on September 5, 1952 to either adequately and fairly fund black schools or integrate the public school system in New Orleans; the city was thrust into chaos. “Blessed are the Peacemakers” was written during the Lenten season of 1953 by Rummel and represented a radical change in Church policy, as he proclaims that there should no longer be segregation in any part of the Catholic worship space. Although he ordered the removal of colored and white signs in the Church, he knew that they still existed. So, he addressed this as well in his pastoral letter.

Black priests. Amid the chaos surrounding the *Brown* decisions, Rummel began to attack the traditional practice of not having black priests minister to white parishioners. Archbishop Francis Janssens, who established St. Katherine in 1895 for black Catholics, ensured that white priests, in a nod to Southern paternalism, ministered to black congregants, and of course, white priests ministered to white congregants (Pitman, 2008; Bennett, 2005; Guste, n.d.).⁶⁸ Also symbolic of the Church’s loyalty to Southern racial mores, black priests were

⁶⁷ Fichter, J. (1950, May 9). [Letter to Charles J. Plauche]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Hanging File), New Orleans, LA.

⁶⁸ Guste, R. (n.d.). *For men of good will*. New Orleans, LA: Catholic Council on Human Relations. Copy in Archdiocese of New Orleans Archives, New Orleans, LA.

almost non-existent, and as black priests began to be sent to white churches, many white Catholics revolted against the actions of Rummel. Anderson (2004) notes that in 1955 a black priest, the Reverend Gerald Lewis, S.V.D., was sent to a St. Cecilia, a white church, to celebrate mass. When the priest attempted to enter, he was barred from entering by white members of the congregation. Archbishop Rummel, deeply disturbed by the actions of the white parishioners of St. Cecilia, sent a letter of repudiation to the members of the church. Rummel reminded the parishioners that their actions were antithetical to Church teachings, and they were guilty of committing acts of, "...injustice, uncharitableness and irreverence," (Rummel cited in Anderson, 2004, p. 631). The archbishop knew that his position was backed by the larger Catholic Church's dogma. In "Touches of Color," the official newspaper of the Vatican, *L'Osservatore Romano*, published an editorial in support of the archbishop. The editorial says, in part,

The Archbishop of New Orleans, Most Reverent Joseph Francis Rummel, has suspended religious functions at St. Cecilia's mission in Jesuit Bend because the congregation there prevented a Negro priest from celebrating Mass in the mission chapel. This, he said, 'is a clear violation of the obligation of respect and devotion which Catholics owe to all priests, whatever their race, color or nationality.' The Prelate also reduced religious services at one church in Belle Chasse and another in Myrtle Grove, where 'only one Mass will be celebrated until such time as the members of their congregation declare themselves ready to accept whatever priest is available for religious functions in these churches.' This news cannot but strike all Catholics with sad astonishment, although they feel Christian pride in their hearts for the prompt, admirable, pastoral, and Catholic intervention of Archbishop Rummel.... Racial exclusiveness is a sin against the nature of Catholicism. It is a negation of it and a blasphemy against it. It is a sacrilege to show animosity against a priest by preventing him from ascending to the altar to say the words of consecration taught and commanded by Christ.... ("Touches of Color," p. 1)⁶⁹

The Morality of Racial Segregation. Although *Brown I* and *Brown II* were decided in 1954 and 1955, respectively, both public and parochial schools were still segregated in New

⁶⁹ Touches of Color (1955, October 15). *Osservatore Romano*, pp. 1-2. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, Archbishop Joseph Rummel Pastoral Letters, June-December 1955, AF/2011/6150), New Orleans, LA.

Orleans after the decisions. Rummel wrote this letter on February 11, 1956, and in it he declares that segregation is immoral and sinful. Per Harbutt (1959) pastors of some churches refused to read his letter aloud, as he instructed them to do, and the firm language regarding his stance on segregation was the impetus for the creation of the Association of Catholic Laymen, a racist group founded by a person who the archbishop would later threaten with excommunication for his racist vitriol.⁷⁰ Archbishop Rummel ordered this group disbanded, and in retaliation for his threats of excommunication, his pronouncements regarding the immorality of segregation, and expression of his intent to integrate Catholic schools, a cross was burned on his lawn on May 18, 1956 by the Ku Klux Klan (“Burn Cross on Lawn of Bishop,” 1956).

Rummel’s allies. Archbishop Rummel had many antagonists in the Church who consistently challenged his authority, threatened him, referred to him as a Communist, rebuked him, and disobeyed him. However, he also had allies in the Catholic community who supported his statements that segregation was a moral issue and that he had the authority to speak on the issue. His allies believed in integration and supported his statements, but they also pushed him to make stronger statements and act upon the statements that he made.

One organization that was quite radical in New Orleans was the Southeastern Regional Interracial Commission (SERINCO). The organization was comprised of black and white college students. Rummel showed his support by attending some of their meetings. The attendance was a way for Rummel to express his support of the Commission’s interracial activities and integration. Further, the very existence of this organization was a refutation of

⁷⁰ Harbutt, C. (1959). The Church and integration: A survey of Catholic’s response to the South’s most pressing problem. *Jubilee*, 6(10), 5-14. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Collection, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

Southern social norms because it meant that black and white students would meet in the same spaces. The implication was that blacks and whites, particularly black males and white females, were equal socially. This concept was a rebuke of Southern ideals regarding race and miscegenation that existed since the founding of the nation. One particular meeting took place in the late 1940's, and these students wanted Rummel to end segregation in Catholic schools immediately. Rummel surmised that segregation could not be ended immediately; such a step was not practical, he stated. Further, the fact that New Orleans was the only place in the United States with a Catholic education system that spanned elementary to college, made the archbishop feel that the unique opportunities presented to blacks, in terms of Catholic education, did not necessitate an immediate end to segregation in the archdiocesan schools. Black students, displeased with the archbishop's statements, did nonetheless implore him to take other meaningful steps. They urged him to revise the curriculum, form lecture circuits to speak to black and white students on matters of race, reiterate that Catholic churches, by his proclamation, were not to have segregated seating, etc. Rummel agreed that seating in the Church should not be segregated and restated that he ordered them removed, and he agreed to establish a speaking circuit that would address racial matters within schools. However, he argued that an immediate end to racial segregation was impossible to achieve. Even though the archbishop disagreed with the group regarding the practicality of immediate integration in Catholic schools, he did give the group his blessing for Interracial Sunday. This event included mass, prayer, contests by students, speeches, etc. All events were integrated, and Rummel not only approved the event, but he endorsed it in his pastoral letter that called for the support of black missions (Anderson, 2005).

Another organization that was allied with Rummel and his discourses on racial segregation was the Commission on Human Rights. As mentioned previously, Rummel canceled

the Holy Hour event because it was a segregated event. It was the members of the commission who initially approached Rummel with their concerns about the mandated segregation of the event. Rummel was unaware of the segregation policies of City Park. With the support of the commission, Rummel repeatedly wrote to park officials requesting that he be allowed to hold an integrated event. When they refused, he canceled the event. Although A.P. Tureaud, Sr. wanted to sue for the right to host an integrated event, Rummel felt that the stronger statement was simply a cancellation, and the Commission on Human Rights praised Rummel for his courageousness (Anderson, 2005).

Other bishops in the nation were also supporters of Rummel's anti-segregationist discourses. In a statement released by some American bishops, the bishops asserted,

The heart of the race question is moral and religious. It concerns the rights of man and our attitude toward our fellow man. If our attitude is governed by the great Christian law of love of neighbor and respect for his rights, then we can work out harmoniously the techniques for making legal, educational, economic, and social adjustments. But if our hearts are poisoned by hatred, or even by indifference toward the welfare and rights of our fellow men, then our nation faces a grave internal crisis. No one who bears the name of Christian can deny the universal love of God for all mankind... ("Discrimination and the Christian Conscience: Statement of the Bishops of the United States-1958," 1958, p. 1)⁷¹

The bishops stated that racial distinctions were arbitrary in nature and violated the basic premise of divine law: God made us all equally with equal rights. The bishops went on to urge prudence in attacking the problem of racial discrimination. This statement was compiled by the members of the Administrative Board, National Catholic Welfare Conference in the name of the Bishops of the United States. The statement was signed by the archbishop of New York, archbishop of Los Angeles, archbishop of Baltimore, archbishop of Cincinnati, archbishop of St.

⁷¹ Discrimination and the Christian Conscience: Statement of the Bishops of the United States-1958 (1958). Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, Pastoral Letters, 1958), New Orleans LA.

Louis, archbishop of St. Paul, archbishop of Chicago, archbishop of Washington, archbishop of Dubuque, bishop of Youngstown, bishop of Helena, and the bishop of Belleville (“Discrimination and the Christian Conscience,” 1958).

Also, Rummel had the support of some of the lay people of the of the archdiocese, and they vocalized their support. Most supporters were not as vocal as the lay segregationists, but they were passionate nonetheless. One lay person wrote to the archbishop and expressed that although he is Southern at heart, he has always despised segregation and inequality in society. Further, he acknowledges that Rummel’s fears regarding legislative retribution were understandable, at the time, but he claims that it has become apparent that the legislature has effectively been rendered irrelevant and ineffective, as their legislative actions designed to thwart integration have been struck down one by one by the Courts. The author also expresses that he is not alone in his beliefs and that there is a segment of militant Catholics who stand ready to support the archbishop when he decides to integrate the schools. He ends his letter by advising Rummel that if he acted and integrated the schools, he would “...be immortalized in the history of mankind in the battle of human dignity and equality of men...” (N. Accardo, personal communication, July 4, 1961, p. 3).⁷²

Perhaps the most critical ally of Rummel’s was the Vatican. In an article published in the New York Times, the Vatican responded to a segregationist group, the Association of Catholic Laymen, that appealed to the Vatican for a rebuke of Rummel’s declarations against segregation. Citing a “high Vatican source,” the *New York Times* reported,

A high Vatican source said that the Catholic laymen had committed a ‘grave error’ as far as the substance of their cause was concerned. They apparently think it conceivable, he

⁷² Accardo, N. (1961, July 4). [Letter to Joseph F. Rummel]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

said, that the Holy See would declare itself against integration. This can never be, it was stated, because the church is ‘concerned with souls and all souls are equally dear to her. (Cortesi, 1957)⁷³

The Vatican source went on to assert that the Church is, “...completely and unalterably opposed to all forms of discrimination-in New Orleans as much as in the Union of South Africa,” (Cortesi, 1957).⁷⁴ Further, the article reported, the laymen made a grave error in policy because they appealed to the Pope against their “ecclesiastical superior.” The article declared that Pope Pius XII has firmly stated that he is opposed to segregation and rejected the argument that segregation without discrimination is possible. Further, its praise of Rummel in its official newspaper, *Osservatore* put any doubt regarding the pope’s support of Rummel and repudiation of segregation to rest (Cortesi, 1957).⁷⁵

Integration and Archbishop Cody. Rummel was confused about how to proceed with integration, as he was attacked on all fronts for his declarations. Further, he was significantly weakened by his declining physical state. The archbishop, quoted in a letter from the bishop of Alexandria, Bishop Charles Greco, told the bishop that although he took a stand, he found himself embroiled in turmoil. He expressed exasperation that he was between the devil and righteousness, as many Catholics were pleading with him to postpone integration but many other Catholics such as the Josephites were pleading with him to delay no more (C. Greco, personal

⁷³ Cortesi, A. (1957, August 10). Vatican assails segregation bid. Reprint of *The New York Times*. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, Pastoral Letters & Open Letters to the Clergy, 1949-1959), New Orleans, LA.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

communication, March 7, 1956).⁷⁶ Bishop Greco gives historical insight into the turmoil Rummel faced, as Greco expressed dismay at the barrage of criticism levied at Rummel and the defiance of ecclesiastical authority by Catholic laity and clergy. Yet, he still pleaded with Rummel to move slowly (C. Greco, personal communication, March 7, 1956).⁷⁷

Rummel continued to support Xavier and fundraise for the United Negro College Fund while he weighed the implications of desegregating Catholic schools (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, May 31, 1956).⁷⁸ Bullied into silence and threatened into inaction, he ultimately decided that the upcoming school year would not be the time to integrate and that integration would be postponed until at least September 1957, although he reaffirmed that segregation was contrary to Christian and Catholic principles (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, July 31, 1956).⁷⁹

The integration of public schools on November 14, 1960 amplified the Church's refusal to integrate first. The archbishop used the turmoil of public school integration to procrastinate before making any further definitive statements on parochial school integration. Manning and Rogers (2002) note that the Church fell silent on the issue of school integration until 1961,

⁷⁶ Greco, C.P. (1956, March 7). [Letter to Joseph F. Rummel]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Rummel, J. (1956, May 31). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"United Negro College Fund"]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, Pastoral Letters and Open Letters to Clergy, 1949-1959, AF/2011/6152), New Orleans, LA.

⁷⁹ Rummel, J. (1956, July 31). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"Integration in Catholic Schools"]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/195/integrationincatholicschools.pdf.

although the CCHR, a lay organization that believed strongly in integration, had plans drafted for a 1957-1958 school year integration; these plans were rejected.

In 1961 Archbishop John Patrick Cody was transferred to New Orleans from Kansas City as coadjutor to assist the very ill and frail archbishop.⁸⁰ Rummel promised to desegregate the parochial schools, and two factors enabled the CCHR to convince him to fulfil his promise. Cody's assistance coupled with the federal court's assurances that the public schools of New Orleans would be ordered to speed up integration, culminated in Rummel agreeing on November 29, 1961 that the first eight grades of parochial schools would desegregate in 1962 (Fairclough, 1995; McKenzie, 2009). Archbishop Rummel announced on March 27, 1962 that the integration of the first eight grades of parochial schools would occur in September 1962 (Fairclough, 1995).

Segregationists were angered by Rummel's declarations regarding the immorality of segregation and incensed about his order to integrate Catholic schools, and integrationists were frustrated by the slow pace. Rummel seemed to be the most effective recruiter for organizations with white supremacist ties, as they used his proclamations as recruiting tools (Fairclough, 1995). Catholic supporters of integration infiltrated the meetings of these racist organizations and reported their activities back to the leaders of the archdiocese. In a meeting sponsored by the Friends and Members of Dixiecrats of Louisiana and Knights of White Christians, segregationists, many of them Catholic, spoke out against integration and Rummel's arguments. One self-admitted Catholic stated that she had been Catholic for her whole life and Rummel's

⁸⁰ Archbishop Cody was born in 1907; he became a priest in 1931, and served as Auxiliary Bishop in St. Louis, coadjutor to the Bishop of St. Joseph, and Bishop of Kansas City prior to coming to New Orleans as coadjutor to the very ill Rummel. Cody succeeded Rummel as tenth archbishop of New Orleans in 1964 upon Rummel's retirement. His tenure in New Orleans was short, and in 1965 he was named the Archbishop of Chicago, and two years later he was elevated to Cardinal. Cardinal Cody died on April 25, 1982.

threats of excommunication angered her so much that she wanted to call Rummel on the phone and tell him but she was rendered speechless by her anger. Further, she proceeded to claim that Rummel was aiding Communism. According to the author of the report, “Her most insulting remarks concerned Your Excellency’s [Rummel] being a ‘dictator like Hitler, the Kaiser, etc.,’” (J. Gehl, memorandum, March 1, 1956).⁸¹ In very familiar racially incendiary remarks, the speaker stated that the archbishop should be sent back to Harlem, and another claimed that blacks were diseased, etc. and that Rummel supported the rape of white women. Other speakers also accused Rummel of being a Communist, a thief, a dictator, and associated with the NAACP. The speaker appeared to be Catholic because he said, “What we should do is not give up our religion but not support the churches. That should bring all of them---especially Rummel---to their senses,” (J. Gehl, memorandum, March 1, 1956).⁸² The speakers went on to attempt to convince the audience that Rummel lacked the authority to excommunicate anyone.

Four of the most vocal Catholic segregationists-BJ Galliot, Leander Perez, Jackson Ricau, and Emile Wagner were sent letters of paternal admonition ordering them to obey the Church’s mandates and instruction. The letters warned that failure to do so would result in excommunication (McKenzie, 2009). These Catholics largely continued their disobedience. Perez threatened the Church financially and undermined its authoritarian structure by claiming that the Catholic Church, an organization in which power certainly flows from Jesus down, did not give its leaders absolute power. He argued that these leaders were trying to destroy Catholic

⁸¹ Gehl, J. (1956, March 1). [Memorandum to Joseph F. Rummel]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

⁸² Ibid.

children, and Catholic lay people, the real Church, did not have to allow it to happen. Further, he encouraged violent retribution against blacks. He, in not subtle tones, urged whites that their only protection against rapist blacks who were infiltrating public schools was a gun (Perez, 1960).⁸³ He urged Catholics to cease contributing financially to the Church (Gifford, 1962). Three of the four refused to obey Rummel's requests that they silence themselves and submit to his teaching authority and were excommunicated by Rummel on April 16, 1962 (Fairclough, 1995).

To situate Rummel's decision to excommunicate the three disobedient Catholics, it must be understood that the threat of excommunication was not unique to Archbishop Rummel, and this was a punishment used sparsely during the Civil Rights Movement to force the most virulent segregationists to be silent and to stop antagonizing Church leaders (Anderson, 2004).

Archbishop John Ritter of St. Louis threatened to excommunicate Catholics who threatened legal action against him for his firm stance on the necessity of racial integration in the Christian Church-and all things associated with the Church (schools, hospitals, etc.). One of the most vocal segregationists and leaders in the St. Louis community concluded, "My religion comes first...if...I have to sit beside the Negro to keep my religion I'll do it," (Barrett quoted in Anderson, 2004, p. 626). Excommunication from the Church is the most serious punishment that can be inflicted upon a Catholic, as it bars the excommunicated person from the sacraments, including the Eucharist.

In New Orleans, it appeared that even some of the most vocal priests against integration humbled themselves to the Church's teachings and Rummel's proclamations. Fairclough (1995)

⁸³ Perez, L. (1960, July 21). *The challenge to the South and how it must be met*. Hill Memorial Library (Mississippi Valley Collection), Baton Rouge, LA [hereafter HMLSC].

notes that although Joseph Pyzikiewicz, a priest, readily referred to blacks as “niggers,” he was given the assignment to deliver B.J. Galliot’s excommunication order to her.⁸⁴ In submission to Archbishop Cody’s mandate that he personally deliver the excommunication decree, he wrote to Archbishop Rummel to describe the experience. In a letter dated April 17, 1962, the priest informed Archbishop Rummel that he delivered the notice of excommunication to a respectful but unremorseful Galliot. Perhaps in a nod to his own line of thinking, Father Pyzikiewicz encouraged Mrs. Galliot to, “...show reverence for the successors of the Apostles, the Bishops, and the Priests of the Catholic Church through whom our Lord continues the work of salvation and not to try to inflict upon others her personal views,” (J. Pyzikiewicz, personal communication, April 17, 1962).⁸⁵ The priest urged her to humble herself to the authority of the Church-not to change her views.⁸⁶ Ricau called the excommunication by Rummel a, “...bold but unsuccessful attempt to suppress the leaders of organized resistance to the forced integration movement, (“Ricau Attacks Church Action,” n.d.).⁸⁷ Besides threats to stop financially

⁸⁴ Father Pyzikiewicz was consistently at odds with more liberal priests, such as Father Fichter-a staunch integrationist. Father Fichter decried the irrationality of Father Pyzikiewicz on the issue of integration. Fairclough, A. (1995). *Race and Democracy: The civil rights struggle in Louisiana, 1915- 1972*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia.

⁸⁵ Pyzikiewicz, J. (1962, April 17). [Letter to Joseph F. Rummel]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

⁸⁶ Galliot never reconciled with the Catholic Church. Ricau was barred from the sacraments, and Perez did reconcile shortly before his death. See McKenzie, K. (2009). *The desegregation of New Orleans public and Roman Catholic schools in New Orleans, 1950-1962* (Unpublished master’s thesis). Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA.

⁸⁷ Ricau Attacks Church Action (n.d.). ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

supporting the Church, Rummel was faced with the prospect of action against the Church by the legislature.

The archbishop was in failing health and almost completely blind (Fairclough, 1995). On October 9, 1964, the archbishop received a Papal Blessing when he fell and fractured his arm and leg. By October 17, he was unable to eat and received blood transfusions, but he failed to progress and was administered the Last Rites. By October 21, his condition progressed into pneumonia. Despite a brief rally, on November 9, 1964 at the age of 88 Rummel died from pneumonia (“Papal Blessing Sent to Archbishop,” n.d.).⁸⁸ He is interred under St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans, Louisiana (“Bishops of Archdiocese,” n.d.).

Legacy

Although Rummel served as a priest and bishop prior to coming to New Orleans, it is his tenure in New Orleans for which he will most be remembered. During Archbishop Rummel’s tenure, the Catholic population of the area in the archdiocese almost doubled, growing from approximately 329,000 in 1935 to over 617,000 at the end of 1963 (“Archbishop Joseph Rummel Dies,” 1964).⁸⁹ Rummel was a champion of Catholic education and expanded it. During his tenure over seventy new schools were erected (“Rummel Biography,” n.d.).⁹⁰

What was the reaction to Rummel’s decision to integrate Catholic schools? The reaction among New Orleans Catholics was mixed, and the reaction outside of New Orleans was mixed

⁸⁸ Papal Blessing sent to Archbishop. (n.d.). ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Hanging File), New Orleans, LA.

⁸⁹ Archbishop Joseph Rummel Dies (1964, November 9). *The New York Times*
Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/1964/11/09/a-rchbishop-joseph-rummel-dies.html?_r=0.

⁹⁰ Rummel Biography (n.d.). ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Hanging File), New Orleans, LA.

as well. Many largely supported this action and felt that it was long overdue. In a letter from the director of the friendship house, a Catholic organization that fought for social justice initiatives for decades before integration, Cody, co-adjutor, is congratulated for the integration of schools.

The director said,

It was with a great deal of joy that I received the news of the move to integrate the schools of the New Orleans Archdiocese. On behalf of myself, our staff, our many volunteers and supporters throughout the land, I would like to extend our sincere congratulations for your good work leading to this forthright action. The ideals of the Mystical Body in the social order seem to me to be a bit closer to realization as a result of Your Excellency's action. (J. Kearney, letter to John P. Cody, April 13, 1962)⁹¹

Cody and Rummel received many letters from Catholic diocese leaders across the nation.

In another letter from California, a priest writes that the decision is the correct one. He says,

...Thought you would like to hear that we are pulling for you from out here. We realize the pressure and even abuse you are suffering. Be assured that you are remembered in our masses and prayers, as, also are the Catholics who haven't yet seen their error in this matter of racial equality. Don't weaken your strong stand. You are correct-and a strong stand is needed now. (R. Griffin, letter to John P. Cody, April 5, 1962)⁹²

Another letter, from the bishop of Ogdensburg, New York, recognizes the importance of this action in the history of the South. The bishop writes, "Congratulations on your apostolic boldness. Your action will be a turning point in the history of the Church in the South," (J. Navagh, letter to John P. Cody, April 11, 1962).⁹³

⁹¹ Kearney, J. (1962, April 13). [Letter to John P. Cody]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files, 1953-1965), New Orleans, LA.

⁹² Griffin, R. (1962, April 5). [Letter to John P. Cody]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

⁹³ Navagh, J. (1962, April 11). [Letter to John P. Cody]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Folder, 1953-1965), New Orleans, LA.

Of course, many opposed the decision to excommunicate Catholics and integrate Catholic schools. In another correspondence to Archbishop Cody that is undated, but was likely written after the April 19, 1962 excommunication of three Catholics, excommunication is referenced. The correspondence is addressed to Cody, but it references Rummel. It says,

Read the Bible-God did not intend NIGGERS and whites to socialize, he taught segregation-Since when is it a sin to segregate? Are the Damn Jews behind all this? I would like to see that fat bellied Rummel tell me I couldn't go to church. Guess he is taking his orders from that other fat bellied WHOP in Italy but if he does not get any support from the whites his belly sure will shrink for the want of food but on the other hand he does not have too much longer to live, his days are short. (A Northern White Roman Catholic, n.d.)⁹⁴

Rummel and Cody received many other letters like the aforementioned one. These letters ranged in content-from threats to stop supporting the Church to exhortations about why white children should never attend school with black children.

Many newspapers reported the order of integration with relative indifference. Yet, many did cite segregationists in the article who argued that protests would be even larger than protests in public schools. One could understand the contention that Catholic integration protests would be massive because in 1962, two years after public school integration, there were only twelve black students in formerly white schools in New Orleans public schools (Archdiocese Announces Plans for Open Schools (“Archdiocese Announces Plans for Open Schools,” March 28, 1962).⁹⁵ Other news reports noted that the archdiocese was being threatened by the

⁹⁴ A Northern White Roman Catholic. (n.d.). ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

⁹⁵ Archdiocese Announces Plans for Open Schools. (1962, March 28). *The Times Picayune*. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

legislature. Alec Gifford cited Emile Wagner's contention that the state could get rid of tax protections that the Church enjoyed, and Senator Kelly Gravolet, vice chairman of the joint legislative committee on segregation said, "It is primarily a church matter; however, the state is interwoven in the parochial education, in that the state provides free school books, lunches and transportation to the students attending parochial school. Now it [Rummel's decision] will have serious repercussions..." (Gifford, 1962).

It has been argued that the reason Catholic school integration was not marred by violence and street protests, like public integration, was because the public became more accepting of it because of the two-year lapse between public and parochial integration (Nolan, 2010). The processes of public school integration and Catholic integration varied greatly. Public school integration was driven by challenges to the law, and it eventually occurred because a judge mandated it (McKenzie, 2009). Catholic school integration had little to do, overtly, with any legal mandate. The process was mandated by Rummel, after years of vacillation. He proposed dates then declined to integrate several times. Finally, after public school integration, he realized that he had no other excuse not to integrate, since he stated that Catholic school integration would eventually occur after public school integration (McKenzie, 2009). In fact, it may seem, at a cursory glance, that the two processes had little in common. However, in New Orleans, concepts of the public and private, secular and sacred continuously blur and overlap, since the Church influences all around it. Further, Rummel's influence on integration was noted around the country, as his death was reported nationally and his actions viewed with general sympathy. The presence of high profile politicians in the Church who were segregationist lay people, the very existence of Xavier University, and the prominence and activism of black lay Catholics such as A.P. Tureaud, Sr., meant that the leader of the Catholic Church influenced public matters

and public matters influenced the Church. His words inspired many, scared others, and caused some to be separated from their Church. Catholics eventually realized that failure to adhere to his dictates could result in separation from their Church and possibly heaven. Rummel's approach to the chaos was to instruct his flock, and he taught based on Biblical principles and Catholic dictates, despite the chaotic environment in which he lived.

CHAPTER IV: THE PASTORAL LETTERS OF ARCHBISHOP RUMMEL: “WE WHO TEACH WILL BE JUDGED WITH GREATER STRICTNESS”

This chapter serves as an introduction to the five pastoral letters that were analyzed in this study. This chapter analyzes the following pastoral letters: “Blessed are the Peacemakers” written in 1953, “The Morality of Racial Segregation” written in 1956, “Integration in Catholic Schools,” also written in 1956, “The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Peace,” written in 1958, and “Reopening of School,” written in 1960. These letters were chosen because the dates, 1953-1960, represent a volatile period during the quest to integrate schools in New Orleans. 1953 was the year immediately preceding *Brown I*, and 1960 was the year of public school integration in New Orleans. Also, although Rummel wrote hundreds of pastoral letters during his 29-year tenure in New Orleans, relatively few addressed issues of race and segregation. Some addressed race through fundraising efforts, as Rummel frequently asked for donations for the “Negro and Indian Missions” or for Xavier University.⁹⁶ It was uncommon for opposition to segregation to be addressed frequently during this period.

Pastoral Letters

Blessed are the Peacemakers

This pastoral letter is dated March 15, 1953 and was written during the Lenten season. Rummel draws upon one of the beatitudes, “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called the children of God,” (Matthew 5:9 New International Version). The eight beatitudes were given

⁹⁶ Samples of the letters that ask for donations for the Negro and Indian Missions can be found in the ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, Archbishop Joseph Rummel Pastoral Letters, January-May 1951, AF/2011/6143), New Orleans, LA.

by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus Christ offers blessings that include heaven, comfort, righteousness, mercy, earthly satisfaction, promises to be with Him, and reward for persecution (Matthew 5:9 New International Version). Jesus does not just call his followers to be peaceful but to facilitate peace, as he calls peacemakers, not just the peaceful, blessed. Rummel's discourse is reflective of the chaos in society and is a call to action for Catholics to not only remain peaceful in a society that is on the verge of collapse into racial disharmony but to, through their deliberate actions, usher in peace throughout society.

Historical context. In this letter, there is a clear relationship between words and public policy, as the archbishop critically contemplated what was occurring in the New Orleans courtrooms. He is also reflecting on his Church, as he ordered the integration of the Church pews a few years earlier, but segregation in the Church persisted. Also, in the early 1950's segregation was still the law of the land. Although the Supreme Court and state courts were slowly chipping away at *Plessy* by systematically ordering, on a case by case basis, schools to end the practice of sending black collegiate students out of state to attend schools, ruling that hastily constructed HBCUs did not satisfy the mandate of "separate but equal," instructing colleges that they could not segregate within the facilities that were technically integrated, and ordering black students to be admitted to graduate schools and undergraduate programs, most of the nation's K-12 schools were still segregated (Baker, 1996; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 1950; *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada et al.*, 1938; *Pearson v. Murray*, 1936; *Sweatt v. Painter*, 1950; *Wilson v. Board of Supervisors*, 1950).

One of the first cases in the fight to integrate New Orleans' public K-12 schools was *Rosana Aubert v. Orleans Parish School Board* (1948). This suit was filed on behalf of Wilfred Aubert, a parent incensed because of the deplorable conditions of his child's segregated school.

Prominent Catholic attorney and New Orleans native, A.P. Tureaud, Sr. filed suit on behalf of Aubert, arguing that the condition of the school was an indication that the school board was not abiding by the “separate but equal” mandates of *Plessy*. The initial strategy of the NAACP was to attack the idea of “separate but equal” by showing that segregated schools were not equal.⁹⁷ However, Tureaud decided that a shift in legal strategy was necessary and that he needed to attack the legality of segregation itself, as it was indisputable that the school facilities, funding, teacher resources, etc. were not equal, yet segregation persisted⁹⁸ (Baker, 1996; Bankston & Caldas, 2002; Devore & Logsdon, 1991). The next case, filed on behalf of Oliver Bush Sr., directly challenged the Constitutionality of segregation itself. However, what would be known as the *Brown* cases were working their way through the Courts, and the first arguments were heard in December 1952 (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954).⁹⁹ Consequently, the national NAACP requested that the *Bush* suit be postponed because the attorneys felt that they had a

⁹⁷ The NAACP’s attorneys thought that a way to attack segregation was by pointing out the inequality of the schools, etc. They hoped that segregated systems would collapse under the financial strain of forcing them to make black and white systems equal. The architect of this strategy was Harvard educated attorney Charles Hamilton Houston. For more on Houston’s legal strategy and life, see McNeil, G. (1983). *Groundwork: Charles Hamilton Houston and the struggle for civil rights*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

⁹⁸ The New Orleans chapter of the NAACP continuously petitioned the New Orleans Public School System throughout the 1940s to improve the quality of the public schools attended by black students, as there were significant disparities between the money spent on black schools and the money spent on white schools. The platoon system, attending schools in shifts, existed only in the black schools while some white schools operated at less than capacity. See Muller, M. (1976). New Orleans public school desegregation. *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association*, 17(1), 69-88.

⁹⁹ For a detailed legal history of the litigation strategies, key players, arguments, and historical background of the *Brown* cases, see Kluger, R. (1975). *Simple justice: The history of Brown v. Board of Education and black America’s struggle for equality*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

better chance of a desired outcome from the Supreme Court (Muller, 1976; Rogers, 1982). With the integration of LSU's undergraduate program and the continued criminalization of interracial marriage, specified distance apart that segregated facilities must be, residential restrictions based on race, segregation of transportation, racist Catholics being upset that Norman Francis integrated Loyola's law school, segregation persisted in all aspects of New Orleans society. Catholic integrationists were dismayed by the continued segregation in churches, and the racial atmosphere in New Orleans became even more terse (Bennett, 2005; Kennedy, 2015; *Tureaud v. Board of Supervisors*, 1953).

This was the volatile atmosphere that influenced Rummel. Therefore, the focus of this letter is on connecting Christ to peace and imploring Catholics to be peaceful (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953).¹⁰⁰ After urging Christians to be peacemakers in society and respect the rights of all men, Rummel directly addresses segregation. The next secular theme to emerge is the inevitability of the dismantling of segregation within society and the responsibility of the Christian to assist in the process of ridding society of segregation by ridding the Church of it. It is unsustainable and in direct conflict with democracy, he posits. He says,

Much is today being spoken and written about the so-called problem of segregation as reflected in certain laws, agreements and customs. Undoubtedly the Federal and State Courts, supported by wholesome public opinion, will in due time define where such laws and customs are in conflict with the American Constitution and way of life, but we can help hasten the day of complete peaceful adjustment by an ever-increasing spirit, in word and action, of good will, respect and sympathy towards the Colored people. Public laws, customs of long standing, regulations and agreements of institutions and between business interests are obstacles not easy to overcome, but we can do much to aid this cause of justice and charity by making segregation disappear in our Catholic church life.... (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953, p. 4).¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Rummel, J. (1953, March 15). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Blessed are the Peacemakers”]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/194/blessedarethepeacemakers.pdf.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

He ends his letter reiterating the universalism of Christianity and how segregation is a violation of this principle.

The Morality of Racial Segregation

This pastoral letter is written, “To the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans,” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956).¹⁰² Rummel writes this letter to argue that segregation is immoral and sinful. This letter’s words reverberated throughout New Orleans and the nation. He structures his letter in a series of carefully numbered points, and three of the four points begin with, “racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful...” or some variation of that phrase (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, pp. 1-3).¹⁰³ He begins his argument by articulating that segregation is an affront to universalism, as all humans have a common father and mother, Adam and Eve.

Rummel knew that he would be challenged because he was connecting an issue that was usually seen as a public policy issue to sinfulness and morality. Because he knew that segregationists within the Church would challenge his proclamations about the immorality of segregation, he needed to reinforce his authority. Operating within the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church, he uses scripture, Matthew 28:19, to assert that Jesus, himself, ordained the teaching structure of the Church, therefore, the pope has concluded that the bishops share the teaching authority of the pope, as they have the responsibility to teach the faithful and interpret dogma.

¹⁰² Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Morality of Racial Segregation”]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

His second point, in a theme that is often repeated by Rummel, references Christian universalism again, and he says that segregation is a denial of the universality of the Redemption of Christ. His third assertion about the immorality and sinful nature of segregation is rooted in Christian principles and larger universal themes. His fourth point is a secular argument in which he dismantles racial stereotypes that segregationists used to justify the segregation of school children.

Rummel, in this letter, articulates a complex argument against segregation and poses an important question for the Christian: who is man to circumvent the will of Christ? That is a fundamental question that all Christians must answer when they participate in sinful behavior, and participating in segregation is sinful behavior. This letter also serves to establish his authority, as he understood that this letter would be a catalyst for racists to organize. Therefore, he ends the letter, not in a call to civic action as a Protestant minister might have done, but in a call for prayer, deliberation, and peace amid the inevitable chaos that would follow integration or any effort to integrate.

Historical context. This letter was written on February 11, 1956. There had been much legal maneuvering in New Orleans and in the nation since “Blessed are the Peacemakers,” was written in 1953. In one of the most touted cases in United States’ legal history, the Supreme Court reversed *Plessy* in the *Brown* decision (Green, 2004). *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) involved cases from Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware. Each case was premised on different facts and different local conditions, but there was a common legal question. The question brought before the court was as follows, “Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors may be

equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?” (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). The Court unanimously answered that it did.

Harkening back to its decision in *Sweatt v. Painter* and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma*, the Court noted that qualities incapable of objective measurement apply even more so when considering grade and high school children. Addressing the detrimental effect of segregation on the mental status of black children, the Court opined that state sponsored segregation retarded the educational and mental development of black children. Accordingly, the Court held that the doctrine of separate but equal had no place in public education. Further, it noted that separate facilities are inherently unequal. (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). A year later, in *Brown II*, the Court mandated that desegregation was to occur with “all deliberate speed” (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1955). This Supreme Court case meant that segregation was now affirmed by the Court to be a violation of the Constitution. Consequently, on July 20, 1955, the Orleans Parish School Board was petitioned to comply with the Court’s mandates and integrate its public schools.

Louisiana’s legislature responded to the *Brown* decisions with a series of Constitutional amendments and laws (Crain & Inger, 1966; Douglas, 2005). Archbishop Rummel understood that the decision of the federal and state courts had ramifications on the Church and that the Court’s decisions would make Catholics wonder what their Church would do. So, Rummel wrote to other Catholic members of the clergy. Archbishop Rummel tried to reassure nervous Catholics by saying, “...no immediate change in the administration of our Catholic schools in the Archdiocese is considered wise or prudent or even practical but a study of the issue is unquestionably mandatory,” (J.F. Rummel, personal communication to clergy, July 16, 1954, p.

1).¹⁰⁴ Although the archbishop instructed his congregants that segregation was unacceptable in the private spaces of the church, some Catholics dismayed with the thought of integrated sanctuaries and pews began to defy their leader (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953).¹⁰⁵ Rousseau (1955) notes that one church, Our Lady of the Sacred Heart, began to ramp up their efforts to separate black parishioners from white parishioners. The mix of European and African ancestry of many of the city's inhabitants sometimes made it difficult to segregate citizens by race. Fed up with the attendance of black congregants, at all, and their failure to disclose their race, Our Lady of the Sacred Heart began to try to enforce mandatory equal financial contributions from all parishioners to dissuade blacks from attending (Rousseau, 1955).

Archbishop Rummel, clearly understanding that what happened in the legal spaces of the Court had ramifications on his Church, knew he had to address the question of segregation in Catholic schools, directly. He decided to appoint a committee that was charged to,

...consider not only our spiritual and moral obligations in the issue but also certain difficulties arising from long standing segregation, the present crowded condition of our schools for Colored as well as White children, the cost of maintaining de-segregated schools and the general effect which premature de-segregation may have upon the present favorable attitude of our people towards Catholic education. (J.F. Rummel, personal communication to pastors and superiors of schools, August 19, 1955, p. 1)¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Rummel, J. (1954, July 16). [Letter to the Right Reverend, Very Reverend, and Reverend Members of the Clergy, Archdiocese of New Orleans]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, Archbishop Joseph Rummel Pastoral Letters, June-December 1954, AF/2011/6148), New Orleans, LA.

¹⁰⁵ Rummel, J. (1953, March 15). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Blessed are the Peacemakers”]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/194/blessedarethepeacemakers.pdf.

¹⁰⁶ Rummel, J. (1955, August 19). [Letter to the Pastors and Superiors of Schools]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, Archbishop Joseph Rummel Pastoral Letters, June-December 1955, AF/2011/6149), New Orleans, LA.

Lay groups formed, organized, and increased activity in response to Rummel's words (Manning & Rogers, 2002). Groups like the Association of Catholic Laymen, the Citizens' Council, Save Our Schools, etc. were largely run by lay Catholics in opposition to Rummel and civil rights. Fairclough (1995) notes that, "...their [The Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans] first objective: to scotch tentative plans for integration of Catholic schools..." (Fairclough, 1995, p. 199). Catholics began attending the Citizens' Council meetings and reporting back to the archdiocese. On December 6, 1955, three individuals attended the meeting and compiled their report but requested that their names be omitted. They reported that at least some of the members were Catholic lay people, as their report notes that one participant said, "...I was practically raised in a Catholic school, taught by white Catholic Brothers and Sisters..." ("Report on the Citizens' Council Meeting," 1955, p. 1).¹⁰⁷ This Catholic continues her tirade by asserting that she was never taught to associate with Negroes. A doctor spoke on the purported differences between blacks and whites in regards to health. The report says, "He spoke on the health of the Colored race as to how it would effect [sic] the White race. He claimed colored people were unclean, and people could get diseases from them such as ringworm, and venereal diseases," ("Report on the Citizens' Council Meeting," 1955, p. 2).¹⁰⁸ The report notes that Catholic segregationist Leander Perez arrived and said that Rummel was trying to integrate, and he accused the pope and the archbishop of being influenced by Communists ("Report on the Citizens' Council Meeting," 1955).¹⁰⁹ The members of the Council

¹⁰⁷ Report on the Citizens' Council Meeting (1955). ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files, 1953-1965), New Orleans, LA.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

were shifting power from the pope and Rummel to themselves by delegitimizing their words by “othering” them and associating them with Communism.

Attacked by members of his church, the archbishop spends most of this letter expounding on his earlier proclamations that segregation is immoral. Rummel was excoriated by many Catholic segregationists. Fairclough (1995) notes,

By 1956, lay opposition to Archbishop Rummel had become increasingly vocal. On January 10, for example, about one hundred people stalked out of a meeting of the parents’ club of Jesuit High School, the largest Catholic school in Louisiana, when the principal, the Reverend Claude J. Stallworth, refused to permit discussion of a resolution opposing integration. The Catholic segregation movement remained relatively inchoate, however, until Rummel provided a rallying point. (Fairclough, 1995, p. 200)

That rallying point was “The Morality of Racial Segregation.” Rebellious Catholics were motivated by the proclamations of the archbishop and became more verbose in their displeasure at Rummel inserting the Church in what they viewed as an issue of personal liberty.

Emile Wagner, a Catholic lay person and public school board member, was admonished for his arguments that the archbishop did not have the authority to make declarations regarding the immorality of segregation. Rev. Harold L. Cooper, a Catholic priest, quoted a letter that Wagner wrote to the archbishop in which Wagner declared that the archbishop was overstepping the limits of his position. He declares, “In my estimation of the matter, something more than the mere unsubstantiated declaration of any one man or group of men, of course with the exception of His Holiness the Pope, when speaking *Ex Cathedra*¹¹⁰ is required to convince intelligent Catholics that they are guilty of sin when they espouse the cause of segregation,” (Wagner

¹¹⁰ *Ex Cathedra* is a Latin phrase that means, “from the chair.” Wagner was not challenging the authority of the Papal infallibility, as the Pope has apostolic authority, but he was challenging the argument of Rummel and his teaching authority.

quoted in H.L Cooper, personal communication, February 28, 1956, p. 2).¹¹¹ Rev. Cooper goes on to criticize Wagner for, "...denial...of the right of bishops to teach," (H.L Cooper, personal communication, February 28, 1956).¹¹²

Integration in Catholic Schools

This letter was written on July 31, 1956, five and one half months after "The Morality of Racial Segregation" was written. Archbishop Rummel had the opportunity to integrate parochial schools before public schools, but he procrastinated and delayed the integration of parochial schools until after the integration of public schools, and that decision significantly weakened the moral position of the Church (McKenzie, 2009). The purpose of this letter is so that Rummel can explain that although his position regarding integration and how Catholics should behave is unchanged, he is postponing the desegregation of Catholic schools. This letter is dated July 31, 1956, and the letter was written five months after "The Morality of Racial Segregation." In that five-month period, Rummel experienced a barrage of negative reactions from many of the Catholics within the archdiocese (Fairclough, 1995).

He begins his letter by reiterating his previously stated position regarding the immorality of segregation. He references "The Morality of Racial Segregation" and reestablishes his and the pope's authority; he articulates that his position is the correct position. Again, the archbishop argues that segregation is immoral, but he goes on to proclaim that the archdiocese is not ready for integration. He says that it will be postponed until at least September 1957, and outlines how he envisions integration proceeding when schools are finally integrated.

¹¹¹ Cooper, H. L. (1956, February 28). [Letter to Emile A. Wagner]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

¹¹² Ibid.

He assures nervous Catholics that his sole motivation is to carry out principles of charity and justice towards all people. Unlike many Protestant activists, Rummel does not advocate for civil disobedience. He believes that the issue of segregation will be solved, "...only in the spiritual atmosphere..." (J. F. Rummel, July 31, 1956, p. 2).¹¹³ He closes his letter by asking that the message be received in the spirit in which he intends and asks that hatred, ill will, and wrath cease and that the Church unifies in conformity with the will of Christ and under the mandates of the Holy Church. This letter is one in which Rummel explains why he is postponing integration. However, he goes on to restate his commitment to ending segregation in archdiocesan schools and, again, explains that segregation is an affront to the universalism of Catholic dogma and the teachings and life of Jesus.

Historical context. A class action suit was brought on behalf of all black children on February 15, 1956 to compel compliance with the law. On the same day, Catholic Judge Skelly Wright declared Louisiana's laws meant to maintain segregation and passed in reaction to *Brown I* and *Brown II* invalid, and he ordered Orleans Parish School Board to submit a plan for integration. Further, Judge Wright ruled that schools that were reserved for white students admit black students who met the residential requirements (Bankston & Caldas, 2002). The Orleans Parish School Board members, including Catholic segregationist Emile Wagner, continued to disobey the order that it submit a plan for integration (Wieder, 1987).

Other dioceses in Louisiana looked to New Orleans for guidance as they grappled with questions of Catholic integration. Bishop Charles Greco of Alexandria wrote the archbishop and implored him to move slowly. He cited fifth circuit of appeals judge, Catholic Judge Skelly

¹¹³ Ibid.

Wright in his letter to Rummel and pointed out that even the integrationist judge noted that a people's inner beliefs cannot be changed immediately (C. Greco, personal communication, March 7, 1956).¹¹⁴

This pastoral letter reinforces that Rummel's previous proclamations regarding the immorality of segregation still hold true and should serve as a guide for the behavior of Catholics. He reiterates his previous statements by citing more scripture and Pope Pius XII. However, this letter also declares that Catholic schools are not ready for integration because of the difficulties that remain (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, July 31, 1956).¹¹⁵ The difficulties that he is referring to are the continued fights that Rummel is facing from racist Catholics.

Rummel's words drew criticism from around the country and praise from outside of it. In an editorial in England, critics of Rummel are chastised for challenging Rummel's treatment of lay segregationist Catholics and for challenging his teaching authority ("British Critics of Archbishop Rummel," 1957).¹¹⁶ The editorial backs Rummel's stance on segregation in the Church and in all public spaces by saying, "Segregation's innumerable restrictions affect the individual Negro in his most basic right-of family life, public security, employment, equal opportunity and education. Such unjust consequences of segregation are entirely intolerable for America's progressing Negro population..." ("British Critics of Archbishop Rummel," 1957).¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Greco, C.P. (1956, March 7). [Letter to Joseph F. Rummel]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

¹¹⁵ Rummel, J. (1956, July 31). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"Integration in Catholic Schools"]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/195/integrationincatholicschools.pdf.

¹¹⁶ British Critics of Archbishop Rummel. (1957, October 19). [Editorial]. *National Catholic Weekly Review*. Copy in ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Hanging File), New Orleans, LA.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

The legal fights to integrate public schools continued to rage in the courts, and the Louisiana legislature passed several amendments to the Constitution and laws to maintain segregation in schools. In the regular session of the legislature in 1958, it passed Act no. 256 that granted the governor the authority to close any integrated school (McKenzie, 2009). A different statute provided grants for children who were assigned to schools that are attended by students of a different race, and by March 1, 1960 the Orleans Parish School Board was ordered to present a plan for desegregation (McKenzie, 2009). Meanwhile, Catholic schools remained segregated.

The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Peace

In a letter dated September 29, 1958 titled “The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Peace,”¹¹⁸ Archbishop Rummel requests peace and prayer again. The September 1957 date for the proposed integration of Catholic schools had subsequently passed, and there still was neither general integration in Catholic nor public schools in New Orleans. He uses this letter to frame his call for peace around Catholic doctrine by asserting the importance of the devotion of the Rosary. Adhering to Catholic dogma, he calls for the faithful to pray the rosary for peace in the world and in America. He cites the internal struggle that Americans are undergoing and speaks, again, of the universalism of Catholicism and of Christianity.

In contrast to the course of action that many prominent Protestant leaders took, Rummel says that when the peace of a nation is threatened, spiritual leaders must urge the Church of God, not just the Catholic Church, to pray (prayer is underlined in the letter) for objective thinking that

¹¹⁸ Rummel, J. (1958, September 29). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Peace”]. Retrieved from http://archives.archno.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/198/rosaryoftheblessedvirginmaryandpeace.pdf.

leads that nation to a peaceful resolution. He says nothing of acts of civil disobedience. Citing Catholic dogmatic belief, he mentions Leo XIII, Pius XII, and all popes in stating that prayer is a powerful medium through which Mary can intercede, and he urges Catholics to pray for Mary's intercession to calm the histrionics in New Orleans and in the nation surrounding integration.

Historical context. The September 1957 date for the proposed integration of Catholic schools had subsequently passed, and there still was neither general integration in Catholic nor public schools in New Orleans. The archbishop is attuned to the hostile racial environment around him and is seeking to be an agent of peaceful resolution because he goes on to say,

Daily we are reminded that the racial controversy is growing in extent, intensity and bitterness. It would indeed be a calamity to our nation were we to become permanently divided and distressed over an issue which involves basic human rights, moral responsibilities, religious principles and the solid foundations upon which our democratic way of life was conceived and developed. (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, September 29, 1958, pp. 2-3)¹¹⁹

Rummel argues that the refusal to acknowledge basic civil rights, particularly the ending of segregation, is an affront to the foundation of the democracy. This civic discourse is fused with Christian ideology in this letter. Continued injustice in America is a threat to the peace of the world and the peace of the individual nation, and he asks for prayer so that the nation can have universal peace with, "justice and honor," (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, September 29, 1958, p. 3).¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Rummel, J. (1958, September 29). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Peace"]. Retrieved from http://archives.archno.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/198/rosaryoftheblessedvirginmaryandpeace.pdf.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

Reopening of School

Very much aware of the toxic atmosphere in New Orleans (the public schools would integrate in less than three months), the archbishop wrote a pastoral letter on August 17, 1960 titled “Reopening of School.”¹²¹ Faced with criticism levied at him from within his own Church, he used this letter to re-establish his authority, reiterate his support for integration, and to shift power back to himself. He recommits himself to integration, and again, references the fundamental universalist themes of Christianity through scripture by asserting that man is made in God’s own image, possesses the same gifts, and shares the same eternal fate. Therefore, segregation is a refutation of Holy Scripture. He references St. Matthew again and the mandate to, “...make disciples of all nations...” (Matthew quoted in J.F. Rummel, August 17, 1960, p. 2).¹²² He reiterates that authority and power in the Church flow from the top down. He has the right to proclaim truth, and the truth that he has established is the immorality of segregation.

He asserts that while the Catholic Parochial School System is “not directly involved in the state of uncertainty which at the present writing still prevails regarding the operation of our public schools...we consider it our duty to address this message to the faithful of the Archdiocese,” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, August 17, 1960, p. 1).¹²³ He says that Catholic schools will re-open on September 6, largely as segregated schools, and he gives instruction to Catholic parents imploring them not to remove their children from integrated public schools. He emphasizes his commitment, but claims that integration now is impractical (J.F. Rummel,

¹²¹ Rummel, J. (1960, August 17). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Reopening of School”]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/197/reopeningofschool.pdf.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

pastoral letter, August 17, 1960).¹²⁴ He ends his letter by asking for prayer and for God to bless the schools.

Historical context. Legal maneuvering to reject integration continued up until the day that New Orleans' public schools were integrated. Efforts to integrate public schools were met with national and local outcry (Bankston & Caldas, 2002). Bankston and Caldas (2002) and Kennedy (2015) further illustrate this point by pointing out that Lloyd Rittiner, president of the school board in 1959, sent out a survey to parents, and 82% of white parents indicated that they would rather the schools be closed than integrated, and the state entertained the idea of abandoning its schools (Fairclough, 1995).

As the courts struck down laws designed to maintain integration in Louisiana's schools, Kennedy (2015) points out that Judge Skelly Wright, himself, designed the integration plan for public schools in New Orleans. His plan mandated that desegregation would begin with first graders who would be allowed to attend the school nearest their residence. The legislature continued passing laws and acts designed to circumvent the Court's decision. In a clash of the federal and state governments, the Louisiana legislature made it a criminal offense for anyone to attempt to enforce the mandates of the *Brown* cases; it also required the Board of Education to revoke the licenses of teachers who taught a desegregated group of children and denied graduation to any student who attended desegregated classes, etc. Judge Wright struck these all down and ordered that the school board desegregate by November 14, 1960 (McKenzie, 2009; Fairclough, 1995). It was in this context that Rummel wrote this letter. He understood the chaos that was to come, and he wanted to prevent schools from closing. He thought he could influence

¹²⁴ Ibid.

the public school fight with spiritual arguments decrying segregation and placing the issue in the spiritual realm.

These letters were chosen because they represent Rummel's writing and message during this tumultuous time in New Orleans. Using the thematic analysis method, these letters are analyzed to discover emergent themes and historicize them. The next two chapters will analyze Rummel's letters to understand how he used secular and spiritual discourses to argue for integration. The chapters also compare his discursive choices to the discursive choices of some Protestant religious leaders and legalistic discourses embedded in the *Brown* decision, respectively.

CHAPTER V: ARCHBISHOP RUMMEL'S SPIRITUAL DISCOURSES: "THE TONGUE OF THE WISE COMMENDS KNOWLEDGE"

The thematic analysis method is used to search for themes in the text and discover textual meaning. After thoroughly reading the letters, thinking about them, and re-reading them, the archives are used to create sites of memory. The New Orleans Archdiocesan Archives and Tulane's Amistad Research Center provide primary sources and secondary sources to historically contextualize the pastoral letters. Letters are coded by looking at phrases and statements to discover what themes emerge from the spiritual discourse regarding segregation in parochial schools and in the spaces of the public. Spiritual discourse, defined here, is language that represents knowledge gained through a relationship to concepts based in the spiritual realm; these relationships are rooted in foundations of religiosity. Rummel emerges from a teaching tradition rooted in divinity and religion. Key to these notions of religion is Rummel as the teacher who recognizes that truth comes from the outside and that teaching is a divine calling.¹²⁵ Also, Rummel's discursive choices are examined to discover how he structures his arguments. Finally, each theme identified is defined and named (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013).

Further, because the Catholic Church is largely marginalized in the story of integration, and the black, Protestant traditions and organizations are more well-known, I examine the themes in Rummel's arguments and his discursive choices and compare them to the emergent themes and discursive choices in some arguments made by Protestant ministers at the time. Many of these ministers were rooted in the black Protestant Prophetic tradition. These ministers discussed here are not meant to be representative of all Protestant ministers but provide a

¹²⁵ For a genealogy of education, including the various roles of the teacher, see Davis, B. (2009). *Inventions of teaching*. New York, NY: Routledge.

snapshot. While some of the themes and discursive choices are similar, many are not. This chapter analyzes the similarities and differences.

Emergent Spiritual Themes

Catholic Universalism

One of Archbishop Rummel's emergent spiritual themes is Catholic universalism, and he references the ideals embedded in Catholic universalism twelve times. This is defined as the ideal that the Church is available to all Catholics through the sacraments. Rummel references the core Christian belief that through Christ all believers are the same, are made in the same image, have the same mother and father, and share the same destiny. Therefore, segregation is an affront to a core belief of Christianity- Jesus' death and resurrection give all the opportunity for eternal life. Catholicism, especially in New Orleans, had long been available to all, regardless of race, and segregation directly challenged this ideal.

The universalism of the Church is the foundation of Catholicism. This theme emerges in all five letters that are analyzed here. In "Blessed are the Peacemakers," the theme of universalism is prominent in Rummel's assertions that segregation must disappear from the Church-all aspects of it. Rummel places emphasis on the idea that participation in the sacraments must not be impugned, and segregation does just this. The participation in the sacraments, particularly the Holy Eucharist, is central to one's Catholicism. Therefore, since segregation inhibits one's full participation in the faith, it must end (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953).¹²⁶ Rummel sums up his beliefs regarding Catholic universalism by saying,

¹²⁶ Rummel, J. (1953, March 15). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"Blessed are the Peacemakers"]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/194/blessedarethepeacemakers.pdf.

“The Eternal Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, came into the world to redeem and save all men...to make the life of grace available through the Church and the Sacraments for all men,” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 2).¹²⁷ He goes on to say, “Racial segregation would draw the color line across the inspiring plan of the Redemption and thus sin against divine providence...” (p. 2).¹²⁸ Further, Jesus, holds the Church responsible for making Him available to all, “...nations, peoples and races,” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, September 29, 1958, p. 3).¹²⁹

Rummel uses the pope to legitimize his words but also to show Catholics that segregation is an affront to the principles of the universalism of the Church. He says,

And our present Holy Father Pope Pius XII refers in a recent allocution to ‘...that law of human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our common origin and by the equality of rational nature in all men, to whatever people they belong....A marvelous vision,’ the Holy Father calls it, ‘which makes us see the human race in the unity of one common origin in God....’ (Pope Pius XII quoted in J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 3)¹³⁰

The pope is further cited in “Integration in Catholic Schools,” arguing that when debating the issue of segregation, one must ask who his or her neighbor is. The pope gives his followers

¹²⁷ Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Morality of Racial Segregation”]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Rummel, J. (1958, September 29). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Peace”]. Retrieved from http://archives.archno.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/198/rosaryoftheblessedvirginmaryandpeace.pdf.

¹³⁰ Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Morality of Racial Segregation”]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

the answer; your neighbor is anyone, regardless of race (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, July 31, 1956).¹³¹

Christianity

Another emergent theme, and the theme that is most prominent in Rummel's discourses, is the theme of Christianity and the Christian ideal. More than any other argument against segregation, the argument that segregation is an affront to Christianity is Rummel's most utilized argument. Embedded in that theme are the following ideas: segregation is contrary to the principles of Jesus Christ, the foundation of Christianity; segregation is contrary to principles of divine law; segregation is antithetical to the notion of a common humanity rooted in Christ and in a common mother and father; the practice runs afoul of Christian universalism; and it contradicts the Christian precepts of justice, love, and charity.

Rummel argues that segregation is an affront to the ideals and words of Jesus twenty times in his five letters. When he urges Christians that they have the responsibility of ushering in integration in a peaceful society, he uses the words of Jesus to argue that peacemakers receive blessings from the Lord (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953).¹³² Further, it is the duty of the Christian to pattern him or herself after Christ who spoke of good will towards men (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953).¹³³ The idea that segregation is an affront to the words of Jesus and his life is an idea that Rummel ties to Christian universalism. The premise of

¹³¹ Rummel, J. (1956, July 31). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"Integration in Catholic Schools"]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/195/integrationincatholicschools.pdf.

¹³² Rummel, J. (1953, March 15). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"Blessed are the Peacemakers"]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/194/blessedarethepeacemakers.pdf.

¹³³ Ibid.

Christian universalism is that Christ, and therefore Christianity, is available to all because Jesus died for all men and all are part of the Body of Christ. Rummel uses prophets, saints, the Old Testament, and the New Testament to argue that Jesus must be accessible to all. He says,

Speaking for the Old Testament on the unity of the human race we have the Prophet Malachy [sic] stating: ‘Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us? Why then doth every one of us despise his brother, violating the covenant of our fathers?’ And St. Paul has these pregnant words to offer for the New Testament in his letter to the Corinthians: ‘For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free; and in one Spirit we have all been made to drink.’ (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, pp. 2-3)¹³⁴

In that same letter, he succinctly summarizes the crux of his argument that segregation is an affront to Jesus and the principles of Christian universalism by saying, “Racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and universality of the Redemption,” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 2).¹³⁵ The Redemption that Rummel is referring to is the offer of salvation that Christ gives to all of us; black Christians are not excluded from these promises of grace and salvation. Segregation, a man-made phenomenon, is premised on the idea that there is not a universality among us all-that we are not all essentially the same and offered the same grace. This is not true, according to Rummel.

In Genesis, the first book in the Bible, the story of Adam and Eve is told, and according to the Bible, it is from this common mother and father that humanity derives. He goes on to assert, “Throughout the pages of the Old Testament and the New there is constant recurrence of this truth, that all mankind has in Adam and Eve one common father and mother and one

¹³⁴ Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Morality of Racial Segregation”]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

common destiny,” (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 1).¹³⁶ Rummel claims that racial segregation is sinful and morally wrong because it is a direct affront to the, “...solidarity of the human race as conceived by God in the creation of man in Adam and Eve,” (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 1).¹³⁷

Another concept embedded in the theme of the Christian ideal is the belief that segregation is an affront to divine law. Rummel certainly reasons that segregation is an affront to the Constitution and the secular ideological foundation of the country, but he also contends that segregation is antithetical to natural laws, or divine laws, that are rooted in a Christian doctrine. He argues that not only must segregation end but that, “We are still convinced that the consistency of the Christian faith and conformity with the Christian way of life demand our repudiation of racism in all its obnoxious forms. We are still convinced that love of neighbor is the test and yardstick of our love of God, weighed in the balance of sincerity, helpfulness and absence of compulsory discrimination,” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, September 29, 1958, p. 3).¹³⁸

At times, he merges the ideas of divine law and democratic principles by saying that segregation is an issue, “...which involves basic human rights, moral responsibilities, religious

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Rummel, J. (1958, September 29). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Peace”]. Retrieved from http://archives.chno.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/198/rosaryoftheblessedvirginmaryandpeace.pdf.

principles and the solid foundations upon which our democratic way of life was conceived and developed,” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, September 29, 1958, p. 3).¹³⁹

Also part of the theme of the Christian ideal is the idea that the Christian must be an active participant in initiating acts of justice, love, and charity. These ideals are rooted in Christianity and defined by concepts of it, according to Rummel. These ideals are referred to sixteen times within these five letters. First, Archbishop Rummel articulates that justice and charity are the sources from which peace originates (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953, p. 2).¹⁴⁰ He goes on to argue that part of the Christian’s duty in facilitating a peaceful society is the promotion of the principles of justice and charity, not only in the Church, but in all spaces of the public, and “...wherever we come in contact with our fellowman,” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953, p. 4).¹⁴¹ Rummel acknowledges that segregation in the spaces of the public would be difficult to overcome, but he challenges Catholics to aid in the promotion of justice and charity by complying with his request that they cease segregation in all aspects of the Church (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953).¹⁴²

Rummel is more pointed in the pastoral letter that follows “Blessed are the Peacemakers,” in “The Morality of Racial Segregation” because of the heightened crisis in New

¹³⁹ Rummel, J. (1958, September 29). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Peace”]. Retrieved from http://archives.archno.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/198/rosaryoftheblessedvirginmaryandpeace.pdf.

¹⁴⁰ Rummel, J. (1953, March 15). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Blessed are the Peacemakers”]. Retrieved from http://archives.archno.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/194/blessedarethepeacemakers.pdf.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

Orleans. In it, Archbishop Rummel, in four succinct points, outlines his argument that racial segregation is sinful. In point three he argues, “Racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful because it is basically a violation of the dictates of justice and the mandate of love, which in obedience to God’s will must regulate the relations between all men,” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 3).¹⁴³ Rummel disrupts the discourse of some segregationists that segregation is not akin to racism, and to Rummel, Catholic and Christian universalism are principles that preclude segregation. However, racist Catholics see Catholic universalism and segregation as compatible. In fact, for some racist Catholics, fighting integration was a moral imperative, intertwined with one’s identification as an American, a Catholic, and a Southerner. Jackson Ricau, who would be excommunicated by Rummel, argued that his belief in segregation is rooted in the Constitution and in the concept of the right of the individual. He says, in a letter to Rummel,

I base my support of racial integrity on the Constitution of the United States, the greatest document of its kind ever conceived by the mind of man and the fulfillment of four thousand years of Caucasian manhood! The Constitution guarantees to each American the greatest individual freedom ever known to man, and that freedom is now being threatened by an unnatural forced mixing of two races known throughout history to be incompatible. The Fourteenth Amendment, on which the leftwing Supreme Court and Your Excellence so heavily rely, is an illegal Amendment which was pushed through Congress during Reconstruction and never freely ratified by the Southern States. (J. Ricau, personal communication, April 11, 1962, p. 1)¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Morality of Racial Segregation”]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

¹⁴⁴ Ricau, J. (1962, April 11). [Letter to Most Reverend Joseph Francis Rummel]. Archdiocese of New Orleans Archives (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

He goes on to argue that integration is an affront to Catholic dogma, scripture, and Church tradition. Further, he “others” Rummel and integrationist priests by linking them to the Communist party, which he contends that he has a duty to fight as a loyal American. Rummel is guilty of the type of behavior that split the Catholic Church centuries prior, he alleges. The archbishop has overextended himself and gone beyond the limits of his ecclesiastical authority, and “... to fight for the survival of the white race under the banner of the Constitution, to defend that great document, and to oppose Communist operations in the integration movement...should merit warm ecclesiastical authority,” (J. Ricau, personal communication, April 11, 1962, p. 3).¹⁴⁵

Catholic Legitimacy

Another spiritual theme that is featured in Archbishop Rummel’s pastoral letters is the theme of legitimacy, and Rummel references the teaching authority embedded within the hierarchy of the Church seven times in his letters. This is a critical theme for Rummel because he is a teaching archbishop. His leadership style was to teach his flock, rather than command, so that they could grow as Catholics and align their lives with God’s dictates. To be an effective teacher one must establish expertise on a subject. First, he uses the hierarchical nature of the Catholic Church to establish that he does have the authority to speak on this issue. This authority is a teaching authority that flows from Jesus to the twelve apostles, with Peter being the spokesman, to the pope to the bishops of the Church (D. Kelly, personal communication, November 4, 2016). Rummel understood that he would face great backlash, so he appeals to the Catholic faithful, using his authority, to quell rebellion. Eventually, he would use the weight of the Church to impose the harshest penalty that he could, excommunication, on Catholics who

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

continued to challenge his dictates and his authority to make such statements (Anderson, 2004; Fairclough, 1995; McKenzie, 2009).

It is unsurprising that his most forceful letter on segregation is the one in which he references ideals of legitimacy the most. In, “The Morality of Racial Segregation,” he almost immediately references Pope Pius XII to establish his teaching authority. He says,

...the Holy Father concludes that Bishops too share the teaching authority of the Pope, the Successor of St. Peter, that all men, all truth, dogmatic, moral and social, fall within the purview of that teaching authority, and that when their teaching is in communion with that of the Holy See, they enjoy the pledge of his divine presence and guidance... . (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 2)¹⁴⁶

The Christian as the Peacemaker

One of Rummel’s spiritual themes that emerges early is the theme of the Christian as a peacemaker and the necessity of peace in a chaotic society. This theme is defined as the Christian’s responsibility to be peaceful and usher in peace in society; it is referenced thirty-seven times in statements. This theme emerges when Rummel refers to the necessity of peace in society to usher in calm in all aspects of society, the Church, in spaces of the public, and in the process of integration. It was critical for Rummel to project calm in the city in this letter because he understood that the fight to integrate schools was quickly becoming extremely acrimonious, and he was afraid of exacerbating a very hostile situation. Rummel writes extensively of the role of the peacemaker in “Blessed are the Peacemakers.” This was a letter that was written before the *Brown* decisions and during a period of intense litigation in New Orleans. Further, Rummel immediately establishes that the Church does have a right to speak and assert itself on the

¹⁴⁶ Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Morality of Racial Segregation”]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

question of integration, and he chooses to begin his push for integration by reiterating that segregation has no place in the Church.

This theme appears most prominently in “Blessed are the Peacemakers,” but he also speaks of the role of peace in facilitating an integrated society in “Reopening of Schools,” and “The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Peace.” Rummel begins his facilitation of societal peace by beginning with a beatitude of Jesus. It is a critical theme in the journey of the Christian, as it is Christ’s death, as consummated on the cross, which re-establishes peace between God and man. He goes on to point out that Christ’s words to his disciples after his crucifixion were words of peace. Christ was giving peace to his followers after such a violent act, the crucifixion. The first thing that Rummel’s discursive choices do is to establish pastoral authority by connecting Christ to his letter by asserting that Christ is peace. He spoke of peace and lived a peaceful life. Next, he defines peace for believers. He says, “Peace is the existence of order and coordination,” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953, p. 1).¹⁴⁷

He articulates what we need to do to have internal peace. He says that there is a relationship between the human mind, will, body, and emotions. Peace and the power of internal peace is gained through both natural law and Biblical law. Rummel then articulates his notions of internal peace. His description of internal peace, or personal peace, and his urging of societal peace indicate that the archbishop was speaking to a people in turmoil. He says, “The establishment of order between nations and governments according to principles of justice,

¹⁴⁷ Rummel, J. (1953, March 15). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Blessed are the Peacemakers”]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/194/blessedarethepeacemakers.pdf.

inalienable human rights, historic traditions and the immutable laws of God may be said to constitute international peace,” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953, p. 2).¹⁴⁸

He also articulates that no peace, internal or societal, is achieved without sacrifice. One must learn to control the propensity of himself to veer towards chaos. Peace in society requires the willful and purposeful involvement of the peacemaker. Here, Rummel articulates a shift in power through the discourse of Christ, as the peacemaker is now *called* a child of God. The discourse of peace articulated by the archbishop gains power from Christ who articulated that the peacemakers are now called God’s children. The ability to create peace in society is a power that Jesus, and perhaps Rummel, gives to all Catholics. They have the power to encourage peace in their homes and in the Church, and they have the power to encourage peace in public spaces. Rummel connects the spaces of the public to his proclaimed Church policies, preparing his followers for his later proclamations about segregation in all aspects.

Despite establishing his authority, Rummel is not the only one with power in society; it is circulating among all people who are members of society, as they all have a responsibility to be peaceful and create peace, as Christ is peaceful. He speaks directly to Christians and Catholics and indirectly to segregationists. He urges his readers that the Christian’s heart must be aligned with the will of God and patterned after the life of Christ. This is the only way that the Christian can have peace in his own personal life. Rummel ties the peace within self to peace within society (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953, p. 3).¹⁴⁹ The Church has already made strides towards inner peace by removing signs of segregation from within the Church, but some

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

Catholics are disobeying Rummel's mandates, so he urges his Church to further halt all segregation within the Church.

Rummel also ties the chaos of segregation to the dissolution of America's place of prominence in the world because of the threat that segregation poses to peace. He laments the fact that, "...the racial controversy is growing in extent, intensity, and bitterness," (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, September 29, 1958, p. 2).¹⁵⁰ He goes on to articulate that segregation is an affront to a peaceful society and the world, and he urges prayer for the intercession of Mary to calm the disharmony in society regarding segregation.

Prayer as Contemplative Action

It is unsurprising that Rummel references prayer and abstract concepts such as internal peace as often as he does, as the concept of the inner self is aligned with the spirit and is critical to the Catholic believer. When referring to Catholic spirituality, Davis (2001) says, "...Catholics...speak of the Inner or Interior Life, the life of the spirit, the life of prayer, or the prayer experience as spirituality," (p. 8). So, Rummel's references to inner peace and the necessity of prayer are part of his Catholic spiritual foundation. Rummel's understanding of Catholicism privileges the power of prayer in enacting radical societal change because, for him, prayer and contemplation are action. For Rummel, it is in the interior spaces of self that change occurs. One must change internally. Before expecting radical social change in society, change through internal reflection and prayer must occur within. The chaos of a public society can be countered through the spiritual realm of prayer and contemplation.

¹⁵⁰ Rummel, J. (1958, September 29). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Peace"]. Retrieved from http://archives.archno.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/198/rosaryoftheblessedvirginmaryandpeace.pdf.

Most Controversial Themes

The themes that galvanized segregationist Catholics the most were the themes of universalism and the contention that segregation violated Christian principles and Catholic dogma because, to Rummel, universalism meant equality-equality in the eyes of God, in the eyes of the Church, and in a functioning democracy. Rummel's proclamations regarding the immorality of segregation are due to the commonality that we all share as humans. While blacks had been Catholic in New Orleans for centuries, the argument that black Catholics should have equal access to the Church without distinction and that white children should attend schools with black children due to our common humanity was more than the segregationists could tolerate. Such declarations were the ultimate affront to their sense of regional identity. In response to Rummel's "The Morality of Racial Segregation," segregationist Catholics exploded in anger, and the idea that segregation was a violation of Christian and Catholic universalism provoked them (Fairclough, 1995). They generally did not take issue with blacks practicing the same religion, but the remarks that we all are part of the "unity of the human race," and the suggestion of equality were beyond the limits of what they could accept (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 2).¹⁵¹ Not only did lay Catholics rebel but some of the clergy did as well.

Fairclough (1995) points out that this disagreement with Rummel's proclamations of universality of humanity extended even to the spaces of the altar. The author notes that one priest, Reverend Carl Schutten of the St. James Major Church, read Rummel's letter and interjected his own racist comments about the differences between blacks and whites and the inferiority of blacks. Further, he assured his parishioners that Rummel's word was not the final

¹⁵¹ Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"The Morality of Racial Segregation"]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

word on the subject (Fairclough, 1995, p. 200). Catholics who supported segregation began to passionately and publicly oppose Rummel's view that integration in the public had anything to do with Catholicism at all; public policy was outside of the purview of the Church, they contended. In a letter to Rummel from Jackson Ricau, a Catholic who would later be excommunicated by Rummel, the argument is made that integration is not something the Church should interject itself into. He said, "I am sure Your Excellency must now realize that your letter threatening ex-communication was hastily executed in view of the incontestable evidence that race-mixing is not a religious matter," (J. Ricau, personal communication, April 11, 1962, p. 3).¹⁵² Catholics consistently fought Rummel's contention that the immorality of segregation was rooted in scripture.

Protestant Discourses of Integration and Emergent Themes

Naturally, many of the discourses that were used by Rummel were also used by the Protestant leaders, many of whom were ministers. Rummel frequently cites the life of Jesus, the teachings of Jesus, the scriptures, the prophets, and Christian ideals. Because both Protestants and Catholics are Christians, many of the same arguments are used. However, it is often the words of Protestant leaders that are recognized. There are differences in the discursive choices that were used, in the emergent themes, and in the calls to action that were given. The following sections compare the themes of Rummel and some Protestant, black leaders and the discursive choices of these leaders.

¹⁵² Ricau, J. (1962, April 11). [Letter to Most Reverend Joseph Francis Rummel]. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, School Integration Files and Labor Issues, 1944-1963), New Orleans, LA.

Whole Notions of Social Justice

Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth was a founder of the SCLC and close ally of Martin Luther King. Seen as a radical, he convinced Martin Luther King to participate in the Birmingham Civil Rights Campaign of 1963, and although less well known than King, was a fiery rhetor whose discourse helped shape the Modern Civil Rights Movement (Holmes, 2011). Shuttlesworth's discourses focus on whole notions of social justice, and many prominent leaders of the Modern Civil Rights Movement have a more expansive view of social justice and used religion, political capital, and social movements as catalysts for change on a variety of issues. Shuttlesworth argues against the systematic oppression of black Americans and was not as focused on a singular instance of injustice, as Rummel was in his very focused, and perhaps narrow, pastoral letters. He certainly did have a view of social justice, and he argues that segregation is an affront to notions of justice, but during an explosive period in American history, he focused on segregation in the Church and in schools, and he remained silent on voting rights, housing discrimination, etc.

Prophetic Tradition

The Prophetic Tradition is a tradition that is rooted in blackness but is expanded to include universal rights. "The Black prophetic tradition surely begins on the chocolate side of town, but like the blues and jazz, it has a universal message for all human beings concerned about justice and freedom," (West & Buschendorf, 2014, p. 164). Rummel argues that the Christian-Catholic tradition is in harmony with the United States government and its policies, and that segregation is antithetical to the true creed of the nation. For him, returning to the core of American ideals will right this wrong. Whereas, the black Prophetic Tradition champions those who find themselves marginalized in society, thus frequently pitting the belief in America

against the reality of the American ideal and the policies of the United States (West & Buschendorf, 2014). For these prophets, the American reality contrasts true social justice (West & Buschendorf, 2014).

Shuttlesworth and King were rooted in the Prophetic Tradition, and they were prophetic rhetors who used scripture and the Bible to fight injustice (Holmes, 2011). Rummel certainly did use scripture and the Bible, but he was more of a literalist than Shuttlesworth. Many black Protestant ministers use figurative language in their discursive choices. Holmes (2011) asserts that although Shuttlesworth certainly did believe in literal interpretations of the Bible, he also uses metaphor and figurative language to draw comparison between Biblical injustice and present injustice, as many prophetic rhetors do. For example, Shuttlesworth compared Babylon and its destruction to the madness of the American South, implying that if the South continued along the path of racism and injustice, it faced certain destruction as well. Even when not speaking in such terms, Shuttlesworth still uses metaphors to make sense of the violence perpetrated against him and to understand why he was still alive after several attempts on his life. He says, “But when the first bomb went off, it took all fear from my mind. I knew God was with me like he was with Daniel in the lions’ den. The black people of Birmingham knew that God had saved me to lead the fight,” (F. Shuttlesworth cited in Schudel, 2011). King also frequently made comparisons between the promised land of the Israelites and the promised land of racial justice (King, 1968). Further, he compares himself to Moses, as Moses was not allowed venture into the promised land, but God allowed him to look at it (King, 1968).¹⁵³

¹⁵³ This sermon is a foreshadowing of Dr. King’s death, as he gave this sermon one day before he was assassinated in Memphis, TN.

Shuttlesworth, as King did, often spoke in cataclysmic terms and used vivid imagery such as fire to paint a disastrous picture of what would happen to the American South. In the words of Holmes (2011), “Prophecy was about ‘forth-telling,’ bold and brazen discourse against the precepts, principles, and practices of the status quo,” (p. 816). It is the minister’s job to use the word of God to terrify people into being advocates of social justice. Their very survival depended on this. These ministers were prophets who were vessels through which God spoke. Consequently, because God spoke through them they had a great responsibility to enact change because God called them to be change agents.

This is a difference between Rummel and the prophet. Rummel’s discourse used far less threatening language. Although he did threaten excommunication, that was limited to specific Catholics who continued to disobey his mandates regarding segregation (Fairclough, 1995; McKenzie, 2009). It was not applicable to an entire population or region in punishment for its collective sins. Rummel viewed himself as a teacher who was not responsible for changing all aspects of society, and his discourse, while radical, was not meant to be overly brazen or terrifying; it was meant to use the Church, and its very core, Christianity, to teach parishioners.

As black Protestant ministers often are, Shuttlesworth was adept at improvisation and the use of literary devices and sound devices. Shuttlesworth often uses alliteration to emphasize a point and often spoke extemporaneously. Such remarks are purposeful but unplanned (Holmes, 2011). In fact, unlike Rummel’s pastoral letters, which he instructed to be read in Catholic Churches across the archdiocese, black Protestant ministers’ sermons are typically not written to be read or delivered by anyone besides their authors. It is very difficult for the words of many Protestant ministers to be read in the oratorical style in which the rhetor intended (Niles, 1984). However, even if it is impossible to deliver a sermon in the style in which the originator would

have delivered it, Dr. King's letters still used some of the same sound devices used in his sermons (Mott, 1975). Unlike Rummel's letters, which are, generally, void of such literary devices.

These devices used by King and Shuttlesworth and the style used by Rummel have different purposes. According to Mott (1975), King's purpose was often to elicit emotion from his audience. The literary and sound devices used, including metaphor, repetition, rhetorical questions, cadence, etc. coupled with his appeal to believers all serve to make the listener or reader emotional. An example of King's mastery of literary devices, including repetition, allusion, metaphor, and cadence can clearly be seen in his "I Have a Dream Speech." In it, he famously repeats the most well-known phrase of the speech, "I have a dream," and although this speech is ripe with secular democratic discourses, he does allude to God and the Bible in the speech. His allusion to the Bible includes recitation of Isaiah 40:5, and he refers to the universalism of God's recognition of common humanity and the promise of democracy when he says, "...this will be the day when all God's children will be able to sing with new meaning 'My country tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing...'" (King, 1963, p. 2). The purpose of statements like these is to illicit feelings of commonality rooted in God and democracy from a national audience. King's discourses are often written in the sermonic tradition, and he uses these devices to arouse sympathy (Mott, 1975).

Rummel, on the other hand, is not speaking from a position of marginalization. Therefore, he is not trying to garner sympathy or appeal to emotion. He is being forthright, and speaking truth as he perceives it, hoping that the legitimacy that he has because of his position in the hierarchy of the Church will convince Catholics that his position is the correct, moral position. His interest is in teaching, not calling to action.

Christianity

Rummel, Shuttlesworth, and King all alluded to Biblical scripture and Biblical prophets, and the theme of Christianity runs throughout their various speeches and letters. This is unsurprising, as all were Christians. Although rooted in vastly different traditions, the Christian's hope for earthly justice and heavenly gain lie in their belief in Jesus Christ and the acceptance of His words. Therefore, all frequently cite Jesus and the principles of Christianity in their arguments against segregation. Also, although Baptist Protestants do not typically venerate saints, both Dr. King and Rummel frequently allude to saints in their discourse to support their arguments against segregation. For example, Rummel cites St. Thomas Aquinas in arguing that we all have a moral obligation to love one another. Rummel says, "It is Thomas' teaching that '...every animal loves its like' (Eccles. XIII, 19), wherefore since all men are alike in nature, they ought to love one another. Therefore, to hate one's neighbor is contrary to, not only the divine law, but also the law of nature," (St. Thomas Aquinas cited in J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 3).¹⁵⁴ Likewise, King alludes to saints in his famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail." He cites St. Augustine's assertion that unjust laws are not laws, and therefore, according to King, citizens should not be compelled to obey them (M.L. King, personal communication, April 16, 1963).

¹⁵⁴ Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"The Morality of Racial Segregation"]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

Legitimacy

One thing that leaders must do is establish their authority. Catholic and Protestant leaders' sources of legitimacy were established through their voices and through their historical roles. Their voices serve as metaphorical devices for authority. Rummel's voice is that of a teacher who is seeking to teach through the authority that is established by his position in the Church, and Shuttlesworth and King's voices are established by their connection to God.

Archbishop Rummel, Rev. King, and Rev. Shuttlesworth also alluded to Biblical figures and saints in their writings and speeches to establish legitimacy. For example, King uses Saint John to support his assertions about the power of love. In his controversial speech, "Beyond Vietnam- A Time to Break Silence," King says, "Love is somehow the key that unlocks the door which leads to ultimate reality. This Hindu-Muslim-Christian-Jewish-Buddhist belief about ultimate...reality is beautifully summed up in the first epistle of Saint John: 'Let us love one another, for love is God. And every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God...'" (King, 1967).

However, beyond using common Biblical figures, other sources of their legitimacy were different. Legitimacy is given to black ministers because of the traditional role that black churches played in combatting injustice (Niles, 1984). Black ministers have traditionally played a vital role in the combatting of injustice and in the lives of black Americans since the days of slavery. It is a legitimacy that is rooted in title, it is not tied to positionality, and it need not be repeatedly established. Rummel's legitimacy was entrenched in his position in a hierarchical structure, and Rummel felt compelled to repeatedly establish his authority because of the backlash that he knew was inevitable. The theme of universalism of the Church is a theme that is emergent in Rummel's pastoral letters, as this holds a prominent place in Catholic Church

history and in New Orleans history. Similar discourses of legitimacy, rooted in hierarchical structures, are not seen in Baptist Protestant tradition, as there is no single entity, hierarchy, or “church” under which all Protestants, or even all Baptists fall.

Audiences

The audiences for much of the discourse of Rummel and of the Protestant leaders mentioned here are very different. Rummel is writing to the individuals in the churches in his archdiocese. The jurisdiction of the archbishop starts and ends in his archdiocese (A.C. Hughes, personal communication, November 4, 2016). Rummel was speaking of segregation everywhere, not just segregation in his archdiocese, but technically, his authority to interpret scripture and create policy was limited to his archdiocese. Therefore, he made sure that he legitimized his words by tying them to concepts of positionality, the Holy Father, and the other bishops.

Although Rummel received worldwide praise and backlash for his positions, the world was not his audience.¹⁵⁵ His audience is the individual that is part of a collective Church. Because action is contemplative, he is spurring the individual—the peacemaker, the segregationist, the wayward Catholic, to enact positive social change. However, King and Shuttlesworth are directing their discourse, particularly their speeches, to a much larger audience than Rummel was. These leaders were speaking to whole groups because it was through action, not contemplation, that social change occurred. The Protestant ministers of the movement direct their words to their followers, their oppressors, other churches and ministers, and to those who are apathetic to their plight. In fact, Martin Luther King heavily criticizes the churches of the

¹⁵⁵ Touches of Color (1955, October 15). *Osservatore Romano*, pp. 1-2. ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, Archbishop Joseph Rummel Pastoral Letters, June-December 1955, AF/2011/6150), New Orleans, LA.

nation that do not support the Civil Rights Movement. In a sermon titled, “A Knock at Midnight,” he uses a biblical parable to draw comparison between a neighbor seeking bread from another neighbor and being refused, to the Christian churches in the nation refusing to help black Americans. He says, “Millions of American Negroes, starving for the want of the bread of freedom, have knocked again and again on the door of so-called white churches, but they have usually been greeted by a cold indifference or a blatant hypocrisy,” (King, 1964, pp. 6-7).

Conclusion

Rummel did address other issues that he felt were unjust, including unfair labor practices and their racial implications, as he saw injustice in labor practices as an extension of white supremacy (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, August 22, 1955; Poche, 2006).¹⁵⁶ However, most of his pastoral letters that explicitly address race are concerning segregation, his position on the issue, issues surrounding public and parochial school desegregation, and his plans for Catholic school desegregation. Whereas, the Modern Civil Rights Movement was far more comprehensive in its stated concerns, which ranged from voting rights to economic inequality, and the discourses of the Protestant leaders reflected this wide array of concerns.

All three church leaders mentioned in this chapter used the Bible to support their arguments that segregation was wrong and immoral. Rummel begins several of his points in one of his most famous pastoral letters, “The Morality of Racial Segregation,” with the phrase, “segregation is morally wrong and sinful...” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, pp. 1-3).¹⁵⁷ King did as well. Dickerson (2005) says, “King, for example, referred to

¹⁵⁶ Rummel, J. (1955, August 22). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Labor Day-1955”], ANOA (Archbishop Joseph Rummel Administrative Records, Pastoral Letters & Open Letters to Clergy, 1949-1959), New Orleans, LA.

segregation as immoral. While some could call it an inept or unjust social policy or an example of sociological disorder, King defined segregation as a sin and an evil that was inimical to God's perfect plan for humankind,” (p. 218).

King and Shuttlesworth were part of the Prophetic Tradition, and King, especially, used sermonic rhetoric to relay his messages regarding the evils of injustice (Dickerson, 2005). Their beliefs regarding the immorality and evil of segregation and the need to destroy it by peaceful means were also rooted in the black intellectual tradition of previous civil rights generations (Dickerson, 2005). Of course, Rummel's themes and beliefs were not rooted in a black intellectual tradition but were rooted in a Christian-Catholic intellectual tradition. He was adept at formulating arguments and citing early Christians, Christ, prophets, saints, the popes, and the bishops.

Another difference is that one of Rummel's sources of knowledge is his position in the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.¹⁵⁸ Because of his direct connection to the pope, the pope's connection to St. Peter, and Peter's connection to Christ, interpretation of dogma and scripture are rooted in Christ's truths. Conversely, part of the black Prophetic Tradition is that knowledge comes directly from God. There are no intermediaries. Mott (1975) points out that for the black minister, inspiration for the words used comes from God. God is speaking through the individual. Rummel's discursive vehicle, regarding segregation, was the pastoral letter. This was an effective way for him to communicate with the hundreds of thousands of Catholics in the

¹⁵⁷ Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Morality of Racial Segregation”]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

¹⁵⁸ Rummel, J. (1960, August 17). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Reopening of School”]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/197/reopeningofschool.pdf.

archdiocese, and the archdiocese was his jurisdiction. However, the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement, more focused on civic change, had a much larger audience. Their audience was friend and foe alike, politician and those apathetic to politics.

These leaders have some commonalities in their styles and discursive choices and more similarities in their emergent themes. As Christian leaders, their epistemological foundations are largely rooted in the same sources. However, while Dr. King's sermons, letters, and discursive choices are widely known, knowledge of Archbishop Rummel's is more limited, even in New Orleans. His discursive choices are different in many ways but worth noting. His stance against segregation and the words he used deserve to be studied, and a better understanding of his words helps historicize and give voice to other leaders who spoke out against segregation.

CHAPTER VI: ARCHBISHOP RUMMEL’S SECULAR DISCOURSES: “I, THE LORD, COMMAND YOU TO DO WHAT IS JUST AND RIGHT”

The previous chapter examined the spiritual discourses that Archbishop Rummel used to outline his position regarding the immorality of segregation and the arguments, themes, and discursive choices that emerged from these words. Secular discourse, as defined here, is language that represents knowledge gained through a relationship to concepts that are rooted in rationalism or reason. The concepts that emerged from the Enlightenment, rationality and reason, were generally seen as incompatible with religion. The scientific revolution and scientific discoveries revealed that man was capable, through his ability to reason, of solving problems and charting his own course without the interference of God or the irrationality of religion (Middleton, 2005). “Enlightenment philosophy, literature and politics were concerned with equality, dignity and rights of the individual. Thinkers...argued that all individuals were considered equal, because all are equally human in their capacity to be rational. The democracies of the West are founded on Enlightenment philosophical liberalism...” (Middleton, 2005, p. 437). Here, rationalism or reason refers to concepts rooted in man’s equality based in our common identity as human beings who can rationalize.

While Rummel never explicitly states that man is equal because we can all rationalize or think, he does refer to Enlightenment principles, and he proclaims that principles of the Enlightenment and democratic ideals make segregation untenable in America (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956). Rummel never abandons knowledge that is rooted in a belief in God; however, he often merges the spiritual with the secular because, for him, a belief in man’s common origins, Christianity, and Catholicism doesn’t void man of the ability to be

deserving of equal rights, guaranteed in a democracy, in spaces of the public that have nothing to do with the Church or spiritualism.

An interesting aspect of Rummel's discursive choices is that he not only uses spiritual arguments to argue for the dismantling of segregation, but he also uses secular arguments within the same pastoral letters to argue that segregation should not exist in society. Frequently he fuses concepts of the secular and sacred to create an argument that addresses various points of contention. Although his audience was Catholics in his archdiocese, he also understood that he was writing to people who distinctly identified as American and Southern. Also, because of the history of New Orleans, the powerful positions that Catholics held in New Orleans society, and the role of Catholics in the integration of not only parochial schools but public schools, he understood that his arguments had to include secular arguments that appealed to Catholics' national identity. Explored in this chapter, using the same thematic analysis method utilized to analyze spiritual discourses, are the emergent themes in these letters which include: the un-Constitutionality of segregation and the harm of segregation to blacks and humanity. Finally, Rummel's secular discourses are compared to the legalistic discourses utilized in *Brown* to dismantle legalized segregation in schools and overturn *Plessy*.

Emergent Secular Themes in Archbishop Rummel's Pastoral Letters

Constitutionality

One of the secular themes that emerges from Rummel's discourses is the theme of the Constitutionality of integration. This theme is comprised of discourses that Rummel used to argue that segregation was an affront to American ideals of freedom and democracy. There are several discourses that were coded that comprise this theme; these discourses emerged ten times in these five letters. Embedded in this theme are discourses of the inevitability of integration and

that segregation is an affront to the founding documents, the mutuality of rights, and democratic discourses.

One of Rummel's earliest secular arguments in which he challenges the Constitutionality of segregation and argues that its demise is inevitable is in "Blessed are the Peacemakers." He argues that the Christian has a responsibility to usher in segregation in a peaceful society by recognizing that it would end. He says, "Undoubtedly the Federal and State Courts, supported by wholesome public opinion, will in due time define where such laws and customs are in conflict with the American Constitution and way of life..." (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953, p. 4).¹⁵⁹ Rummel chooses the secular argument of un-Constitutionality to bolster his theological argument that equality is derived from our common origin.

Another discourse that comprises this theme is the discourse that segregation is incompatible with the founding documents and principles of the nation. Rummel quotes the Declaration of Independence saying,

The problem [segregation] demands objective thinking, unselfish decision and generous acceptance of the American way of life which is heralded in the declaration of our Founding Fathers that: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, August 17, 1960, p. 4)¹⁶⁰

Rummel argues that the mutuality of rights may sometimes require the foregoing of individual rights or liberties. He claims that there must be a recognition of mutual rights, and

¹⁵⁹ Rummel, J. (1953, March 15). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"Blessed are the Peacemakers"]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/194/blessedarethepeacemakers.pdf.

¹⁶⁰ Rummel, J. (1960, August 17). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"Reopening of School"]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/197/reopeningofschool.pdf.

these rights may require the surrender of certain rights for the common good. This is necessary to usher in peace in society (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953).¹⁶¹ Therefore, Rummel privileges mutual rights over individual rights. This is an argument that will be echoed in the *Brown* arguments by the appellants and refuted by the appellees.

Rummel frequently merges secular and spiritual discourses and argues, in his declarations about the immorality of segregation, that segregation denies black Americans basic rights. The denial of these rights constitutes great humiliations that cannot be tolerated in an American democracy. “Such indignities are grievous violations of Christian justice and charity, which cannot be justified in this modern age of enlightenment and loudly proclaimed democracy,” (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 3).¹⁶² Rummel recognizes the rights of individuals that are embedded in Enlightenment principles. However, he navigates the tension of individualism and the mutuality of rights by merging discourses. He nods to individualism, but he also recognizes that the subject in the Catholic Church is part of a larger communal body of believers.

Harm of Segregation

One of Rummel’s emergent themes is that segregation is harmful, and he refers to a discourse of harm or some variant of that concept ten times. This harm is summarized, by Rummel, as an un-Constitutional policy that denigrates black Americans and the larger

¹⁶¹ Rummel, J. (1953, March 15). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Blessed are the Peacemakers”]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/194/blessedarethepeacemakers.pdf.

¹⁶² Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Morality of Racial Segregation”]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

American society. In his most potent letter on segregation, Rummel argues that racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful because it denies black Americans certain inalienable rights, and this denial is harmful. He says,

To deny to members of a certain race, just because they are members of that race, certain rights and opportunities, civic or economic, educational or religious, recreational or social, imposes upon them definite hardships and humiliations, frustrations and impediments to progress which condemn them to perpetual degradation which is only a step removed from slavery.” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 3)¹⁶³

Further, he alleges, segregation has “othered” black Americans and removed them from the American way of life.

...the laws and customs built up around the mystic term ‘segregation’ have practically relegated Negroes to an island-like existence. They emerge to work, toil, and serve even in the intimacy of the white home and family, but ‘segregation’ cuts off the free avenues to progress in the better things of life that are synonymous with Christian civilization.” (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956, p. 4)¹⁶⁴

In his September 29, 1958 pastoral letter, he argues that segregation imposes mental and emotional pain and restricts educational and economic opportunities available to black Americans (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, September 29, 1958).¹⁶⁵ In Rummel’s letter, “Reopening of School,” he claims that the closure of schools due to integration will have a detrimental effect on black children because it deprives black children of an education and

¹⁶³ Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Morality of Racial Segregation”]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Rummel, J. (1958, September 29). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Peace”]. Retrieved from http://archives.archno.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/198/rosaryoftheblessedvirginmaryandpeace.pdf.

privileges wealth. Rummel is referring to the threat of the closure of schools if public school integration occurred.

Rummel goes beyond the argument that segregation is harmful to black Americans, and he argues that segregation is harmful to humanity. As the date for the desegregation of public schools approached in the fall of 1960, Rummel pleaded with his parishioners not to boycott the schools because it would close them. Failure to integrate would be catastrophic to black children, but he also argues that the closing of schools and the maintenance of segregation will be harmful all because failure to acquiesce to integrated schools will close the schools. Further, if parents refuse to send their children to integrated schools Rummel questions,

...who can evaluate the social, moral and cultural damage which such a flagrant action would inflict upon our civilization and history? Parents, teachers, religious leaders and public officials cannot consider without a deep shock to their sense of moral and civic responsibility the prospect of even one year without schooling for hundreds of thousands of children in the State, City, and countryside. (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, August 17, 1960, p. 3)¹⁶⁶

There are various discourses embedded in the themes of un-Constitutionality and the harm of segregation. Discourses of the inevitability of integration, the idea that segregation is an affront to the founding documents, mutuality of rights, democratic discourses, and the harm of segregation are present in his secular arguments.

There were legal discourses surrounding the various suits filed to overturn *Plessy* and enforce *Brown*. The next section of this chapter explores the basic legal arguments made by the attorneys in the District Court case preceding the *Brown* decision, the arguments made in one of

¹⁶⁶ Rummel, J. (1960, August 17). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Reopening of School”]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/197/reopeningofschool.pdf.

the briefs to the Supreme Court after the Court agreed to hear the case, and the arguments made by the appellants and the appellees in the *Brown* case.

Legalistic Emergent Themes of the Fight to Integrate Public Schools

Rummel made his arguments regarding the immorality of segregation based on Christian, Catholic, and spiritual arguments. He fused these arguments with secular discourses to make an argument that appealed to the American identity of Catholics. This section explores the arguments that the attorneys for the appellants made in the *Brown* case, the Kansas District Court case that preceded *Brown*, and in a brief written to the Supreme Court after it agreed to hear the case.

***Plessy* and the Creole-Catholic Protest Tradition**

Homer Plessy was part of a long tradition of anti-caste activism that was, in part, the result of an Afro-Creole-Catholic protest tradition that traced its origins to the Revolutionary period and before (Scott, 2008). Further, these citizens, many who were part of the ninth ward community in New Orleans, historically challenged segregation and educational inequities, and they were trailblazers (Buras, 2015). These black creoles published a newspaper, *L'Union*, in the 1860s, in French, that condemned slavery (Bell, 1999). The *New Orleans Tribune*, the first black owned newspaper in the country, often published articles that condemned segregation. In fact, "...French-speaking Afro-Creole contributors to the *Tribune*...reasoned that public, integrated education was essential if laws promising equal citizenship and universal suffrage, which they assumed (unlike their contemporaries) emancipation would entail, were to be enforced..." (Melancon & Hendry, 2015, p. 295). These black New Orleanians pressured the Church to rectify its hypocritical segregationist policies (A. Esteves and N.E. Mansion, publication in *The*

Daily Crusader, February 14, 1895).¹⁶⁷ Not only did these black New Orleanians, part of an Afro-Creole-Catholic protest tradition, protest disparate treatment by the Church but they were legal pioneers as well, and they challenged the burgeoning restoration of white supremacy after the ending of Reconstruction (Scott, 2008).

In 1890 the Louisiana legislature passed the Separate Car Act that mandated segregation on railway travel in the state (Scott, 2007). Louis Martinet, Rodolphe Desdunes, Paul Bonseigneur, and other people of color founded the Citizens' Committee to challenge this law (Scott, 2008). In June 1892, Homer Plessy was arrested for violating section 2 of Act 111, which called for "separate but equal" accommodations on railway cars (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896).

Plessy addressed the constitutionality of the statute which provided equal but separate accommodations for travelers. Further, this law empowered officers of the train to assign each passenger to the coach that corresponds with his or her race. Plessy was a patron on the railway and traveling between two stations. He was assigned to the coach that corresponded to his race as determined by the officer. However, Plessy, a person who was 7/8th Caucasian and 1/8 black, sat in the coach that corresponded to the white race. It was demanded that he move to the coach that corresponded to his race. Refusing to comply, he was arrested and imprisoned. In this case, Plessy argued that the mixture of colored blood within him was not discernable. Therefore, he was entitled to every right, privilege, and immunity attributed to citizens of the white race.

The Constitutionality of the law was attacked on 13th amendment and 14th amendment grounds. The Court, however, quickly dismissed the challenge based upon the 13th amendment. Stating that the Louisiana law "...does not conflict with the Thirteenth Amendment, which

¹⁶⁷ Esteves, A. & Mansion, N.E. (1895, February 14). [Letter published in *The Daily Crusader*- "Citizens' Committee Meet and Take Action Against Jim Crow Jury and Jim Crow Church"]. T-ARC (Charles Rousseve Papers, 1842-1994, Box 2, Folder 14). New Orleans, LA.

abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is too clear for argument,” (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896). The Court opined that a statute that implies a legal distinction between the races in no way destroys the legal equality of the races. Further, the Court determined that the purpose of the amendment was to establish the absolute equality of the races. However, the Court further explained that it could not have been the intent of the framers to abolish distinctions based upon color or to force commingling on terms the races would not accept and that the separation of the races, as applied to commerce, was not harmful to blacks as it did not violate the Constitution (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896). The Supreme Court, except for one justice, found no Constitutional issue with legal segregation, and *Plessy* legalized segregation in public spaces nationwide (Thomas, 1997). It was this case, based on segregation on a railway, that endorsed national policies of segregation that would not be fully overturned until the *Brown* decision.

***Brown* Arguments in the Appellants’ Brief to the Supreme Court**

The attorneys who argued *Brown* have had their arguments endlessly analyzed, and the decision has been scrutinized by legal scholars who both agreed and disagreed with the decision and the arguments.¹⁶⁸ *Brown* was an amalgamation of cases from Delaware, Kansas, Washington D.C., South Carolina, and Virginia.¹⁶⁹ The attorneys for the plaintiffs in the original

¹⁶⁸ For a comprehensive analysis on the *Brown* decision and its failure to implement equality in education, see Bell, Jr., D. A. (1980). *Brown v. Board of Education and the interest-convergence dilemma*. *Harvard Law Review*, 93, 518-533; Bell, Jr. D.A. (2004). *Silent covenants: Brown v. Board of Education and the unfulfilled hopes for racial reform*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

¹⁶⁹ These cases were *Briggs v. Elliott* (1952), *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County* (1952), *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka Kansas* (1952), *Belton v. Gebhart* (1952), and *Boiling v. Sharpe* (1952). Four of these cases were premised on the contention that segregation violated the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th amendment. *Boiling*, because Washington D.C. is a federal territory, and the 14th amendment only mentions states, was

Brown case, the Kansas case, filed suit in the District Court and subsequently lost. The appellants appealed the opinion of the statutory three-judge-District Court for the District of Kansas (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 98 F. Supp. 797 (D. Kan. 1951)) to the Supreme Court, and the Court agreed to hear the case.¹⁷⁰

The appellants' attorneys argued that the decision of the District Court was incorrect and asked two questions which would become central to the eventual decision of the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). The first question was whether the State of Kansas had the power to enforce a state statute which maintained racially segregated schools. The second question was whether the finding of the District Court, "...that racial segregation in public elementary schools has the detrimental effect of retarding the mental and educational development of colored children and connotes governmental acceptance of the conception of racial inferiority," (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 98 F. Supp. 797 (D. Kan. 1951)) compelled the conclusion that the appellants were deprived of their rights to share equally in educational opportunities in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.¹⁷¹

The appellants' brief set forth two arguments in favor of their position. The first argument was that the State of Kansas had no authority to impose racial restrictions and

premised on the argument that segregation violated the 5th amendment. For more on the *Boiling* case and the arguments, see Crooms, L. (2004). Race, education and the District of Columbia: The meaning and legacy of *Boiling v. Sharpe*. *Washington History*, 16(2), 14-2.

¹⁷⁰ For more information on the composition of the Warren Court and its ideological positions during the *Brown* case see chapter 3 in Patterson, J. (2001). *Brown v. Board of Education: A civil rights milestone and its troubled legacy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

¹⁷¹ This clause holds that no state shall deny equal protection of the laws to any citizen. For more on the clause and the 14th Amendment, see Araiza, W. D. (2016). *Enforcing the Equal Protection Clause: Congressional power, judicial doctrine, and Constitutional law*. New York, NY: NYU Press.

“when the distinctions imposed are based upon race and color alone, the state's action is patently the epitome of that arbitrariness and capriciousness constitutionally impermissible under our system of government,” (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). In support of this position, the appellants cited a litany of cases articulating the general proposition that reliance on racial criterion is a Constitutional nullity except in extreme circumstances. Of note is the appellants’ comparison of this case to the Japanese internment cases during World War II. Further, they cited to verbiage indicating that even in times of national emergency, the discrimination must cease as soon as that peril is past. This was a particularly effective argument because it highlighted the enormity of the burden that the state bore in attempting to legitimize racial distinctions in the exercise of governmental functions.

Next, the appellants noted numerous cases in which the Supreme Court found that race had no place in governmental functions. This had the effect of articulating that the state’s use of race distinctions to negatively affect minorities has been found to violate the Equal Protection Clause repeatedly. Accordingly, the appellants argued that the racial distinctions that were the basis of segregation exceed the state’s Constitutional limits to its authority. Because racial distinction has been held arbitrary in other areas of governmental activity, it has no reasonable place in public education, the attorneys argued.

The second argument was that the subordinate Court’s finding was incorrect. The District Court concluded the following,

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system. (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 98 F. Supp. 797 (D. Kan. 1951))

Although the District Court found that segregation had a detrimental effect on black children, the District Court still ruled against the appellants. Therefore, the appellants argued, in their brief to the Supreme Court, that since the lower Court (the District Court) effectively agreed with their argument, it should not have ruled in favor of the state of Kansas because the Court essentially agreed with the attorneys' contention that segregation caused black children harm but deemed that harm to be irrelevant. The appellants argued that limiting the interactions of black children and white children due to segregation denied black children certain opportunities available to others. The attorneys for the appellants claimed, in their brief to the Supreme Court after they lost at the district level, that they provided, though their called experts,

...uncontradicted testimony that conclusively demonstrates that racial segregation injures infant appellants in denying them the opportunity available to all other racial groups to learn to live, work and cooperate with children representative of approximately 90% of the population of the society in which they live; to develop citizenship skills; and to adjust themselves personally and socially in a setting comprising a cross-section of the dominant population. (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954)

If the students were put at such a disadvantage the appellants argued in their brief, "...the court [District Court of Kansas] should have concluded as a matter of law that appellants were deprived of their right to equal educational opportunities in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment," (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). Further, Thurgood Marshall concluded, in oral arguments before the Court, that not only did segregation deny children opportunities in society but was injurious to the children's psyches. Segregation branded black children as inferior and decimated their self-respect (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954).

The above references the brief submitted to the Supreme Court after the appellants lost at the District Court level. In the actual *Brown* oral arguments, similar arguments were put forth as those in the brief to the Court. However, what has not been discussed are the rebuttals of the

appellants' attorneys. One of the attorneys for the appellees, John Davis, made the argument that the strength of the government is the right to self-govern. Further, people have a right and responsibility to educate their children as they see fit, and they have the right to choose who their children encounter without interference from the government. Thurgood Marshall's rebuttal to that argument was that the minority in the country does not have to bow down to the tyranny of the majority. The rights of the individual, he argued, or of a small group, cannot be dismissed because of the policy of a more privileged entity, the state (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954).

Comparison of Emergent Themes and Discourses

The arguments presented to the Supreme Court centered around the following ideas: that race had no place being used in governmental function, the majority does not have the right to tyrannize the minority in the name of limited government, and desegregation was unfairly detrimental to black children and such policies were un-Constitutional. The detrimental effect of racial segregation, therefore, was a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution. These are very specific, legalistic arguments that were used to argue that current statutes enforcing segregation in public schools were indicative of state government over reach and were un-Constitutional due to the detrimental effects this had on black children.

Mutuality of rights. Both Rummel and the appellants' attorneys acknowledge the concept of rights and answer a question that is a core one in democracy. Where do my rights end and yours begin? In a peaceful democracy, Rummel argues, at times the concept of "self" must be surrendered. A functioning democracy can recognize the mutuality of rights and the necessity for the triumph of rights that are for the common good over the concept of the individual (J.F.

Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953).¹⁷² The attorneys for the appellants effectively argue the same thing but use slightly different rationales. They do not address the concept of “the common good,” and they do address, in rebuttal, the concept of the rights of a group of people to determine who their children interact with and to determine the course of their children’s education. Very few would argue with the idea that citizens have the right to determine what their children’s education looks like. However, Marshall contends that the rights of some, though they may be “rights,” cannot supersede the rights of the black person in America or black people, as a group; this was the effect of state mandated segregation (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954). Therefore, segregation privileges the rights of the individual over the concept of the mutuality of rights and privileges the rights of one individual over the rights over another’s. Whereas, Rummel’s argument is a bit different because his argument does not address the concept of individual rights v. individual rights, but he addresses the idea of individual rights v. mutual rights that he refers to as a recognition of, “...mutual rights and duties...” that require, “...the surrender and exchange of certain rights and obligations for the common good,” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953, p. 3). Rummel refers to this abdication of individual rights as a “sacrifice,” in the promotion of Christian principles of justice and charity, whereas the attorneys for the appellants refer to this privileging of individual rights, or an individual state’s right, as a Constitutional matter.

Psychological discourses. The appellants argue that segregation is psychologically harmful to black children and cite experts to support this contention. However, this argument

¹⁷² Rummel, J. (1953, March 15). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Blessed are the Peacemakers”]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/194/blessedarethepeacemakers.pdf.

has become one of the most controversial arguments in the case. The assertion that segregation is harmful to black children is particularly problematic, per some scholars, because the argument implies that black children need to be in the presence of white children to succeed (Bell, 2004; Brown, 1993). Bell (2004) critiques the *Brown* decision and imagines a different decision. In this fictional decision, the Court recognizes the psychological and emotional destruction that segregation imposes on all children. The Court, in this fictional pronouncement, declares,

Rather, we suggest that segregation perpetuates the sense of white children that their privileged status as whites is deserved rather than bestowed by law and tradition. We hold that racial segregation afflicts white children with a lifelong mental and emotional handicap that is as destructive to whites as the required strictures of segregation are to Negroes. (Bell, 2004, p. 23)

The language used in the actual case that segregation imposes an inferior status on black children might be interpreted as an admission that for whatever reason, black children are inferior to white children. These psychological discourses ultimately reified notions of white supremacy because the argument was that black children needed white children. Such declarations do nothing to solve the issue of racism because neither the appellants' attorneys nor the experts they called to testify addressed the psychological effect that attending segregated schools has on white children. What of the benefits that white children gain from attending school with black children? What of the harm that white children experience from attending segregated schools? The failure of the law to challenge segregation in schools is evident today by the continued segregation in schools in America.

This was a major difference in the discourses of the appellants and Rummel, as Rummel argued that segregation negatively affected humanity. Whereas, the appellants did not argue that segregation violated ideals of universalism. They did not reference abstract ideas such as common humanity or natural law. In fact, "The Court did not form its opinion on universal

principles like the rule of law, natural law, morality, equality, justice, and truth,” (Washington, 2005, p. 718). Instead, the Court based its opinion on the premise that segregation harmed black children and deprived them of equal protection under the law—a very limited and cursory interpretation of the law and an interpretation that fails to consider the intangible ideas on which American democratic ideals are based.

Justice comes from equitable application of the law. Another difference in the approaches and mindsets of the appellants’ attorneys and Rummel was what they believed would be the catalyst for social justice in the country. It is clear from Rummel’s discourses that he believed that the recognition of our common humanity, an embrace of Christian, universalist principles, and acknowledgement of our democratic roots were necessary to dismantle segregation. Although for Rummel, our humanity is rooted in his belief system; it is also rooted in democratic, Constitutional ideals. Embrace the ideals and segregation won’t stand; it logically must be dismantled because it is counterproductive (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, February 11, 1956).¹⁷³ Further, for Rummel, the concept of justice is a principle rooted in Christianity and should be reflected in a democratic application of the law. However, while the appellants’ attorneys did occasionally reference the false notions of inferiority that segregation bestowed upon the black race, these discourses were still rooted in an argument that the legal system was being convoluted, and their discourses privileged the power of the legal system, not divine law, faith, or humanity (Kluger, 1975). An attorney who worked with Thurgood Marshall and the other appellants’ attorneys on preparing their *Brown* arguments was surprised by their belief in

¹⁷³ Rummel, J. (1956, February 11). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans—“The Morality of Racial Segregation”]. T-ARC (The Catholic Council on Human Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 10), New Orleans, LA.

the power of the law to dismantle a segregationist and unjust society. Kluger (1975) recounts a statement made by Alfred Kelly, a white attorney who worked with Marshall and the other attorneys. He says,

But there was that other quality that frankly surprised Kelly: ‘In a sense, these men were profoundly naïve. They really felt that once the legal barriers fell, the whole black-white situation would change. I was more skeptical, but they were convinced that the relationship between the law and society was the key. There was a very conservative element in these men then in the sense that they really believed in the American dream and that it could be made to work for black men, too.... He [Marshall] truly believed in the United States and the Constitution, but that the whole system was tragically flawed by segregation laws. Wipe away those laws and the whole picture would change....’ (Kelly quoted in Kluger, 1975, p. 639)

Of course, legal arguments require specificity regarding the laws that are alleged to have been broken or the Constitutional principles allegedly being violated. So, the attorneys who argued on behalf of integration made very nuanced arguments that referenced specific ideas and legal principles. Another of their core arguments was that segregation was un-Constitutional because it violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Constitution. While Rummel did not reference specific amendments to the Constitution, he also referenced the nation’s founding documents in his arguments that segregation must end. In one letter, he argues that segregation is an affront to the democratic ideal that all are created equally and are given certain unalienable rights (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, August 17, 1960).¹⁷⁴ In another letter, he argues that because segregation is an affront to democracy, it is untenable, as it is, “...in conflict with the American Constitution and way of life...” (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953, p. 4).¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Rummel, J. (1960, August 17). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Reopening of School”]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/197/reopeningofschool.pdf.

¹⁷⁵ Rummel, J. (1953, March 15). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-“Blessed are the Peacemakers”]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/194/blessedarethepeacemakers.pdf.

Another difference is that Rummel encourages obedience to the Court's directives because the issue had already been decided, Constitutionally, by the time he writes "The Morality of Racial Segregation." He implores Catholics to obey the mandates of the Court because it is the supreme authority in the nation (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, August 17, 1960).¹⁷⁶ The appellants, too, recognize the authority of the Court, as they have appealed to the Court and were presenting their brief. Of course they argue for a dismissal of the lower Court's decision, but they still recognize the authority of the Supreme Court.

There are differences between the arguments used by the appellants and Rummel. The appellants' arguments are rooted in legal discourse. Even their arguments regarding an abstract idea such as "harm" is rooted in a legalistic, Constitutional argument. These arguments reference specific amendments to the Constitution that are being violated by enforced segregation by the states. They were, in their arguments, unconcerned with abstract concepts that are related to democracy. Rummel's arguments are rooted in spirituality, but he does use secular democratic discourses to argue against segregation. There is a difference between discourses of democracy and legalistic discourses, as legal discourses are concerned with correct application of the law, whereas Rummel's discourses of democracy were concerned with principles of justice rooted in democratic ideals. Rummel does reference some of the same documents as the appellants do, but when he references secular discourses, he typically ties them to spiritual ones. They are intertwined. Spiritual discourses do not necessarily contradict secular discourses of justice and democracy.

¹⁷⁶ Rummel, J. (1960, August 17). [Letter to the Clergy, Religious and Laity, Archdiocese of New Orleans-"Reopening of School"]. Retrieved from http://archives.arch-no.org/ckeditor_assets/attachments/197/reopeningofschool.pdf.

This is a critical concept for us to understand because of the current state of education. Students in urban centers, such as New Orleans, are largely segregated (Lewis, 2007). Catholic schools in New Orleans have effectively served as havens of white and middle class flight, often irrespective of religious affiliation. Perhaps if these institutions took heed to Rummel's words regarding the intertwining of the spiritual and secular, these schools would be more open places. While many black, Catholic schools are sources of pride for black Catholics and respected and revered intuitions, they still serve as sites of middle class flight.

Education today is still largely framed around concepts of race and class, and changes to the law have done very little to change the conversation. It is clear, from the laws passed to promote segregation and the calculated resistance to those laws, that law, in a vacuum, does not actually change segregationist practices. These discourses seemed to attempt to minimize the role of race as it existed in the United States (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954; Tate, 1997). *Brown* justices were not neutral actors seeking to right wrongs with the stroke of a pen.

As black students fought to integrate white schools—first at the graduate level and then down to the K-12 level, it became apparent that America was not, and would not be any time soon “color blind.” The protests, murders, legal battles, resistance to integration, etc. made it very clear that Americans were very much aware of race, and the belief that *Brown* would radically change segregationist practices ignores the role that race plays in our society.

Indicative of the limits of the law in changing behavior, and the centrality of race in our society, civil rights litigation soon stalled after *Brown* (Taylor, 1998; Jones, 2002). The country took a hard shift to the right, and many liberal civil rights policies were eviscerated. The courts began a methodical dismantling of liberal legal policies that left many black activists and scholars disenchanted with the law (Jones, 2002). Critical Race Theory emerged from this legal

tradition, and these scholars questioned if black Americans could expect the law and the Constitution, which sanctioned chattel slavery, violence against black bodies, and segregation, for over four hundred years, to grant legal protections now (Brown, 1995). As we are faced with a New Orleans public and private school system that has largely remained segregated, the intersectionality of race and class are highlighted, as we must acknowledge that the passionate legal arguments made by legal giants and affirmed by the Supreme Court, and integration decrees made by the leader of the Catholic faithful have done little to change our educational system in America. Perhaps we have been wrong for our over-reliance on the law for social change.

CHAPTER VII: IMPLICATIONS FOR CONDUCTING EDUCATIONAL HISTORIES

Archbishop Rummel served New Orleans for almost thirty years, and he served during the most volatile period in New Orleans in the 20th century. Rummel was certainly not a perfect leader. He did not immediately come to New Orleans with the intention of integrating all facets of the Church like some of his contemporaries in other dioceses. Further, he initially had little to say regarding race relations in the archdiocese, despite the civil unrest unfolding in the nation and in New Orleans and despite the large population of black Catholics in the archdiocese. He did not integrate Catholic schools before public schools because he was bullied, faced legislative retribution, and because he thought that the best way to steer Catholics through the crisis was with contemplative caution. Rummel was pragmatic as he dealt with challenges to this authority, threats of violence, public rebukes, attempts to delegitimize him, pro-segregation publications, and challenges by Catholic politicians. He fought back with his provocative statements to Southerners regarding universalism, segregation, and race. However, the Church lost moral ground as its actions did not mirror its universalist principles. In fact, his failure to integrate immediately, at times, made his words seem hollow.

Rummel was a teacher who thought that it was better to instruct than to command. Public schools were integrated by decree, but did this make public integration a more moral endeavor? Did court-ordered integration change anyone's viewpoint on segregation? If we use the actions of the many New Orleanians who screamed racial epithets at six-year-old children who were simply trying to attend school and the white flight that ensued as evidence, the answer is no.

Rummel's pedagogical strategy was to write pastoral letters to Catholics explaining the position of the Church and his position on issues of morality. This project examined the

emergent themes of five of his pastoral letters and compares themes in his spiritual discourses to themes emergent in some of the Protestant leaders' discourses. Themes that arise in Rummel's spiritual discourses are themes of Catholic universalism, Christianity and the Christian ideal, Catholic legitimacy, and the Christian peacemaker. Embedded in the theme of Christianity and the Christian ideal are contentions that segregation is contrary to Jesus' teachings, antithetical to notions of a common humanity, conflicts with principles of divine law, runs afoul of Christian universalism, and contradicts precepts of justice, love, and charity.

Many of these themes are present in Protestant discourses as well. Both Rummel and Protestant, Baptist leaders refer to the Bible, Jesus, and saints. However, Rummel and these leaders are rooted in different intellectual traditions. Rummel is rooted in a divine, Catholic teacher tradition, whereas the Protestant leaders referenced in this project are rooted in a prophetic, Baptist, Protestant tradition (Holmes, 2011). Rummel sought to teach, and the prophetic rhetors persuaded through emotion (Mott, 1975). Their sources of legitimacy are also different. Rummel's legitimacy is rooted in his position in the Catholic Church hierarchy. However, the Protestant leaders' legitimacy is rooted in their historical importance in black life in America (Niles, 1984). These leaders also wrote to different audiences. Rummel wrote to the members of his archdiocese, but his discourses are written to the individual to encourage introspective contemplation regarding their sinful position on the issue of segregation. For the archbishop, contemplative action is how the individual examines him or herself. Whereas, the leaders of the SCLC encouraged action in public spaces, such as marches and boycotts. The two Protestant leaders referenced here, Rev. Shuttlesworth and Dr. King, wrote to a larger audience to encourage action on civil rights issues.

Rummel's discourses were largely rooted in spiritualism, but he also argued that segregation was wrong based on secular principles. He argues that mutual rights that benefit humanity should be privileged over individual rights (J.F. Rummel, pastoral letter, March 15, 1953). He also maintains that segregation and the closure of schools caused by segregationists are detrimental to humanity (J. F. Rummel, pastoral letter, August 17, 1960). This is a moral discourse that has little to do with legalism. Whereas, the argument that came from *Brown* was that segregation largely harmed black children psychologically (*Brown v. Board of Education*, 1954); this argument has been criticized for its reification of white supremacy and failure to address the harm of segregation on white children. The attorneys for the appellants rooted their arguments in a legal tradition based on civil law. Rummel also argued that segregation was un-Constitutional and un-democratic, but he argued that the origins of justice were not only Constitutional but were rooted in the concept of divine law.

Importantly, Rummel masterfully connected issues of the Church and issues of the public using scripture and Church authority-very relevant in a Catholic city. It was Rummel's words, teaching authority, at times threats, and ultimately excommunication decrees, which caused some Catholics to realize that discrimination against other human beings, based on race, directly put them at odds with their beloved Church. Rummel's major intellectual influences were Jesus Christ, God, the disciples, and prophets. He continually drew upon Christ's experiences and words to formulate his own philosophy regarding segregation. Throughout his writings and speeches, themes of justice, charity, love, universalism, and humility are present. He references Jesus' humble submission, His dictates to us all, and His love of us all.

There is a prevailing idea that secular means of protest such as marches were not part of Rummel's discourse (Poche, 2007). It's true. However, one must be careful not to suggest that

one means of protest is more important than other means. In an era when people were forced to integrate by the federal government, Rummel's approach was to teach instead of command (Smestad, n.d.).¹⁷⁷ As Poche (2006) points out, the power and verbosity of segregationist Catholics created a crisis of authority. Their continued push against the moral edicts of Archbishop Rummel, though they ultimately failed, caused the Church to lose moral ground, as it lagged public institutions in the integration of its schools. However, Archbishop Rummel's words fueled a discussion of right and wrong and of the Church's role as a proponent of social justice. It was the historical presence of the Catholic Church in New Orleans that made New Orleans a distinct Southern city. However, it was still part of the deep South, and many New Orleanians ascribed to typical white Southern beliefs regarding black Americans.

The nation's integration story, which is still unfolding, has been told largely from the point of view of *Brown*. Embedded in that story are discourses of legalism; this treatment of *Brown* as the centerpiece of integration completely ignores non-legalistic approaches to integration. It's certainly true that the law must reflect social justice initiatives. Further, it would do a disservice to the brave men and women who forced the legal system to examine itself, even if cursorily, and acknowledge America's original hypocrisy if we did not acknowledge the importance of having laws that are non-discriminatory and that are reflective of the ideals of democracy.

However, traditional, legalistic narratives in which *Brown* is the centerpiece of justice in schools are highly problematic, overly simplistic, and ahistorical. Antonellis (2013) sums up the problematic, traditional narratives surrounding segregation in this country. "The dominant

¹⁷⁷ Smestad, J. (n.d.). *Joseph F. Rummel in the desegregation of Catholic schools in New Orleans*. Retrieved from <http://www.loyno.edu/~history/journal/1993-4/Smestad.html>.

narrative of education and integration in the South is simple and linear: African Americans were oppressed, then came Brown and integration, and then there was equality. However, in the case of New Orleans, the narrative is not so linear and not nearly so succinct,” (p. 2). It is true that the approach that the NAACP and trailblazers such as A.P. Tureaud, Sr. took was very linear. The NAACP attorneys carefully laid out a legal strategy that was very linear because this strategy was incumbent on the respecting of precedent setting cases. Concepts of linearity were relevant to these attorneys because one legal outcome directly led to another. However, beyond legal strategies, the traditional narrative that nine white males were responsible for the most prolific decision rendered by the Supreme Court, was the culmination of the fight for social justice in America, integrated the schools (as opposed to merely desegregating the schools which is what occurred), and that as a result black Americans won equality sanitizes the narrative and is untrue. It’s doubtful that black Americans in New Orleans would feel that they have seen the promised land. Forced integration of schools and a legal conversation that is sanitized so that it omits concepts such as equality, social justice, humanity, etc. have not led to the prosperity that so many of the trailblazers of the Protestant movements or the attorneys envisioned. As of 2007, the average family income in New Orleans was slightly over \$27,000. Regarding integration, post-*Brown* white flight ensued, and many schools in New Orleans fell victim to “race-based neglect” (Buras, 2015, p. 93).

After Hurricane Katrina, the crisis narrative was that New Orleans schools were failing. Therefore, New Orleans became an educational experiment. Traditional notions of public education have been dismantled as charter schools have largely taken the place of traditional, public schools (Buras, 2015). Radically overhauling the system and turning to a market-based educational system has done very little to affect the racial balance in the largely segregated

school system. The public schools of New Orleans are almost 85% black and a little over 8% white (Weixler, Barrett, Harris & Jennings, 2017). However, black residents made up 60% of the population, and white residents made up 33% of the population as of the 2010 census (Krupa, 2011). Pre-*Brown*, white residents were 68% of the New Orleans' population, and non-whites were 32 % of the population (Lewis, 2007). Pre-Hurricane Katrina, black students comprised 93% of the public school system (Lewis, 2007).

Also, as the story of school integration and the quest for other civil rights is told, the emphasis is on the Protestant tradition and the role of Protestant organizations. Largely marginalized in the story of integration, the Catholic Church and its leaders deserve a re-analysis, especially when discussing integration in New Orleans. Rummel neither marched in the streets nor encouraged physical acts of resistance. Yet, we must contend with the fact that there is more than one way to protest. If we define protesting as resisting, is there a more effective way to compel the compliance of a deeply religious people than to resist the urge to maintain the status quo in the country and in the Church by arguing that the continued disobedience to the Church's stance on integration put one's soul in mortal peril? To many religious leaders, the fiercest weapon against inequality is to speak to the individual's heart and to speak of social injustice amid those who pretend it does not exist. Rummel taught that Catholics needed to focus on doing the right thing for one's internal peace, soul, and society. Prayer and the concept of the internal are the core of Catholic spirituality (Davis, 2001).

As we continuously grapple with issues of social justice, the question of the role of religion in a secular democracy continually is posed. Must religious leaders be antagonists of social justice? Must the Church? What of educational leaders, like Rummel, who are also leaders of a body of believers? Importantly, the Church does have a role to play in ridding

society of injustice, and there is often a connection between sacred discourses and secular behavior. A New Orleans priest, Father Kelly, asserts that the current view of religion is that it should have no voice in questions of morality and justice. However, he contends that religions should have a public voice, not to impose, but to remind people of the, "...dignity of the human being," (D. Kelly, personal communication, November 4, 2016).

Rummel's story raises important questions regarding the role of the educational leader. His approach to segregation was to teach instead of command because his understanding of education is one in which authority does not originate with the individual or a legal change but from a larger community or history, as his authority originated from the history of the Catholic Church and the Catholic community. This has profound implications for our understanding of what it means to be a transformational educator because his story raises the question of where change originates. Is it whole scale action that is a catalyst for social justice? Does the effectuation of social justice begin in the court room? Perhaps real change, not simply changes to policy, begins with the contemplation of the individual. For the Catholic, this contemplation is rooted in introspective prayer and concepts of the internal (Davis, 2001).

Rummel's story is relevant because the dominant narrative in education is that it was *Brown* that spurred educational change, and many policy decisions today are made in relation to that law. His story, and the story of the integration of Catholic schools, is important because it provides a new lens to view educational policy through. *Brown* was not the great equalizer, and it is doubtful that any legal decision can ever really be. The archbishop thought that organic change was the best way to usher in an integrated society. He advocated for integration in the Church and in public spaces based on democratic ideals, but he also argued against segregation with language rooted in Christianity and Catholic, universalist, sacrosanct, principles. This is a

different perspective than the typical legalistic civil rights discourses that are privileged. As educational scholars focus on *Brown* and its implications, legalism and the success of the decision or failure of it, depending on the vantage point, is endlessly analyzed. The arguments used by attorneys, the words of the justices, and the discourses of the movement have been examined. However, there are definitive problems with overreliance on legalistic discourses of change. The court system privileges the elite, as legal representation is not available to all citizens, and as laws are enacted, laws can easily be revoked (Merritt, 2008). *Brown* was enacted, and those in favor of maintaining the status quo used the courts to systematically dismantle policies geared at integrating the nation's schools (Bell, 2004).

Not explicitly explored in this project, but implied, is the limited role of the law in changing belief systems. Klarman (1994) posits that *Brown* had no significant role in changing the attitudes of segregationists. Further, black Americans, already convinced of the injustice of governmentally mandated segregation, did not need the Court or legal maneuvering to convince them that segregation was antithetical to the foundation of this nation. In fact, Klarman (1994) asserts that politically controversial cases can have the opposite effect of what their attorneys may intend. These cases often serve as vehicles to galvanize opposition to the law and serve as inspiration to continue the fight. The author points to Court cases pertaining to recent social movements such as gay rights to illustrate the point that supporters of gay rights did not need a Court case to cement their beliefs regarding the injustices being perpetrated on a subset of Americans, and until recently, upheld by the nation's laws and court systems. Likewise, *Brown*, as a Court case, did not convince segregationists of the merits of integration, and those who believed in integration believed in the merits of their arguments prior to the outcome of the case. It is crucial to remember that the integration of public schools in New Orleans, although

unprecedented in the deep South, was not a new endeavor in New Orleans. Black Americans understood the limits of the law in affecting social change because schools in New Orleans were integrated by the Louisiana Constitution almost 100 years prior to Judge Skelly Wright ordering the integration of New Orleans' public schools (Bell, 1997; Scott, 2007). As support for integrated schools waned, a new, post-Reconstruction Constitution was written that re-segregated schools and revoked legal protections and suffrage for black males (Scott, 2007).

These discourses can reshape our thinking regarding taken for granted educational narratives. There is a prevailing idea that change occurs through legalistic avenues, through a return to the Enlightenment principles on which our democracy is based, and at the core of those principles is the concept of individual rights. Yet, moral discourses that Rummel used focused on the concept of mutuality of rights. We still see a privileging of the discourse of the individual. These arguments surrounding the rights of the individual have been appropriated by the school choice movement. It is continuously suggested in our laws and in our current educational system that the rights of the individual supersede mutual rights. The very foundation of school choice is the right of the individual parent to choose what is best for his or her child regardless of the effect on the system. When discussing education, it is difficult to argue with the idea that the parent should have the right to determine the course of a child's education. However, what has school choice achieved in New Orleans regarding segregation in schools? Choice has reinforced systems of segregation, as schools remain largely segregated today in New Orleans (Weixler, Barrett, Harris & Jennings, 2017). Over-reliance on the law to change New Orleans' segregated educational system has failed. The school choice movement has done little to change segregation in schools. What drives sustainable educational change?

Brown did not work. Legalistic discourses did little to affect change. So, what other discourses are available? Rummel's discourses of morality situate social justice as a phenomenon that is rooted in a common humanity. When one views social justice in those terms, intangible concepts such as justice, equity, and commonality cannot be solely based on legal principals. As *Brown* and attempts at integration were eroded with subsequent law, the impermanence of law becomes evident (Taylor, 1998; Jones, 2002).

What of change that occurs from leaders of the Church? Catholics were interested in bringing about social change. Their methods may have differed from the privileged methods of public protests, but they existed nonetheless. Rummel's actions and discourses raise broader philosophical questions. His positionality in history helps us rethink the question of what it means to be a teacher. Where does our voice originate? Does the teacher give us our voice, or does the teacher encourage us to do what is just by finding our own inner voice? Rummel's words and actions give us a different perspective. Perhaps real change originates with an inner conviction by the individual then occurs in society. Yet, even if we acknowledge these morally based contentions and discourses, we must still question if even they have been successful. The state of Catholic schools in New Orleans is similar to the state of inner city schools; these schools are largely segregated entities. The Office of Catholic Schools in the New Orleans Archdiocese would not release the data on the percentages of black students enrolled in each Catholic school in New Orleans to the author. It did release data that indicates the number of black students enrolled in each school, but it would not release the name of the respective school. In New Orleans, the number of black students enrolled in Catholic schools ranged from 13 (the school with the fewest number of black students) to 592 (the school with the highest number of black students), but since the schools are not identified, there is no way come to any definitive

conclusions regarding integration in the Catholic schools in the city because we do not know the total number of students enrolled in each school, so there is no way to determine the percentage of the particular school's black population, and there is no way to determine that data without the release of the names of the schools (I. Fields, personal communication, June 12, 2017). So, 592 black students (the school with the highest number of black students) could be indicative of an integrated school, or this could be an indicator of a heavily segregated school. However, the office did release the total percentage of black students enrolled in all schools; 14 percent of the students enrolled in the Catholic schools in New Orleans are black, and the total number of black students enrolled in New Orleans Catholic schools as of the 2016-2017 school year was 4,900 (I. Fields, personal communication, June 12, 2017). However, 60% of the population of New Orleans is black; black students are heavily concentrated in the public schools (Krupa, 2011; Weixler, Barrett, Harris & Jennings, 2017). The office also informed me that of the 36 Catholic schools in New Orleans, "...10 could be considered predominately African American schools," (I. Fields, personal communication, June 21, 2017). There are 35,000 total students enrolled in New Orleans Catholic schools. It is commonly said that in predominately white Catholic schools, the only blacks who attend are athletes, but it is not possible to ascertain the extent of segregation because the Office of Catholic Schools would not identify the names of the schools, or the percentages, so it is not possible to know which schools are the historically and predominately black schools and what the black percentages are of the schools that are not labeled as such.

In the 1935-1936 school year, there were approximately 5,000 black students enrolled in New Orleans Catholic schools.¹⁷⁸ Pre-*Brown*, white residents were 68% of the New Orleans'

¹⁷⁸ See tables 1.1 and 1.2.

population, and non-whites were 32% of the population (Lewis, 2007). However, the black population in New Orleans was 60 % as of the 2010 census (Krupa, 2011). The public schools of New Orleans are approximately 85% black and about 8% white (Weixler, Barrett, Harris & Jennings, 2017). So, the percentage of blacks in New Orleans has dramatically risen in New Orleans and in the New Orleans public schools since *Brown*, and the percentage of whites in New Orleans has decreased, but the number of blacks enrolled in Catholic schools has not really increased. Therefore, it seems that the Catholic schools have become sites of white flight from the public schools which have higher percentages of black students. So, one might think that Rummel's integration initiatives and words championing universality and common humanity were meaningless. However, perhaps the failure is not with Rummel's hybrid of morally based and democratic discourses, but with some Catholics' failure to accept the teachings of their spiritual leaders and reject classist, racist educational policies that reaffirm segregation.

Rummel's failures are pronounced; it is difficult to justify Catholic schools' failure to integrate before public schools were forced to by legal decree. However, because Rummel viewed himself as a teacher, he understood that the individuals in his Church had the agency, themselves, to be originators of change. In the words of the 13th archbishop of New Orleans regarding this project, "I support your contention that changing minds and hearts is more important than legislation. It's only when we convert minds and hearts that we will experience racial harmony. In that, the Church has a great responsibility and opportunity," (A.C. Hughes, personal communication, November 4, 2016). It was through discourse that Rummel sought to change hearts and minds. The Church does have a role to play in affecting social justice.

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APPENDIX
PASTORAL LETTERS
Courtesy of the Archdiocese of New Orleans Archives

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ARCHBISHOP'S RESIDENCE
2809 S. CARROLLTON AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

March 15, 1953

"BLESSSED ARE THE PEACEMAKERS"

To the Clergy, Religious and Laity,
Archdiocese of New Orleans.

Dearly beloved in Christ:

During this holy season of Lent we feel the urge to address to you a pastoral message which may serve as an incentive for perseverance in prayer, works of penance and a revival of the Catholic way of life. For our theme we have selected perhaps the sweetest among those inspiring promises known as the Beatitudes, recorded in the holy Gospel according to St. Matthew, Chapter 5, verse 9. Our selection reads: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God."

Peace may well be called the theme of the life of Christ. It was proclaimed as such by the angels over the plains of Bethlehem in their immortal song: "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace among men of good will." The re-establishment (Luke II, 14) of peace between God and man was the purpose of the Mystery of the Redemption, which was tragically but gloriously consummated on the Cross, when Christ proclaimed: "It is consummated!" No less significant is the fact that the first greeting of the (John 19, 30) Risen Savior to His apostles on Easter day was the familiar "Peace be to you". And (John 20, ...19) everlastingly memorable are His words when He prepared them for His ascension into heaven: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do (John 14, 27) I give to you". Ushered in by the promise of peace the Life of the Son of God on earth was enduringly a pattern of peace in Bethlehem, in Nazareth, in the villages and towns of Judea and Galilee, on Mount Tabor and by the Lake of Genesareth, right up to the tragic climax of the Mount called Calvary. Everywhere did Jesus radiate the light and warmth of heavenly peace and conciliation to men of good will.

Peace is the existence of order and coordination. We speak of personal or individual peace to indicate a well ordered relationship between the human mind and

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the human will and the control which both mind and will exercise over the senses of the body, the emotions of the heart and the passions of the soul. When this coordination is inspired and regulated by principles which are in conformity with the natural law and the will of God, it establishes a tranquillity of soul, which in turn is known as peace of conscience or interior peace. It should be the aspiration of every human soul to acquire this personal internal peace, for in it and through it alone can we experience genuine happiness and contentment.

The order or coordination of habits and interests between human individuals and groups of individuals in their various relationships, results in social peace. Here the elements of justice and charity are the principal sources from which social peace derives inspiration and direction. As personal or interior peace guarantees happiness and contentment to the individual soul, thus social peace is the pledge of happiness, security and prosperity to society at large.

The establishment of order between nations and governments according to principles of justice, inalienable human rights, historic traditions and the immutable laws of God may be said to constitute international peace.

In the halcyon days of the millennium, when all nations will accept with mutual sincerity such order and coordination, then will the world experience the freedom, the happiness and the prosperity, for which human hearts in every corner of God's earth long, and pray and sigh as the foretaste of heaven.

It is characteristic of every type of peace that it is not achieved without sacrifice. No individual finds true peace within himself until he has learned to curb his passions, control his emotions, guard his senses, restrain his imagination, bring his mind under the subjection of his will and make his will a perfect instrument of the all holy and adorable will of the Eternal God. All this involves not one but many sacrifices, which are possible only through full cooperation with divine grace, that heavenly gift which "enlightens the mind and strengthens the will to shun evil and do good".

Nor is peace achieved without sacrifice between individuals, between the members

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of the family, between larger groups of human society and between nations. In every instance there is need of self restraint, self-control, a balanced recognition of mutual rights and duties and not infrequently the surrender and exchange of certain rights and obligations for the common good. It is this element of sacrifice which makes the attainment and maintenance of peace so difficult and so frequently causes peacemaking efforts to end in frustration and failure. Peace between groups and between nations is the result of a delicate application and adjustment of the principles of justice and of charity.

This adjustment and application not infrequently requires the intervention of a third or disinterested party, and thus we have the office of peacemaker. When our Divine Savior called peacemakers "blessed", He undoubtedly had in mind not only the priceless gift of peace of which they become the instruments, but also the merit that is due to those whose wisdom, truth and influence bring to recognition the virtues of justice and charity, which are the foundations of true peace. Our Divine Savior Himself set a glorious example of the spirit of sacrifice which must characterize the role of a genuine peacemaker, when He carried the Cross through the streets of Jerusalem and sacrificed His life upon the Hill of Calvary. Thus He sealed with His own Precious Blood the bond of peace between the outraged Majesty of God and sinful man. Christ came into this sinful world to be not only the herald of peace but also the Divine Peacemaker: "For it has pleased God the Father that in Him all His fullness should dwell, and that through Him He should reconcile to Himself all things, whether on the earth or in the heaven, making peace through the Blood of the Cross."
(Col. I 19,20)

We are not all called upon to be peacemakers in the same sense or degree, but certainly it must be the ambition and longing of all without exception to establish and maintain true inward peace by conforming perfectly our minds, our hearts and our wills with the eternal, all holy Will of God, thus patterning our lives after the life of Christ. On no other basis can we share the peace promised at the birth of the Savior to men of "good will".

All of us certainly have the obligation of being peacemakers by cultivating

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relations of genuine charity and good will with the members of our own household and family to the exclusion of anger, meanness, quarreling, abusive words and actions and all hardness of heart. "This is the haven of peace" may well be inscribed as a motto over the door of every home, especially the home that is dedicated to the Catholic way of life.

We can and should likewise function as peacemakers by living up to and promoting the principles of justice and charity in the office, in the shop, in the store, in the factory, in meeting places and wherever we come in contact with our fellowmen. Kindness, courtesy and a helping hand contribute much towards social peace, mutual understanding and happiness.

And now we call upon all the members of our beloved flock to exercise the role of peacemakers in our intercourse with those who may differ from us by characteristics of race, nationality, color of the skin, habits or creed. In all we must respect the common bond that stems from the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. We are all created to the image and likeness of God, endowed with a spiritual nature and called to participate in the eternal happiness of heaven. All were envisioned in the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Redemption; all are invited to participate in the merits of Christ's death upon the Cross and in the graces which that sacrifice made available. The obligations of justice and of Christ's mandate of charity: "Love thy neighbor as thyself" provide for no exceptions on the lines indicated; nor does His mission to the Apostles: "Go, make disciples of all nations" suggest any discrimination.

In particular we are here concerned about our attitude towards our brethren of the Colored race. Much is today being spoken and written about the so-called problem of segregation as reflected in certain laws, agreements and customs. Undoubtedly the Federal and State Courts, supported by wholesome public opinion, will in due time define where such laws and customs are in conflict with the American Constitution and way of life, but we can help hasten the day of complete peaceful adjustment by an ever increasing spirit, in word and action, of good will, respect and sympathy towards the Colored people. Public laws, customs of long standing, regulations and agreements of institutions and between business interests are obstacles not easy to overcome, but we can do much to aid this cause of justice and charity by making segregation disappear in our Catholic church life. We have already made notable progress by the removal of offensive signs that limited the use of certain pews and by the aggregation of Colored units with the Metropolitan, Deanery and Diocesan Unions of the Holy Name

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Society, the Sodality and the Councils of Catholic Men and Women. But there still persists in some churches the practice of expecting the Colored to occupy a certain section of pews and to wait at the end of the line for Holy Communion. There may be other practices that cause humiliation and embarrassment, which should be foreign to our religious life and considered unworthy of a true spiritual understanding of our Catholic faith.

Ever mindful, therefore, of the basic truth that our Colored Catholic brethren share with us the same spiritual life and destiny, the same membership in the Mystical Body of Christ, the same dependence upon the Word of God, the participation in the Sacraments, especially the Most Holy Eucharist, the same need of moral and social encouragement, let there be no further discrimination or segregation in the pews, at the Communion rail, at the confessional and in parish meetings, just as there will be no segregation in the kingdom of heaven. Our Colored Catholics are encouraged and urged to retain their loyalty and membership in their special congregations, but they should not be harassed when they attend services in any parish church or mission, or when they apply for membership in parish organizations. These observances will contribute much to the edification of all who are genuinely interested in our holy Catholic faith and guarantee to all of us a greater participation in the promise of Christ when He proclaimed from the Mountain of the Beatitudes: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God".

As for peace on the worldwide basis between the nations, we can only contribute the benefit of our united prayers in union with the never ending efforts of the Vicar of Christ, Pope Pius XII, whom we commend very especially to your prayerful remembrances as he enters upon the 15th year of his pontificate. May our Divine Savior spare him to the Church and the world for years to come and may all of us merit the blessedness of peacemakers and children of God.

Faithfully yours in the Prince of Peace,

+ JOSEPH FRANCIS RUMMEL

Archbishop of New Orleans.

Laetare Sunday
March 15, 1953

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ARCHBISHOP'S RESIDENCE
2809 S. CARROLLTON AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

February 11, 1956

THE MORALITY OF
RACIAL SEGREGATION

TO THE CLERGY, RELIGIOUS AND LAITY,
ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Dearly beloved in Christ:

Difficult indeed is the approach to a propitious solution according to Christian principles of justice and charity of the problem of racial integration in our schools, especially in the Deep South where for more than a century and a half segregation has been accepted without serious question or challenge.

For months we have prayed, studied and consulted about the problem with a sense of our responsibility for the welfare of all souls that constitute the spiritual family for which in virtue of our office as Archbishop we are responsible before God. With an appeal to the Holy Spirit we now submit for careful consideration the following results, especially regarding the moral difficulties which segregation presents.

1. Racial segregation as such is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and solidarity of the human race as conceived by God in the creation of man in Adam and Eve. Male and female He created them and breathed into them the spirit of life and commanded them to increase and multiply and fill the earth. Throughout the pages of the Old Testament and the New there is constant recurrence of this truth, that all mankind has in Adam and Eve one common father and mother and one common destiny, namely to serve God in this world and find eternal happiness with Him in the world to come.

In 1954 Pope Pius XII directed attention to the fact that Christ gave to all the Apostles the mandate to "make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and behold, I am with you all days, even unto the
(Matt. XXVIII, 19)

consummation of the world". From this the Holy Father concludes that Bishops too share the teaching authority of the Pope, the Successor of St. Peter, that all men, all truth, dogmatic, moral and social, fall within the purview of that teaching authority, and that when their teaching is in communion with that of the Holy See, they enjoy the pledge of His divine presence and guidance "all days, even unto the consummation of the world". The Holy Father in the same document indicates that Christ "sent His Apostles, as He had been sent by the Father, to teach all nations everything they had heard from Him (cf. Matt. XXVIII, 19-20). The Apostles are, therefore, by divine right the true doctors and teachers in the Church." In the same allocution Pope Pius XII also states that under the guidance of the Holy Father and the Bishops religious teachings may be worked out by capable priests, who as specialists apply the principles of Canon Law and Moral Theology to such questions. When their conclusions are approved by higher authority, they are regarded as safe norms of conscience and conduct. This is precisely the procedure which we must apply to the problem of race segregation.

2. Racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and universality of the Redemption. The Eternal Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, came into the world to redeem and save all men, to die for all men on the cross, to make the life of grace available through the Church and the Sacraments for all men, to embrace all men in His Mystical Body on earth and in the life of glory in heaven. Racial segregation would draw the color line across the inspiring plan of the Redemption and thus sin against the divine providence, the love and the mercy that conceived and carried out the wonderful Mystery.

Speaking for the Old Testament on this unity of the human race we have the Prophet Malachy stating: "Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us? Why then doth every one of us despise his brother, violating the covenant of our fathers?"
(Malachy 2:10)

And St. Paul has these pregnant words to offer for the New Testament in his letter to the Corinthians: "For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether

Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free; and in one Spirit we have all been made to drink." And our present Holy Father Pope Pius XII refers in a recent allocution (I Corinthians XII, 13) to ".....that law of human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our common origin and by the equality of rational nature in all men, to whatever people they belong..... A marvelous vision", the Holy Father calls it, "which makes us see the human race in the unity of one common origin in God, 'one God and Father of all, Who is above all, and through all and in us all'; in the unity of nature which in every man is equally composed of material body and spiritual, immortal soul; in the unity of dwelling place, the earth, of whose resources all men can by natural right avail themselves, to sustain and develop life; in the unity of the supernatural end, God Himself, to Whom all should tend, in the unity of means to secure that end". (cf. On the Function of the State in the Modern World p. 11, ed. Paulist Press.)

3. Racial segregation is morally wrong and sinful because it is basically a violation of the dictates of justice and the mandate of love, which in obedience to God's will must regulate the relations between all men. To deny to members of a certain race, just because they are members of that race, certain rights and opportunities, civic or economic, educational or religious, recreational or social, imposes upon them definite hardships and humiliations, frustrations and impediments to progress which condemn them to perpetual degradation which is only a step removed from slavery. Such indignities are grievous violations of Christian justice and charity, which cannot be justified in this modern age of enlightenment and loudly proclaimed democracy. Of violations of charity St. Thomas Aquinas says in his work about the Two Precepts of Charity: That men having the same nature are morally bound to love one another. It is Thomas' teaching that "...'every animal loves its like' (Eccles. XIII, 19), wherefore since all men are alike in nature, they ought to love one another. Therefore to hate one's neighbor is contrary to, not only the divine law, but also the law of nature."

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4. Because the emancipation during the War between the States involved certain physical and economic hardships, Racial segregation was regarded with toleration but never justifiable as a permanent racial adjustment. Even the Catholic Church considered it wise and necessary to give separate church and school facilities to Negroes to afford them the opportunity to practice their faith more freely and educate their children more fully than was often possible in mixed congregations, but this arrangement was never intended to be permanent. This is attested by Most Reverend Archbishop Francis Janssens, D.D., who initiated the program with the remark that he did so very reluctantly and in the hope that it would be possible after a brief period to have all Catholics worship under the same roof.

We come now to the reasons for segregation at least in the school. These reasons are for the most part unwarranted generalizations in which it is aimed to give the impression that all members of the Negro race and especially all Negro children are tainted with virtually all the alleged defects. The amazing fact is that "as a race" they are not still more generally lacking in mental ability, culture, moral self-control, immunity from social diseases, criminal propensities, etc., when you consider the neglect and barriers to which they have been exposed in education, general culture, economic opportunities, respectable housing facilities, contact with stable social institutions and the more dignified ways of life. Although living and moving in the maelstrom of city or rural life, the laws and customs built up around the mystic term "segregation" have practically relegated Negroes to an island-like existence. They emerge to work, toil and serve even in the intimacy of the white home and family, but "segregation" cuts off the free avenues to progress in the better things of life that are synonymous with Christian civilization. This condition in itself is an indictment against continuing segregation 'indefinitely' as its advocates envision.

This statement would become unbearably long were we to analyze even briefly the alleged mental defects, moral and criminal propensities, economic shortcomings and

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social disabilities and dangers which form the general basis for continuing segregation. We are having these allegations examined objectively by competent judges and may announce the result in due time. For the present we can only state that there are differences between the races on these points, but there is also much generalization and much emotionalism.

We wish to assure the Clergy, the Religious and the laity of the Archdiocese that we are giving to this important problem our most serious thought, study and consultation not to speak of the many prayers which we offer daily for Divine light and guidance, because we realize the importance of the issue which is involved. Nothing would please us more than to be able at the present moment to render a decision that would serve as a guide for priests, teachers and parents. However, there are still many vital circumstances which require further study and consideration if our decision is to be based upon wisdom, prudence and the genuine spiritual welfare of all concerned. Hence, we plead with all of you for perseverance in prayer in order that the final decision may be in conformity with the will of Christ and the highest interest of souls according to the mind of Holy Mother Church. May we likewise unite in prayer that the decision, when made, will be accepted in the spirit of Christian charity and justice and in that unity of mind, heart and will which must always characterize the family of God. This is a problem which should be worked out not in an atmosphere of wrangling or contention or discord or hatred but in a spirit of conciliation and with a desire to achieve peace through justice and charity. Prayer and calmness of spirit are much needed in all our hearts, and for these we plead in the name of the Divine Prince of Peace: "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you; (John XIV, 27) not as the world gives do I give to you."

May this peace be shared by all of us now and during the time of deliberation, and may it endure in our midst for all time! Such is the prayer of

Your Shepherd in Christ,

+ JOSEPH FRANCIS RUMMEL

Archbishop of New Orleans.

Feast of Our Lady of Lourdes,

February 11, 1956

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ARCHBISHOP'S RESIDENCE
2809 S. CARROLLTON AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

July 31, 1956
Feast of St. Ignatius

INTEGRATION IN
CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

TO THE CLERGY, RELIGIOUS AND LAITY,
ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Dearly beloved in Christ:

We regret that certain conditions and circumstances have made it inadvisable to announce at an earlier date our decision regarding the important issue of race relations in our Catholic school system. Although some important items must still be clarified, we consider the present moment opportune to state the following for the guidance of parents, teachers and priests who share our responsibility and interest in our Catholic schools:

1. Our declaration against racial segregation as outlined in the pastoral letter published in the churches of the Archdiocese on February 11, 1956, still holds true as a guide of Catholic conduct. That statement has the support of outstanding Catholic theologians, teachers and of the Sovereign Pontiff in many official pronouncements and allocutions. Even as recently as May 5, 1956, our present Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, happily reigning, in answer to the question: "Who is my neighbor?" declared: "The neighbor is every man, the Negro of Central Africa or the Indian in the forests of the Amazon, awaiting spiritual goods more than material ones." As Catholics we cannot choose our beliefs according to individual taste but must accept what the Church teaches in virtue of her apostolic authority under the mandate of Christ to all the Apostles: "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and behold, I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world."
(Matt. XXVIII, 19-20)

2. Certain difficulties still remain and we are not now prepared to introduce

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integration generally; therefore, we deem it necessary to postpone integration in schools in which it has not yet been effected at least until September 1957. In the meantime we hope to overcome difficulties and make necessary preparations.

3. Integration will be organized gradually in one grade at a time of our elementary schools, and under moderate conditions which will be made known in advance.

4. Catholic schools which are now integrated are expected to follow their present plans without interruption.

5. During the year our Catholic attitude will be further explained in all patience and charity to remove doubts, misunderstandings and other difficulties.

We again assure you that we have no other interest in this problem than to carry out the principles of Christian charity and justice towards all and to bring about that unity in the Mystical Body of Christ to which St. Paul referred so eloquently when he addressed the Ephesians (IV, 1-6): "I therefore, the prisoner in the Lord, exhort you to walk in a manner worthy of the calling with which you were called, with all humility and meekness, with patience, bearing with one another in love, careful to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace: one body and one Spirit, even as you were called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one Baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and throughout all, and in us all."

We are convinced that our problem will be solved only in the spiritual atmosphere of prayer, sincere earnest and united prayer, inspired by confidence in the promise of Christ: "I say to you further, that if two of you shall agree on earth about anything at all for which they ask, it shall be done for them by my Father in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together for my sake, there am I in the midst of them." (Matt. XVIII, 19-20)

Under the inspiration of this promise and mindful of the great power which our Blessed Lady exercises at the throne of Her Divine Son, we hereby ordain that there shall be held in all the churches of the Archdiocese and in all convents and Catholic institutions a public Novena in preparation for the Feast of the Assumption of Our Blessed Lady into Heaven. This Novena shall begin on Monday, August 6, the Feast of the Transfiguration of Our Lord on Mount Tabor and continue until Tuesday, August 14,

the Eve of the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary into Heaven. The exercises of the Novena shall include Exposition of the Most Blessed Sacrament, the recitation of five decades of the Rosary, the Litany of our Blessed Lady and Sacramental Benediction.

May this message be received in the spirit of charity which marks the true union with Christ Jesus, whose charity embraced all men as He hung upon the Cross of Calvary; may we pray for that peace which harbors no wrath, no hatred and no ill will towards any class of human beings; let us cultivate in word and deed that unity of spirit which is in conformity with the Divine Will and the mind of Holy Mother Church. In this spirit as your Shepherd in Christ I humbly and with all the sincerity of my heart pray that we may all be worthy to be included in the mercy and love of our Divine Savior Who spurned no one as He looked out upon the world and prayed to His Heavenly Father: "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit".

+ JOSEPH FRANCIS RUMMEL,
Archbishop of New Orleans

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ARCHBISHOP'S RESIDENCE
2809 S. CARROLLTON AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

September 29, 1958

THE ROSARY OF THE
BLESSED VIRGIN MARY AND PEACE

To the Clergy, Religious and Laity,
Archdiocese of New Orleans

Dearly beloved in Christ:

Many are the blessings which Holy Mother Church owes to Pope Leo XIII whose long reign gave lustre to the closing decades of the nineteenth century and ushered in most propitiously the present century. Inspiring was the holiness of his life and marvelous his keenness of intellect. To him we are indebted for that immortal document on social justice entitled "Rerum novarum" and a series of fourteen official documents on the Rosary, as the outstanding devotion to the Immaculate Mother of God.

The first of these solemn pronouncements, entitled "Supremi Apostolatus" - "The Supreme Apostolate", issued on the first day of September 1883, gave us the dedication of the month of October to the devotion of the Most Holy Rosary. In his bountiful generosity, the same Pontiff, Pope Leo XIII, granted many indulgences to those who attend the October devotions or recite the prescribed prayers in private, when they cannot attend the public exercises.

Pope Leo XIII was prompted to commend to the faithful throughout the world the devotion of the Rosary, because his entire life, and especially his pontificate, was dedicated to the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary and because he was conscious of her powerful intercession in times of great need or crises. He was also convinced that the Rosary combined rare sublimity with simplicity, which gave it a powerful appeal to the great body of the faithful, learned and unlearned, rich and poor, the simple child and the mighty ruler. What is there more dignified and sublime than the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the tribute of glory to the Most Holy Trinity! What is there more challenging to ecstatic meditation than the Mysteries of the Rosary, and what is there more consoling than the quieting panorama of the Life of Christ and of His Blessed Mother that stimulates the mind as it reviews those same Mysteries. The very nature of the Rosary explains the universal popularity which in conformity with the Holy Father's recommendations, this form of prayer enjoys as a private devotion, as a family devotion and as a public devotion for

almost any occasion. Endless likewise is the satisfaction the faithful derive from this wonderful and efficacious form of prayer, the Rosary.

Pope Leo XIII initiated the October Rosary Devotions especially as a means for obtaining, through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, divine aid and relief in dangers that constantly threaten Holy Mother Church, the Catholic way of life and the peace of the world. It is significant, that, in her apparitions both to Bernadette at Lourdes and to the peasant children at Fatima the Blessed Virgin gave the specific mandate that the Rosary should become the great devotion, through which the conversion of the world to Christ and the establishment of universal peace would be effected.

These considerations prompt us at this particular time to urge the most zealous observance of the OCTOBER DEVOTIONS and the daily or frequent recitation of the Rosary as both a private and a family prayer. No one will question that the potential of serious danger to world peace exists today in the Far East and in the Middle East. Twice within half a century has the world experienced the horrors and anguish, the destruction and desolation, the holocaust of human life, social distress and material sacrifice, which a world-wide conflict inflicts upon the human family. The use of new instruments of destruction in a third war forebodes a veritable "abomination of desolation" in which the innocent at home would seem to suffer more universally and more intensely than the combatants on the field of battle.

Surely then is this a time for united prayer for peace, especially through the intercession of the Queen of Peace, who is also the Queen of the Most Holy Rosary. The hour calls for wisdom and prudence, fortitude tempered with understanding and a deep sense of responsibility, courage to face realities rather than visions of more power or world control. Let it be our daily prayer that with justice and honor for all peace may be the sincere aim of those whose high office charges them with the grave responsibility of shaping and deciding the destinies not only of their own people but of other nations as well.

We cannot fail to recognize with deep concern the fact that we as a nation are confronted with an internal problem, which can become a serious threat to the peace and unity which are indispensable to our well-being and happiness at home and to our prestige and influence throughout the world. Daily we are reminded that the racial controversy is growing in extent, intensity and bitterness. It would indeed be a

calamity to our nation were we to become permanently divided and distressed over an issue which involves basic human rights, moral responsibilities, religious principles and the solid foundations upon which our democratic way of life was conceived and developed.

We have no intention at this moment to repeat or enlarge upon our previous statements on this controversy. We are as convinced as ever that all men are created after the image and likeness of God, endowed with an immortal soul destined to share the life of grace on earth and the life of glory in heaven, the one heaven that offers to all deserving men without distinction of race, nationality or color, the entrancing vision of the All High God. We are as convinced as ever that the Eternal Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, lived, suffered and died to merit the grace of sanctification and salvation for all men, that He instructed His Church to make His way of life available to all nations, peoples and races. We are still convinced that the consistency of the Christian faith and conformity with the Christian way of life demand our repudiation of racism in all its obnoxious forms. We are still convinced that love of neighbor is the test and yardstick of our love of God, weighed in the balance of sincerity, helpfulness and absence of compulsory discrimination. We are still convinced that enforced racial discrimination inflicts incalculable mental and emotional cruelty and pain, physical and social privations, educational and economic restrictions upon sixteen millions of our fellow citizens, and that these discriminations are unjustifiable violations of the Christian way of life and the principles of our American heritage.

When the peace of the world is threatened, or when there is evidence of internal disorder within a nation, our supreme spiritual leaders of all ages have urged the Church of God to have recourse to prayer for the calm consideration and objective thinking that lead to peace. In our own generation, from the illustrious Leo XIII to our presently reigning Father in Christ, the universally beloved Pius XII, the Vicars of Christ have exhorted us in every crisis to have recourse to prayer to the Prince of Peace through Mary, the Queen of Peace. Indeed, our Blessed Lady in her apparitions at Fatima has revealed that universal prayer, especially the recitation of the Rosary, will be the great and sure means to peace. Inspired by this guidance, we exhort all the members of our flock in Christ, the Reverend Clergy, the devout religious and faithful laity, children as well as adults, to dedicate the month of October to daily recitation of the Rosary for universal peace with justice and honor

and for the propitious solution of our racial problem at home according to the Christian principles of justice, charity and patience. We further urge that the recitation of the Rosary be continued as a family devotion throughout the year. We need unity in the home, in the parish, in the Archdiocese and in the nation. The true bond of unity is charity, the binding force of charity is prayer, united prayer, sincere prayer, persevering prayer.

In conclusion we ask you, the devoted members of our spiritual family, to join us in placing ourselves and all our interests again under the patronage and powerful intercession of our Blessed Lady, the Queen of the Rosary and the Queen of Peace. May she obtain for all of us the blessings of Her Divine Son, the Prince of Peace, to the end that in our homes and family circles, in our parishes and throughout the Archdiocese, in our nation and throughout the world there may be ushered in an era of peace, security and happiness and that these blessings may be shared in the spirit of charity and mutual respect by all mankind.

Faithfully your Shepherd in Christ,

+ Joseph Francis Rummel

Archbishop of New Orleans

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ARCHBISHOP'S RESIDENCE
2809 S. CARROLLTON AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

August 17, 1960

REOPENING OF SCHOOL -

SEPTEMBER 6, 1960

To the Clergy, Religious and Laity,
Archdiocese of New Orleans

Dearly beloved in Christ:

Although our Catholic Parochial School System is not directly involved in the state of uncertainty which at the present writing still prevails regarding the operation of our public schools, especially in New Orleans, we consider it our duty to address this message to the faithful of the Archdiocese. Certain points in this pastoral letter will be of interest also to the parents or guardians of Catholic children attending public schools.

Our first announcement is that our Catholic elementary and high schools will reopen for the 1960-1961 scholastic year on scheduled time, namely on Tuesday, September 6. The opening dates for Catholic colleges and universities will be in conformity with their announced programs of operation.

In principle we are committed to the racial integration of our Catholic schools for reasons which have been repeatedly set forth in letters addressed to the clergy and laity of the Archdiocese in past years.

We can never brush aside the outstanding truths of the Sacred Scriptures in which we learn that in the beginning God created man after His own image and likeness, breathed into this human form an immortal soul and gave to this marvelous product

of His creative power an eternal destiny. Nor can we ignore the truth that all human beings without exception and regardless of accidental differences are created after the same pattern and endowed with the same essential gifts.

Nor can we spurn the consoling truth that the Eternal Son of God, Jesus Christ, became Incarnate, lived, taught and worked miracles, suffered and died on the Cross of Calvary to prove His love for all men without exception or distinction and to merit for all men of good will the saving grace that guarantees peace of soul on earth and happiness with God in heaven.

In establishing His Church Christ envisaged all peoples, all nations, all men as recipients of His teaching and the beneficiaries of His grace through the Sacraments: "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and behold, I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world."
(Matt. XXVIII, 19-20)

These truths we learn from Holy Mother Church through our Popes, the successors of St. Peter; they are the truths upon which the Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops of our own country based their solemn declarations in 1943 and in November 1958 that racial segregation is contrary to the teaching of our Catholic Church.

For the present the statement of these basic truths should suffice for prayerful reflection. When school integration can take place the issue will receive consideration of a more practical nature. In the meantime we urge Catholic parents to discharge faithfully their obligation in conscience to send their children to Catholic schools on every level from the kindergarten through the university wherever these facilities are available even to the point of special sacrifice. Only through the Catholic system of education can parents guarantee to their children that well-rounded education which includes spiritual and moral teaching, as well as mental and physical discipline; the education which regards as paramount the soul's relationship to God in time and in eternity, the education which gives to good moral conduct the incentive of religious responsibility.

To Catholic parents who for any reason whatsoever send their children to public or other non-Catholic schools, we give the solemn reminder that they are in

conscience bound to enroll and send faithfully their school-aged children to the Religion Instruction Classes of their proper parish. Wilful neglect of this duty is grievously sinful. These classes begin shortly after opening of the regular school term.

For the guidance of Catholic parents who have children enrolled in the public school system we submit three outstanding issues which the racial integration problem or controversy has raised:

First there is the question of law and order, the danger of chaos and moral irresponsibility which is latent in the prevailing efforts to nullify or circumvent or even defy a ruling proclaimed by the supreme legal authority of our country. We cannot hope to prevent or eradicate present-day lawlessness in our teen-agers by procedures which flout the school integration decision. Then there is the proposal to close all public schools rather than integrate them even on a moderate installment basis. Apart from the financial and economic losses, who can evaluate the social, moral and cultural damage which such a flagrant action would inflict upon our civilization and history? Parents, teachers, religious leaders and public officials cannot consider without a deep shock to their sense of moral and civic responsibility the prospect of even one year without schooling for hundreds of thousands of children in State, City and countryside. Even with our schools in full operation, complaints about lawlessness to the point of most heinous crimes are cited almost daily by the press. What can we expect during a year or more of closed doors and empty classrooms within our public schools? Certainly not a millennium. We appeal to parents interested in public schools for their children to become concerned and vocal against such an unrealistic prospect.

Another important problem is presented by the proposal to substitute private schools for the public schools if the latter should be closed. Such a solution would create financial and administrative problems which in turn would create confusion, disrupt existing standards of education, make education the privilege of the rich over against the privation of the poor, leave Negroes for the most part without education and in general destroy the educational sacrifices and achievements of generations. The private school plan, like the "close our school" plan is no

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solution but dissolution, offers no constructive prospect of a "dream come true" but only a dull grey dawn of illusion and frustration. Both plans have been tried and found wanting elsewhere; good sense and calm judgment will caution against the risk here of greater frustration where the stakes are so much higher and the responsibilities so much greater.

We have presented our thoughts on these special phases of the public school segregation problem, because of our interest in the public welfare of all our fellow citizens, our special responsibility as the spiritual shepherd of so many souls who have interests in the public school system and our concern for the cultural life of our country. The problem demands objective thinking, unselfish decision and generous acceptance of the American way of life which is heralded in the declaration of our Founding Fathers that: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Finally, we must look to God for guidance and strength. Therefore, we ordain that Sunday, August 21, be dedicated as a DAY OF PRAYER in all our parish churches, mission chapels and religious institutions and houses throughout the Archdiocese. On this day we exhort the clergy to announce and conduct a Holy Hour of Adoration at a convenient time between 4 P.M. and 8 P.M. We appeal to the faithful to dedicate their prayers during Holy Mass and at the Holy Hour in the following intentions:

That it may please God, through the merits of Jesus Christ and the intercession of His Immaculate Mother, to grant an early solution of the race problem in our midst and to bring about a propitious response to the challenge for compliance with the ruling on the integration of our public system of education.

May it please God to bless especially our schools during the ensuing scholastic year and to grant to our Archdiocese, our State and our country the gift of internal peace.

Faithfully your shepherd in Christ,
+ Joseph Francis Rummel
Archbishop of New Orleans

VITA

Kristina M. Hudson was born in Slidell, Louisiana. She is the daughter of Janie and Don McKenzie, a mother of three, and a wife. She is an educator, and she has served as a teacher, instructional specialist, and administrator in the schools of Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Her goal, after the completion of her PhD, is to continue working in schools as an advocate for all children-especially those who find themselves marginalized in society.