PRIEST AND PROPHETS

Negro Ministers and Civil Rights

(An Investigation of a Cleveland Sample)

By

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PREFACE

During one of my last visits to Cleveland, on a November Sunday, I attended a service in one of the Negro churches. After the sermon, the pastor introduced me to the congregation. "This student," he said, "is writing a book on civil rights. She has interviewed many people in this city. Let's hope that her book will be a big success and give her a big Amen." And big, indeed, was the "Amen" with which the congregation responded. Who would not have felt boosted by such enthusiasm for one's project, even if the aim was not to write a "book"?

This episode is indicative of the friendliness with which I was received in Cleveland when I embarked on my project. The time and interest which many individuals - and in particular the forty-five Negro ministers who were subjected to a lengthy interview - devoted to my study is gratefully acknowledged. It is my hope that this thesis will in some measure justify their patient cooperation.

For patient cooperation as well as expert guidance I also wish to thank my long-suffering thesis advisor, J. Milton Yinger, who has been helpful at all stages of the project from the preparation of the initial questionnaire to the critical reading of the final draft.

My thanks also go to my typist, Mrs. Joyce Browning, who by her marathon last minute efforts forestalled the untoward workings of Parkinson's Law.

G. F.
Oberlin, Ohio
December 14, 1966
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Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

1. The Racial Conflict - A New Polarization

In the summer of 1966 the racial conflict in the U.S.A. saw a new polarization. The most militant groups in the "Negro Revolt" joined in a call for "Black Power", a call that emerged on the Mississippi march in July; for them, "Black Power" has succeeded the former slogan of "Freedom Now". The concept of Black Power is not, however, a completely new phenomenon. "It has grown out of the ferment of agitation and activity by different people and organizations in many black communities over the years." (1)

Indeed, Stokely Carmichael as the spokesman for the Student Nonviolent Steering Committee (SNCC) is not the first or only one to have pointed out that the Civil Rights movement of the past ten years has had little effect on the plight of the Negro masses. In the opinion of two sociologists, lower-class Negroes have gained little. "They cannot afford to use many of the public facilities that have been opened and they are not qualified for most of the jobs from which the race bar has been lowered. Legislation has not solved their most basic and pressing problems, and to the

extent they had expected it to do so, they are disillusioned." (2) This class-dimension of the Civil Rights struggle has been dramatized by the new movement, which holds that integration which reaches the Negro middle-class only is invalid.

The strategy designed by SNCC to help solve the most basic and pressing problems of the Negro masses is to mobilize them on their own behalf: Black Power which means: organization of the black community in order that they may win political power. "With power the masses could make or participate in making the decisions which govern their destinies and thus create basic change in their day-to-day life." (3) This strategy is not original with the new movement either. The creation of community power and its effective use in the decision-making process has been the central method of Saul Alinsky of the Industrial Areas Foundation in his community organization projects. (4)

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(3) Carmichael, op. cit., p. 5.

What is new, however, is the attempt to create a social movement from the experience of organizing community power in isolated geographical areas; the aim is now "a group venture extending beyond a local community or a single event and involving a systematic effort to inaugurate changes in thought behavior and social relationship," (5) - ready with a militant slogan: Black Power.

Exposure of the full extent of the racial conflict has resulted in more drastic measures on the militant wing of the Civil Rights movement. It has also resulted to some extent in a backlash among the white population - conservatives have cemented their prejudice, and the goodwill among so-called liberals has diminished. The major Civil Rights organizations have had to state their position with regard to Black Power. Some have rejected it, partly for fear of the white backlash, partly because of the mystique that surrounds the slogan Black Power, (6) Others have accepted it because they recognize the concept's value in fostering mobilization of lower-

**************

5. This definition is from C. Wendell King, Social Movements in the United States, (New York: Random House, 1956) p. 27
In similar context this definition is used by Lyle Schaller, Community Organization: Conflict and Reconciliation. (Nashville, and New York: Abingdon Press, 1966) p. 19

6. Major organizations who have rejected the concept are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League. Also the A. Phillip Randolph Institute.
class Negroes on their own behalf. (7)

The sometimes violent discussion has also forced all segments of the Negro leadership to reevaluate its approach to the ultimate goal of a racially reconciled society. It has opened again the discussion between the conservative who seeks reconciliation at every step of the process and the militant is not content with solutions that fall short of the integration of all Negroes into all facets of American life. This paper seeks to expose the differences in approach of one group of the Negro elite in a major Northern city - the Negro clergy in Cleveland.

2. Traditional "Race" - Leadership of the Negro Clergy

At this point one may wonder why it should be important to study just this group of the Negro elite in the context of the newly dramatized race conflict. It is true that Negro ministers have been traditionally considered the leaders of the American Negro population. This reflects the fact that for a long time the Negro church was the only institution the Negro could call his own; it goes back to pre-Civil War times and the origins of the Negro church in the "invisible institution" of the enslaved blacks on the one hand and the institutional church of the free

7. These are, of course, the organizations which created it: SICO and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). But it has also been accepted by such a group as the National Committee of Negro Churchmen, who published a statement in defense of "Black Power" as paid advertisement in the New York Times, Sunday, July 31, 1966.
Negro on the other. We will review briefly this traditional claim of clergy leadership.

Frazier wrote on the church of slavery times: "Since all forms of organized social effort were forbidden among the slaves and in the absence of an established priesthood, the Negro preacher played the important role in the invisible institution of the church among the slaves. The Negro preacher was called to his office and through his personal qualities achieved a position of dominance."(3) In this system he became the only leader. "The slaves on a plantation could regard the Negro preacher as their leader - one who could go to the white master and beg for trivial favors."(9)

Equally important was the position of the clergy in the institutional courses of the free Negro, who developed in time independent Negro church organizations. (10) "Institutions of higher learning for Negro ministers were not yet available, but despite their lack of professional training, the preachers were the class best equipped

10. The first of these, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, (AME), was established in Philadelphia in 1816. The American Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, (AMEZ), was founded in 1822 in New York. After the Civil War followed the Colored Primitive Baptist Church in 1865, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, (CME), in 1870. In 1886 the National Baptist Convention was established. It was soon to become the largest church body among the Negro population.
to furnish leadership to the race, and it was they who were expected to be the spokesmen for their people to the white." (11)

After the Civil War and the abolition of slavery the "invisible institution" merged with the institutional church and the "organized religious life became the chief means by which a structured or organized social life came into existence among the Negro masses." (12) The church fulfilled a much more varied function than it did for white Americans: It stimulated economic cooperation and mutual aid associations and took initiatives to provide educational facilities for the Negroes; after the short period of Negro participation in the political life of the society, the Negro church became the only place where men could engage in political activity; and most important, the church provided an escape from the hostile white world. According to Frazier it became a "Nation within a Nation", (13)

It is not surprising then that Negro ministers remained the preeminent and acknowledged leaders of their folks. "Because the church was the race's major social institution responsible for a vast complex

13. Ibid., Chapter 3.
of secular functions which in non-Negro society could be left to
other agencies, and because the Negro clergymen had the ear of more
Negroes and had it more steadily and with greater authority than
any others, they could scarcely escape the role of chief mentors
and uplifters of the race." (14) Indeed, "the intention of the
Negro that his religion of militancy and his minister serve him
in the 'advancement of the race' " (15) has been characterized as
the central feature of Negro "folk religion" of early reconstruction
times.

But the institutionalization of the Jim Crow System (16) shortly
afterwards suffocated a vigorous activity to establish equal oppor-
tunity with the final goal of equality in every area. The twin
evils of segregation in the South and discrimination in the North
curbed the militancy of the folk religion. "In that era of decline
of the quest for freedom, the Negro minister remained the spokesman
for the people with this difference - faced by insurmountable obstacles,
he succumbed to the cajolery and bribery of the white power structure

15. Joseph R. Washinton, Black Religion. The Negro and Christianity
16. See C. Van Woodward's The Strange Career of Jim Crow, for an
excellent description of this process. (New York: Oxford
and became its foil. Instead of freedom he preached moralities and emphasized rewards in the life beyond, in much the same manner as the white missionaries. The Negro minister increased his control and redirected the enthusiasm of the folk religion for the purpose of gaining personal power." (17)

While Washington in his zeal for the 'advancement of the race' probably overestimates the militancy of early Negro folk religion and is overly critical of the profession of the Negro clergy, it is certainly right that the majority of Negro ministers did not become active fighters for the racial cause to the point of attacking the established 'system'. The Negro church remained a nation within the nation, to which Negroes turned for self-expression, recognition, and leadership. But there was hardly any major battle between the two nations. In the South the church received the sanction of whites and was therefore in some cases able "to modify the harshness of the system" and to help maintain the "solidarity of Negroes in their cautious pressure to ameliorate their position." (18) But as Myrdal concluded in 1944, it "did not become an institution that led the opposition to the caste system." (19) And while the Negro church in the north was more independent, it also o" the whole "remained a

17. Washington, op. cit., p. 35.
19. Ibid.
conservative institution with its interests directed upon other-worldly matters and has largely ignored the practical problems of the Negroes' fate in the world. (20)

3. Differentiation of the Negro Elite

At the time when Lyndal made these conclusions Negro ministers could no longer be called the preeminent leaders of the Negro community. They no longer held the "preponderance of leadership positions, because civil rights workers, lawyers, physicians, teachers, journalists, social workers, businessmen and politicians have come increasingly to the fore. Experts in these secular fields, often with more academic training than the ministers, are rendering many services formerly performed only by preachers." (21) In particular the rise of organizations such as The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League and later of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), whose very raison d'être was the struggle for Civil Rights and racial advancement, diminished the reputation of Negro ministers as

20. Ibid., p. 863.

"race"-leaders. (22)

This process may be viewed as a functional differentiation of the Negro elite, a process closely related to the differentiation of the Negro community and the emergence of a class system within it. (23) Etzioni has devised an analytical scheme for the investigation of elite functions, based on the four major functions which according to Talcott Parsons - must be fulfilled in complex social systems. (24) Etzioni distinguishes among the adaptive elite (elite of specialists or experts), the goal attainment elite (the politicians

22. The NAACP was founded in 1909, the Urban League in 1910. CORE was founded in 1942.

However, Joseph Washington seems again to carry his criticism of the Negro clergy a little too far when he asserts that the rise of the Civil Rights organizations was a direct reflection of the "disappointment with the Negro ministers". See Washington, op. cit. p. 35. Also, it must be remembered that there were always a few ministers who were militant fighters for the advancement of the race. Kyrdal mentions the Rev. I. Clayton Powell in New York and the Good Shepherd Church in Chicago. (op. cit. p. 863, fn.), however at the time of Kyrdal's investigation into the American Dilemma, this was a very small minority.

23. See e.g., the account of the rise of the Negro middle-class by F. Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe: Free Press, 1957)

24. According to Parsons the four universal functional problems of social systems are: the need of the system to control the environment; gratification of the system's goals; maintenance of solidarity among the system units; reinforcement of the integrity of the value system and its institutionalization. See Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Stratification", in R. Bendix and S. H. Lipset, eds., Class, Status, Power. (Glencoe: Free Press, 1953) pp. 92-120.
or managers - depending on the context), the elite of integrative activities (the social leaders), and the elite of the normative subsystem (the 'cultural' leaders: philosophers, ideologists, religious leaders). (25) Etzioni has applied this typology to the analysis of elites in Israeli kibbutzim. Thus he has shown that in the very early stages of a kibbutz, that is, before the kibbutz is actually established, elite positions tend to be multifunctional. With increasing complexity of the kibbutz structure, a functional differentiation of elites occurs which takes place first on the role level and later on the personnel level. (26)

We can view the position of ministers in the Negro elite in a somewhat similar fashion. It is reasonable to assume that in slavery times the position of a plantation preacher was the elite position, without a conscious distinction of the role "preacher" and the role "spokesman for the white master". However, it seems likely that in the institutional church of post-Civil War times the distinction between ministerial functions and political functions was made quite consciously. With the emergence of greater complexity in the Negro community other elites emerged, as we have seen, which reduced the preponderance of the ministerial leadership role. Thus one could argue that the primary function of educators and of an organization


26. Ibid., passim.
like the Urban League was that of an adaptive elite, seeking to educate Negroes and to place them on jobs. The primary function of Civil Rights organizations like the NAACP and later CORE was that of a goal-attainment elite, if full equality of Negroes in the American society may be designated a goal in this contest. Integrative elites, i.e. social leaders, emerged readily in Negro fraternal organization and social clubs. Ministers, among others, may be considered primarily as leaders of the normative subsystem.

h. Influential Position of the Negro Clergy Today

If the primary function of ministers is to be leaders of the churches and if special elites have developed whose primary function is to provide leadership in the struggle for equality and integration, one might ask why it is relevant to study the Negro clergy in the context of the racial conflict and the discussion as to how it will be or should be resolved. (27) There are two reasons for it, a cultural and a social reason.

The cultural reason lies in the very fact that ministers are the leaders of a normative subsystem, the church. The churches

27. To be sure, an analysis of elites according to their primary function alone constitutes a great oversimplification. "According to the specific ways in which the analytical elements are combined," (my stress) ibid., p. 477. For our purpose we may concentrate on the primary function of ministers in order to see how the influence that is derived from this function will be an important factor in the context of the racial conflict.
of a society represent the values, the needs, the interests of the people involved in them." (28) But this cannot be viewed as a one-sided relationship. The leaders of this institution are in a position where they can react to and influence the values, needs and interests of the people involved. And in the American society, where "church and religion have a tremendous moral prestige" (29) this influence may often extend beyond the people involved.

The social reason lies in the fact that the church has remained the largest and most important voluntary organization among Negroes. The importance of this has not been disregarded. Myrdal, e.g., viewed the church for this reason as potentially "undoubtedly a power institution" (30) and Drake and Cayton called the Negro church in Chicago "the most powerful single institution in terms of wealth and mass support". (31) The large membership basis gains special importance in view of the fact that neither the NAACP or CORE has ever been a mass organization. The NAACP, the largest Civil Rights organization, has never secured support from the

30. Ibid., p. 873.
majority of the Negroes (32) and the support it does receive is largely a matter of members paying dues once a year, rather than active working. Only the church has been and still is "an organizational basis with great capacity for action, although this capacity was not significantly realized for racial advance for many decades." (33)

The position of the Negro clergy as religious or normative leaders with a captive audience within the church and - to some extent - an attentive audience in the society at large puts them at a crucial point in the goal attainment process, the fight for racial justice; in this sense, the Negro clergy may be called an "interstitial elite". (34)

By their own example and by the way they transmit their attitudes from the pulpit, Negro ministers are in a position to acknowledge the conflict and accelerate the struggle or to ignore the conflict and mollify tensions. We have seen how in the past, since the first reconstruction, ministers have usually preferred the latter. The "second reconstruction" has seen new activity in the Negro church, especially in the South where Martin Luther King emerged as the most prominent race leader.

32. See Broom and Glenn, op. cit., p. 47.
33. Ibid., p. 11.
34. See Etsioni, op. cit., p. 497. As interstitial elites, ministers may be viewed as mediators between the "system's" external function of goal attainment and the internal normative and solidaric functions. See also p. 477.
L. Iomax has nicely described the historical context from which it becomes intelligible why the Negro church would be likely to step forward with new militancy in a second era of reconstruction. "The Negro church was born because Negro clergymen were denied the right to officiate and otherwise hold forth in "white" - actually integrated but white-controlled-churches. The Negro Baptist and Methodist churches are the direct result of overt discrimination.

Now - and this is the historical point that was overlooked - if the Negro churches were formed by angry Negro Christians, smarting under the abuses of white man, it was inevitable that in time those churches would produce militant opponents of the white power structure." (35)

In the North the participation of the Negro ministers in the struggle for Civil Rights has been less spectacular. However, the Negro church in the North reflects the same historical origin and pastors have the same influential position, which may be realized one way or the other by involving themselves and their people in Civil Rights affairs or by refraining from them completely. In the following discussion we will look at a sample of Negro ministers from Cleveland in order to investigate the various ways in which they have used the influential position they occupy.

5. Outline of Study

In the next chapter we will describe the research procedures. The sample will be divided into three classes, or groups, and profiles will be presented for each group in terms of various social characteristics. A discussion of three variables - congregational size, education, organizational affiliations - will lead to a hypothesis regarding the three groups' differential commitment to the racial cause.

In the third chapter a brief history of the Negro community in Cleveland will be given, with special emphasis on recent civil rights issues and clergy behavior. An assessment of the Cleveland situation will lead to an expansion of the hypothesis regarding differential clergy commitment to the racial cause.

In the fourth chapter we shall evaluate differences of the three groups of ministers in our sample with regard to various attitudes and with regard to behavior in the context of the racial conflict and civil rights.

In the fifth chapter we will seek out those pastors who deviate from the behavior described as characteristic for their group and analyze their cases. A typology will be developed and the relation of three types of ministers to theological beliefs and to the characteristic way of influencing the congregation will be investigated.

In the last chapter, finally, we will look again at the Cleveland scene, and the possible trends of the Negro clergy's activities with regard to the city's racial problems will be investigated.
Chapter II: Research Procedures and Description of a Sample of Negro Ministers

1. Research Procedures

The clergymen who were interviewed in this study were selected from the following sources. A complete listing of the members of the National Baptist Ministers Conference as of 1965 was available through the President of the Conference, \( N = 215 \). A listing of Negro Methodist Pastors with four different organizational affiliations (American Methodist Episcopal (AME), American Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ), Christian Methodist Episcopal (CME), Methodist) was provided by the Council of Churches of Christ of Greater Cleveland \( N = 34 \). The names of Negro ministers within other major protestant denominations (Lutheran, Presbyterian, Episcopal, United Church of Christ, Disciples of Christ) were secured through contact with the respective denominational headquarters \( N = 13 \). There is no Negro Catholic priest in Cleveland according to my investigation. Listings of Negro Pentecostal ministers and of ministers of the more sectarian and storefront type churches were not available. Especially in the latter case, the compilation of a complete list would have been a project in itself, which could only be carried out by door-to-door coverage of streets in Cleveland’s predominantly Negro sections. This attempt was not made, especially after I had been assured that a number of pastors with storefront type churches would be included.
in a random sample of Cleveland's Baptist ministers. (1)

The universe of 262 ministers thus obtained included assistant ministers as well as evangelists; these could not be expected to answer questions pertaining to characteristics of the congregation because they either did not know enough about it - in the case of assistant ministers - or because they were not permanently affiliated with one particular church, as in the case of evangelists. They were not eliminated from the list however, because the central aim of the study was to find out about ideas and activities of ministers rather than about characteristics of their congregations. Therefore, ministers, not churches were sampled. As it turned out, three evangelists (all Baptist) and 4 assistant ministers (3 Baptist, 1 Presbyterian) were included in the final sample.

In selecting the sample, I decided to stratify it according to minister's denominational affiliation to insure that a substantial number of denominations other than the Baptists would be represented. From the Baptists every seventh minister was chosen; the sampling ratio for Methodists was every third; all Negro pastors of the other denominations were included. In this manner, the original sample included fifty-five ministers, of whom forty-five ministers were actually interviewed. These numbers

1. For this hint, and many others, I am indebted to the Rev. Charles Rawlings, Executive Director of the Commission on Metropolitan Affairs, of the Cleveland Council of Churches.
are summarized in Table 2-1.

Table 2-1: Sampling of a Universe of Negro Pastors in Cleveland, Interview Turnout

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Universe</th>
<th>Sampling Ratio</th>
<th>Size of Sample</th>
<th>Completed Interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>every 7</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>every 3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AME</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>CME</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciple of Christ</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Church of Christ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>262</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The completion of 45 interviews out of 55 planned interviews can be regarded as quite successful. However, the sample of 45 ministers is not large enough to lend itself to statistical test of significance in the course of analysis of the data, especially when comparing different groups of ministers as to various characteristics. Therefore I have restricted myself to indicating percentages and to considering the data as a fairly representative case-study.

These interviews could not be held because the ministers could not be tracked down, either at the church or at their private address.
In two cases the church had apparently been dissolved. Further three ministers could not be interviewed because they were sick at the time I called and did not want to be interviewed. One of these was a woman - the only one to be included in my sample and for this reason I regretted all the more that an appointment could not be made. In the other four cases there were no ultimate refusals on the part of the interviewees; rather I finally had to abandon hope for an appointment in the near future after having called a great number of times without being able to secure a definite answer. (2) The seven ministers I was able to at least contact on the phone were mainly part-time ministers. I am convinced that almost all ten cases would have fitted in what is soon to be described as Group A, the class of storefront or very small church ministers, with comparatively little formal education.

Ten of the interviews were carried out between June 25th and July 5th. Thirty-five interviews were carried out between August 25th and October 15th. The first contact with a minister was a letter in which I introduced myself and also - in broad terms - the aim of my study. (3) No specific mention of Civil Rights or racial problems

2. with one minister I had a tug-of-war on the phone for about one hour, during which my intentions were thoroughly screened and cross-examined. Apparently I neither stood nor flunked the test for I was invited to call back in two weeks when "things won't be quite as hectic." I did not have the courage to face another test. Another time, I waited twice for more than an hour in the little restaurant that was owned by the minister, who never showed up for the promised appointments.

3. See Appendix 1, Introductory letter sent to interviewees.
was made in the letter, in order to insure that answers would be 
spontaneous and not premeditated. A few days after sending the 
letter, the minister was called and in many cases an appointment 
could be made promptly. The interview would then be held according 
to the prepared schedule. (4)

Interviews usually lasted between one and two hours. A couple 
of interviews were completed in 45 minutes. Several lasted much 
longer, anything up to seven hours. In two cases I was allowed to 
return a second time to finish an interview, which had to be broken 
up because of lack of time.

Cooperation was excellent. A few times when interviews were 
held with less educated ministers the questions and to be explained 
or rephrased. Most of the ministers answered freely and to the 
point; often the interview would be followed by a less formal 
conversation.

In my opinion, the fact that I was a German student and could 
therefore be regarded to some extent as a neutral observer helped 
rather than hindered my cause. Most of the interviews were carried 
out in a very friendly atmosphere, and many ministers showed great 
interest in the study. Several times I received, by mail, articles 
or further information which had been touched upon in the interview. 
Often I was invited to come back for Sunday services, which I am sorry 
***************

4. See Appendix 2. Interview schedule.
to say, I was able to do in a few cases only. On the whole, the interviews were a very rewarding experience. (5)

In addition to the sample of forty-five ministers, many people were interviewed informally. These included representatives of the Cleveland Council of Churches; the director of HOPE, Inc. (Housing Our People Economically), an organization whose aim is the rehabilitation of houses in the Hough community; the directors of the League Park and Bell-Goodrich Community Centers; the director of the Hough Opportunity Center; the president and vice-president of the Young Adult Advisory Council in the Hough area; representatives of the NAACP branch office and of the Cleveland Chapter of CORE; and two reporters from the Call and Post, a weekly which addresses itself to the Negro community. Also I was able to secure useful information from Negro ministers who were not included in the sample and not subjected to the formal interviews, especially when having the privilege to attend a session of the United Pastors Association, (formerly Negro Pastors of Greater Cleveland). The information thus obtained helped my understanding of the racial situation in Cleveland and the role that Negro ministers play in it, and will be evaluated in the second chapter.

5. It may be added here that ministers of better education and from larger churches usually were more easy to contact, especially, because they could be contacted at their church during the day, whereas part-time ministers with a full-time job were much harder to contact. The former also usually showed more interest and understanding for my purpose, which gives us a first hint that this might be the class of ministers that is most concerned about its place with regard to Cleveland's racial problems.
2. Division of Sample Into Three Groups

It was clear from the outset that ministers who had been selected in the described manner would represent a wide variety in terms of their socio-economic status, and my first aim was to find out whether a characteristic attitude toward the racial problem and a specific code of involvement were related to a given socio-economic status. As I had not obtained data on the income of ministers, (6) other indicative criteria had to be used for a break-down of the sample into "classes". An index, combined out of the size of the congregation on the one hand and the amount of formal education of the minister on the other, was found to be an appropriate, if crude, criterion of a minister's class status. I felt that the combination of these two characteristics could be considered as quite good a measure for the income, prestige and influence of each minister involved. Using this index, the sample was divided into three classes, or groups, as I prefer to call them (7).

6. I had purposely neglected to do so, because I had severe doubts that answers would be accurate and also because I felt uncomfortable to ask such a question in a face-to-face interview.

7. The division into three classes was made in the following manner: Rank numbers were assigned to a) Congregational size; less than 100 - 0 (including evangelist): 100 - 199: - 1; 200 - 299: - 2; 300 and more: - 3. b) Education of minister; high school: - 1; some college: - 2; college graduate: - 3. Combining the rank numbers of index numbers from 1 to 6 was obtained. This was broken down in the following manner: Group A: 1 - 2, Group B: - 3 - 4, Group C: 5 - 6.
Group A comprises 9 ministers who ranked low on both criteria, that is, ministers of small or very small congregations whose education generally did not go beyond the high-school level; only two of them have even a negligible amount of college education.

Group B, comprising 7.6 ministers, is the most varied group. It consists of ministers with no education beyond high-school, but fairly large congregations, and of pastors of medium-sized or small congregations with some or even completed college education.

Group C, finally, represents 20 ministers with higher education pastoring perhaps medium-sized, but mainly larger, congregations. In the following, we will first give a profile of the groups at either end of the class continuum. Then we will stress significant differences between them which will lead to an hypothesis of their different views and involvement in Civil Rights affairs. Then we will look at the middle group and discuss the attitudes expected for it.

3. Group A: Storefront Churches and Their Ministers

Describing the churches of this group we are actually dealing with seven only, as two of the nine pastors of this group are evangelists without permanent churches. Most of the churches of this group are storefront churches, all of them with Baptist affiliation. None of the congregations has more than 150 members, most have less than a hundred, and usually the minister could give the exact membership roll: sixty-nine, or one hundred eleven, etc. Most of the
churches have been founded by the present minister himself between one and fifteen years ago. One minister founded his church 37 years ago after receiving his "call" and has apparently pastored it successfully ever since, increasing the membership to 1103, the largest in this group.

None of the churches counts whites people among the congregation. According to the pastor, members are predominately working people; three nurses in one of the churches are the only professionals mentioned.

The extra-church organizational involvement of the congregation seems to be quite low - at least in the eyes of the pastor. Some mention a few NAACP members; a couple report their members to be involved in neighborhood and street clubs or in the Masonic Lodges. One says, "I don't know - they are too lazy to do anything but watch T.V."

On the whole ministers report that they run the church pretty much by themselves; there is no division of labor. There are few activities other than the regular worship service. Most of the churches have a choir. If other activities are reported, adult Bible Class and Mission Circles are prominent among them. Three of the churches, however, have youth clubs or scouting. Occasional movie shows are mentioned once.

Considering the ministers themselves, we are dealing with nine
of them because two evangelists may be included in the discussion. The age distribution is shown in Table 2 - 2.

Table 2 - 2: Age Distribution of Ministers in Group A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 55</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 56</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two of the ministers in this group are retired. All others held full-time jobs as factory workers, janitors, or as post-office employees; two operate a little restaurant, one of which is connected with the church. All have had various other employments in their life.

They have served their churches between one and thirty-seven years, most of them around 10 years. All pastors received their "call" to the ministry in the twenties or early thirties.

The social background of this group of ministers is rather uniform. All nine were born in the South; two came North as children, seven migrated at various stages in their adult life. One of the interviewees thinks that his father finished 12 years of schooling, the others report that their parents had very little or no schooling at all. They worked as farmers, domestic workers, or ministers, one of them with a little seminary training.
The educational level of the ministers in this class is quite low. Only five of them finished high school and one did not get beyond the fifth grade. All attended all Negro schools. Two, however, have a minimum amount of college education. One, now a junior, attended Morehouse College (Georgia) for a short while. The other attended Kent State for two quarters. At the age of forty he is now enrolled in the Cleveland Bible College and pursues his studies together with a full-time job, and hopes to earn a B.A. degree in another few years.

Seven ministers out of nine had at least some seminary training, in various schools in Alabama or at the Baptist School of the Bible in Cleveland, where two earned a B.Th. degree after many years of part-time studies. (The B.Th. degree, requiring no specific amount of prior education, is to be distinguished from the B.D. degree which may be obtained only on the basis of a completed undergraduate college education, followed by graduate training.)

Describing the organizational involvement of pastors in this group we have to bear in mind that a full-time limit to such activities, a limit which will also have to be considered later on, with regard to their activities on the Civil Rights scene.

Five ministers give their membership in the Baptist Ministers Conference as the only organizational affiliation. The other four give, one or two further affiliations, with a Funeral Club, Unions, the NAACP or Street Clubs.
Only four pastors report that they ever get together with white ministers, and if so, it is on an irregular basis, for "fellowshipping".

In terms of social characteristics of the churches and their pastors, Group A presents a fairly uniform picture. However, it is by far the smallest group in the sample. This, as mentioned before, is partly accounted for by the fact that most of the ten interviews which could not be secured would have fallen, in all likelihood, into this bracket.

But the small size of this group raises the question whether its profile presents an accurate picture of storefront churches in general, and more important, whether we may regard this group as numerous enough to allow later comparisons with the other groups as to attitudes and the code of race behavior.

In a study of the Euclid area by the Regional Planning Office of the Cleveland Council of Churches, forty storefront churches were surveyed. As our group consists of denominationally affiliated storefronts, it may be considered as the storefront elite. On the whole, however, our profile
coincides pretty much with that given in the CCC study. (3) As
we shall argue that the kind of social involvement is directly
dependent on class membership, and as the CCC study suggests that
our group of nine ministers is typical for storefront pastors in
general, we will be justified to generalize the racial attitudes
of Group A to storefront churches in general.

4. Group C: Large Churches and Their Pastors

This is the group on the opposite end of the class scale and
comprises 20 cases of greater internal variety than Group A. All

8. The Church in University - Euclid, Regional Church Planning
On pp. 43 - 44 the storefront churches are characterized as
follows: "About one half of them have the word Baptist in
their name, but nearly all of them are independent, not only
of one mother, but also of any ecclesiastical body. However,
they often have "fellowship" with one or more other storefront
groups. Almost all of them are located adjacent to bars, stores,
and other retail establishments in small, one entrance quarters.
Usually there is a medium sized front room fitted for worship
and small rear room. A typical storefront in this area was organized five years ago
with less than a dozen members. The present location is the
second one and the membership includes about 30 persons, most
of whom are unskilled or semi-skilled Negroes. Women are in
the great majority. The program consists almost entirely of
regular worship services (two on Sunday, one midweek) and sea-
sonal revivals. Singing, scripture reading, long prayers and
testimonials constitute a large part of the worship service. M
most of the pastors were born in the South serve with little
or no pay, have a full-time regular job, emphasize the preaching
ministry, have less than a high school education (plus some
brief specialized ministerial training), are between 35 and 60
years of age and live near their church."
Seven and a quarter percent of these churches have a membership of well over 500, the largest church having 5000 members, which to my knowledge is the largest church in Cleveland altogether. Most of the churches are quite old, over 50% are older than 45 years. However, not all of them have been founded as Negro churches. Quite a few of these churches are formerly white Protestant churches or Jewish temples which have sold out to Negroes in the last decade, following the transition of Cleveland’s Euclid and Glenville areas. Congregations usually have a few individual white members, often the partners in mixed marriages. Only two churches may be considered as integrated churches with about 5 to 10% of the members being white.

As their pastors, so are the church members of higher class-status than the congregations of Group A; many of them commute to the inner-city churches from the suburbs. Only five pastors report less than 10% of their members to be professionals; usually a figure of 30% is indicated and this comprises anything from doctors, **---------**

9. Denominational affiliations of Group C:

- Baptist: 7
- Methodist: 6
- Presbyterian: 2
- Disciple of Christ: 1
- Lutheran: 1
- United Church of Christ: 1
- Episcopal: 2
lawyers, to social workers and nurses. Two ministers report 90% of their members to be college graduates. Their estimate may be considered quite reliable, for - as a former NAACP official put it facetiously, "in these churches you have to present your college diploma with the membership application." According to the minister, the extra-organizational involvement of members is higher and much more varied than in Group A. Social organizations and Greek letter fraternities are most prominently mentioned; several pastors say about their members: "They are involved in the total life of the city."

Churches in this group have often an assistant minister and/or full-time office help. Most pastors indicate that they have a good division of labor and voluntary leadership.

Activities in these large churches are legion. Most run a program every day of the week, five different activities being the minimum; one pastor reports 21 organizations, 22 committees and 5 commissions. Traditional church activities are paramount at these churches: choirs, Bible Clubs, scouting, various youth clubs. Many other community centered or welfare activities are also mentioned. Recreational programs, day care centers, libraries, dances, scholarship programs, tutorial programs and cantines, among others. Most of these churches seem to be centers of a great amount of activity, even if some pastors complain that their upper class members move away from the church "spatially and spiritually" and come back on Sundays only.
Who are the ministers of these churches; are there certain social characteristics they have in common and what differences do we find among them?

The age varies from 27 to 65 in a fairly equal distribution, summarized in Table 2-3.

Table 2-3: Age Distribution of Ministers in Group C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 40</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 to 55</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 and older</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All are full-time ministers, but one has a second part-time job. Usually they entered the ministry in their late twenties, some in their thirties. About 35% may be called "career-ministers" who have held no other employment in their adult lives. Previous employment of the other ministers ranges from butcher and farmer to various white collar jobs and teaching positions. Pastors have served their present congregation anywhere between 6 months and 22 years in a fairly equal distribution.

If there is variation on these characteristics there is also a great deal of variation in the social origin of this group of ministers. Seventy-five percent were born in the south and fifty percent came north only after they had passed the age of twenty.
About half of the pastors report their parents to have finished high school, the others report little or even no schooling for their parents.

Equally varied is the occupation of ministers’ parents, varying from farmers (30%) unskilled or semi-skilled workers (30%) to fisherman, real estate agent and ministers (20%), two of whom had college education.

All of the ministers of Group C finished high school (60% in all Negro schools and 40% in integrated schools) and all of them have some college education.

Seventy-five percent hold a college degree. Institutions attended were the following: Kent State, Western Reserve, Pittsburgh University, Lincoln (Pa.), Simon University (Kent), Emmanuel Lutheran (N.C.), Fisk, Stillman (Ala.), Do Pauw, Drew University, Wilberforce, Rutgers and further institutions in Tennessee, North Carolina and Panama. In addition one has a M.A. degree, and one a law degree (LLB) from Terral Law School in Washington, D.C.

Seminary was attended by all members of this group. The following institutions were among those attended: Cleveland Bible College, Baptist Seminary of the Bible, Payne Seminary at Wilberforce, Gammon, Lincoln, Johnson C. Smith (Presbyterian Seminary in North Carolina) Emmanuel Lutheran, Howard School of Religion, Garret Biblical Institute, Boston University, American Baptist Seminary, Harvard Chaplain School, Drew University, W. Rogers
University, American Divinity School, and Simon University.

Eight-five percent earned seminary degrees (B.Th., B.D., S.T.B.); three pastors hold honorary degrees of divinity.

The organizational involvement of ministers in this group is high. Affiliations with denominational, cultural, civic and Civil Rights organizations are between three and ten in number, and giving an account of their memberships, many pastors in this group said: "There are lots more". Equally, all ministers said they get together with white ministers frequently for work or "fellowshipping", or just as friends.

5. Differential Involvement of Groups of Ministers - A Hypothesis

To break our sample into groups, we used an index combined of two characteristics which seemed to be a good indication for the class status of a minister: The size of this congregation and the amount of formal education that a minister had received. These two characteristics as well as the differential participation of ministers in voluntary organizations, which has often shown to be linked to a difference in socio-economic status, (10) are the three factors which will lead to our hypothesis that Group C will be better informed about Cleveland's racial problems, will display more

liberal, if not militant attitudes and a higher degree of involve-
ment in Civil Rights affairs. In fact, we will extend the hypo-
thesis to the expectation, that if the Negro clergy does provide
leadership in the racial conflict, these leaders will have to be
sought in the group of the highest class-level, in Group C.

This hypothesis can be derived from the literature. Our
most important source is the study of R. Johnstone who investig-
gated in 1963 the political and community orientation of a random
sample of fifty-nine Detroit ministers. (11) In his study John-
stone stressed political attitudes and behavior, whereas I have
more particularly focused attention on the orientation towards
Civil Rights issues. To the extent that this can be considered
the reverse of the same coin, our study is a replica of Johnstone's.
Johnstone's basic approach, however, was different. He choses
ministers' relation to a militant organization, The Negro Ministers
of Metropolitan Detroit, as a valid criterion for classifying
them as "militants", "moderates", or "conservatives", and then went
about to investigate factors that correlated with the three types
of ministers. Our approach attacks the question from the opposite
angle. We divided our sample into three different classes with the
objective to investigate whether there is a specific view of the
racial situation which is characteristic for groups of ministers
with different class status and to determine which group would be

11. Ronald Johnstone, Militant and Conservative Community Leader-
ship Among Negro Clergymen. (Ph.D. 1963 University of Michi-
gen; University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor).
most likely to provide leadership in the racial conflict (Chapter IV).

 Granted that we would find distinctive codes of behavior for each group, our second aim was, then, to look for internal varieties within the groups and to consider whether they were associated with any of the characteristics described in the profiles to be varying within the groups, (Chapter V).

 Turning now to differences between groups of ministers, our first variable is the size of the congregation. Johnstone’s study shows that congregational size correlated significantly with his “militants”, that is those pastors who were actively involved in a militant organization. “Militants” usually pastored large congregations with over 600 members, as compared to “conservatives” who predominantly pastored smaller congregations, with fewer than 200 members. (12) This leads us to assume that our Group C, which comprises ministers with the larger congregations will be more likely than Group A (storefronts and very small churches) to exhibit militant attitudes. This hypothesis will be further expanded in the next chapter where the Cleveland scene is surveyed in terms of its racial problems and its Civil Rights activities.

 The second variable to be discussed is the average amount of formal education in our groups of ministers. Here again, Johnstone’s 

12. See ibid., p. 99.
data support the hypothesis that ministers with higher education (Group 1) will be more likely to exhibit militant attitudes and behavior. A higher level of education was significantly related to Johnston's group of "militants". Eighty-three percent of the "militants" were college graduates and the other 17% had some college education, whereas only 16% of the "conservatives" had graduated from college and almost 50% of them had never attended college. (13)

More generally, there is ample support for the hypothesis that higher education will be associated with liberal or engaged beliefs and practices, and that low educational level is less likely to be related to liberal views and to involvement in activities going beyond the daily work and the fulfillment of immediate needs; (14) This fact has been demonstrated in various case-studies and has been incorporated into the theories of democratic participation of S. M. Lipset and W. Kornhauser e.g., (15). Particularly interesting in

13. See ibid., p. 86.

14. It is often argued that the lower-classes show not only less liberal attitudes but show a greater propensity for authoritarianism. See e.g., Lipset, op. cit., Chapter 4. In the case of our lower-class ministers, however, we do not expect to find political authoritarianism. For we are dealing here with a segment of the working class which is relatively well integrated into the society. Also as to now there seems to be in Cleveland no Civil Rights organization of an authoritarian nature which would cater to the lower classes. At any rate, storefront ministers would not be likely to join such a movement, for their theological conceptions, as will be shown later, would prevent active involvement in any movement.

in this context is the concept of "political efficacy" developed in the voting studies of Angus Campbell et al. Political efficacy is defined as "the feeling that individual political action does have or can have, an impact upon the political process." (16) Campbell et al. show that a sense of political efficacy as well as actual political participation correlates very significantly with the level of education. (17) This enforces our hypothesis that the better educated ministers in our sample (Group C) will show greater interest and higher participation in Cleveland's Civil Rights activities.

Our third variable to predict differential group attitudes is the membership in voluntary organizations, which we found to be significantly different between Group A (with a mean score of 1.7 organizational memberships) and Group C (with a mean of 5.5 affiliations). The degree of involvement in voluntary organizations, just as the level of education, has been considered an important factor for liberal views and for participation in the political life by the theorists of democratic behavior mentioned above. (18) Again, in

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17. See ibid., pp. 190–91.
Johnstone's study "militants" were much more likely than "conservatives" to hold numerous memberships in voluntary organizations. All of his "militants" held memberships in three or more organizations, whereas 81% of his "conservatives" held one or two memberships only. (19)

In this connection we may also suggest that it will be among pastors of Group C, of the organizationally most involved group, that we expect to find leaders (if any) in the Civil Rights movement.

S. M. Lipset's investigation of the social characteristics of "Leaders in a New Social Movement", the leaders of a new socialist party, The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in the province of Saskatchewan, gives support to this prediction. Lipset found, that "when a class's attitudes are in a process of flux because of changing social and economic pressures, those individuals who are most integrated in the class through formal organizations are the first to change." This is because individuals, who are in contact with other persons who have developed similar needs, are likely to be the first ones to become aware of a need for new adjustments and change; and their position as leaders by virtue of membership in formal organizations, makes it expedient for them to express opinions and engage in new and better-adjusted ways of behavior. (20) It is reasonable to draw a


parallel in this context between the changing attitudes of Saskatchewan farmers and Negroes in the United States in general and Cleveland in particular. It is obvious that the attitudes of the whole Negro population are in flux; if it is true that the "old" class leaders, who are organizationally most involved are likely to change first, we would expect the Negro ministers of Group C to be prominently among them and we would expect that a few of them would do so in a way as to be acknowledged leaders of the new movement. (21)

The evaluation of three variables leads us thus to predict, that the educated ministers of larger churches (Group C) will be more engaged in Civil Rights affairs than the less educated ministers of very small churches (Group A). We shall now take a brief look at Group B, the class of ministers in between the other two, and then summarize in tables the differences among the three groups with regard to our three critical variables.

6. Group B: A Varied Ministry

It is difficult to present a "profile" for Group B, for it exhibits the greatest internal variation; and social characteristics described for Groups A and C are present in various combinations.

Three pastors of this group are assistant ministers at larger churches; one is a retired bank clerk, one has two other jobs, as

21. Johnstone has discussed Lipset's findings in a similar context and has interpreted them in view of Negro ministers in general (see op. cit., p. 13), whereas I am using Lipset's results for a prediction of leadership with regard to the group of ministers who is organizationally most involved only.
factory worker and as hospital orderly; the third is a doctor (unlicensed) with a large practice; however, he has no formal medical training and derives his knowledge essentially from "prophetic inspiration". Another pastor is an evangelist with a music degree, who is now a salesman and hopes to be called to a church soon. There are pastors with some or completed college education who minister full-time to small, definitely lower-class congregations. Some of these have set up a number of community-centered activities in their churches, others follow the pattern of Group A with little activity other than the regular worship services. There are those who minister to small suburban congregations with middle or working class memberships. Others are part-time pastors who work in factories, as salesmen, or with the Welfare Department. They minister to their small congregations with various inputs of time and energy. There are two larger congregations, pastored by ministers without college education: one with a part-time minister but an active church program, the other with a full-time minister, but a program resembling those of churches of type A.

As in Group C, we find a variety of denominational affiliations in the group (22) and also the age distribution is similar to that of Group C, with 50% falling into the middle bracket.

22. Denominational affiliations of Group B:
  Baptist = 6; Methodist = 3; Disciple of Christ = 3; Presbyterian = 1; Lutheran = 1.
Table 2 - I. Age Distribution of Ministers in Group B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 55</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 and older</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equally, the social background displays much of the variety we described for Group C. Seventy-five percent of the ministers were born in the South and 50% came North in their adult life only. Twenty-five percent report their parents to have finished high school. The occupation of parents was distributed almost evenly between farmers, ministers, and workers.

All of the ministers in this group finished high school (50% in an integrated school). Five (32%) had some college education at agricultural colleges, at Hiram or at the Cuyahoga Community College. Seven (44%) are college graduates from so varied institutions as Soda College (Ark.), a teacher's college in Missouri, the Cleveland Institute of Music, Anderson College (Ind.), Temple and St. John Universities.

All but two, who had their theological training from a fellow minister, attended seminary and almost one half had earned a seminary degree (B.D. or B.Th.). Seminaries attended were Hiram, Lincoln, Gammon, Wilberforce, Rochester School of Divinity, Baptist College of the Bible, Cleveland Bible School, and various seminaries in the South.
Ministers of Group B are usually involved in a few voluntary organizations other than their denominational membership. About 30% say they never come into contact with white ministers, whereas another 30% report frequent contacts on a personal and professional level. About 40% get together with white ministers occasionally, but infrequently for "fellowshipping".

In this chapter we have described three groups of ministers who may be distinguished according to three variables, congregational size, amount of formal education, and average number of memberships in voluntary organizations. The differences with regard to these variables are summarized in tables below.

Table 2 - 5: Congregational Size of Three Groups of Ministers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congregation Size</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Group C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Evangelists)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(1)+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 100</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-199</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-299</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 and over</td>
<td>(3)+1</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Parentheses designate assistant ministers.

Table 2 - 6: Level of Formal Education in Three Groups of Ministers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Group C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College graduate</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2-7: Membership in Voluntary Organizations of Three Groups of Ministers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizational Memberships</th>
<th>Group A Number Percentages</th>
<th>Group B Number Percentages</th>
<th>Group C Number Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - 5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 and more</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>31.25%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In as much as we expect these variables to be critical indicators of ministers' awareness of the racial conflict and of their involvement in Civil Rights affairs, we expect Group A to exhibit a low degree of awareness and involvement, and Group C to exhibit a high level of both, with Group B ranking in between.

We have also described internal varieties of the three groups which seemed to be greatest in our middle group, Group B. This leads us to the hypothesis, that while we will find some uniformity of response to the racial conflict in Groups A and C we will find most varied reactions in Group B. This hypothesis will be further developed from an overview of the Cleveland situation in the next chapter.
Chapter III: Negro Community and Negro Clergy in Cleveland

That the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights came to Cleveland in April 1966 for a week of public hearings was indicative of the fact Cleveland had come to be considered a city with major racial problems. By most people she was no longer considered as the "Number 1 Negro City - the most desirable for colored people to live in." (1) We will take a brief look at the development of the Negro community in Cleveland.

1. The Development of the Negro Community in Cleveland: From a "Racial Paradise" to Ghetto Riots.

Prior to World War I, the Negro community was relatively small. It dates back to 1809 when the first Negro settler came to Cleveland with his two sons. (2) A local census indicates that it had grown to 106 colored persons by 1841. (3) The small Negro colony was described as "industrious, peaceful, intelligent, and ambitious for improvement." (4) By 1870, the colored population had grown to 1,293, (5) by 1910 it numbered 8,448. If Cleveland was not a "colored

2. Ibid., 1, part of series.
4. In the Cleveland Herald in 1839. See Krauscheck, op. cit.; 1, part of series.
5. See Rose, op. cit., p. 361.
paradise", it may nevertheless be quite true what Frank Quillen wrote about the Cleveland prior to the war: "There is no social equality between the races but no bitterness about it." (5) Banned from the mainstream of city life, Negroes had formed their own churches, the first one - St. John's A.M.E. - in 1830, their own social groups, and their political (republican) clubs, which provided after the Civil War the platform from which to participate in city and state politics.

"The characteristics of Cleveland's Negro community - its politics, its geography, its leadership - changed radically with the World War I exodus of Negroes from the South." (7) From 1910 to 1920 the Negro population quadrupled from 3,469 to 34,962. In the year 1917 alone 10,000 Negroes came. "War industries . . . . induced a mass movement of colored workers into Cleveland which almost completely submerged the older elements of the colored population. Industry sent agents into the South to recruit labor, and they were brought to Cleveland in carloads. Many of them came with only the clothing they were wearing, with no preparation for housing, and with little idea of problems they must inevitably encounter." (8)

Such an influx could not readily be absorbed by the city. Housing shortage was acute and competition for employment resulting from unemployment resulting from post-war job layoffs became severe in due time. Yet migration from the South continued steadily and the Negro

6. Quoted Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. From the writings of Harry E. Davis; quoted in Rose, op. cit., p. 686.
population increased rapidly as shown in Table 3 - l. (9)

Table 3 - l: Increase of Negroes in Cleveland's Central City. 1910 - 1963

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>8,448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>34,451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>71,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>84,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>147,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>250,818</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>277,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between 1940 and 1963 the percentage of Negroes in Cleveland increased from 9.6 to 32.3, (10) and - considering the "flight to the suburbs" of the white population of the one hand and the trend pointing toward continued growth of the Negro population - the percentage will increase in the future.

At first Negroes were concentrated in the Central area, but with growing numbers they spilled over into adjacent neighborhoods North and Northeast (Hough, Glenville) and South and Southeast


10. See Urban League, op. cit., p. 25.
(Kinsman, Mt. Pleasant and Lee-Hiles areas). Eventually, these areas "tipped"; Negro areas were so overcrowded that houses deteriorated and slum conditions with gross social disorganization became prevalent. Major parts of Cleveland's inner-city have turned into lower-class Negro ghettos. The dramatic testimony before the U.S. Commission of Civil Rights in April 1966 described poverty and inequity endured by those who live in the city's Negro ghetto. Evidence centered around seven major topics: Education, Housing, Employment, Police-Community Relations, Health, Welfare, Municipal Services. (11)

Testimony documented the fact that the "neighborhood school attendance policy" of the Cleveland Board of Education supports the trend toward increasing de-facto segregation of Cleveland schools and that students in predominantly Negro schools show lower levels of achievement and a higher drop-out rate than students in predominantly white schools. (12)

In the area of housing, the inadequate supply of lower-income housing was demonstrated. While this is a major social problem in most cities, the Cleveland Subcommittee stated in its summary of

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11. See Cleveland's Unfinished Business in its Inner City. A report by the Cleveland Subcommittee of the Ohio State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights summarizing the testimony and making recommendations based on the testimony heard during the Commission's civil rights hearing in Cleveland, Ohio, April 1-7, 1966. Cleveland, Ohio, June 30, 1966 (mimeographed). (From now referred to as Cleveland Subcommittee.)

the hearings: "Cleveland has done a poorer job than other major
cities." (13) Urban Renewal Programs have made housing conditions
worse; they have decreased available low-cost housing and increased
the overcrowding of Negro ghettos. Housing codes are not being
enforced and discriminatory practices exist on a wide scale in
housing and real estate. lower-class Negroes pay higher rents for
equivalent housing than whites. "There are a large number of
Inner City residents who have a negative attitude towards all pro-
mises of better housing plans because of failures in the past." (14)

In the area of employment ample evidence was given of discrimina-
tion on the part of unions and of companies holding Federal contracts.
(15)

Testimony with regard to Police - Community Relations was partic-
ularly negative and has been confirmed later in the summer. "Police
have lost the respect of Negro residents in the Inner City who believe
that police are discourteous and sometimes brutal, permit prostitution
and gambling to flourish, and discriminate in their treatment of white
and Negro citizens." (16)

Health care for Cleveland's Negroes was found to be inadequate,
due among other factors to the shortage of neighborhood-based family
health care programs in the ghetto areas. (17)

13. Ibid., p. 18.
15. See ibid., p. 25.
17. See ibid., pp. 35 - 37.
Public Welfare was described as grossly insufficient, in particular the extremely low level of Aid to Dependent Children. Cash payments to families with dependent children came to only 70% of the minimum requirements for health and decency established by the state. Procedures with regard to timing of welfare checks and distribution of food stamps were severely criticized. (18)

Municipal Services for the high-density multi-dwelling areas in Cleveland's Inner-City, finally, were shown to be in a very bad state. There is no program for rat control; garbage pick-ups, rubbish collections, and street cleaning are irregular and infrequent; there is a heavy shortage of outdoor play space and indoor recreation centers for the increase in child population in the Inner-City. (19)

The public hearings, then, disclosed that Cleveland can by no means be considered a "racial paradise": "... for years the Ohio State Government has been run 'on the cheap'. For years local government has been making do with outmoded, worn-out facilities, without scheduled replacement, without even regular maintenance. For a long time, segments of this community have been without adequate public services and amenities, and lagging in the enforcement of the rules for responsible behavior in society." (20) This situation has been accompanied by apathy of a large majority of the white and the Negro community. Ruth Turner, former secretary of the Cleveland Chapter of CORE, has called it the "vacuum of apathy", which has been filled

19. See ibid., pp. 41 - 45.
20. Ibid., p. 2.
by "people who would rather scream communism, than address themselves to the grievances that lie behind the protest now." (21)

The greatest problem area in the City of Cleveland is Hough, about two square miles in area, its boundaries being East 55th on the west, East 105th on the east, Superior Avenue on the north and Euclid on the south. Since 1950, within 10 years, Hough changed from an almost entirely white neighborhood to a Negro ghetto, with the worst slum conditions in the city. (22) If Hough is an example of the rapid transition of a neighborhood, it is also an example of the apathy of the city administration. In 1957, when the non-white population of Hough had risen to 59.3%, the Sociology Department of Western Reserve University made an intensive study of the area, assessing changes that had taken place in the population characteristics (especially the unproportional growth of the population under 21 years of age) and pointing to future trends. (23) This should have been an invitation for active social planning on the part of the city administration and the Board of Education: For enforcement of housing codes, the planning of recreational areas and of schools, among other things.


22. Between 1950 and 1960 the Negro population in Hough jumped from 2,562 (or 3.9%) to 52,710 (or 73.6%). Urban League, 20-city, p. 40. It is safe to assume that the trend has continued and that the Negro population had risen to over 90.0% by 1966.

23. See Marvin B. Sussman and R. Hyde White, Hough, Cleveland, Ohio. (A Study of Social Life and Change) (Cleveland: The Press of Western Reserve University, 1959.)
However, the city failed; urban renewal made things worse; social disorganization became abundant and the War on Poverty was being lost in Hough. (24) The social conditions prevailing in Hough had been highlighted during the hearings of the U.S. Commission of Civil Rights. Many promises for improvement were not kept by city officials. (25) According to Phillip Mason of the Cleveland Council of Churches, there is in the ghetto "a rising and seething discontent -- there is a lack of confidence in and a lack of response to anything that is a stop-gap or emergency measure." (26) This discontent may or may not be channeled into a constructive movement. In Hough it was not.

Frustration and desperation burst forth in a destructive way during the summer of 1966.

A Special Grand Jury was appointed to investigate the causes of the July Hough riots and the June disturbances at Superior Avenues. Before its report was published, an editorial prophesied in the Call and Post: "... it can be safely predicted that the current grand jury probe into the causes of the riots in Hough will 'deplore' 

24. See Roldo Bartimole, "Negro Is Losing War On Poverty Here", Plain Dealer, Monday, October 17, 1966; Hough is identified as having suffered most severely from impoverishment in the Cleveland area during the past 6 years.


the riots, admit that things are bad in Hough "but getting better every day", and will fix the primary blame for the outburst of violence on "outsiders" who came into Cleveland and stirred a lot of frustrated people into violent action." (27)

This is exactly what happened. The Grand Jury failed to emphasize the underlying causes of the riots—to be sought in social conditions prevailing in the Hough ghetto—and instead pointed to Communists and outside agitators as the basic problem. A citizen hearing was conducted by a panel, representing the major civil rights organizations together with five noted lawyers, which rejected these conclusions on sound evidence. (28) Recommendations were made for "constructive action", just as recommendations had been made by the Cleveland Subcommittee of the Ohio State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission of Civil Rights. Cleveland has a great need for constructive action with regard to her Negro community in the Inner City ghettos.

2. Early Fight for Equal Employment and the Negro Clergy (The Future Outlook League)

If there is a lack of action on the part of the city administration, there have always been attempts for action on the part of

27. Charles H. Iseb, "Thoughts of an Imminent Vacationer", Call and Post, Saturday, August 6, 1966.

28. See Panel Hearings, op. cit.
responsible citizens and organizations especially dedicated to the improvement of conditions for Cleveland's Negro Community. The Cleveland branch of the NAACP was founded as early as 1912. In 1917, the Negro Welfare Association was incorporated which later became the Urban League.

The Future Outlook League (FOL), founded in 1935 by John O. Holly, deserves special mention here because in terms of its militancy it was 30 years ahead of its time.

Its aim was to open up employment for the large number of unemployed Negroes. The target was white-owned business, serving predominantly Negro clientele, but refusing to employ Negroes. "Don't buy where you can't work" was the slogan under which it operated. (29) The methods employed were those of the 1960's: Picket lines and boycotts were used as mode of persuasion. John O. Holly had recognized the power potential lying in the masses of Negroes in the community, if they could be organized for action in their own behalf. Between 1935 and 1946, the time recorded by Charles H. Loeb, this power was used with great success. Owners of small business in the Central area (of grocery stores, movie theatres, etc.) who could not be persuaded by FOL officials to hire Negroes, often yielded rather promptly to the League's demands when its "shock troops" arrived in front of their stores. Later on large companies were challenged

in the same manner - the Cleveland Railroad Company, the F. W. Woolworth Company, the Ohio Bell Telephone Company; and these large companies had also to submit to the combined strategies of pickets and boycotts.

Loeb has also described the reaction of the Negro ministry to this movement for equal employment, which may be quoted here at length: "In these early stages the Negro ministry was not only non-cooperative (with notable exceptions) but actually hostile to the daring program led by 'that young radical Holly'. The League found church doors closed to them for public meetings. Some ministers refused to permit league speakers to address their congregations. One group of the gentlemen of the cloth is reported to have formed a committee which met with city officials in order to inform them that the League was being directed by an irresponsible group of young 'hot heads', and that the 'better class' Negro citizens were taking no part in its program. They advised the powers that the 'fad' would soon die out for lack of support." (30)

However in the view of obvious success and recognition of the League in the community the hostility of the 'better class' Negroes and in particularly of the ministry diminished. It was not before long that the Cleveland ministry "threw off all vestiges of the restraint they had shown previously in endorsing the program of the League. They threw caution to the winds and began to exhort their

30. Ibid., p. 33.
members from the pulpit to join the boycott. They opened their
churches to mass meetings at which members of the Speaker’s Bureau
(of the League, that is – G.F.) were given ample opportunity to
explain the objections of the boycott." (31)

In view of the great achievements, it is hard to understand
why this early movement for equality in employment and for improve-
ment of the Negro community subsided. Was it perhaps that the
astronomical increase of Negroes in Cleveland during the 1950’s
made the task too difficult? At any rate, the "old fighters"
apparently accused their leader, John O. Holly, of "selling out
to the power structure"; (32) when he took a job with the city
administration and the movement petered out in the late forties
and early fifties. Cleveland has yet to see a mass movement
equally well organized and effective that would be comparable to
the Future Outlook League, which has almost been forgotten by now.

In the fifties Civil Rights activities in Cleveland followed
a calmer and more traditional pattern. Legal actions were pursued
by the NAACP and protests were launched occasionally.

It was not until the 1960’s that the Civil Rights movement in
Cleveland, under the influence of the southern sit-ins and freedom
rides on one hand, and emerging young leadership, in CORE in parti-
cular, on the other gained new vitality. New organizations of all
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31. Ibid., p. 98.
32. This version was given to me by one of the early supporters of
the FOJ, today still active on behalf of Civil Rights.
kinds whose aim in the final analysis was the implementation of civil rights, were being founded in numbers and still are. In 1963, the United Freedom Movement (U.F.M.) was born in Cleveland; it was what E. C. Ladd would call a "peak" organisation (33), trying to integrate the various local race-advancement groups with the purpose of fighting segregated patterns in public schools, in housing and in employment. (34) There were repeated clashes with the Cleveland Board of Education. Schools and proposed school sites were picketed. Freedom Schools were held. Discriminatory employment practices at the new Federal Building were attacked. Active voter registration and campaigning almost resulted in the election of Carl B. Stokes, able Negro candidate for Mayor in the fall of 1965.

3. Image of the Negro Clergy in the Community

What has been the part of the Negro ministers in the light of this new activity which is gaining momentum steadily?

To get an idea of their image in the community, I asked people who live in Hough or who work there with the press, with civil rights - or welfare agencies, what they thought Negro ministers had done in the Civil Rights movement. Some showed astonishment at even the project of studying ministers in the context of Civil Rights. A reporter of the Call and Post put it this way: "Negro pastors make the news

34. However, inevitable conflicts within a peak-organisation, combining organisations with different approaches, and the retreat of the NAACP, in the spring of 1966, have stalemated the UFM and diminished its short lived impact.
by not making the news." Another said: "They have been standing out by their absence in crisis situations." I asked the same reporters what they should do. "Get involved. Like Jesus they should work on the daily problems of their people. Not just sympathize with them, but get to the causes." "Preach sermons about the social situation," added the other, and "get involved at the grassroot and organizational level." The directors of the two community centers in Hough said:

"Except for a few, Negro ministers have had no part in the Civil Rights movement." And again, except for some few individual ministers, there is no cooperation with the centers. The reply of the president of the Young Adult Advisory Council, located in the Hough Opportunity Center, was bitter: "In terms of the people in Hough, Negro ministers have done nothing, except maybe get publicity for themselves." The vice-president of the same council - himself a young adult - commented on the storefront churches: "The only thing they do is to try and get money into their baskets. The only thing they do with the money is pay off the mortgage and build bigger churches -- instead of helping the people in the community." Again I asked, what should pastors do? The answers came readily: "Devote more time to people in Hough. Open their mouths more -- get the real problems out to the white people." The vice-president added: "Do something instead of talking about what they want to do and instead of promises." And then "Young adults are tired of promises; they want to see action."

I repeated my question to the vice-chairman of CORE, he said he had nothing to say about ministers in the "movement." But then his
anger came out anyway: "Preachers are the reason that there is a Civil Rights movement. They are the shackles, they and their Christian mentality. They preach the doctrine of non-involvement and tell people to wait for the "morning". And their concern is money and nothing else." (H.B., this man is himself a member of a Baptist Church.) The former chairman of CORE, himself an ordained Baptist minister, but not included in my sample, showed the same reaction. (35)

A young Negro social worker, working with the Cleveland Council of Churches Headstart Program, commented that "big" Negro ministers have done nothing. "They should work against the power structure - i.e. work politically - instead of patting their people on the shoulders."

The retired executive of the Cleveland Branch of the NAACP, Harold B. Williams, responded to my question, in a letter of March 23, less emotionally, but equally pointedly: "The cultural lag within the Negro community as it relates to social progress has found the Negro minister not to have included in this understanding and pastoral duties civil rights. Civil rights, for him, is a new subject which he is now looked upon to respond - but which, incidentally he now does not understand."

What we can see from these selected comments, is that people who know of or work with the problems in Hough and other Negro ghettos in Cleveland, expect the Negro ministers to have a part in the Civil Rights Movement, but think that ministers, in fact, do not take a prominent part in it. The situation reminds one of Chicago's Bronzeville in the

35. A special acknowledgment is due to Baxter Hill, former chairman of CORE, who introduced me to many of his friends and devoted a whole day to my project.
early forties, described by Drake and Cayton. There is the same criticism of ministers "tying up too much money in church property," (36) and Hough, like Bronzeville, expects ministers to be "real Race men." (37)

Now, it is true that there have always been a few ministers — most people agree on three to six — who have been "race men", in as much as they took active parts in the city's civil rights leadership. But we are now not concerned with the few exceptions, but with the behavior of the Negro clergy in general. Is there really no record of their participation in Civil rights actions? Kenneth B. Clark has described the situation in view of the ghetto of New York City: "In the past, Negro church leaders have tended to concentrate their energies on building and maintaining the institution itself, but as the civil rights movement gained in impact and Southern Negro ministers took leadership in the struggle for justice, Northern Negro ministers, affected by a newly stirring social conscience, began to assume a firmer role in attempting to influence social change." (38)

Does this description not hold true for Cleveland ministers? It does, in a way; but for the Southern movement to affect a "newly stirring social conscience" a catalyst was needed in Cleveland proper. This catalyst was provided by the Office of Religion and Race, under the direction of the Rev. Charles Rawlings, now integrated into the

37. Ibid., p. 428.
Cleveland Council of Churches as Commission of Metropolitan Affairs.
The comment of a white minister working inrough and cooperating
closely with the Commission is significant in this context. When
I told him about my project, that is, the concern and activity of
Negro ministers with regard to civil rights affairs, he remarked:
"And now you want to talk to us who have created it."

4. "Created" Involvement of the Clergy in the 1960's

The Office of Religion and Race was established in the fall of
1963 on initiative of the Presbyterian Church, but from the outset it
was ecumenical in nature. Through dialogue groups and discussion
programs, "a core of churchmen dedicated to racial justice" (39)
had been identified after less than six months. In spring 1964
de-facto segregation in the Cleveland public schools became the
declared target for the activity of the Office of Religion and Race
and Cleveland's civil rights groups. Some twenty ministers joined
the picket lines at a public school in January. Negro pupils from
overcrowded ghetto schools had been bussed to this school within an
underpopulated white neighborhood; but the Cleveland Board of Edu-
cation had insisted on segregating the bussed-in pupils from students
already in the school. The picketers, and the clergymen in parti-
cular were jeered at and cursed by onlookers. De-facto segregation
developed into a major crisis. On February 1, some fifty ministers

39. Richard E. Moore and Duane L. Day, Urban Church Breakthrough,
signed an advertisement in the Plain Dealer entitled "Where Some Clergymen Stand Regarding the Current Racial Crisis in Education."

Late in March, fifty-five ministers associated with the Office of Religion and Race, publicly called on the Board of Education to abandon three elementary school sites located in the Glenville area, which had been opposed by the United Freedom Movement. By choosing the sites in the center of the predominantly Negro neighborhood, the Cleveland Board of Education was accused of perpetuating de-facto segregation. This must be viewed in light of the fact that school desegregation had become a symbol in Cleveland. As in many other Northern cities, it had become "the touchstone of white sincerity and integrity." (40)

The refusal of the Board of Education to abandon the school sites led to the demonstration at the Stephen E. Hove School construction site on Lakeview Road. In the course of the demonstration Bruce Klunder, a white young Presbyterian minister was killed. To stop the operation of a bulldozer, he had flung himself behind the machine; the driver not seeing him and drawing backwards, crushed him. Angry demonstrators could this time be calmed down and sent home.

The next morning the Emergency Committee of Clergy for Civil Rights (ECCCR) was organized, "to provide an organization through which clergymen in Greater Cleveland might involve themselves in the justifiable struggle toward full human rights for the American Negro and to provide

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detailed factual information to the clergy about the nature of the crisis in Cleveland." (41) Two hundred clergymen joined the ECCCR, about 80% of them were white ministers, and 20% were Negro ministers; it has become a militant and influential civil rights organization in the city.

The leadership of the Office of Religion and Race in the education crisis had broken the ice for white ministers as well as Negro ministers. From then on, the concern over the racial problems in Cleveland grew and the ECCCR provided a forum for commitment as the matter of integration in the public schools was pushed further.

It had been very hard to get Negro ministers involved in the school demonstrations; less than a month later many of them supported a school boycott and some were on the staff of the Freedom Schools, held all over the city on boycott day. Since then, readiness to participate when racial grievances occurred has risen. One year later, in spring 1965, Negro ministers participated freely with the NAACP in the Federal Building demonstrations. Unions working on the new Federal Building had been charged with discriminatory practices. When only 167 persons turned out for the Job March, The Rev. D. G. Jacobs, president of the NAACP, was admittedly disappointed, but he added: "We probably had more church people and public officials in

our group today than they had in the march from Selma yesterday." (42)

The point to be made here is that the recent involvement of the Negro clergy has been a "created" involvement. After the organization of the ECCCR it became the proper thing to belong to it. And if ministers had always opened their churches once a year for NAACP membership rallies, by 1965 it had become the proper thing to respond to the NAACP's call for demonstrating against unfair employment practices at the Federal Building construction.

Has this new code of response to civil rights issues pervaded the whole range of Negro ministers? My hypothesis is that the new "code" has become imperative for the Negro ministers with the highest prestige, for those with the larger churches and the better education, those described in the profile of Group C in the previous chapter. All of these ministers have undoubtedly been contacted by the Office of Religion and Race and have been invited to join the ECCCR. A minister with this status who wanted to retain his prestige and belong to the circle of Cleveland's ministerial leaders, had to jump on the bandwagon of commitment.

I would further hypothesize, that for ministers of our Group B, the new modes of commitment have been optional. Most of them will have been contacted by the Office of Religion and Race or the Cleveland Council of Churches, but the expectation to belong to the circle

of ministerial leaders is not connected to the position of ministers in this group. Therefore, we would assume that they have not collectively responded to the call for involvement in racial matters. Those who had a commitment to the racial cause themselves prior to 1964 and those who have a close connection with the Cleveland Council of Churches for one reason or the other (h3) are the most likely candidates for membership in the ECCOR or for participation in recent demonstrations.

Finally, ministers in our Group A, storefront ministers and those of very small churches with little formal education, are unlikely to have been reached by the new atmosphere of commitment prevailing in the "upper" circles of the Cleveland clergy. It is not expected that their traditional pattern of non-response with regard to racial matters has changed substantially in the past couple of years. And it may be safely predicted although denominationally unaffiliated storefront pastors are not included in our sample, that if our group of affiliated storefront ministers has not adopted the new code of behavior, the independent storefront ministers will be lagging behind even more so.

Look back now to the hypothesis regarding ministers' involvement in racial matters advanced in the previous chapter on the basis of the three social structural variables of congregational size, education

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h3. I am thinking here of ministers connected with the Council of Churches' Ministry to the Poverty Program and of ministers who are housing a group of the Council's Head Start Program, e.g.
and organizational involvement. We may conclude that it coincides with the hypothesis derived from an examination of the normative framework, as it applies to three classes of ministers in Cleveland. As we now proceed to analyze our interview data, we shall expect that ministers of Group A will show little interest, commitment, and involvement in Civil Rights issues; we shall expect to find wide variation of response - ranging from the position of the conservative to that of the committed - in Group B. And we shall expect that Group C will exhibit the largest amount of militancy in attitudes and behavior.
Chapter IV: Commitment to Civil Rights: A Comparison Between Three Groups of Negro Clergymen

1. Introduction

In the last two chapters we aimed at predicting variations in what may be called the "style" of reaction to race issues among three groups of ministers. We have frequently spoken of "militant" attitudes or involvement and have implied that this may be contrasted with "conservative" modes of behavior. Before we proceed to present the evidence, we need to define more exactly what we mean by "militancy" or "conservatism".

All major studies dealing with the Negro leadership have advanced a typology of styles of reaction to race issues, which usually included a militant type and a conservative type and sometimes one or two types located between the two poles of militancy and conservatism.

Myrdal, for example, distinguished between "accommodation" and "protest" as styles of reaction to the racial situation. The variable used to categorize leaders was acceptance or rejection of the old biracial system. (1)

Guy B. Johnson also used this variable to derive his types of the "gradualist" and "revolutionary". (2)

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Oliver C. Cox, writing from a leftist perspective, has described this old-time conservative, or collaborator, as one who "derives the principal source of his power from a ruling class whose dominant interest is opposed to the aspirations of the people whom he leads"... The essence of conservatism inheres in the fact that the leader identifies the enemy as the best friend of the people." (3)

The protest style on the other hand is described by Cox as seeking "to influence public opinion through propaganda and juridical devices to the point where effective pressure would be brought to bear upon the political institution." (4)

While these twofold typologies are abstracted from the situation of the 1930's and 1940's which was very different from that of Cleveland in the 1960's, they emphasize the basic differences between militancy and conservatism in race relations which still hold true. Johnstone has summarized these differences: The militant approach "assumes that direct action toward changing the system or aspects of the system is necessary. It is active rather than passive; it is aggressive rather than acquiescent; it is demanding rather than conciliatory; it is independent rather than collaborative." (5)

4. Ibid., p. 242.
If behavior and actions in the field of race relations were the central variable for categorization in these older studies, more recent studies have used additional criteria for forming categories. (6)

We will focus here on the study of James Q. Wilson who uses, in addition to race behavior, a variety of attitudes to describe the "militant" and "moderate" styles of Negro civic leadership in Chicago. His descriptions are most relevant in our context because the racial situation in Chicago and Cleveland is similar. Wilson's leadership styles are transferable to Cleveland, whereas those derived from patterns in the South (Thompson; Ladd;) would need modification when applied to a northern city.

According to Wilson (7) the "militant" or "protest" style is often clearly revealed in the extent to which the leader sees the issue confronting his race in simple terms. The "moderate" on the other hand,

6. Daniel C. Thompson, e.g., in his study of Negro leadership in New Orleans has used three criteria: 1. conception of the Negro race and race relations; 2. attitudes toward race and race relations; 3. behavior and actions in the field of race relations; and distinguishes on the basis of these criteria the "Uncle Tom" from the "racial diplomat" and the "race man". See Daniel C. Thompson, The Negro Leadership Class, (Englewoods Cliffs, N. Y.; Prentice Hall, 1963); esp. p. 59.

E. C. Ladd, in his study of southern political leadership has seen a leader's style as a composite of 1. the race goals which he chooses to emphasize; 2. the means which he seeks to realize these goals; and 3. his rhetoric, i.e., language and manners used in discussing race goals and identifies the conservative, the moderate and the militant style. See Ladd, op. cit., in part. p. 110.

tends to see issues in their complexity with no simple solutions. The militant makes a maximum number of demands, and speaks of matters in terms of their ultimate rationale, rather than in relation to immediate needs; the moderate prefers to deal with one issue at a time. The militant sees the world as it should be and is very conscious of its shortcomings and of obstacles to progress; the moderate on the other hand sees the world as it is; he stresses past gain and cautions a slower pace. The militant has confidence in politico-legal solutions, but - in contrast with the moderate - has virtually no confidence in politicians and is highly critical of them. The militant is active in a wide range of causes and activities; the moderate displays less activity. Militants strive for "status goals", i.e., those goals which "seek the integration of the Negro into all phases of community on the basis of equality." (8) Moderates seek "welfare ends", i.e., those "which look to tangible improvement of the community or some individuals in it through the provisions of better services, living conditions, or positions." (9) The militant feels justified in using force because of the failure of other means in the past; he prefers mass or "grass-roots" action and values protest over access. The moderate distrusts mass tactics and places more value in persuasion, bargaining, and good relations.

Wilson's study deals with civic leaders, "leaders who acted as if the interest of their race or the community were their goals." (10)

8. Ibid., p. 185.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 10.
They were either professional leaders, or lay leaders volunteering at a strategic point in one of the civic organizations. Our sample of ministerial leaders in Cleveland differs from Wilson's civic leaders in as much as it will include a wider variety of styles. "Interest of their race" will not always be the explicit goal of pastors, whose leadership sometimes does not extend beyond the limits of their small congregation. In the analysis of ministerial styles of reaction to race issues, we will have to add a third style - the conservative style. (11) Leaders with this style may be described as being likely to submit passively to the prevailing social order. They may be relatively unaware of problems or they may be uninterested in them, in any case they prefer to remain withdrawn from the battle arena and engage in little or no action.

These, then, are in brief, characteristic ways in which Negro leaders approach the world about them, how they see it and act towards it. Wilson has cautioned that no "pure" examples of his styles exist; rather they are artificially polarized types.

In the analysis of our data these types will serve us as guidelines for the classification of attitudes and behavior. Like Wilson, we will view attitudes and behavior as a continuum; sometimes we will distinguish between two, sometimes among three or four characteristic ways of responding to a particular question. In each case we will point out what is considered the more militant and what is considered

11. See also Johnstone, op. cit.
a less militant response and demonstrate the distribution for three
groups of ministers.

2. Variations in Attitudes

Information

A first cluster of questions was meant to test the degree to which
ministers are aware of what is going on in the community with regard
to civil rights affairs. The reasoning behind this was that those
pastors who had an active concern for civil rights would be well
informed about these matters, whereas pastors uncommitted and less
interested in these matters would display a smaller degree of inform-

ation.

Thus we asked the question: "In general, what are the major
organizations working in Cleveland to improve the status of Negro
citizens? I'd like the names of all that you think are important."
Table b - 1 summarizes the number of race-advancement organizations
mentioned by three groups of ministers.

Table b - 1: Race-Advancement Organizations Mentioned By Three
Groups of Ministers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Organizations Mentioned</th>
<th>Group A Number Percentage</th>
<th>Group B Number Percentage</th>
<th>Group C Number Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 and fewer</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>56.25</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 and more</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>43.75</td>
<td>85.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4-1 shows, that the majority of storefront ministers (Group A) could not mention more than three organizations, whereas 85% of the educated ministers of large churches (Group C) mentioned four or more organizations. The middle group is almost evenly divided between the two categories. This pattern becomes more evident when we add that frequently it took ministers of Group A quite a lot of consideration to come forward with an answer at all, whereas ministers of Group C answered quickly by giving the names of large organizations like the NAACP, the Urban League or CORE, added some more immediately, and then often said, "There are a lot of other small organizations."

The NAACP was mentioned by every single pastor, a fact which points to its prominent place among civil rights organizations in Cleveland. Other organizations mentioned were community councils and neighborhood centers, government programs like MAP (Manpower Advancement Program) and the Poverty Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and various smaller race-advancement or self-help organizations. It is interesting to note that while two pastors in Group A said simply "the church", no one in this group mentioned either the Council of Churches or the Emergency Committee of Clergy for Civil Rights (ECCCR). However, they were mentioned by 50% of Group B as well as Group C. This confirms the assumption made in the previous chapter that Group A has no contact with the programs of the Council of Churches.
The isolation of this group from organized interdenominational activities of the Cleveland clergy is also evident from answers to the following question: "Can you think of any occasion when Cleveland ministers have, as a group, taken a stand for or against something?" It was expected that ministers who know what is going on in the community would mention in their answers either the Emergency Committee of Clergy for Civil Rights or the Negro Pastors of Greater Cleveland. (This latter is an ad-hoc organization which was formed in the days of the July lough riots. Its immediate purpose was to aid the lough riot victims and to form a communication link between lough and city hall. We will have later opportunity to discuss the nature of this organization, which is still in the process of defining itself and its purpose.)

If the respondent did not mention the ECCCR or the Negro Pastors of Greater Cleveland by himself, I probed further and asked whether he had heard of these specific organizations. The results are summarized below:

Table 4 - 2: Awareness Regarding Two Ministerial Organizations of Three Groups of Ministers. (12)

12. The fact that 10 interviews were held before the Negro Pastors of Greater Cleveland constituted themselves cannot be considered to bias the picture considerably. Five of the interviews were with ministers of Group C; three were with ministers of Group B, of whom one was classified as having no knowledge of the ECCCR; and two were with ministers of Group A, of whom also one was classified as having no knowledge of the ECCCR. Even if the two ministers had displayed a later-on a knowledge of the Negro Pastors Organization (which is seriously doubted) this would not have changed the picture a great deal.
Table 4-2:

Awareness with regard to two ministerial organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Group C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One or both organizations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mentioned by minister</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizations acknowledged</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after probing</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>31.25</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No knowledge of these</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organizations</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>31.25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only one minister of Group A mentioned the ECCOR, another said he had heard of the Negro Pastors when specifically asked for this; but more than 75% of Group A were totally unfamiliar with either one of these organizations. In Group C, on the contrary, all ministers had heard of at least one of the organizations and 75% mentioned them on the spot. In Group B about one third of the ministers mentioned the organizations by themselves; one third admitted having heard of them after probing; one third had no knowledge of the existence of either one of the organizations. The high percentage of ministers in Group A and B who have not heard of these organizations at all is especially astonishing in view of the fact that the activities of both have been reported in Cleveland papers, those of the ECCOR in particular.
Ministers of Group C are more aware of existing race-advancement organizations in Cleveland than those of Group A, with Group B tending partly to Group C and partly to Group A, and this was true in particular for two ministerial organizations which are known in the context of civil rights. Next we looked at the level of information regarding specific race-issues, which had come up in Cleveland recently.

In this context we asked: "Did you hear about the unfair employment practices at the Federal Building construction last year?" This was a very recent issue which got heavy newspaper attention over a period of more than six months. Accordingly it was expected that this issue would be widely known. ( Actually the main function of this question was to lead to the question whether ministers had participated as pickets at the Federal Building.) This was, in fact, the case, only three ministers claimed not to have heard of these incidents; two of them were storefront ministers and one was a pastor of Group B.

The question referring to the education crisis of 1961, which we have discussed before, yielded more differentiations in the level of information. Ministers were asked: "Do you remember the school crisis of two years ago?" If the minister did not seem to realize what I had in mind I described further: "I am thinking of the demonstrations at the Stephen E. Howe School construction site where the Rev. Bruce Klunder was killed."

Three ministers of Group B and three ministers of Group A had
not been in Cleveland in the spring of 1964; all other ministers remembered the incident readily; this was expected, because this incident had, of course, made headlines in 1964. I then continued to ask: "What were the main issues involved?" Three levels of information could be distinguished. Answers like: "de facto segregation"; or "protest against another ghetto-school" were considered as hitting the core of the matter and were classified as "well-informed." Answers which evaded the core of the education issue, but alluded to other criticisms which had been advanced in those days - the fact that the school was at a main traffic site, lack of police protection (ex post facto criticism) or simply "people didn't want the school at that location" - were classified "partly informed." The answer was called "badly informed" if a minister obviously did not know what had been at stake, if he admitted that he had never really known what it was all about, or if he advanced completely unrelated explanations, as for example, that a Negro boy had raped a white girl. The distribution of answers among the three groups of ministers is presented in Table 4-3.

Table 4-3: Differences of Ministerial Groups in Information About the School Crisis in 1964. (13)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Information</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th></th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th></th>
<th>Group C</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well informed</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partly informed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badly informed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

13. Percentages for Groups B and C are based on the number of ministers who were in Cleveland at the time of the crisis.
There is a substantial difference between the 71% of Group C who are well informed and the 54% and 44.5% of Groups B and A who are so informed. Differences become even more pronounced when we look at the category of badly informed ministers. Here we find that 14.5% of Group A are so classified, whereas only 15% of Group B and no member of Group C could be called badly informed.

We thus find in Group C not only the highest percentage of pastors being aware of organizations working on behalf of race advancement, but Group C also displays the highest degree of information concerning issues in a racial crisis. Group A stands at the lowest end of the information continuum with Group B located in between.

Some General Attitudes Regarding the Racial Situation in Cleveland

We had assumed that being well-informed with regard to civil rights issues would be linked to a commitment to the racial problems. The role which this commitment assumes in the general outlook of ministers, was tested by asking: "What do you feel is the major problem facing Cleveland today?"

The reasoning behind this question was that ministers who are predominantly concerned about civil rights would view Cleveland’s problems in racial terms, whereas ministers uncommitted to the racial cause would answer in more general terms. Actually, we found it expedient to break up answers into four categories. The most conservative outlook may be described as one which sees Cleveland’s problems in religious terms. "Cleveland's problem is sin";
"Sin is the root of all evil"; "prejudice against God"; "religious denominationalism"; "evangelizing the city"; these are some examples of answers summarized under this heading. Another way of responding, which is more down to earth but makes no reference to the city's racial problems, was summarized under the heading social problems. Answers like "juvenile delinquency", "youth problem", "education", are in this category. While this outlook displays more appreciation of actual problems, the failure to point to the eminent racial problems of the city of Cleveland leads us to identify this outlook as one which is not particularly aware of the race factor as generator of major problems.

The third category, on the other hand, displays a definite awareness of the race factor; problems are viewed in essentially racial terms. Bad law enforcement, de-facto segregation in schools, unemployment among Negroes, inadequate housing, a lack of recreational facilities are identified as major problems, and sometimes the cumulative effect of all these problems is emphasized.

Attitudes which seem to go beyond a mere awareness of problems in the Negro community have been placed in the fourth category. These attitudes display an action element, when the leadership of the city and the Negro community is criticized. In this category Cleveland's major problem is seen not merely in the prevalence of unfortunate conditions for Negroes, but in the lack of action leading to social change. "Lack of imaginative leadership" is the recurrent
theme, problems are perceived in racial and political terms. This outlook is clearly reminiscent of Wilson's "militant style".

Table 4 - 1 shows how these four ways of looking at problems in Cleveland are distributed among three groups of ministers.

Table 4 - 1: Perception of Cleveland's Major Problem by Three Groups of Ministers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception of Problem</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Group C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in religious terms</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in terms of general social problems</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total not perceiving race as major factor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in racial terms</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in racial &amp; political terms</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total perceiving race as major factor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost 90% of the storefront ministers do not include race as a factor accounting for Cleveland's problems, compared to about 65% of Group B and 20% of Group C; and while the 20% of Group C and one half of the ministers in Group B in this category point
to general social problems, almost 90% of Group A view problems in spiritual terms which we have identified as the most conservative outlook. Only 11% of Group A, but well over half of Group B and 30% of Group C, view the problem in racial terms, with 0.25% of Group B but 25% of Group C emphasizing a militant outlook towards Cleveland’s racial problems.

Another question asked for problems specifically facing the Negro community. The reasoning behind this was that pastors who are committed to the cause of race-advance would point to concrete problems like housing, unemployment, etc., whereas pastors removed from actual race-advance activities would answer in general and spiritual terms, emphasizing sin, a let-down of Christian morality etc. The results are summarized in Table 4 - 5.

Table 4 - 5: Perception of the Negro’s Problem by Three Groups of Ministers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception of problems facing the Negro community</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Group C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in general terms</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in concrete terms</td>
<td>6 65.7</td>
<td>6 37.5</td>
<td>20 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in concrete terms</td>
<td>3 53.3</td>
<td>10 62.5</td>
<td>20 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One hundred percent of Group C pointed toward concrete problems facing the Negro community, as compared to 62.5% of Group B and 33.3% of Group A. Two thirds of Group A and over one third of Group B perceived the Negro’s problem removed or unrelated to the day-to-day problems of ghetto-life.
In another question ministers were asked which organization they believed to be the most effective in helping the Negro. We expected that the NAACP, being the largest and most widely known civil rights organization, would be most frequently mentioned. Failure to mention the NAACP or any other specific race-advancement organization was interpreted as a conservative attitude, for it was evident in those cases that the reason for not answering lay in the ignorance of the activities of civil rights organizations rather than in a conviction of their ineffectiveness. The most militant attitude, on the other hand, would stress the impact of all civil rights organizations (and maybe point to the role of CORE), even if we asked for the most effective organization in the singular. Answers are presented in Table 4-6.

Table 4-6: Assessment of Effectiveness of Race-Advancement Organizations by Three Groups of Ministers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizations</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th></th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th></th>
<th>Group C</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>viewed as most effective</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAACP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>combined impact of all of them</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two-thirds of Group A and 50% of Group B displayed in their answer noncommitted or conservative attitudes, by not giving an answer at all or else pointing to the church as most effective in helping Negroes. Only one member of Group C mentioned the church. The majority of this group (70%) thought the NAACP was the most effec-
tive organization; 12.5% of Group B and 25% of Group C stressed the impact resulting from the interplay of organizations with different degrees of militancy in outlook. Fifteen percent of Group C pointed specifically to the precipitating role CORE had played in the education crisis. Appreciation of the efforts of the NAACP and of other rare-advancement organizations was most prevalent in Group C. Only one third of Group A expressed appreciation for the work of the NAACP, and Group B was evenly divided between those disregarding civil rights organizations and those admitting their effectiveness.

In another question ministers were asked to assess the role of white churches in the racial situation: "Do you think that white churches of Cleveland are doing much of anything to help improve the status of the Negroes in Cleveland?" It has been shown in the last chapter that churches, or more particularly their ministers, have been actively engaged in Cleveland's struggle for Civil Rights, especially in the ECCOR --- and sometimes more so than Negro ministers. Negro ministers who were not completely out of touch with what is going on in Cleveland were expected to acknowledge this. We reasoned, however, that viewing the contributions of white churches to the advancement of Negroes in a militant manner would lead beyond acknowledgement of contributions to criticism, and to an emphasis on things that needed to be done. This distinction again was conceived of as parallel to Wilson's types: The moderate who stresses past gains and achievements and the militant who is conscious of the shortcomings of the world. Table 4 - 7 shows the differential distribution of these attitudes.
Table 4-7: Evaluation of the Role of White Churches in Improving Negroes' Status by Three Groups of Ministers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role of White Church</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doesn't know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White churches have helped the cause of the Negro</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60.5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>68.75</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>out more support and contributions are needed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again, we find that Group C is most likely to display a critical or militant attitude in the evaluation of the contributions white churches have made to the improvement of the Negro's status. Forty percent of Group C solicit more involvement of white churches as compared to 6.75% of Group B. On the other hand, 15% of Group C expressed ignorance of the contributions of white clergymen, while this percentage was 25% and 33.3% for Groups B and A respectively.

Differences in perceiving obstacles to progress - an attitude which Wilson ascribes to the militant - were tested by asking: "Do you feel that there are also any particular groups in Cleveland that are trying to keep the Negro down?"

Almost 50% of Group A and 50% of Group B thought that there were such groups, as compared to 45% of Group C who thought so. Again, differences become more pronounced when we look at the groups that were mentioned. The Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society and the
National Association for the Advancement of White People were frequently mentioned in Groups A and B; while these were mentioned in Group C also, reference was made more frequently to groups which have hindered the advancement of Negroes in Cleveland, like the ethnic groups which were involved in the school crisis of 1964, the real estate board, unions, banks, and neighborhood associations which have refused to make Negroes welcome in their district.

Having looked at some general attitudes regarding the racial situation in Cleveland, we may conclude that ministers in Group C are most likely to perceive this situation in terms of the actual problems which the Negro community is facing, to have a conception of what is being done or could be done about them, and to have an idea of where to look for the major opponents of the advancement of Negroes in Cleveland. Group A, on the other hand, is more likely to be unaware of the actual problems and of the fact that something is being done about them, and it is less likely to realize that in Cleveland proper there are some organized groups trying to keep the Negro in his place. Members of Group B tend to be divided between the outlook of Groups A and C.

We will now discuss some attitudes toward goals and tactics as they vary among the three groups of ministers in our sample.

Goals and Tactics.

We have mentioned before Wilson's distinction between "status-goals" as sought by his "militants" and "welfare goals" as sought by
his moderates. As I was looking for an issue toward which these concepts were applicable and with which all ministers would be familiar, I found myself concentrating again on the issue of education. After having discussed with interviewees the 1964 incident, I continued: "I understand that good education is still a problem in Cleveland. Some people think that desegregation of the Cleveland schools should be enforced under all circumstances, even at the expense of bussing children into different sections of town. Others think one should concentrate instead on spending more money on the existing east-side schools. Which do you personally believe is more important at this point?" If ministers emphasized the importance of the neighborhood school and the need to improve their quality, this was interpreted as seeking "welfare goals". If ministers stressed the importance of integrated schools and indicated they would support a bussing plan, and in particular downtown school centers, this was interpreted as seeking "status goals". Table 4 - 3 shows the distribution of goals sought by the three groups of ministers.

Table 4 - 3: Goals Favored by Three Groups of Ministers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Group C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare goal</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status goal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More than half of the ministers of Group C indicated their support for status goals, compared with 25% of Group B and 11.1% of Group A.
This result may be viewed in direct connection with the militant attitude the Office of Religion and Race and the ECCCR took on this matter. Considering that the ECCCR was created over the issue of de-facto segregation and that - as we shall see below - all but two ministers of Group C joined the ECCCR, we might have expected an even larger percentage of Group C to favor unconditionally the "status goal" of integrated schools. That the number of ministers favoring status goals was not higher may be interpreted as indicative of what we have called the "created involvement" of ministers, with attitudes lagging behind behavior - in this case membership in the ECCCR.

Proceeding from the evaluation of goals to the evaluation of tactics we asked ministers whether they thought that the recurrence to direct action was justified in the case of the school incident in 1961. Answers are summarized in Table 4 - 9.

Table 4 - 9: Evaluation of School Demonstration by Three Groups of Ministers. (14)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct action justified:</th>
<th>Group 1</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this regard Group C almost entirely supported the school demonstrations. Only one member of this group did not think that

(14) Two ministers of Groups B and C each were not in Cleveland during the time of the crisis and did therefore not express an opinion. Percentages are based on the number of ministers who did in fact answer the question.
direct action had been justified on this occasion, as compared
with about one third of Group B and two thirds of Group A.

Considering the large percentage of Group A who did not approve
of the school demonstration in 1964, we wondered how demonstrations
would be assessed in general. In another question we did not inquire
whether ministers deemed demonstrations justifiable, but asked, more
neutrally, whether demonstrations and direct action were considered
an effective means to assure first-class citizenship for Negroes.

Three ministers of Group A and B each (33% and 19% respectively),
did not believe that demonstrations are effective because, as one
put it - "they just make publicity which attracts tension." This
attitude of extreme conservatism which holds that any kind of con-
flict is bad and ergo not effective was expressed by nobody in
Group C.

The degree to which conservative attitudes are prevalent was
also examined by asking "Do you feel that a minister should feel free
to participate in demonstrations if the issue is important? Or do
you think he should not engage in such activity?" Two thirds of
ministers in Group A thought he should not engage in such activity
and so did 29% of Group B. Only one member (5%) of Group C express
this attitude.

Distrust and disapproval of demonstrations is, we may conclude,
an attitude which is most pronounced in Group A, but which is also
present in Group B to some extent. If conservatism with regard to
tactics is thus concentrated within Groups A and B. Militancy toward tactics is often found in Group C. After asking a minister's opinion on the effectiveness of demonstrations, we continued: "What other tactics besides open demonstrations do you think would be equally or more effective in assuring full rights for Negroes?" Answers favoring tactics involving mass-action or "grass-root" organizations (boycotts; organization of action groups; organization of black power as pressure groups) were considered to express a militant outlook. This could be contrasted with an outlook preferring bargaining, conferences, simply "get-togethers of the races", or Negroes' self-improvement, as tactics for advancing the Negro's cause. This distinction corresponds again very closely to the patterns described by Wilson. Table 4-10 shows how the different outlooks are distributed.

Table 4-10: Preferred Tactics of Three Groups of Ministers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tactics</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Group C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bargaining conferences</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>involving mass-action</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentage favoring militant tactics—in addition to demonstrations—is quite substantially higher in Group C than in Groups B or A.

In summary we can state that the outlook towards goals to be
sought and toward tactics to be employed in the realm of civic action is consistently more militant in Group C than in Group B and the percentage displaying a militant outlook is almost always larger in Group B than in Group A. In particular, the fact that ministers' participation in demonstrations is almost unanimously approved by Group C, whereas 25% of Group B and two thirds of Group A expressed disapproval on this matter, leads us to expect the greatest amount of activism within Group C, as we now turn to examine the behavior of three groups of ministers in the context of civil rights in Cleveland.


Membership in Race-Advancement Organizations.

In his study of Southern Negro leadership, Ladd has distinguished between "protest organization" whose central thrust in race-advancement activity is through general public protest against discriminatory treatment, and between "welfare-oriented race-advancement organizations". (15)

If we apply this distinction to the Cleveland scene, we are able to identify three protest-organizations in which ministers could be members: the NAACP, CORE and the ECCR. On the other hand we find a variety of welfare-oriented race-advancement organizations or self-help organizations in which Negro ministers are active in Cleveland. The Urban League, the Negro Community Federation, HOPE, community centers and some neighborhood organizations are among these. Table 4 will shows the frequency with which three groups of ministers hold memberships in these organizations.

***************

Table 4-11: Membership of Three Groups of Ministers in Various Race-Advancement Organizations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Membership Held in</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Group C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protest organizations:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAACP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CORE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECCOR (10)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare organizations:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in 3 or more</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distinction between protest organizations and welfare oriented organizations is reminiscent of Wilson's distinction between status goal as ascribed to the militant style and welfare goals as ascribed to the moderate style.

However, the above data cannot be taken at face value as an indication of the degree of militancy among ministers with regard to the implementation of Civil Rights. While the NAACP, for example, is classified as a protest organization, being a member in the NAACP does not necessarily mean that a minister is an avid civil rights protagonist. What our data indicate is simply that 66.7% of Group A, 87.5%

16. One minister of Group B and two ministers of Group C have been in Cleveland so short a time that their non-membership in the ECCOR cannot be considered as indicative for their disinterest or conservatism in racial matters. Percentages are therefore based on N=15 for Group B and N=10 for Group C.
of Group B and 93% of Group C have paid their homage to the most prominent and respectable organization in the field of race-advancement by contributing $2 or more as yearly membership dues. This does by itself not constitute an "act of faith". But failure to have bought a membership in the NAACP indicates that either a minister is so isolated that he has not been rescued by the yearly membership drive, or that he has made a deliberate decision against giving any support whatsoever to race-advancement activities - in either case it is indicative of a conservative outlook. Three ministers of Group A and two of Group B exhibited this attitude; one minister of Group C indicated that he did not support the NAACP for personal reasons; since he is actively engaged in civil rights affairs otherwise, this is not indicative of conservatism in his case.

Seven ministers in our sample serve as board members in various capacities in the NAACP and this is taken as a more than nominal commitment to the cause of racial advancement by means of a protest organization. It is significant that all seven ministers are members of our Group C.

Membership in CORE is very uncommon. One member of Groups A and B each, and two members of Group C indicated that they were members of CORE. None of the four, however, is an active member of CORE and all four stated that they find themselves sometimes at odds with CORE's projects and methods. Five ministers (25% of Group C indicated their supporting CORE financially.
Membership in the ECCCR is our best index with regard to minister's participation in a protest organization, for here membership usually means that a minister has attended meetings of the organization and that he has lent his signature to statements of the ECCCR attacking the Cleveland Board of Education and de-facto segregation in the Cleveland schools. (17)

Eighty-nine percent of Group C as compared with 33.3% of Group B and 11.1% of Group A indicated their membership, thus bearing out our prediction that Group C would be substantially more involved in organizations protesting discriminatory practices in Cleveland.

If we look at the membership in what we have called welfare oriented or self-help organizations, we find again that Group C is most frequently involved with 55% of ministers holding such memberships as compared with 31.25% of Group B and 22.2% of Group A. And this pattern is again re-enforced if we consider that 7 ministers (35%) of Group C are on the board of such a welfare-oriented organization as compared with 2 (12.5%) of Group B, while no member of Group A indicated that he was on the board of any race-advancement organization.

The following pattern, then, emerges with regard to membership in race-advancement organizations:

In Group A we find one third of the ministers to be isolated entirely from membership in race-advancement organizations; one

third holds membership in the NAACP only, and one third indicates one or two additional memberships. In Group B we find two ministers (17.5%) to be entirely uninvolved. Of the 87.5% who are members of the NAACP, 50% indicate additional memberships in the ECCOR, community organizations, or both, and 12.5% of these are on the board of community organizations. In Group C, finally, 2 ministers (10%) hold membership in the NAACP only. The majority is involved in the NAACP as well as in the ECCOR or various other welfare-oriented race-advancement organizations, and 50% are on the board of either the NAACP, or the ECCOR, or welfare organizations, and some act as board members in two or three organizations. Table 4 - 12 summarizes this pattern.

Table 4 - 12: Summary of Participation in Race-Advancement Organizations of Three Groups of Ministers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation in race-advancement organizations</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th>Group C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no membership indicated</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>members in NAACP only</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>members in two or more organizations</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>board members in one or more organizations</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering that membership in the NAACP does not involve more than paying the yearly dues, we may say, then, that only 33.3% of
Group A participate in race-advancement organizations, as compared with 50% of Group B and 90% of Group C. Moreover 12.5% of Group B and 50% of Group C participate actively by being board members of such organizations.

Participation in Demonstrations.

Another way of expressing an active or militant concern for the advancement of the race is by participating in demonstrations against racial discrimination if such incidents occur. In recent years such incidents in Cleveland were de-facto segregation and unfair employment practices, as we have discussed before. In this context ministers were asked whether they had been involved in the demonstrations at the Stephen E. Howe School construction site in April 1964, and whether they had participated in the Federal Building demonstration of 1965.

Results are shown in Table 1: Participation of Three Groups of Ministers in Recent Cleveland Demonstrations.

Table 1: Participation of Three Groups of Ministers in Recent Cleveland Demonstrations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th></th>
<th>Group B</th>
<th></th>
<th>Group C</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>at Stephen E. Howe</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school construction</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>site (16)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Federal Building</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 (19)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of the storefront ministers had participated in either one of the demonstrations. Twenty-one percent of ministers of Group B

18. Percentages are based on the number of ministers who were residents of Cleveland in April 1964: Group B: N=14, Group C: N=17.

19. Percentages based on the number of ministers who were residents of Cleveland in March 1965: Group B: N=15, Group C: N=19.
and 35% of ministers in Group C had participated in the demonstration during the education crisis. At the Federal Building however, only 12% of Group B as compared to 63% of Group C participated. This result may appear puzzling. At the time of the Federal Building demonstrations, in 1965, participation in demonstrations had - within a year's time - became more popular with ministers in Cleveland, Cleveland papers noted the large turnout of ministers in the picketing of the Federal Building.

Why then did participation increase only among ministers of Group C and even decrease among ministers of Group B? Even if we consider only those ministers who participate in race-advancement organizations (Group B: 50%; Group C: 90%) as likely candidates for picketing like that at the Federal Building, there remains a notable difference. In Group C more than two thirds of these actually participated in the 1965 demonstration as compared with only one fourth of those who would have been considered likely picketers in Group B. The explanation has to be sought in the fact that among the eight ministers of Group B who display interest and activity on behalf of race-advancement, five hold a full-time job, which makes it difficult to share in a demonstration during the day.

Given the circumstances, these probably would have participated in the Federal Building demonstration. This is borne out by answers to the question asking whether a minister had ever participated in a demonstration. One member (11.2%) of Group A said he had, as
compared to 9 members (56.25%) of Group B and 18 pastors (90%) of Group C.

We can therefore conclude with regard to behavior of our ministerial groups in the context of Civil Rights, that the majority of Group C not only is active in race-advancement organizations, but is also participating in demonstrations if issues occur which demand protesting in the view of Cleveland's civil rights organization. This holds true for about 50% of Group B, whereas active engagement on behalf of the race is scarce and only occasional in Group A.

In Chapters II and III we examined some characteristics of three ministerial groups in Cleveland. This led us to the hypothesis that ministers with a fair amount of formal education and pastoring the larger churches (Group C) would be most likely to be well informed about Cleveland's racial situation and to be committed to race-advancement activities in attitude and behavior. It was predicted, on the other hand, that ministers of the storefront variety would be unlikely to assume a prominent part in the civil rights movement. The greatest variation in attitudes and behavior was expected for our Group B as it shows the greatest internal differentiation with regard to its pastors and churches.

This hypothesis was borne out by an examination of our interview data. We found that Group C is better informed than Group B and that Group B is better informed than Group A about Cleveland's racial situation in terms of existing organizations and recent issues.
The majority of Group C indicated its awareness of the race factor as a prime generator of problems in Cleveland, perceived the problems of the Negro community in concrete terms, and gave credit to the existing race-advancement organizations for their efforts. This was true for over half of Group B, but for only a minority of Group A.

Pastors of Group C were more likely than those in Groups B or A to favor "status goals" over "welfare goals" and to express a favorable attitude toward using militant tactics for the implementation of civil rights.

The majority of Group C had participated in race-advancement organizations, while this was true of about half of Group B and a minority of Group A; only one member (11.1%) of Group A had ever participated in a demonstration on behalf of civil rights, as compared with over one half (56.25%) of Group B, and 90% of Group C.

While Group A presents a fairly uniform picture of attitudes and behavior expressing noncommitment to the racial cause, and Group C presents a fairly uniform picture of commitment, we also registered attitudes and behavior in each group which seemed to deviate from the majority of the respective groups. In Group B we found on many occasions the Group almost evenly divided between attitudes and behavior representative for the other groups. In the next chapter we will look at some of the variations that may be found within each of the three groups.
Chapter V: Types of Ministers: The "Uncommitted", The "Committed", and The "Highly Committed".

1. Inconsistency and Deviation (Groups A and C).

In the last chapter the terms "militant", "moderate" and "conservative" have proven useful in the analysis of specific attitudes and of behavior with regard to a specific issue; however, I prefer not to use these terms in describing individual ministers, for I found that the responses of individual ministers did not comply with these pure types but occurred in combinations. Therefore, when speaking of a minister's involvement considering the total of his responses rather than single attitudes or single instances of behavior, we will call an individual either "uncommitted" or "committed". Considering the predominance of conservative attitudes and behavior in Group A, we will then say that the storefront minister's characteristic way of reaction to the racial conflict is that of the "uncommitted", while we will interpret the impact of replies in Group C to designate the characteristic mode of response of pastors of large churches as that of the "committed".

However, in the interpretation of our data we frequently acknowledged variations from the characteristic group response. These variations may be due to inconsistency, to a spurious occurrence of capricious individuality expressed by many ministers within a given group; and this may be due to deviation, to a fairly consistent difference of individual ministers from the majority
group response. Evaluating our data case by case we found both
explanations to be true.

In Group A, for example, we found that one minister was a member
of the Emergency Committee of Clergy for Civil Rights (ECCCR), although
his answers were otherwise consistently conservative. When probed on
this inconsistency he related that a friend of his, a minister of a
larger church had once taken him to a ECCCR meeting, and that he had
been on the committee's mailing list since. However he had not gone
back to its meetings, and did not really care or know about the ECCCR's
aims and activities. His association by chance with a militant race-
advancement organization did not lead us to designate him as a pastor
with commitment to the cause of race-advancement. Another storefront
pastor indicated his membership in CORE; he too, displayed fairly
consistent non-commitment otherwise. He explained later that he had
grown up on a farm in the South, In the course of economic difficul-
ties the white owner had dispossessed his family, and without any
resources they migrated into a small southern town. This shock led
then to his association with CORE during the course of which he once
participated in a demonstration, but since he has been in Cleveland he
has not taken up contact with the local chapter. Here again a pastor's
one-time association with a protest organization did not indicate a
serious difference between him and other storefront ministers in
response to the racial situation. In view of this conformity to the
characteristic group response with regard to most attitudes and with
regard to his behavior in Cleveland, he also must be typed as
"uncommitted".
These two cases are examples of an inconsistency of a pastor's behavior which could be attributed to chance factors. Spurious inconsistency of this kind, attributable to an idiosyncratic answering of many ministers, occurred on the attitudinal dimension also.

However, we also found incidences of ministers' genuine and consistent deviation from the style of reaction characteristic for their group. An evaluation of cases within Group A pointed to one pastor, who - while sharing some answers with the majority of his group - deviated consistently from other members of his group in attitudes as well as behavior. He was quite well informed about what was going on in Cleveland in the racial context. While perceiving Cleveland's major problem in spiritual terms, he could point to concrete problems facing the Negro community and emphasized positive actions taken by community centers; he had never participated in a demonstration and did not know about the ministerial organizations working in Cleveland on behalf of the race, but he favored the use of boycotts, is a member of his Street Club and had participated in NAACP membership drives. While his involvement is different from that characteristic for Group C, we found it nevertheless justified to classify him as "committed" to racial advancement.

An evaluation of cases within Group C yielded further instances of consistent deviations from the majority of the group. The majority of pastors was typed as "committed" to the racial cause, this involved their being well-informed, the expression of sometimes "moderate", sometimes "militant" attitudes and the readiness to participate in
organizations and demonstrations on behalf of the race. However there were three ministers who expressed consistently the most conservative attitudes and the most disengaged behavior to be found in this group. Two of these ministers, while knowing about the BCCCA, are not members in it, which must be considered a deliberate decision against supporting drastic race-advancement activities in the case of full-time ministers at large churches. Only one of the three ministers had ever participated in a demonstration on behalf of the race, and he was quick to add that this had been once only. These three ministers, then did not conform to the "committed" type prevalent in Group C and were designated as "uncommitted".

On the other hand we could single out four members in this group whose answers did not conform to the usual pattern of expressing "moderate" and some "militant" attitudes; rather their answers formed a consistent picture of militancy. The two CNE members in Group C were among these four ministers, all four are members of a number of race-advancement organizations and hold offices at their board meetings. These four ministers may be considered as real race leaders.

The presence of race-leaders in this group coincides with our prediction that if there were such leaders among the Negro clergy they would be found within Group C. But we will focus here on the fact that these four ministers deviate from the style of reaction predominant in Group C; in contrast to the "committed" majority of Group C these ministers were called "highly committed".
While we feel justified in regarding the occurrence of spurious inconsistencies in our groups as expressions of idiosyncrasy on the part of Negro ministers, the presence of deviant cases, that is, of a "committed" storefront minister and of the three "uncommitted" ministers in Group C in particular, challenges further investigation.

2. Analysis of Deviant Cases.

Patricia C. Kendall and A. A. Wolf have argued that deviant cases should not be considered as a "source of embarrassment" to the researcher and have pointed instead to the positive function that the analysis of deviant cases may take in empirical research. Kendall and Wolf have identified the two major functions of deviant case analysis as leading possibly a) to the refinement of factors already considered and b) to the discovery of additional relevant factors. (1) The occurrence of deviant cases, then, invites us to re-examine the variables used in our predictive scheme and to look for additional variables that may be related to minister's commitment to the advancement of the race.

It will be remembered that our predictive scheme as developed in Chapter II included three structural variables, congregational size,

education, and organizational affiliations. (2) These will have to be re-examined; in addition we will look at some of the social characteristics of pastors described in the profiles of each group to determine whether they may have to be entered as additional variables into our predictive scheme.

Our first deviant case, is a "committed" storefront minister. We examined his case according to the three main variables, in order to see whether, with regard to these, he also deviated from other ministers in his group. This could not be established. His congregation numbers 30 members which is close to the minimum occurring in Group A. He finished high school in the south, but had no college education. (There were, it will be remembered, two storefront ministers who had a very minimal amount of college education.) Our index for the variable education, however, was formed along the line of high-school — college only. Could it be that this pastor had obtained an education beyond that which we usually find in this group, by an intensive seminary training? This was not the case, the seminary education of our "committed" storefront minister was in no way exceptional, he had attended over a three year period five seminaries in the South "in and out", without earning so much as a seminary degree, which one third of this group did. Only with regard to the

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2. In Chapter III, we identified as additional relevant variable a contact with the activities of the Cleveland Council of Churches. This factor may be discarded at the moment, because none of the storefront ministers, but all ministers of Group C, had such contact with the Council of Churches. This factor will become relevant in the analysis of variations within Group B to be discussed below.
third variable, organizational affiliation, was he among the "upper" third of his group by holding three organizational memberships.

As we did not find the "committed" storefront minister to differ from his group with regard to these three variables, we examined his case with regard to some other social factors. But in every respect this examination yielded nothing but the typical image of a storefront pastor: his age is forty-eight; he grew up on a farm in the South, his father also being a Baptist preacher with little schooling. However, at the age of 26 he migrated from Mississippi to Cleveland, worked at various odd jobs and finally started a small snack-bar in the center of town. Having established himself in Cleveland, 15 years ago he founded his little storefront church which is close to the restaurant.

We can thus conclude that the storefront minister, who differed considerably from his group in his commitment to the advancement of his race did not vary from his group with regard to three crucial variables and some other social factors we had thought might possibly bear on such commitment. He remains a testimony to the complexity of the social and personal variables that determine attitudes and behavior. Our model is too incomplete to identify the more individualistic forces; we will see later, however, that variations with regard to racial attitudes are manifest with regard to other attitudes as well.
We shall now turn to Group C in order to examine the deviant cases that demonstrate the insufficiency of our predictive scheme; we will contrast those cases who do not fit our prediction at all by being "uncommitted" and those cases which differ from the majority of the group by being "highly committed". Again we shall re-examine first the deviant cases with regard to our three crucial variables, in order to discover whether those ministers who deviated from the majority type of the "committed" pastor would also differ from the majority of their group by the size of their congregation, by their education or by the number of their organizational affiliations.

In an attempt to explain deviant attitudes and behavior the first variable could be ruled out right away. The "uncommitted" ministers did not pastor the smallest churches in this group. With memberships of five hundred, six hundred, and eleven hundred, respectively, their churches were typically larger, as were those of the four "highly committed" ministers.

We then turned to the variable "education", which invited more careful analysis. As was determined in the outset, all ministers of Group C had a fair amount of college education and most held undergraduate degrees. An index taking into account the amount of education only, however, without paying attention to the quality of education, must appear rather crude. A minister's college education has also to be seen in connection with his seminary education. But on re-examination it turned out that neither one of the three "uncommitted"
ministers remained substantially below the educational level of the majority in Group C, nor had the four "highly committed" ministers received appreciably more or better education. Of the three "uncommitted" pastors one had studied for three years at Western Reserve University and had later earned a B. Th. degree from the Baptist Seminary of the Bible after four years of attendance; another one had earned a B.A. degree at some college in Texas, had received a B.D. degree from Drew University and indicated to have also spent a year at the Harvard Chaplain School; the third had attended a Lutheran School in North Carolina for eight years earning a B.A. as well as a B.D. degree. Of the four highly "committed" pastors on the other hand, one had earned a B.A. degree from Lincoln University and a B.D. degree from Cramon Theological Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia; another one had attended a Presbyterian School in North Carolina earning a B.S. as well as a B.D. degree; he had also attended the Rochester School of Divinity for a short period of time; a third "highly committed" pastor had attended Wilberforce University for seven years earning the B.A. and B.D. degrees; the fourth one held a B.A. degree from Western Reserve and had attended a Southern Seminary for three years, without earning a degree, however. There is no remarkable difference between the education enjoyed by the most conservative and uncommitted pastors of Group C and those who display a consistent militancy. There are in this group ministers who enjoyed less education than the "uncommitted" and there are some that enjoyed more education than the "highly committed". This leads us to the conclusion that differences in education have no predictive value within
It was when we turned to the third variable, the number of organizational affiliations that we found our "deviant" cases, if not atypical of the group, at least polarized at the minimum amount of given memberships and the maximum amount respectively. The mean number of memberships in voluntary organizations in Group C was about 5.6. Of the three "uncommitted" pastors, two indicated three memberships and one held four such memberships. Of the "highly committed", on the other hand, three held seven memberships and one held even nine of them.

There were among the majority, among the "committed" members of Group C, pastors who hold as few or as many memberships as our deviant cases. However, the substantial difference of the "uncommitted" and the "highly committed" with regard to the number of memberships held in voluntary organizations leads us to suggest that even within a given group this variable may be interpreted as being associated with minister's commitment to the racial cause in attitudes as well as behavior.

We then looked for other variables which might possibly prove as contributory causes for the commitment to civil rights within a given group of ministers. It seemed important in particular to examine the factors of the denominational affiliation, age, southern exposure, and social class origin.

Denominational affiliation did not seem to be a crucial variable within this group. Table 3-1 shows the denominational distribution of variously committed ministers.
Table 5-1: Denominational Affiliation of Pastors with Various Commitment (Group C).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>&quot;Uncommitted&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Committed&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Highly committed&quot;</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciple of Christ</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Denominations with more than two representatives in Group C, the Baptists and Methodists, contributed one member each to the "uncommitted" and the "highly committed." No specific pattern of commitment was attributable to one particular denomination.

Next we looked at the age distribution of variously committed ministers. We had expected to reproduce the result of Johnstone's investigation of a sample of Detroit ministers; Johnstone could establish that in his sample, the specific kind of community leadership correlated significantly with the age of ministers, with militants falling in the lowest age bracket and conservatives concentrating in the highest bracket. (3) Our data did not bear out this expectation as shown in Table 5-2.

3. See Johnstone, op. cit., p. 98.
Table 5-2: Age Distribution of Pastors with Various Commitment (Group C).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>&quot;Uncommitted&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Committed&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Highly committed&quot;</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>under 40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-55</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 and older</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three pastors displaying conservative attitudes and behavior did not fall into the oldest age bracket. On the contrary one was only 37 years old. One of the "highly committed" ministers displaying militancy consistently fell into the oldest age bracket.

Equally the factor of Southern exposure, that is length of residence in the South, yielded no differentiation between variously committed ministers within Group C. For each type of commitment we found some ministers who grew up in the South and other ministers who were born in a Northern state.

Finally we looked at the social origin of ministers in Group C. With regard to this variable we found that the "uncommitted" reflected fairly well the pattern of social origin of Group C on the whole, the parents having little or completed high-school education, being workers, farmers or untrained ministers respectively.

At least three of the four "highly committed" pastors, however, seemed to come from a middle-class background. All four reported that both of their parents had finished high-school. One indicated that
his parents were domestic workers, in the other three cases the father had been a minister, two of them with college education; these were the only two examples of ministers' fathers having enjoyed a college education. Our sample is too small to determine whether this result is purely accidental or may point to a general association between class-origin and the "highly committed" pastors. We may derive the suggestion that a large sample could possibly identify middle-class origin as being associated with militancy among race leaders.

In the analysis of some deviant cases within two groups of ministers (Groups A and C) we re-examined three variables considered to be crucial for predicting the nature of ministers' commitment to race-advancement and civil rights, and we investigated some additional social factors which seemed possibly to be related to ministers' attitudes and behavior. None of these factors was found to be a necessary or at least sufficient cause for explaining the occurrence of deviance. The re-evaluation of our predictive variables yielded as the only result the identification of the amount of organizational memberships as being associated with the occurrence of deviations within two groups.

This leads us to conclude that there occur differences in outlook among ministers with similar social characteristics, subjected to the same environment. We expect these differences in outlook not to be confined to the context of the racial conflict, but to find expression on other sectors as well, for example, in the interpretation of the ministerial role, in the nature of theological beliefs and in the
characteristic way of influencing the congregation. These propositions will be examined after a discussion of variations in Group B.

3. Variations in Group B.

From the outset a rather uniform style of reaction to the racial situation had been expected for Groups A and C which led us to identify deviant cases in the previous paragraphs. Our middle group, Group B, consists of pastors who could be classified neither as storefront ministers nor as "big" ministers. We had predicted that on the whole responses of this group of "middle-class" pastors would be more conservative than those of Group C and more militant than those of Group A. Our data in Chapter IV bore out this hypothesis. We also assumed the responses indicating differing commitment would not be distributed unsystematically throughout this group, but that some ministers would demonstrate consistently committed attitudes and behavior, while others would consistently exhibit non-commitment. Disregarding again variations due to ministers' idiosyncratic way of answering, we were able to identify six ministers in this group whose answers exhibited quite consistently "moderate" or "militant" attitudes and behavior, who represented the type of "committed" ministers, while the remaining ten cases in this group had to be called "uncommitted". We then embraced again on the search for factors which would explain differences in commitment of ministers in Group B, which had from the beginning been characterized by the largest amount of internal variations.

Turning to the variable of congregational size we did not find that within this group committed ministers were associated with the
Larger churches. Table 5-3 shows the relation between variously committed ministers and congregational size.

Table 5-3 "Uncommitted" and "Committed" Ministers and Congregational Size (Group B).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congregational Size</th>
<th>Uncommitted</th>
<th>Committed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evangelist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - 199</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 - 299</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 and more</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistant ministers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at large churches (over 300)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All but one of the "committed" ministers pastored churches with fewer than 200 members.

We then examined the variable "education". The amount of education received by ministers in this group ranged from completed high school, to some college education, to completion of undergraduate and seminary degrees. Our hunch had been that the different amount and quality of education to be found within Group B would be associated with ministers' different commitment to civil rights causes. As Table 5-4 demonstrates this was not found to be the case.

Table 5-4: Relation Between Education and Minister's Commitment to Civil Rights (Group B)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Uncommitted</th>
<th>Committed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College graduate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The "committed" pastors in Group B were distributed over the whole range of education to be found in this group. Even when the quality of attended colleges and the nature of ministers' seminary education were taken into consideration no substantial differences emerged between the "uncommitted" and the "committed" pastors.

In the analysis of deviant cases within Group C the variable "amount of organizational affiliations" had been identified as being associated with ministers' commitment to civil rights. Equally this variable proved to be related to variations within Group B. The average number of ministers' memberships in voluntary organizations was about 3.5; however, all but one of the "committed" pastors in this group, with five, six, or seven such memberships ranged substantially above the indicated mean. The one "committed" pastor who deviated from this pattern had been in Cleveland a short time only and this may explain why he was a member of two Cleveland organizations only.

We then looked again for other factors which might bear on variations of ministers' commitment within Group B. As in Group C a minister's age did not seem to be connected with his attitudes and behavior. The "committed" were distributed over all age levels proportionally to Group B on the whole. Equally the length of residence in the South did not prove to have a systematic connection with ministers' commitment. According to our data all of the ministers' in Group B came from lower-class or lower middle-class background. In no instance had one of the parents enjoyed some college education. However, it seemed that the parents of "committed" pastors had on the average
received more high school education than those of the "uncommitted.

But again, as in Group C, differences were not pronounced enough to support the conclusion that a minister's social origin was a decisive factor bearing on attitudes and behavior in the racial context.

Another factor, full-time versus part-time pastoring of the church, had to be ruled out as being uninfluential with regard to ministers' commitment. Four of the "uncommitted" pastors designated themselves as full-time ministers and so did three of the "committed".

It was only when we turned to the factor "denominational affiliation" that we found differences. They are represented in Table 5-5.

**Table 5-5: Denominational Affiliation and Commitment to Civil Rights (Group B)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Uncommitted</th>
<th>Committed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples of Christ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Baptist ministers in particular, but also Methodist ministers of Group B are obviously under-represented in the category of "committed" pastors. We have hypothesized before (in Chapter III) that a connection with the activities of the Council of Churches would be vital for or indicative of commitment of ministers to the advancement of the race. Therefore, this factor becomes relevant with regard to this Group B.

It is significant in this context, that the "committed" Baptist minister
in this group is pasturing a rough Baptist Church under the Cleveland Council Churches' program of the "Ministry to the Poverty". The church of the "committed" Methodist also has some immediate ties to the Council of Churches by housing one of its head-start groups.

None of the other Baptist and Methodist ministers in Group B seemed very familiar with or had participated in programs and activities sponsored by the Council of Churches or its Metropolitan Affairs Commission. This is not to say that we consider a conscious association with the Council of Churches a necessary condition of a ministers' commitment to civil rights causes. In Group A we have identified a "committed" minister who did not demonstrate much knowledge about the existence of the Council. But we propose that the position of ministers (Baptist and Methodist in particular) who are pastors of smaller churches - unlike the position of "big" ministers - does not involve direct ties to the Council of Churches. The existence of such ties for them, therefore, is indicative of their commitment to the cause of racial advancement.

The data for the Disciples of Christ ministers included in our sample show an exceptional degree of commitment to the racial cause for pastors of this denomination. The one minister of the Disciple of Christ denomination included in Group C was one of the four Negro ministers who had been classified as "highly committed". All three Christian ministers in Group B were among those who are "committed". Chance factors may have contributed to this pattern. Two of the Christian ministers in Group B, e.g., had originally been members of
another Christian Church in Cleveland. After having helped to establish this first church, they have recently become pastors of their own. One reorganized a Christian Church in the Hough area which had almost been abandoned and has rebuilt its membership within a few years. Another one started a congregation in one of the more suburban Negro areas in order "to help prevent that it turns into another Hough." This may be indicative of the concern of what was originally one Christian congregation, rather than of Christian churches in general.

But again the Christian ministers, as well as the "committed" Presbyterian minister in Group B, seemed to be more aware of and to have stronger ties to the programs of the Council of Churches that are actively concerned about Cleveland's racial problems, than, for example, the Lutheran pastor in this group who was consistently "uncommitted".

Group B represents what may be called the "middle-class" of our sample of Negro clergymen. According to an index combined of the size of the congregation and the amount of formal education, all of these ministers - while showing great differences from one another - could be classified neither with "upper-class" ministers of Group C nor with "lower-class" ministers of Group A. Contrary to what may have been expected, the amount and quality of education received by ministers in this group did not prove to be a variable bearing decisively on the nature of the minister's commitment to the advancement of the race. However the variable that had proven to serve as contributory condition for deviations of ministers in
Group C, i.e. the degree of ministers' involvement in voluntary organizations, did also serve as contributory cause in the explanation of variations within Group B. More particularly, we found a ministers' association with the Cleveland Council of Churches, which has taken an active and progressive stand on matters of civil rights, to be indicative for ministers' commitment to Cleveland's racial problems.

Our results may be taken to support the findings of S. M., Lipset discussed before (4); in a time of social change those ministers who are most integrated into formal organizations assume the largest amount of commitment to the efforts made to alleviate racial problems.

4. Types of Ministers, Theological Beliefs, and the Ministerial Role.

We have established so far that the nature of ministers' commitment to racial problems is dependent on their membership in three ministerial "classes" or groups. In an examination of relevant social factors, we identified organizational involvement as a variable to be related to variations of response within these groups; however, we were not able to identify social factors that accounted for variations in a clear-cut manner. This leads us to consider the dimension of ministers' personality in the analysis of our data. We hypothesized, that if a minister were uncommitted to the racial problems, this would be only one expression of his generally conservative outlook, whereas we expected that the commitment of pastors would be associated with liberal views in other areas.

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4. See the discussion of Lipset's study of changing attitudes among Saskatchewan farmers in Chapter II.
The nature of ministers' theological beliefs was a sector which offered itself to test this proposition. In this context ministers were asked about their way of interpreting the Bible. Pastors were asked to look at a card with three statements about the Bible and to choose the one coming closest to their opinion. The statements were:

a) The Bible is God's word and all it says is literally true; b) The Bible was written by men inspired by God, and its basic moral and religious teachings are true, but because the writers were men, it contains some human errors; c) The Bible is a valuable book because it was written by wise and good men but God had nothing to do with it.

As may have been expected in an interview with ministers, none of the pastors gave preference to the statement asserting that God had had nothing to do with the Bible (statement c). This corresponds to the findings of Lenski's Detroit study. Lenski found in interviews with seventy-eight Negro and white clergymen, none of them to indicate preference for the latter statement. (5) Statements a) and b) were both frequently chosen by pastors in our sample. A choice of statement b) was interpreted to indicate liberal theological views.

In another question, ministers were asked: "Some religious groups teach that the world is soon coming to an end, do you believe this or not?" A clear-cut "yes" in answering this question was regarded as a conservative belief, whereas a qualified yes or a denial of the proposition was taken for liberalism in ministers' theological views.

In a third question ministers were asked: "Do you believe that there is a real place called hell?" Like a verbal interpretation of the of the Bible, the belief in the literal existence of hell was evaluated as a conservative theological approach, as contrasted to non-belief in a literal hell, which was taken as expression of liberal theological views. Combining the answers to these three questions into an index, ministers could be divided into three categories: Some expressed consistently liberal theological views, some expressed partly conservative views. Table 5-6 demonstrates the relation between ministers theological views and their commitment to civil rights.

Table 5-6: Theological Views of Ministers with Various Commitment to Civil Rights

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theological Beliefs</th>
<th>Ministers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>Partly liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partly conservative</td>
<td>Commitment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Group A: "uncommitted"      | 8         |
| "committed"                 | 1         |
| Group B: "uncommitted"      | 3         |
| "committed"                 | 1         |
| "Partly liberal"            | 6         |
| "Partly conservative"       | 5         |
| Group C: "uncommitted"      | 3         |
| "committed"                 | 6         |
| "highly committed"          | 4         |
| Total                       | 12        |
|                             | 16        |
|                             | 17        |

What this table demonstrates more than anything else is the relation between higher education and liberal theological beliefs,
as evidenced by the fact that none of the storefront ministers expressed any liberal views at all, whereas none of the ministers in Group C who all enjoyed at least some college training and relatively better seminary training expressed theological conservatism consistently.

But if we look at the variations within the Groups (B and C) we find that - everything being equal - "committed" ministers are more likely to express liberal theological views than the "uncommitted". While we did not find appreciable differences between amount and quality of education among the "committed" and "uncommitted" ministers in Group B, we find that all but one of the "committed" pastors expressed consistently liberal theological views as compared to only one of ten "uncommitted" ministers who did so, and none of the "committed" ministers in this group expressed consistently conservative views. No members of Group C expressed consistently conservative beliefs. However, we found that all three ministers whom we have identified as "uncommitted" expressed only partly liberal views, whereas the four "highly committed" ministers in this group were all consistently liberal in their views.

Our findings confirm the results of Johnstone's study of Detroit ministers. The "militants" in his sample were significantly more likely to express theological liberalism on these same three questions than his "moderates" or "militants". (6)

Another sector in which we tested minister's general outlook was the manner in which he interpreted the ministerial role. In this connection ministers were asked: "In a few words, how would you describe your role as a minister? That is, what do you think are the most important things a minister should be doing?" The Rev. Donald G. Jacobs in Cleveland has cited three ways in which the church can serve "as priest, as a social service and as prophet." The prophetic function includes, he explained, "pointing up problems so the community can see them clearly, and striving to do something about them." (7) He expected that a minister who was conservative in his attitudes toward the racial problems and who did not participate in race-advancement activities, would interpret his ministerial role in a restrictive sense.

7. From a notice on the bulletin board of the Cleveland NAACP branch office. Rev. Jacobs is the President of the Cleveland NAACP branch. This simple tri-dimensional distinction of the functions of the church, suits our purpose (and our limited data) better than some of the elaborate classifications of ministerial functions that have been developed. A. Sklare e.g. has distinguished between eight functions of church leaders: the priest (conductor of public worships), preacher, cleric (a functionary of the state empowered to perform certain ceremonies), reciter (administrator of an organization), pastor (counsellor), father (head of a congregation in a psychological sense, parson (representative of the church to the community), and rabbi (teacher and interpreter of religious doctrines). See Marshall Sklare, Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1966) pp. 177 - 130. Similarly Samuel Blizzard has distinguished between the preacher, pastor, priest, teacher, organizer and administrator. See Samuel A. Blizzard, "The Minister's Dilemma", The Christian Century (April 25, 1955) pp. 508 - 10. However we are here not concerned with an exact description of the various ministerial functions, rather we are concerned with how a minister consciously perceives his role vis-a-vis the congregation and the community at large.
way emphasizing his functions as a priest only. On the other hand, we expected those individuals who were committed to the racial cause, to be also committed as ministers to social service as a legitimate function of the church. We finally anticipated that the "highly committed" pastors would be the ones most likely to consider a "prophetic" dimension as integral part of their ministerial role.

In the categorization of interviewees' conception of their role as ministers, those ministers who saw their function in strictly spiritual terms - as "preaching the gospel", "saving souls", "seek salvation of lost souls" etc. - were designated as "priests". Ministers who added to their function other dimensions - counselling, educating people, ministering to the social needs of people, promote the general welfare of the needy etc. - were classified as being also "social servants". Two ministers, finally, who included in their role obligations a prophetic dimension - "speak to the frustrations of society" and "point out the social needs of the community" - were called "Prophets". Table 5 - 7 represents the relation between ministers' commitment to civil rights and their interpretation of the ministerial role.

Table 5 - 7: Commitment to Civil Rights and Ministerial Role Conception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ministers</th>
<th>Priest</th>
<th>Social Servant</th>
<th>Prophet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group A:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;uncommitted&quot;</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;committed&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group B:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;uncommitted&quot;</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;committed&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group C:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;uncommitted&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;committed&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Highly committed&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data indicate a substantial relation between ministers' commitment to civil rights and the specific way of their perceiving their role as a minister. The only minister in Group A who added to his role a dimension of social service, was the one whom we had designated as "committed". Equally, all the "committed" ministers of Group B added this dimension to their role as a minister whereas most of the "uncommitted" ministers (eight out of ten) interpreted their role as that of a "priest" only. In Group C finally, the three "uncommitted" pastors contributed two members to the category "priest" only. Most of the ministers in this group conceived of their role as bearing on the spiritual as well as the secular welfare of their congregations. It is significant, that the two ministers who included a prophetic dimension in their role interpretation were among the four ministers of our sample who had been designated as being "highly committed". Furthermore, it is not by chance, that the same two ministers, were the only two Cleveland clergymen to lend their signature to the fortuitous statement defending the concept of "Black Power", that has been published by the National Committee of Negro Churchmen in July 1966. (8) It must be pointed out, however, that the prophetic dimension is thought of in this context analogously to Rev. Jacobs statement quoted above rather

than in the sense of the Weberian "prophet", excelling in charismatic leadership. (9) We will venture the assertion that no charismatic leadership has emerged among the Negro clergy in Cleveland - that is, no charismatic leadership that would be comparable to the "gospel of freedom" carried by Martin Luther King throughout the South and the whole nation. (10) The prophetic dimension to be found among the Cleveland clergy is of a different nature; it is an outspoken, rationally based concern for the dangerous realities of the racial situation.

The term "charisma" was defined by Weber as "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities". Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, translated by A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947) p. 359.

Similarly, a number of authors considered "charisma" or "intuition" as the integral part of prophets' activities. See J. W. Ben, Sociology of Religion (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964) pp. 343 - 9.

Our use of the term "prophetic", therefore, does not exactly conform to its usual meaning in the literature. For we have called "prophetic" - with D. Jacobs - an outspoken concern about social problems, regardless from which source - whether from "intuition" or "charisma", or from a perfectly rational evaluation of circumstances - it derives.

Martin Luther King consciously considers himself in the line with Old Testament Prophets. See e.g. his "Letter From a Birmingham Jail", where he wrote: "Just as the prophets of the eighth century B.C. left their villages and carried their "thus saith the Lord" far beyond the boundaries of their home towns, and just as the Apostle Paul left his village of Tarsus and carried the gospel of Jesus Christ to the far corners of the Greco-Roman world, so an I am compelled to carry the gospel of freedom beyond my own home town." Martin Luther King, Why We Can't Wait. (New York: Signet Books, 1964) p. 77.
in Cleveland. (11)

We have thus seen that pastors "uncommitted" in matters of racial advancement are more likely to see their role as a minister restricted to the function of the priest, concerned exclusively with the spiritual needs of their congregations. The majority of the "committed" pastors, on the other hand, usually pointed to the fact that "you can't minister to the spiritual needs of your members without caring for their social (or secular) needs", and included the dimension of social service in their ministerial role.

It would appear reasonable to assume from this, that the "committed" - "social servant" type pastors would also encourage their congregations to participate in organizations concerned with the alleviation of social problems, whereas we expected the "uncommitted" - "priest" type pastors to be less concerned with the activities in which their members participate - as long as these did not interfere with their members' participation in the church. This expectation was borne out by our data.

The only "committed" - "social-servant" type pastor to be included in Group A was also the only one in this group to admit that he encouraged members of his congregation to participate in the district neighborhood association, in Parents-Teacher Associations and in the NAACP.

11. Defining charisma as a quality of individual personality, Weber paid little attention to the social context from which charismatic leaders emerge. Charisma, however, must be interpreted as a function of individual forces and the social and cultural environment. See the discussion of charisma in Yinger, pp. cit., pp. 303 - 3. Could it be that the more subtle forms of social injustice in the North are more conducive to the rational prophetism we find in Cleveland, while the openly segregated system in the South produced a charismatic leadership?
Five members of Group B expressed concern over their members' activity in voluntary organizations other than the church. They expressed a belief in the importance of their members' involvement in community organizations, and political organizations, in all organizations that serve the purpose of education, of information, and of improvement of the neighborhood. All five of these ministers in Group B had been designated as "committed" ministers, who included "social service" as integral part in their interpretation of the ministerial role.

In Group C four ministers indicated that they were not concerned about the extra-church activities of their members. Two of these were among the "uncommitted" pastors of Group C. The majority of pastors in this group expressed their concern for the activities of their members; many admitted that they urged their members to take part in the NAACP; many said they urged their members to take part in "the total life of the community", the four "highly committed" members being among them.

Ministers were also asked: "Are there any organizations against which you sometimes take a stand and discourage your members from participating in?" About one half of the ministers in our sample said they did. The organizations usually mentioned in their answers were the Black Muslims, Seventh Day Adventists, and Jehovah's Witnesses; no systematic relationship was discovered between the nature of a ministers' commitment and his discouraging members to participate in the above organizations. But there were also three ministers who
admitted that they discouraged their members' participation in CORE. It may be considered a significant fact that two of these were "uncommitted" ministers of Group C, the other being a storefront minister.

We have shown, then, in the last paragraphs that ministers who express conservative attitudes toward civil rights issues and are uncommitted to the cause of racial advancement, usually demonstrate conservatism also in their theological beliefs, interpret their ministerial role in exclusively spiritual terms and take no interest in their members' activities other than those related to the church.

Ministers, on the other hand, who expressed a commitment to the racial problems and the agencies working toward their alleviation, were most likely to hold liberal theological views, to consider "social service" as an integral part of their ministerial role and to be concerned about the extra-church organizational involvement of their church members. Two of the four "highly committed" ministers included a prophetic dimension in their interpretation of the ministerial role, that is, they included in their role the responsibility to point out social problems to the community at large and to lead efforts to fight these problems.

One may wonder at this point whether variations in attitudes of the clergy might be reflective, in part, of attitudes prevailing in the congregations. We found no evidence for this assumption in our interviews. All of the "highly committed" pastors indicated that on the whole their congregation held more conservative views with regard to racial matters than the pastors themselves. Many pastors admitted
that they did not know what views were prevailing among members of their congregation in this respect. And some ministers claimed that their members are reacting to racial issues in the manner prescribed by the pastor. Never did we find an indication of ministers admitting that the congregation had been influential in shaping their attitudes and behavior in the racial context. While this is, of course, not an objective measure of the actual influence of congregational attitudes, our assumption is that the impact of the congregation is not very large.

Therefore, we interpret the variations in commitment that are to be found within three groups of ministers, as indicative of variations in their personality, accounting for variations in ministers' general outlook in many areas.

5. A Note on Emotionalism and Social Concern.

It has been traditional among sociologists to consider the emotionalism which is characteristic of many Negro worship services as connected with the escape function the Negro church historically fulfilled, in channelling Negroes' aspirations - unfulfilled in a society practicing discrimination and segregation - into other-worldly hopes and concerns. It has been assumed that with the changing status of Negroes in American society, excessive emotionalism would disappear from their worship services. Days and Nicholson - after an extensive research of Negro churches - predicted already in 1933 the passing of excessive emotionalism. As the strongest proof for their prediction they cited "the difficulty the minister often experiences in getting
the people to shout and say "Amen". (12) They attributed emotionalism in preaching to the fact that "ministers frequently try to hide their own nakedness, their lack of preparation, when they resort to a type of preaching that seems to be designed to "shout the people". (13) And they added as further proof that the ministers with whom they discussed the practice of "heavenly" preaching and excessive emotionalism almost invariably condemned it and apologized for it. (14) It was impossible for me to test these propositions by extending worship services of every pastor who had been interviewed. But from the insights I gained during the course of research in Cleveland I seriously doubt the correctness of the trend predicted by Hays and Nicholson.

I visited one Negro church in Cleveland (Group C) where preaching was unemotional, yet people interrupted even the rationally based sermon by frequent "Amens". On the other hand I visited two churches (Group B) where the sermon as well as the choir music made for a definitely emotional atmosphere during the worship service. The pastors in these churches had no difficulty whatsoever to get the congregation to respond with frequent "Amens". There were instances of people "getting happy" and the service was obviously enjoyed by the whole congregation. Moreover, the pastors were not at all apologetic about their emotional preaching and considered their way of preaching as perfectly legitimate.

13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
But the discussion of emotionalism in the Negro church usually goes further than the above prediction of its fading away among contemporary Negroes. It has been speculated that emotionalism is inherently contradictory to the rising this - worldly concerns of Negro churches. Ruby F. Johnston has gone so far as to postulate that there is a "norm of rationality", an "unemotional norm" in today's Negro churches, which may be quoted here at length:

"A concise explanation of the norm is this: There should be no conspicuous manifestation of emotion during the church service. Religion should be related to life; man should seek to manifest the Principle of Love in his social relationships; and religion should be an instrument of making one live better physically, morally, economically and politically. It is believed that a religion which centralizes and emphasizes emotion is a barrier to rational (logical in terms of means being suitable to ends) behavior; it focuses attention upon elements of the other world whereas attention should be given to improving general well-being in this world." (15)

If Johnston's assumptions are true, it would be surprising to find emotionalism in churches whose pastors display commitment to the cause of racial advancement, who are observant of the social needs of their congregation and try to involve it in activities fighting the problems of ghetto-life. The two emotional worship services that I

attended, however, were led by pastors who quite definitely showed such commitment. At another occasion I had a long talk with a Baptist pastor in Cleveland. He had not been among the randomly selected Baptists of my sample, but knowing that he had been at the forefront of ministerial civil rights activities - belonging to the core of five or six pastors who are frequently cited as being exceptions to the otherwise lukewarm commitment of Negro pastors - I arranged for an informal interview with him. After having discussed his ideas in the area of civil rights, I asked him whether he thought that the traditional emotionalism in the Negro Baptist church was a hindrance to a concern for the problems of this world. "Oh no", he said, "I get pretty emotional myself during the service. I get so enthusiastic that I just can't talk in dry words about the message." At another occasion, one of the most avid civil rights protagonist in Cleveland, the former chairman of the Cleveland CORE, told me that he does not go for what he called "dull" church services. Since he has recently become a minister himself, I feel confident to say that his sermon will exhibit the same emotionalism that I observed with other pastors.

What I experienced then was simply this: Many Negro pastors think that emotionalism during the worship service can be connected to this - worldly concerns as well as to other-worldly hopes. This is not to say that all Negro churches in Cleveland have emotional services, neither that all emotional preachers are concerned with problems in this world. It still holds true that the upper-class Negro
churches and especially those of the Presbyterian, Congregational and Episcopal variety are likely to have as rational church-services as their white counterparts do. But it may be tentatively suggested that in most of the Baptist churches, and especially the middle- and lower-class churches, emotionalism is considered an integral part of the worship service.

As the class-status of Negroes in the American society continues to change, a trend toward more rationally based, ritual church services will be growing. But it may be suggested, that the strengthening of the Negro's self-identity will be accompanied by another trend which considers emotionalism as the specific Negro way of worshipping. Therefore, we do not think that emotionalism in the Negro church is likely to disappear in the future. However, it will be less and less often connected to an other-worldly outlook, instead it will be accompanied by the growing concern about the Negro's lot in this world.
In sociological analysis religion has more often proved to be a conserver of old values than a creator of new. The Negro church has not been an exception to this rule. By and large, it has served to adjust Negroes to the existing social order, rather than to strive for the creation of a new order. This does not come as a surprise to the sociologist, when the existing order is in flux, however, when the values, needs, and interests of the people involved in the church are in the process of changing, the church is bound to change too. A person who thinks that a new social order will be for the better will hope that in such times of change the church will serve as an activating force rather than as a restraining force.

In this context the aim of our study was to discover how Negro ministers, in the influential position they occupy, react to the racial conflict. If we may generalize our findings of a selected sample, most storefront ministers and many members of the middle-class Negro clergy in Cleveland do not react to it at all. They are uninformed about current race issues, they do not participate in race-advancement organizations, and they do not invite members of their congregations to do so. The leadership they exercise does not go beyond the limits of their church. Ralph Bunche's dictum may well apply to them: "For leadership itself is a form of escapism." (1)

On the other hand, we found that some members of the middle-class

1. Quoted in Charles E. Silberman, op. cit., p. 201.
clergy and most "big" ministers are committed to the objects of the racial struggle. In recent years they have participated in civil rights demonstrations and many of them urge their members to become members of the NAACP and to commit themselves to the fight for racial equality. Why, then, did we encounter so much criticism in the Negro community directed in particular at the "big" ministers? Must not this criticism seem unfounded in the light of the activities ministers have engaged in in recent years?

More than twenty years ago Gunnar Myrdal called the American dilemma a "white man's problem". (2) For many years since, the civil rights movement has concentrated on fighting the white man's problem, i.e. on rooting out white discrimination and insuring equal treatment for Negroes. The NAACP in particular has seen the problem as "exclusively a white man's problem which will be solved when whites grant Negroes the rights which are morally and legally theirs". (3)

But there is another side to the American dilemma which needs fighting - the Negro's problem. For the vast majority of Negro Americans, the lower-class slum-dwellers, the problem is not segregation and discrimination per se; for them the problem involves questions of social class, not just race. "But the Negro poor are not able to make such fine distinctions; they know only that they

2. See Gunnar Myrdal, _op. cit._, pp. LI - LII in particular.
are black, and that they are exploited and cheated." (4)

Both sides of the American dilemma, the white man's problem and the Negro's problem reinforce each other. As long as the vast majority of Negroes are lower-class slum-dwellers, there is no hope of rooting out white prejudice. And as long as there is white prejudice and discrimination, there is little chance for the urban ghettos to vanish. The mutual reinforcement of the white man's problem and the Negro's problem constitutes a vicious circle, which must be attacked at various points on its circumference if the American dilemma is to be solved.

There have been gains in fighting the white man's problem over the years, but the fight against the Negro's problem has barely started and has so far not been successful, as is evidenced by the growing dimensions of urban ghettos, and, more drastically, by the riots in recent years. For the riots in Cleveland and in other large cities were not race-riots, in which Negroes inflicted violence on white Americans; rather they were ghetto riots, in which the frustrations of lower-class Negroes burst out aimlessly. The riots were expressions of violent protest against the Negro's problem rather than against the white man's problem.

The thesis to be advanced here is that the abundant criticism with which people of the Rough community approach the Negro clergy is based on their ignoring the Negro's problem. While members of

4. Ibid., p. 139.
the Negro clergy have demonstrated their commitment to the cause of racial advancement by fighting the white man's problem, they have demonstrated a lack of leadership in fighting the Negro's problem.

An episode during the Hough riot days is significant for the grievances that Negroes in Hough carry against their pastors. In the stormy July days a meeting was held at the Hough Opportunity Center which was attended by various "leaders" of the community. During the meeting people complained that they felt let down by their ministers. Finally, somebody voiced this complaint and standing up he exclaimed to the pastors present: "If you ministers lead, we people will follow!" There was no particular suggestion exactly where the ministers should lead the people to; it was simply the quest for leadership that was brought forward. The complaint of the people showed that the participation of ministers in a few demonstrations and in race-advancement activities bearing not directly on the daily plight of ghetto-life was invisible to the community. The demand was that the Negro clergy assume leadership in fighting the Negro's problem, and that it would do so in a way conspicuous to the people in Hough. What people demanded was that their pastors would represent them and voice their problems to City Hall. It was a demand for identity and for power that emerged from the community.

The demand for identity and for power is the essence of the new trend within the civil rights movement that has sought to transfer
the emphasis from fighting the white man's problem to fighting the Negro's problem—the "Black Power" movement. "Black Power" does not intend to foster a new isolationism; rather it recognizes that only equal partners can enter into meaningful interaction. Its aim is to put Negroes into a position where they do not have to beg for equal opportunity but where they can demand it. "Without this capacity to participate with power—i.e., to have some organized political and economical strength to really influence people with whom one interacts—integration is not meaningful... Power today is essentially organizational power." (5) The National Committee of Negro Churchmen demonstrated in this statement an understanding of the concept of "Black Power" that is far ahead of the Negro clergy in Cleveland, who look at it—for the most part—skeptically and even disapprovingly.

During the crisis days an organization called the Negro Pastors of Greater Cleveland was formed to meet the demand of the community. The momentum of the crisis carried over into drafting an ambitious program that put the aims of the new organization far beyond the nature of a welfare organization into the range of a social action group. The Negro Pastors also met with the mayor, explaining the grievances of the community.

Since the days of the riot, however, the activities of the Negro Pastors have been less conspicuous to the community. Time went by with internal discussions about the proper name under which the

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organization should operate. Some members objected that the name Negro Pastors of Greater Cleveland implied an aspect of isolationism, a defeat of the idea of integration, the very aim they were fighting for. The name was finally dropped and United Pastors Association was adopted as the new name of the organization. One wonders whether this did not imply a defeat of one of the two demands of the community, the demand for visible leadership, for an organization with which Negroes could identify. It remains yet to be seen whether the new organization will meet the second demand of the slum community, that there be leadership, a leadership that would succeed in transforming the mass of ghetto dwellers into an organized power-base, with a better chance of confronting a grotesquely inert city administration with abundant problems.

The lack of leadership in the Negro community has been called the most serious problem facing Cleveland. That is, the lack of leaders, "who are identified with the problems of the slum Negro and could help him articulate his just demands. . . . The task of developing a new and strong base of Negro leadership that understands practical persuasion and social action will not be simple. Such leaders must be willing to work with and organize the most angry and most discontented elements of the Negro ghetto, for it is here that explosive energy must be harnessed and channeled for responsible social and political action. (6)

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6. Council of Churches; Commission on Metropolitan Affairs, "Community Organization: An Alternative to Riots".
This challenge is not directed to the Negro clergy alone. But the Negro clergy could play a prominent part in the mobilization of leadership; it could be the initiator, even, of a large scale community organization project. (7) It is true that those ministers in Cleveland who have expressed their concern for Cleveland's racial problems in recent years are probably to a smaller degree in the position where they can identify with the problems of the slum Negro than their middle-class and lower-class fellow clergymen. Many of the "big" ministers criticized in the interview the storefront ministers, "who give the people what they want instead of giving them what they need, and manage pretty well to get their share in the process." But many of the big ministers also admitted that the storefront and small church ministers talk the language of the slum-dwellers, from which the more prominent ministers have been estranged; some of them have realized that education and status have put a barrier between the people who live in the ghetto and the large church ministers. But the concerned ministers are in a unique position to mobilize a concern for the Negro's problem in their uncommitted fellow clergymen. The denominational alliances, in particular the Baptist Ministers Conference, provide a setting where such action may take place. Moreover, the United Pastors Association (Negro Pastors of Greater Cleveland) provides a structure for the two-fold objective of mobilizing leadership in the Negro community and voicing its problems and grievances to the community at large. It is still time for the Negro clergy to restore its image in the community by meeting the challenge of the Negro's problem.

7. One might think, e.g., of inviting such a community organizer as Saul Alinsky to come to Cleveland.
Appendix I: Introductory Letter Sent to Interviewees

OBERLIN COLLEGE
Oberlin, Ohio 44074

Herb Sandeen
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

The Reverend ———

Dear Mr. ———

I am a German graduate student at Oberlin College working on a Master's thesis in the sociology of religion.

In the past few years sociologists have become very interested in the impact of the churches on metropolitan life. Gerhard Lenski, for example, has done extensive studies of Detroit, which have been published in his book The Religious Factor.

No such surveys have been conducted in Cleveland. Yet I feel it is important that we discover more about the role the churches and their ministers are playing in the life of the community, the problems they are facing and the contributions they are making.

I would be grateful for the opportunity to interview you as a representative of the Protestant clergy in Cleveland. Therefore, within a few days, I will be contacting you, hoping to arrange for an interview appointment. Realizing, of course, that your time is limited, I will keep the interview as brief as possible. I would appreciate your cooperation in this study and believe that you will find the interview enjoyable.

Let me thank you in advance for your kind assistance.

Sincerely yours,

P.S.: I would appreciate any cooperation you may give to Miss Frambein. The topic she is studying is important and she will, I feel certain, handle it skillfully.

J. Milton Yinger
Professor of Sociology and Anthropology
Oberlin College
Appendix II: Interview Schedule

1. I'd like to begin by asking you a few questions about yourself and your background in the ministry. First of all, how long have you been serving this present congregation?

2. Are you a full-time minister here?
   a. Yes  
   b. No

2a. (If no.) What is your other job?

3. In what year did you enter the ministry?

4. Have you had any other full-time employment in your adult life?
   a. Yes  
   b. No

4a. (If yes.) What kind?

5. In a few words, how would you describe your role as a minister? That is, what do you think are the most important things a minister should be doing?

6. What organizations or clubs do you belong to?

7. What do you feel is the major problem facing Cleveland today?

8. Are there any other problems that you think should be mentioned?

9. How about the Negro community? What is the major problem facing it?

10. In general, what are the major organizations working in Cleveland to improve the status of Negro citizens? I'd like the names of all that you think are important.

11. Are you a member of any of these (if not mentioned before)?
    a. Yes  
    b. No

11a. (If yes.) Which ones?

12. Do you serve as a board member in any of those?
    a. Yes  
    b. No

12a. (If yes.) Which ones?

13. Which one of the organizations that you mentioned do you believe to be most effective in helping the Negro?

14. Do you feel that there are also any particular groups in Cleveland that are trying to keep the Negro down?
    a. Yes  
    b. No

14a. (If yes.) Which ones in particular?
15. I would like to talk to you now about some of the issues that have recently come up in Cleveland. For example, do you remember the school crisis of two years ago? (Probe: I am thinking of the demonstrations at the Stephen E. I lows School construction site.) What were the main issues involved?

16. Were you yourself involved in the affair in any way?
   a. Yes  b. No

16a. (If yes.) How in particular? Could you tell me something about it?

17. Do you know whether any members of your congregation participated in the sit-ins at the school?

18. Do you feel that direct action was justified on this occasion?
   a. Yes  b. No

19. I understand that good education is still a problem in Cleveland.
   a) Some people think that desegregation of the Cleveland schools should be enforced under all circumstances, even at the expense of bussing children into different sections of town. b) Others think one should concentrate instead on spending more money on the existing east-side schools. Which do you personally believe is more important at this point?
   a.  b.

20. Another problem which has gotten much publicity in Cleveland is fair employment. Do you think (or You mentioned already) that fair employment is still a real problem here?
   a. Yes  b. No

21. Did you hear about the unfair employment practices at the Federal Building construction site last year?
   a. Yes  b. No

21a. (If yes.) Did you participate in the demonstrations?
   a. Yes  b. No

22. Do you feel that a minister should feel free to participate in demonstrations if the issue is important? Or do you think he should not engage in such activities?
   a. Should  b. Should not

23. Have you ever participated in one?
   a. Yes  b. No

24. In general, do you think that demonstrations and direct action are an effective means to assure first-class citizenship for Negroes?
   a. Yes  b. No

25. What other tactics, besides open demonstrations, do you think would be equally or more effective in assuring full rights for Negroes?
26. Did you ever feel that your position as a minister put some restraints on you, as to what you personally would have wanted to do when racial issues came up?
   a. Yes   b. No

26a. (If yes.) Could you tell me something about it?

27. Now let me shift the subject a little to your fellow ministers. Do you feel that in the last five years or so Negro ministers have become more concerned about community problems, less concerned, or has their concern remained about the same?

28. Can you think of any occasion where Cleveland ministers have, as a group, taken a stand for or against something?
   a. Yes   b. No

28a. (If yes.) Could you tell me something about it?

28b. (If no, or not mentioned.)
   Probe: Did you ever hear about the Emergency Committee of Clergy for Civil Rights?
   a. Yes   b. No

28c. (If yes.) Were you a member of it?
   a. Yes   b. No

28d. (Question added in September.) (If not mentioned.) Are you familiar with a group called the Negro Pastors of Greater Cleveland?

29. Do you think that a lot of ministers are spending so much time with community activities and concerns that they are neglecting the spiritual needs of their people?
   a. Yes   b. No

30. What are the names of the men you consider the most prominent ministerial leaders in Cleveland today, i.e. the ministers who are prominent leaders outside their own churches?

31. Do you feel that your own attitudes regarding the race question and what clergymen should be doing to help the Negro are pretty much the same as those of the local leaders of your denomination?

32. Do you think that the white churches of Cleveland are doing much of anything to help improve the status of the Negroes in Cleveland?
   a. Yes   b. No

32a. (If yes.) In what ways?

32b. (If no.) Why not?

33. Do you ever get together with white ministers in the city?
   a. Yes   b. No
33a. (If yes.) On what occasions or under what circumstances do you get together with them?

33b. (If yes.) About how many times in an average month do you see white ministers either to talk or to work together?

34. How I'd like to ask you a few questions about your congregation. First of all, how many people belong to your congregation?

35. How long has your congregation been in existence? That is, how long ago was it established?

36. Do you have any white members in your congregation?
   a. Yes   b. No.

36a. (If yes.) How many?

37. About how many of your members are engaged in professional occupations such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, morticians, newspapermen, and the like?

38. What kinds of activities other than the regular worship services do you have going on at your church?

39. Do you have to run things pretty much by yourself, or do you feel that there is a good division of labor in your church?
   a. Runs things alone   b. Division of labor

40. Do you feel that most of your members are quite actively involved in the church or do you wish that they would spend a little more time with church activities and less with others?

41. Which are the organizations outside of the church in which many of your members are involved?

42. Do you particularly encourage the membership in any of these organizations, or are you not so much concerned about this?

42a. (If yes.) Which are these?

43. Are there any organizations against which you sometimes take a stand and discourage your members from participating in?

43a. (If yes.) Which are these?

44. Do you think it your responsibility as a clergyman to indicate clearly to your members your own personal stand on a particular political, social, or economic issue facing the community or the nation?
   a. Yes   b. No

45. Regarding the racial problems here in Cleveland, do you feel that your congregation has the same view about them and how they should be solved as you yourself?
   a. Yes   b. No
45a. (If no.) In what way do they differ?

45b. (If no.) Does it bother you to have this divergence of view between you and your congregation?

Let me conclude by asking you just a few more questions about yourself and your theological beliefs. Here is a card on which you will find three statements that have been made about the Bible. I'd like to know which of these comes closest to your own view.

Card:  a) The Bible is God's word, and all that it says is literally true.

b) The Bible was written by men inspired by God and its basic moral and religious teachings are true, but because the writers were men, it contains some human errors.

c) The Bible is a valuable book because it was written by wise and good men, but God had nothing to do with it.

47. Some religious groups teach that the world is soon coming to an end. Do you believe this or not?
   a. Yes   b. No

48. Do you believe that there is a real place called hell?
   a. Yes   b. No

49. Do you feel that you have the right to question the doctrines of your church?
   a. Yes   b. No

50. How many years of schooling did you complete?

50a. Did you attend an all-Negro school, or an integrated one?
   a. All-Negro   b. Integrated

51. Did you attend college or university?
   a. Yes   b. No

51a. (If yes.) Was this an all-Negro or an integrated institution of higher learning?
   a. All-Negro   b. Integrated

52. Did you attend seminary?
   a. Yes   b. No

52a. (If yes.) Was it all-Negro or integrated?
   a. All-Negro   b. Integrated

53. What advanced degrees do you have?
54. Where were you born?
54a. (If in the South.) How long did you live there?

55. What was your father's and what was your mother's usual occupation while you were growing up?
   a. Father  
   b. Mother

56. How many years of schooling did your parents complete?
   a. Father  
   b. Mother

57. Where was your father born?

58. Where was your mother born?

59. In what year were you born?
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