

**“A Cry for Justice:” Daniel A. Rudd’s
Ecclesiological-Centered Vision
of Justice in the *American
Catholic Tribune***

Dissertation

Submitted to
The College of Arts and Sciences of the
University of Dayton

In partial fulfillment of the Requirement for
The Degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Theology
Religious Studies Department

By

Gary Bruce Agee

University of Dayton

Dayton, Ohio

August, 2008

APPROVED BY:

William L. Portier, Ph.D.
Dissertation Director

Una M. Cadegan, Ph.D.
Dissertation Reader

Sandra Yocum Mize, Ph.D.
Dissertation Reader

William V. Trollinger, Ph.D.
Dissertation Reader

Cecilia A. Moore, Ph.D.
Dissertation Reader

Sandra Yocum Mize, Ph.D.
Chair, Department of Religious Studies

ABSTRACT

“A CRY FOR JUSTICE:” DANIEL A. RUDD’S ECCLESIOLOGICALLY-CENTERED VISION OF JUSTICE IN THE *AMERICAN CATHOLIC TRIBUNE*

Name: Agee, Gary Bruce
University of Dayton

Advisor: William L. Portier

In his seminal work, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, Dom Cyprian Davis O.S.B. attempted to set a broader framework within which “future historical research” at the local level might occur. This dissertation is one such academic endeavor. Building on the historical work of both Davis and Joseph H. Lackner S.M., this dissertation examines the nature of the “cry for justice” as it was communicated in the *American Catholic Tribune*, a weekly, nineteenth century, black newspaper printed by Daniel A. Rudd, an influential African American Catholic publisher, educator and civil rights leader.

During the years of this newspaper’s publication, 1886-1897, Rudd promoted an ecclesiologically-centered vision of justice which presumed for the Catholic Church an essential role in the establishment of race justice in America. An examination of Rudd’s life and work reveals that though Rudd agitated for full equality for African Americans throughout his life, three distinct approaches can be discerned which roughly correspond to three periods in his life. During the Springfield Period, 1881-1886, Rudd promoted a “Fredrick Douglass-like” political/judicial activist approach. During the Cincinnati/Detroit Period, 1887-1897, he championed an ecclesiologically-centered approach. Finally, throughout the Southern Period,

from 1900 onward, the Catholic laymen advocated a “Booker T. Washington-like” economic, self-help approach for achieving full equality for blacks.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the company of individuals who supported me during the time I worked to complete this dissertation. The joy of completing this work, however, is somewhat tempered by the fact that it cannot be shared with my late father-in-law, “Buddy;” my son, “Jake” who would have been a senior in high school this year; and my little Aleena who would have been four. This having been said, I am cognizant of the fact that this dissertation could not have been completed had it not been for the inspiration and contribution of three generous and gracious individuals: first, my wife of twenty years whose friendship and love have proved invaluable in every aspect of my growth as a person; secondly, Tim, my brother, who financially supported my education, and in so doing brought this vocational aspiration within reach; finally, my dissertation director, William L. Portier, whose patience, expertise and at times toughness led to the development of a much improved manuscript.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgement	v
Introduction	1
Rudd’s Biographical Timeline.....	6
Chapter	
I. Daniel Arthur Rudd: Founder of the <i>American Catholic Tribune</i>	8
“An Energetic Young Republican:” The Springfield Period.....	26
Toward an Ecclesiologically-Centered Vision of Justice in The American Catholic Tribune, The Cincinnati/Detroit Period.....	29
Rudd Moves South, The Southern Period.....	40
<i>American Catholic Tribune</i> Timeline.....	42
II. The <i>American Catholic Tribune</i> : An Instrument of Justice.....	44
The Demise of the <i>ACT</i> : A Counter Thesis.....	79
A More Compelling Set of Hypotheses for Rudd’s Move to Detroit and the Collapse of the <i>ACT</i>	83
III. An Ecclesiological Vision of Justice in the <i>American Catholic Tribune</i>	95
Converting African Americans.....	110
The “New Civilization:” Rudd and the Romantic Apologetic for Catholicism.....	118
IV. Finding Race Justice in the Catholic Church.....	127
Challenges to Rudd’s Ecclesiologically-Centered Vision of Justice.....	155
V. Applications of Rudd’s Vision of Justice Through 1887.....	165
Race Pride: an Apology for African Americans.....	167
Rudd’s Opposition to Race Segregation.....	175
Employment Opportunities.....	182
Southern Prisons.....	186
Crop Mortgage System.....	188

VI.	Applications of Rudd’s Vision of Justice from 1888-1894.....	191
	Black Emigration from the South.....	192
	Discrimination in Public Accommodations.....	197
	Native Americans.....	203
	Lynching and Justice.....	208
VII.	Beyond Concerns of Race Justice.....	222
	Women and Justice.....	223
	The School Question.....	235
	Economic Justice.....	247
	Justice for Ireland.....	257
	Temporal Authority of the Pope.....	262
	The Exploitation of People of Color: An International Focus.....	265
	Colored Catholic Congress Timeline.....	272
VIII.	The Colored Catholic Congress Movement and its first Meeting.....	273
	The First Colored Catholic Congress.....	294
IX.	The Congress Movement from 1889-1895.....	304
	The Second Colored Catholic Congress.....	305
	The Third Congress.....	324
	Cincinnati’s All Race Convention.....	330
	The Fourth Colored Catholic Congress.....	335
	The Fifth Colored Catholic Congress.....	339
	Epilogue	347
	Appendices	374
	Bibliography	386

Introduction

In 1969, David Spalding C.F.X. published a groundbreaking article the subject of which was the Colored Catholic Congresses of the nineteenth century. The article was entitled “The Negro Catholic Congresses, 1889-1894.”¹ In this important work, Spalding identified Daniel Arthur Rudd (1854-1933)² as the “chief architect” of this important lay initiative. Prior to the publication of this article, Daniel Rudd’s contribution to the work of the Catholic Church in America had been largely forgotten. Spalding’s article, however, inspired subsequent scholars including Dom Cyprian Davis O.S.B. who published his seminal work in 1990, *The History of Black Catholics in United States*. In 1991, this volume of history earned Davis the John Gilmary Shea Award from the American Catholic Historical Association. In recognition of this same author’s lifetime of groundbreaking scholarship, in 2006, Davis was awarded the Marianist Award from the University of Dayton.³

In the preface of *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, Davis has proposed that his volume of history was an attempt to “give the larger framework within which future historical research” at the local level could develop. As might be expected, Davis’ work has served as a catalyst for a number of scholarly articles, theses, dissertations and books. One important historical character brought to the stage in Davis’

¹ David is the religious name assumed by the author. He subsequently published under his birth name, Thomas Spalding. David Spalding, “The Negro Catholic Congresses, 1889-1894,” *Catholic Historical Review* 55 (1969): 337-57.

² I have included the birth and death date of prominent individuals only when I could easily locate the information. Though I realize this to be an imperfect system, it will, I hope, give the reader some historical bearing for many of the individuals who appear in the text.

³ Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Co., 1990).

work is Daniel Rudd. A careful reading of Davis' work reveals that he recognized Rudd's contribution to the Catholic Church as important, even if overlooked by previous historians. Moreover, Davis' work on Rudd has inspired scholars to devote attention not only to Rudd but also to his newspaper, the *American Catholic Tribune*, (Hereafter "ACT") a black Catholic weekly published from 1886-1897. In particular, Joseph H. Lackner S.M. has to date published three articles examining Rudd and the *ACT*. Lackner's first article, "Daniel Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune From Bardstown to Cincinnati," was published in 1994.⁴ A second article followed the next year, "The American Catholic Tribune and the Puzzle of its Finances."⁵ A third article, "The *American Catholic Tribune*, No Other Like It," was published in 2007.⁶

This dissertation will build on the work of Davis and Lackner by exploring the nature of the "cry for justice" Rudd raised throughout the years of his newspaper's publication. In this present work, I will demonstrate that Rudd promoted an ecclesiologically-centered vision of justice which presumed for the Catholic Church a vital role in the establishment of a racially equitable society in America. To this end, Rudd employed theologically laden language concerning the "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man" which found its support in Jesus' teaching on the subject as well as in the Christian doctrine of the Creation. Rudd argued that the best hope for African Americans living in late nineteenth America was the Catholic Church. He believed that through its mission and ministry, justice would prevail. Moreover, Rudd found sufficient

⁴ Joseph H. Lackner S.M., "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (April 1994).

⁵ Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune and the Puzzle of Its Finances," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* (1995).

⁶ Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune No Other Like It," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 25 (Summer 2007).

evidence and encouragement from church leaders to believe that the church would play a pivotal role in society's eventual recognition of the full equality of African Americans.

There appears to have been development with regard to Rudd's convictions on the most effective method for winning recognition of the full equality of African Americans. For example, prior to 1886, Rudd does not appear to have promoted the Catholic Church as a vital agent necessary for the establishment of a just racial order. Nor is there evidence in Rudd's biography of Scott Bond, *From Slavery to Wealth: the Life of Scott Bond* (1917) to suggest that after the collapse of the *ACT* race justice was inextricably linked in the editor's mind to the ministry and mission of the Catholic Church. In short, evidence from the extant years of the *ACT* (1887-1894), demonstrates that Rudd's vision of justice was ecclesiologically- centered only during the years of the publication of the *ACT*.

No biography has been written of Rudd, this despite the fact that the lives of many of his African American journalistic peers, including Ida B. Wells (1862-1931), Thomas Fortune (1856-1928), and Benjamin Tucker Tanner (1835-1923), have been the subject of biographical research. Rudd's story is a compelling one, however. Though Rudd was born a slave he managed to receive an impressive education. Through hard work and perseverance, he became a successful entrepreneur who built a printing business providing jobs for many men and women. With the establishment of the *ACT*, Rudd became a black newspaper man demonstrating his skills as an orator, journalist, editor and entrepreneur.

Prior to the establishment of the *ACT*, the accomplished Rudd organized a printing school which may have existed for as many as twelve years. Rudd was also an

important leader in the Catholic Church. He became a primary force in advocating the evangelization of blacks; he also founded the Colored Catholic Congress movement. His advocacy for lay involvement in the church led the editor to take a leading role in organizing the Catholic lay congress movement. Rudd was also an important civil rights leader during the late 1880s and 1890s in the cities of Springfield and Cincinnati, Ohio. Rudd was an author, he published two books.⁷ Evidence from his life after the *ACT* demonstrates that Rudd was more than a man of letters with business acumen. He possessed a mechanical genius not fully revealed until his move to the South sometime after 1897.⁸

This dissertation is divided into nine chapters. Chapters one and two provide foundational information for this study by offering a biographical sketch of Rudd's life, as well as a focused study of the *ACT*. Chapter three defines what is meant by an ecclesiological-centered vision of justice. Chapter four demonstrates how Rudd, though often confronted with evidence to the contrary, could believe in the sincerity of the church's efforts on behalf of blacks. Chapters five and six examine Rudd's stand on a number of race justice questions debated by African Americans in the late nineteenth century. Because Rudd was a black Catholic in touch with issues of the day, he campaigned for justice questions beyond the pale of race. These will be examined in chapter seven. In chapters eight and nine, an account of Rudd's campaign for justice as it was instantiated and extended into his work with the Colored Catholic Congress movement will be discussed. Finally, given what appears to be significant development in

⁷ Rudd authored, *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses* (Cincinnati: American Catholic Tribune, 1893). He also co-authored with Theophilus Bond, *From Slavery to Wealth, the Life of Scott Bond* (Madison, Arkansas: Journal Printing Co., 1917).

⁸ See the epilogue of this dissertation.

Rudd's thinking as to the best method by which blacks might receive the recognition of their full equality, an epilogue will chart Rudd's life and work after the 1897 collapse of the *ACT*.

The primary source material for this dissertation will be the *ACT*. There are 285 extant copies of this publication housed at the American Catholic Historical Society Archives in Philadelphia; they are available on microfilm. Though Rudd began publishing the *ACT* in August 1886, the earliest extant copy of the newspaper is dated February 18, 1887. The last extant copy, published in Detroit, is dated September 8, 1894.

Rudd's Biographical Timeline

- 1785 The first Catholic pioneers from Maryland settled near Bardstown, Kentucky.
- 1854 Rudd was born a slave to the Haydon family in Bardstown.
- 1876 Rudd in Springfield, Ohio to complete his secondary education, employed with the St. John's Machine Co.
- 1877 Rudd employed with Springfield's European Hotel
- 1881 Rudd took part in the "Eva Gazaway Case"
- 1883 Rudd returned from living in Columbus, Ohio
- 1885 Rudd established the *Ohio State Tribune*
- 1886 (August) Rudd and James T. Whitson established the *American Catholic Tribune*
- 1887 Rudd helped establish the Cincinnati Civil Rights League
- 1887 Rudd operated a printing school at his *ACT* facilities
- 1888 Rudd ended his partnership with James Whitson
- 1889 Rudd helped establish a local branch of Afro-American League
- 1891 In Cincinnati Rudd helped host a meeting of the Colored Press Association
- 1892 Rudd's Speech before the Apostolate of the Press in New York
- 1893 (December) Rudd moved the *ACT* to Detroit
- 1893 Rudd completed his first book *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*
- 1897 Collapse of the *ACT*, Rudd moved from the Detroit
- 1910 Rudd in Boyletown, Mississippi, working as a lumber mill manager
- 1912 Rudd moved to Madison, Arkansas, to work for Scott Bond
- 1917 Rudd co-authored *From Slavery to Wealth...*(a biography of Scott Bond)

- 1919 Rudd attended NAACP meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, employed with John Gammon Jr. in Marion, Arkansas
- 1932 Rudd suffered a stroke and returned to Bardstown
- 1933 Rudd died at the age of seventy-nine

Chapter I

Daniel Arthur Rudd: Founder of the *American Catholic Tribune*

Rudd's Speech before the Catholic Apostolate of the Press, January, 1892

On January 6, 1892, Daniel Arthur Rudd, a former slave, and the proprietor and editor of the *American Catholic Tribune*, answered an invitation to speak before the Apostolate of the Press gathered in New York City.⁹ The youthful and energetic Rudd was at the zenith of his career. His many accomplishments up to this crowning moment demonstrate a man driven by deep resolve. Despite the bondage of his youth, Rudd, with the help of unknown benefactors, managed to get a solid primary education, subsequently completing his high school training in Springfield, Ohio, following the U.S. Civil War. While residing in Springfield, Rudd became an accomplished printer and editor. So accomplished was Rudd in this field, that he and partner, James T. Whitson,¹⁰ established a newspaper, the *ACT*, which subsequently became a national publication boasting ten-thousand subscribers by 1892. This remarkably large subscription base made the *ACT* one of the most successful black newspapers of its era.¹¹

⁹ The Apostolate of the Press was an organization of U.S. Catholic editors and publishers. By 1890, the German Catholic Press Union's seventeen publications were represented in the meetings of this body. In a the Cincinnati meeting of this organization held in 1890, a number of other Catholic editors and publishers were present including: John O'Flannigan of the *Kansas Catholic*; Milton E. Smith of the *Church News* (Washington, D.C.); James Delaney of the *Catholic Youth* (Brooklyn); R.C. Dunlevy of the *Pittsburg Catholic*; J. H. Conroy of the *Ogdensburg Courier*; Wm. W.A. Marakle of the *Catholic Journal* (Rochester); Patrick S. O'Ryan of the *Catholic Home* (Chicago); William H. Lepley of the *Church News*; Joseph Shoenenberger of the *Catholic Telegraph* (Cincinnati); Rev. C. Kuhlman and Conde B. Pallen of the *Church Progress* (St. Louis); Rev. T. W. Graham of the *Catholic Tribune* (St. Joseph). "Convention of Catholic Editors and Publishers," *ACT*, 10 May 1890, p.3.

¹⁰ See note on Whitson in chapter two.

¹¹ For example, the *ACT* at its peak published about two-thousand more newspapers weekly than did the popular A.M.E. *Christian Recorder* published at its zenith. (see chapter two)

Daniel Rudd was one of the most visible and influential lay Catholics of his generation. In demand as a lecturer, he traveled extensively. On these excursions Rudd met and won the confidence and cooperation of many distinguished church leaders, including James Cardinal Gibbons (1834-1914), Archbishop of Baltimore; Henry Edward Cardinal Manning (1807-1892), of Westminster; Cardinal Charles Lavigérie (1825-1892), Archbishop of Carthage and Algiers and primate of Africa.¹² Rudd and a number of delegates to the first Colored Catholic Congress held in Washington, D.C. in 1889, were also hosted by the sitting president of the United States, Grover Cleveland (1837-1908).¹³

At the same time that Rudd was addressing the members of the Catholic press in New York, not far away in Philadelphia, the delegates of the Colored Catholic Congress were meeting. Rudd was the visionary founder of this same organization which had been established three years earlier.¹⁴ Moreover, Rudd appears to have been the initiator of the lay Catholic congress movement that was subsequently established with the aid of influential German Catholic laymen William J. Onahan and Henry J. Spaunhorst.¹⁵

Despite Rudd's amazing accomplishments, his decision to answer the invitation to speak before the members of the Catholic press was accepted with "some temerity." Rudd's sense of the moment, however, trumped his reservations; the editor of the *ACT* confessed that this same gathering afforded "one of the greatest opportunities" offered him to discuss issues of importance.¹⁶

¹² "Cardinals," *ACT*, 21 January 1891, p.2

¹³ *ACT*, 12 January 1889, p. 4. Rudd was also hosted by this same president following the Catholic lay congress in November, 1889. *Philadelphia Tribune*; quoted in "For Two Christians," *ACT*, 21 December 1889, p.2.

¹⁴ See chapters eight and nine.

¹⁵ *Philadelphia Tribune*; quoted in "For Two Christians," *ACT*, 21 December 1889, p.2.

¹⁶ "Full Text of a Paper," *ACT*, 30 January 1892, p.2.

Employing in his speech a convention common to nineteenth and twentieth century African American social critics, the jeremiad,¹⁷ Rudd reminded his audience that the “bas[ic] proposition of the American Government” was that “all men are born free and equal.” “Its primal law declares that no one shall be molested, in life, liberty or in the pursuit of happiness,” he continued. The editor of the *ACT* argued that these same egalitarian principles were, in fact, “Catholic to the core,” the Church and state “fully agreeing in these premises.” True to the jeremiadic construction, however, Rudd informed the members of the Catholic press that his race “was receiving more than their fair share of the ills that lay authwart [sic] the pathway of American life.” Yet Rudd, ever the optimist, held out hope that African Americans would soon be afforded the opportunity to thrive in the United States.¹⁸

In this same address, Rudd voiced his conviction that the Catholic Church would play a pivotal role in the establishment of justice and in the recognition of the full equality of blacks in the United States. Rudd also intimated that full equality for African Americans was set forth in America’s founding documents, the Declaration of Independence as well as in the United States Constitution. On this occasion, Rudd called on Catholic editors not only to take up this work on behalf of blacks, but to make it “the very highest class of the current literature of the day.” Further, Rudd reminded his audience that as a result of the church’s “matchless charities,” the “absolute equality

¹⁷ For a good treatment of the structure and function of the jeremiad in African American appeals for justice see David Howard-Pitney, *The African American Jeremiad: Appeals for Justice in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005). See also Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1978).

¹⁸ “Full Text of a Paper,” *ACT*, 30 January 1892, p.2.

before her altars,” the “magnificent rites and ceremonials” and the “soundness of her philosophy” it had gained the “admiration” and “confidence” of a “developing race.”¹⁹

In this same speech, Rudd urged his predominantly white, Catholic audience to make a conscious effort to reach out to blacks. On behalf of African Americans, Rudd, for example, called on Catholics to “cast within their reach” the “anchor chain of Catholic Hope, Love and Charity.”²⁰ He further explained that this could be done on several fronts, the “Church, the schoolroom, in societies for young men and women, through the press, in business and commercial circles, and in every walk of life.”²¹

Rudd urged Catholics to ignore the “accursed custom of American prejudice.” The editor specifically called on fellow religionists involved in trade unions to “demand that every barrier be beaten down” allowing African Americans entrance. Similarly, he asked Catholic business owners to employ blacks on the same terms as other employees, “on the ground of merit.”²²

This speech given at the meeting of the Apostolate of the Press marked the high water mark of Rudd’s influence in the Catholic Church. Only a month after his address, a group of black Catholics in Philadelphia, colleagues of Rudd’s, began publishing the *Journal*, a rival black Catholic newspaper, which appears to have significantly, albeit adversely, impacted the number of subscribers to Rudd’s *ACT*.²³ Moreover, after the establishment of the *Journal*, Rudd appears to have been increasingly occupied with diversifying his printing business. Rudd’s aggressive promotion of his printing school in

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ It appears Rudd used the term “charity” here to connote benevolent outreach. It may be that for Rudd, love remained the impetus behind direct benevolent activity; therefore, he distinguished it from charity.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ See subsequent note on the *Journal* in this chapter.

Cincinnati in early 1892 was likely an attempt to keep his newspaper afloat in an increasingly competitive journalistic market.

As will be discussed in chapter two, it is possible Rudd chose to move the *ACT* to Detroit in 1893 due to journalistic competition exacerbated by an economic downturn affecting the country at that time. After the move, the *ACT* does not appear to have ever regained a wide readership. Further, subsequent to the meeting of the third Colored Catholic Congress in Philadelphia in January 1892, and for reasons not entirely clear, Rudd seems to have been content to allow others to carry forth the mission of the Colored Catholic Congress movement. It remains uncertain whether the editor of the *ACT* even attended the fifth gathering of this important lay organization.

A Slave in Bardstown, 1854-1865

Daniel Arthur Rudd was born on the plantation of Charles Haydon²⁴ near Bardstown, Kentucky, August 7, 1854. Bardstown was one of the few communities in the rural South with a sizable Catholic population. This same region became known as Kentucky's "Catholic Holy Land." Bardstown's first Catholic colony, made up of twenty-five pioneer families primarily from Maryland, was led by Basil Hayden. In 1785, this group of immigrants established the Pottiger Creek settlement about three miles from Bardstown. By 1792, six distinct Catholic settlements were located near the town. In 1808, Pope Pius VII (1742-1823), established America's first inland diocese at Bardstown. Bishop Benedict Flaget (1763-1850), the diocese's first bishop, subsequently purchased the Thomas Howard plantation near Bardstown. Here the prelate constructed St. Thomas Seminary. In 1816, Flaget laid the cornerstone for the first cathedral west of

²⁴ Davis spells the name "Hayden." Baptismal records of the family who owned the Rudd family indicate that the name was spelled "Haydon." Given the laxity in nineteenth century spelling practices, both spellings were likely used in reference to the same family.

the Allegheny Mountains, St. Josephs. Over the next couple of years the structure was completed.²⁵

Daniel Rudd was a slave. Catholic leaders held divergent opinions regarding American slavery. Though some prominent Catholic liberals, including publicist and founder of *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, Orestes Brownson (1803-1876); Archbishop of Cincinnati, John Baptist Purcell (1800-1883); the prelate's brother, Fr. Edward Purcell (1808-1881), who served as editor the *Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph*; as well as Archbishop Purcell's auxiliary, Bishop Sylvester H. Rosecrans (1827-1878), opposed slavery, many Catholics in the ultramontane camp remained sympathetic to the southern cause. Many of these same conservative Catholics opposed slavery because they were opposed to liberal definitions of individual autonomy and liberty.²⁶

No Color Line in Bardstown

The Rudd family, as well as their owners, the Haydons, all worshipped together at St. Joseph's Parish in Bardstown. Elizabeth, Daniel's mother, was born in Danville, Kentucky, in 1807, and subsequently migrated with her grandmother to Bardstown. In

²⁵ *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Kentucky, Catholic Church In," by V.P. McMurry and C.F. Crews.

²⁶ John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003), 13, 36, 75-88. Rosecrans was appointed archbishop of Columbus, Ohio, in 1868. He served in this position until his death in 1878. Satish Joseph S.Ss.R. has suggested that the Purcell brothers' anti-slavery sentiment was a minority opinion among Catholics. Further, Joseph has suggested that the Purcells called for the immediate emancipation of the nation's slaves. The two brothers promulgated their controversial campaign against human bondage in their publication, the *Catholic Telegraph*. Despite the Purcells' conviction regarding the fundamental unity of the human family, they retained the belief that blacks were inferior to whites. In this same article, Joseph argued that the Purcells' campaign against slavery was primarily motivated by the brothers' support of white laborers. Moreover, the Purcells were opposed to racial integration. Satish Joseph, C. Ss. R., "Long Live the Republic; Father Edward Purcell and the Slavery Controversy: 1861-1865," *American Catholic Studies Journal of the Catholic Historical Society* 116, no.4 (Winter 2005): 25-54. Davis also has noted the Purcell's opposition to slavery. Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 65.

1831, Elizabeth married Robert Rudd.²⁷ Twelve children were born to the slave couple. Robert Rudd, Daniel's father, was about fifty- three years of age when Daniel was born. Robert died in 1865, about two months after the conclusion of the Civil War. Daniel was an impressionable ten years of age at the time of his father's death. Following Robert's death, Elizabeth continued to reside in Bardstown with Daniel's brother, William. Daniel's mother died in the spring of 1893; she was eighty-six at the time of her death. Only seven of Daniel's siblings survived to attend their mother's funeral.²⁸

The Rudd family managed to earn a measure of respect among black and white Catholics in the Bardstown community. For example, on one occasion, Rudd informed his readers that various members of his family had served as sextons at St. Joseph's Parish without interruption for a period of sixty-five years.²⁹ At the time of Daniel's mother's death, Fr. C.J. O'Connell postponed the funeral so he himself could officiate. At the memorial service, O'Connell explained how Elizabeth had "merited and received the love and respect of her own race and the veneration [sic] of the people of all other races who knew her." He further declared that "if the colored people followed her saintly example there would be no race problem to vex and fret them."³⁰ Given their experience of Catholicism in Bardstown, it appears that Daniel's family had strong and healthy ties to the church. This may explain why Rudd's family remained in the church despite the

²⁷ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 164. Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," 264-265.

²⁸ "The Race Problem," *ACT*, 29 April 1893, p.2.

²⁹ *ACT*, 3 June 1887, p.2.

³⁰ "The Race Problem," *ACT*, 29 April 1893, p.2. This statement reveals the racially biased view of many of the period who embraced stereotypical opinions of blacks.

fact that many black Catholic families of Kentucky became Protestant after emancipation.³¹

Though born a slave, Rudd's experiences as a bondsman do not seem to have been characterized by cruel treatment or the beatings administered by some of Kentucky's Catholic and Protestant slaveholders.³² In fact, Rudd's experiences as a Catholic youth in Bardstown seem to have convinced the editor of the church's sincerity with regard to its missionary efforts on behalf of African Americans. For example, on March 11, 1887, John L. Smith of Kamloops, British Columbia, penned a letter to the editor of the Detroit *Plaindealer*. In this letter, Smith claimed that it had been brought to his attention that Catholics residing in Bardstown were guilty of practicing racial segregation in the church of Rudd's youth, St. Joseph's Parish. Smith further claimed that he had been made aware of this troubling fact by a traveler who had visited the church. According to Smith, this acquaintance claimed to have observed blacks being forced to sit and to kneel in a designated portion of the church separate from white members.³³

Rudd challenged Smith's claims in the subsequent issue of the *ACT*. The editor pointed out that there was but one Catholic Church in Bardstown, Kentucky, St. Joseph's. He further declared that in the sixty-five years in which members of his family were employed by St. Joseph's, no distinction had ever been made with regard to color or race. Rudd also explained that he had been baptized at St. Joseph's in August 1854 without "discrimination except as to who got there first." Similarly, Rudd stated that at the time of his confession, the members were served on a first come first serve basis. Further,

³¹ C. Walker Gollar, "Catholic Slaves and Slaveholders in Kentucky," *Catholic Historical Review* 84 (January 1998): 42-62.

³² *Ibid.*, 58.

³³ "Kamloops, B.C.," *ACT*, 27 May 1887, p.2. It is presumed that Smith was black though it cannot be proved by evidence from the *ACT*.

Rudd claimed that he and other white communicants had been trained together for their first communion. He recalled that when he received his first communion in June 1863, no distinction was made between black and whites. Rudd explained,

The Tribune man knelt beside as fair a damsel as ever bowed before that rail and thought nothing of it. We have been all over St. Joseph's Church from foundation stone to pinnacle [sic] and no one told us to move.³⁴

Edward Cooper of the Indianapolis *Freeman* published a biographical sketch of Rudd in January 1890. In this same article, Cooper stated that Rudd's early education was begun in Bardstown and later completed when Rudd moved to Springfield, Ohio.³⁵ Rudd later confirmed as much in the *ACT*.³⁶ Yet there are a number of ways to interpret the above data. Lackner has observed that the Jesuits, who served St. Joseph's Parish and the attached college during Rudd's years in Bardstown, were sympathetic to the plight of African Americans.³⁷ Though it would have been impossible for Rudd as a slave to register at the college for regular classes, he may have attended after emancipation. It seems more plausible that Rudd, prior to the conclusion of the Civil War, was the beneficiary of private tutoring at the hands of Fr. John S. Verdin S.J.³⁸ or through a tutor provided by the Haydon family.³⁹

³⁴ *ACT*, 3 June 1887, p.2. Rudd's experiences in Bardstown as a young man took place some twenty to twenty-five years before Rudd received Smith's letter. Though it is possible that with the spread of Jim Crow sentiment by 1887, church members were being segregated at St. Joseph's, it is likely that Rudd would have been privy to such developments.

³⁵ Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," 266.

³⁶ *ACT*, 12 September 1891, p.2.

³⁷ Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," 266.

³⁸ Rudd apparently had fond memories of Fr. John Verdin S.J. who served the parish during Rudd's years at St. Joseph's. When, for example, Rudd met Verdin in October 1888, he wrote "How well did we remember the musical sound of his kind voice. It seemed like childhood days again, when in Bardstown at Old St. Joseph's we received words of counsel and listened to his matchless oratory." See *ACT*, 13 October 1888, p.2.

³⁹ Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," 266. C. Walker Gollar of Cincinnati, phone interview by author, Cincinnati, 4 May 2007. In the above interview, I speculated that Rudd received informal academic training prior to the Civil War. Gollar confirmed that there were cases in which slaves from the region received private academic instruction.

The inconclusive data above also leaves open the possibility that, Rudd attended St. Monica's School which was established for blacks in Bardstown around 1871 and staffed by the Sisters of Nazareth. It is, however, unlikely that Rudd could have developed his editorial skills and his proficiency in the German language without beginning his academic training at a much earlier age. Rudd was seventeen in 1871. It is more likely that Rudd was already attending school in Springfield by the time the Sisters of Nazareth opened their school for blacks. In fact, the 1870 census records for Bardstown, Kentucky, list Rudd as "at school."⁴⁰

Evidence from the *ACT* reveals that relations between white and black Catholics at St. Joseph's indeed remained amiable during the last decades of the nineteenth century. For example, Catholics in Bardstown bucked the national trend of creating separate churches for African Americans. Rudd reported that sometime around 1870, black Catholics in Bardstown secured a piece of property with the intention of establishing a separate black parish.⁴¹ Whites, however, successfully petitioned their African American brothers and sisters to remain a part of St. Joseph's Parish.⁴²

Rudd's positive experiences in St. Joseph's Parish in Bardstown parallel Fr. Augustus Tolton's (1854-1897), amiable engagement with the Catholic Church. Tolton, ordained April 24, 1886, was the first openly recognized African American priest in the

⁴⁰Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati" *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (April 1994): 265-267. Lackner has also suggested that Rudd's formal education may have already been completed prior to his arrival in Springfield, that Rudd merely learned his trade while residing in the "Champion City." Yet an 1889, exchange from Cincinnati's *Commercial Gazette* refers to Rudd as a "graduate of Springfield High School." See "Colored Catholics," *ACT*, 20 April 1889, p.1.

⁴¹ Evidence suggests that this property apparently was owned by an African American woman, Margaret Hagan, and was eventually deeded to the Fr. Charles J. Truyend S.J. for the purpose of establishing a school. St. Monica's school was subsequently erected on this property. Sister Bridget Clifford, Archivist of the Sisters of Nazareth Archives, phone interview with author, Nazareth, Kentucky, 17 November 2006.

⁴² *ACT*, 3 June 1887, p.2.

United States.⁴³ He was born a slave in Ralls County, Missouri, in 1854, the same year as Rudd. Tolton's mother, Martha Chisley Tolton, could neither read nor write. Yet she taught her son the Ten Commandments. At the age of seven, Tolton was sent to a school conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame. Tolton's admission to the school caused quite a stir among the parents of the school's white students. When the disgruntled parents threatened to remove their children from the school the sisters insisted that Tolton be allowed to remain. Similarly, Fr. McGurk took an interest in Tolton, who had expressed a desire to study for the priesthood. To receive further instruction, Tolton was sent to Franciscan College in Missouri. When the white students at the college threatened to leave, they were told by school authorities to "Return [sic] to Missouri if they desired, but the newcomer would stay." Tolton's experiences with church officials in Rome while the latter studied in the holy city were also positive. The nation's first recognized African American priest, recalling his years of study at Rome, declared that he had received "none but the most considerate treatment and encouragement."⁴⁴

Rudd to Springfield, 186?-1886

The Union victory over the Confederacy came in April 1865. In search of gainful employment, many freedmen from Kentucky traveled to Ohio. No doubt, some former bondsmen made their way to southern Ohio, where the demand for farm laborers remained high through the late 1860s.⁴⁵

⁴³ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 155. Evidence from the *ACT* reveals that as early as January 16, 1892, African Americans knew Bishop James Augustine Healy (1830-1900) of Portland was the offspring of an interracial union. Moreover, Robert Ruffin, an employee of Rudd and a member of the Colored Catholic Congress movement, stated in January 1892 that the Catholic Church was proud of the prelate's ancestry. On the life of James A. Healy see James M. O'Toole, *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002).

⁴⁴ "At Musical Fund Hall," *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.1.

⁴⁵ David A. Gerber, *Black Ohio and the Color Line 1860-1915* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 31.

In 1865, Daniel Rudd's older brother, Charles Henry, migrated to Springfield, Ohio, with his wife, Jemimah.⁴⁶ Springfield was a regional center of manufacturing in the nineteenth century. The city's location and infrastructure, including excellent rail service, facilitated the growth of its manufacturing base. The companies founded in Springfield from 1860-1880 include E.W. Ross Company; James Leffel and Company; Springfield Agricultural Works; Springfield Coffin and Casket Company; J. Redman and Son Company; McGregor Brothers Company; Springfield Brass Company; Thomas Manufacturing Company; Mast, Foos and Company; Crowell and Kirkpatrick Company; Springfield Malleable Iron Company and the Champion Chemical Company.⁴⁷

Following emancipation, the demand for low skilled manufacturing workers drew blacks from Kentucky to Springfield. Perhaps this is the reason Charles Rudd and his wife moved to Springfield. The availability of jobs may also have been part of the reason Rudd decided to follow his brother to the central Ohio city. A number of African Americans who made their way to the city in the years after the Civil War went to work for William Whitley, the entrepreneurial force behind a number of business enterprises in the city including the Champion Machine Company, a manufacturer of agricultural implements.⁴⁸ In the *ACT*, Rudd praised Whitley, referring to him as the "Reaper King." The editor of the *ACT* noted that this same entrepreneur was the "first great manufacturer in the United States to give the colored mechanic a full and fair showing."⁴⁹

⁴⁶Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," 268. This same year, a large number of blacks traveled to Springfield, Ohio to work in the homes of well to do white residents. Whether Daniel's sister-in-law, Jemimah, came to Springfield to work as a domestic remains unclear. See Gerber, 31.

⁴⁷ *The Heart of Springfield 1873 -1974*, A booklet with a time-line of significant events in the history of the city, Fisher Family Library and Archives, Clark County Historical Society, Springfield, Ohio.

⁴⁸ Willard D. Allbeck, *Springfield in the 1870's* [sic], (Springfield, Ohio: Clark County Historical Society, 1977), 2.

⁴⁹ *ACT*, 14 March 1893, p.2.

Sometime before 1876, (probably a decade earlier) Daniel Rudd moved from Bardstown, Kentucky, to Springfield, Ohio, in order to finish his secondary education.⁵⁰ Springfield's primary school remained segregated throughout Rudd's early years in the city. Despite agitation by Rudd and other black civil rights leaders, the federal court in an 1882 ruling upheld the constitutionality of Springfield's segregated schools. One Springfield history reported that the city's schools were desegregated in 1885.⁵¹ Another listed 1887 as the date when the Springfield City Schools were desegregated.⁵²

Upon his arrival in Springfield, Rudd went to work for the G.S. Foos Company.⁵³ Gustavus S. Foos supported the Whig Party in his younger years, becoming a zealous Republican later in life. One historian described him as "exceedingly liberal-minded" on many subjects. Gustavus and his brother William partnered in various mercantile, real estate, and banking ventures in the city of Springfield, only to see their respective fortunes vanish during the economic panic of 1873.⁵⁴ At the time Rudd went to work for the G.S. Foos Company, the firm was manufacturing "hardware and specialties." Rudd apparently boarded at the company located at 81 Mechanic Street.⁵⁵ The following year, Rudd worked and boarded at Springfield's European Hotel located at 36, 38 East Main Street.⁵⁶ Rudd's name does not appear in the 1879-1880 issue of the Springfield city

⁵⁰ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 164; Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," 268.

⁵¹ *One Hundred Seventy Five Years of Struggle: A History of Black People in Springfield, Ohio* (Springfield, Ohio: n.d.), 83.

⁵² Allbeck, 9.

⁵³ *Springfield City Directory* (Springfield, Ohio, Swartz and Co., 1876), 209.

⁵⁴ William M. Rockel, *20th Century History of Springfield and Clark Co. Ohio and Representative Citizens* (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1908), 575-576.

⁵⁵ *Springfield City Directory* (Springfield, Ohio: Swartz and Co., 1876), 209; *Manufacturers and Merchants of Ohio* (New York: International Publishing Co. Publishers, 1886), 129.

⁵⁶ *Springfield City Directory* (Springfield, Ohio: T.H. Edwards & Company, 1877-1878), 16.

directory. Rudd was reported to have lived for some time in Columbus, Ohio.⁵⁷ It is possible that Rudd moved to Columbus after 1880 returning to Springfield by 1883.⁵⁸ Rudd's name reappears in Springfield's 1883-1884 edition of the city directory. After Rudd's return to Springfield, he boarded at 47 Madison, in the city's second ward with his brothers Charles, Robert and William. Rudd apparently resided at this address until his move to Cincinnati in 1886.⁵⁹

Daniel Rudd's first journalistic endeavor appears to have been with the *Sunday News* early in 1880. Rudd worked as a printer, reporter and editor of this newspaper. Sometime around 1883, Rudd founded the *Review*. After the *Review's* board of directors relieved Rudd of his responsibilities as editor, Rudd, in 1884, founded a newspaper called the *Tribune*. After a brief return to the *Review*, Rudd, in 1885, began publishing the *Ohio State Tribune* (hereafter "*OST*."⁶⁰) There are no extant copies of the newspapers Rudd published prior to the *ACT*. In August 1886, the *OST* was rechristened the *American Catholic Tribune*.⁶¹ Rudd was thirty-two years of age at the time.

⁵⁷ See *ACT*, 17 June 1887, p.2.

⁵⁸ No record of Rudd's name in the city directory for these corresponding years could be found. Phone interview with archivist at the Columbus Public Library, 7 May 2007, Columbus, Ohio.

⁵⁹ *Springfield City Directory* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Williams & Co., 1883-1884.)

⁶⁰ Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," 268, 276-277. There appears to be competing claims as to when the *Ohio State Tribune* was established. An exchange in the March 16, 1888 edition of the *ACT* suggests the date for the establishment of this publication was January, 1886. One might make the case the *OST* was founded in 1884; if this was indeed the case, the *Tribune* was the forerunner of the *ACT*.

⁶¹ Lyle Koehler, *Cincinnati's Black Peoples: A Chronology and Bibliography, 1787-1982* (Cincinnati: 1986), 87. Koehler erroneously reports that Rudd founded the *ACT* in Cincinnati in 1884. Henry Lewis Suggs follows Koehler in this error. See Henry Lewis Suggs ed., *The Black Press in the Middle West 1865-1985* (London: Greenwood Press, 1996), 246.

A Member of St. Raphael's Church

While residing in Springfield, Rudd attended St. Raphael's Church with members of his family.⁶² There were two Catholic parishes in Springfield at the time of the editor's arrival in the city, St. Raphael's and St. Bernard's. St. Bernard's Parish was predominantly a German parish. St. Raphael's, founded in 1849, was the older of the two churches; in fact, it was the first Catholic Church founded in Green County. During Rudd's years as a member of St. Raphael's, the parish was led by Fr. William H. Sidley, the congregation's fifth pastor.⁶³

Sidley was born in Geauga County, in northeastern Ohio. This region of Ohio was decidedly more progressive with regard to race issues than was the southern portion of Ohio.⁶⁴ Sidley studied at Notre Dame University; subsequently, he attended seminary in the cities of Cleveland and Cincinnati. Sidley was ordained in Springfield in 1870. He became the priest of St. Raphael's in 1873. Sidley served as the pastor of the church for twenty- nine years.⁶⁵

Relations between the editor of the *ACT* and Sidley appear to have been cordial. In the fall of 1889, Lincoln Vallé, one of Rudd's traveling agents and an active member of the Colored Catholic Congress movement, visited the city of Springfield in order to promote the *ACT*. While in Springfield, Vallé stayed in the home of the editor's brother, Henry Rudd. On this visit, Vallé accompanied the Rudd family to Mass at St. Raphael's Church. Sidley "cordially welcomed" the work of the *ACT* in the city. Further, Sidley, gave Vallé a "beautiful notice before his congregation" encouraging members to support

⁶² Edward M. Hussey, *1999 Sequential Directory St. Raphael Catholic Church* (Springfield, Ohio, 1999), 10.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 8-11.

⁶⁴ Gerber, 54-57.

⁶⁵ Hussey, 11.

the paper and the propagation of the Catholic faith among blacks.⁶⁶ Evidence from the *ACT* shows relations between Rudd and his former pastor remained strong even after the editor's move to Cincinnati. For example, in November 1891, Sidley invited Rudd back to Springfield to give a lecture.⁶⁷

While residing in Springfield, the young Rudd worked to secure civil rights for African Americans. For example, in September 1881, Rudd joined with other African American leaders to protest the county school board's discriminatory policies.⁶⁸ In this particular case, Rudd objected to the refusal on the part of Shaffer Street Elementary School officials to admit the children of two black residents, George Reynolds and J.W. Gazaway. When a split in the African American community occurred over whether to push for equal school facilities for blacks or to attempt to integrate Springfield's schools, Rudd sided with the latter group. Subsequently, he was chosen to make a presentation to Clifton Nichols, a potential donor, in order to raise money to fund the "Eva Gazaway case" in the circuit court of appeals. Rudd declared,

It is pleasant and profitable for us to be here as we are to-night to take steps right and proper for our advancement. Last fall, at the opening of the schools, quite a commotion was created in our midst by a little lady, Miss Eva Gazaway (who I have the pleasure of presenting you), going to the public school in her district and being refused. Her father, doing as none of our citizens have done heretofore, demanded to know why she might not be admitted as well as her next door neighbor, and he was informed that she was black. Hence the reason of the suit and of our presence here to-night. The citizens met and appointed a committee to carry the case, if necessary, even to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Of individuals, families, and communities our Nation is composed; when all work in harmony and good feeling the general good of the Nation will be secured. This suit is not for Miss Gazaway alone nor for the rights of the children in this community or State, but for all the children...

⁶⁶ *ACT*, 30 November 1889, p.2.

⁶⁷ *ACT*, 12 September 1891, p.2.

⁶⁸ Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," 268.

Despite Rudd's efforts, the district court ruled against their cause.⁶⁹

Three Periods- Three Approaches for Achieving Race Justice

Despite the fact that Rudd's desire for full equality remained consistent throughout his life, one can discern, over time, signs of development in his thinking as to which would be the most promising and practicable method for achieving race justice. Though lack of evidence makes it difficult to prove, it is possible to discern at least three periods in the editor's life distinguished by three approaches prescribed by Rudd for the attainment of race justice in society. They are as follows:

- 1. The Springfield Period 1881-1886** A "Douglass-like" Activist Approach. It is possible, given his affiliation with the NAACP, that Rudd began to move back toward this approach sometime after his biography of Scott Bond was published in 1917.
- 2. The Cincinnati/Detroit Period 1887-1897** An Ecclesiologically-centered Approach (from 1887-1897)
- 3. The Southern Period 1900-** A "Washington-like" economic, self-help Approach (1900-)

The Springfield Period (1881-1886)

During the Springfield period, 1881-1886, Rudd demonstrated a commitment to political/judicial activism as a means by which blacks could achieve racial equality in society. Rudd's commitment to political and judicial activism is evidenced by his campaigning for Republican politicians as well as his involvement in the Gazaway Case

⁶⁹ "Public Meeting of the Black Citizens of Springfield," *Springfield Republic*, 13 April 1882, p.2. This case arose in Springfield at the start of 1881-1882 school year when blacks were denied entrance into the conveniently located, albeit all white, Shaffer Street School. A division occurred in the black community as to whether to push for equal facilities or to push for integration of the city's schools. Those who favored integration, including Rudd, filed suit in federal court to test the constitutionality of race segregation based on their reading of the fourteenth amendment. Because the plaintiff's did not base their case on the essential inequality of the separate schools, the case did not get past the district court at Cincinnati. The unfavorable judgment against those pressing the Gazaway case was handed down in November, 1882. See Gerber, 198.

discussed above. During this period of his life, Rudd's activism mirrored the tactics effectively employed by other national black leaders including the most prominent African American of his era, Fredrick Douglass (1818-1895).

The Cincinnati/ Detroit Period (1887-1897)

Subsequent to the establishment of the *ACT*, during the Cincinnati/Detroit period, 1887-1894, Rudd showed signs of disillusionment with politics and the Republican Party. This disillusionment was likely the result of the party's abandonment of the concerns of African Americans in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. Despite continued involvement in the Ruffin Club, a Republican organization made up of a number of Cincinnati's most prominent black citizens, and his affiliation with civil rights groups in the city, Rudd began promoting an ecclesiologically- centered vision of justice. This new prescription for race justice did not negate the editor's commitment to activism. Rather, it infused it with a higher, divine purpose. Rudd's vision of justice during this period acknowledged the fundamental role that would be necessarily played by the Catholic Church.

The Southern Period (1900- ?)

More speculation surrounds Rudd's promotion of race justice after 1900. It is assumed that Rudd promoted the Catholic Church as a key agent for race justice in society through 1897. However, during the Southern period, sometime after 1900, and before 1917, the former editor of the *ACT* appears to have become something of a disciple of Booker T. Washington (1856-1915). In Rudd's biography of Scott Bond, *From Slavery to Wealth: the Life of Scott Bond* published in 1917, Rudd promoted the economic, self help prescription of Washington as opposed to a more direct activist

approach for achieving race justice. In the Bond biography, the former editor of the *ACT* argued that in the racially unbiased field of business, blacks would be able to advance, eventually overcoming white prejudice.⁷⁰ The statements written by Rudd on the issue of race segregation in 1917, however, appear conflicted. Moreover, the editor's involvement in the NAACP in 1919 reveal a man who may have been experiencing second thoughts with regard to the effectiveness of Washington's economic self-help prescription.

I. "An Energetic Young Republican:" The Springfield Period, 1881-1886

Early in Rudd's career he was more "Douglass-like" with regard to his willingness to directly challenge manifestations of race injustice through political and judicial activism. In this respect, Rudd mirrored other black leaders in Ohio during the time period, including Harry Smith (1863-1941) of the *Cleveland Gazette*, who viewed politics as an effective means by which race justice and equality could be attained in society.⁷¹

Following the Civil War, the overwhelming majority of blacks remained loyal to the Republican Party, the party of a martyred president, a president who had defeated the Confederacy and had emancipated the nation's slaves. In the *ACT*, Rudd recalled the historic support the Republicans enjoyed among blacks when he wrote "There was a time when the color of a man's skin determined his politics and religion with the Colored

⁷⁰ Cleveland, Mississippi, just North of Boyle, was home to only seven Catholic families in 1907. This small group held services in the homes of its members, in the Masonic hall and in the court house. They were attended by the resident Catholic priest from Shelby. See Florence Warfield Sillers, *History of Bolivar County, Mississippi* (Jackson, Mississippi: Herderman Brothers, 1948), 290. Given the relative weakness of the Catholic Church in the South, perhaps it was during this period that Rudd began promoting Washington's self help plan as the best direct method for blacks to achieve justice.

⁷¹ Suggs, 249.

people. If you were a Colored man as a matter of course you were a Protestant and a Republican.”⁷²

The editor of the *ACT* was actively involved in Republican politics before the establishment of his newspaper. In June 1887, Rudd published an exchange from the *Commercial Gazette* which referred to him as a “level-headed Republican.”⁷³ On another occasion, the Springfield *Globe-Republic* labeled Rudd an “energetic young colored Republican.” This designation apparently fit Rudd. The year before he began publishing the *ACT*, the editor conducted a vocal campaign to defeat Joseph B. Foraker’s (1846-1917) bid to win the Republican nomination for governor of the state of Ohio. In the spring of 1885, the *Globe-Republic* stated that Rudd was “bustling around at the state Republican convention....doing all he can to defeat Foraker.”⁷⁴ Similarly, the *Commercial Gazette* of Cincinnati documented Rudd’s political activities, including the editor’s active endorsement of Republican, D.K. Watson of Columbus, a candidate for the office of state Attorney General.⁷⁵

Though Rudd’s involvement with Republican politics predated his arrival in the Queen City he continued to remain active in politics after 1886. There were a number of black political clubs in Cincinnati in the late nineteenth century. The Ruffin Club, the Elliot Club, the Grant Club, and Blaine Club all expressed loyalty to the Republican Party. The Maceo Club was an independent political club. The Douglass League and the Duckworth Club were Democratic organizations.⁷⁶ Rudd was an active member of the

⁷² *ACT*, 6 April 1888, p.2.

⁷³ *ACT*, 17 June 1887, p.2.

⁷⁴ *Globe-Republic*, 10 June 1885, p.1; quoted in Lackner, “Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati,” 278.

⁷⁵ *Commercial Gazette*; quoted in “What Others Say of Us,” *ACT*, 17 June 1887, p.2.

⁷⁶ Wendell Phillips Dabney, *Cincinnati’s Colored Citizens, Historical, Sociological and Biographical* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 121-123.

Cincinnati-based Ruffin Club. The *ACT* reported that the above organization began with seven members in 1887.⁷⁷ In May 1887, the *ACT* said of the newly established club, “Every earnest Colored Republican in the city is welcome to membership.”⁷⁸ The *ACT* reported that the Ruffin Club held its first picnic in June 1887. A year later, the organization had grown to three- hundred members, gaining along the way something of a national reputation.⁷⁹

The Ruffin Club was named in honor of George L. Ruffin of Boston. Ruffin was the first African American ever to hold a “distinguished judicial position” in a northern state.⁸⁰ The club was established for blacks who were apparently discouraged by whites from joining the city’s white Republican clubs. Wendell P. Dabney has observed that the Ruffin Club was the “rendezvous of the high livers” of the day. The club exerted “great influence” on local politics. This same author noted further that the club was “strictly orthodox Republican.” Dabney further pointed out that the club’s “adherence to the tenets of the party were as unalterable, as the laws of the Medes and Persians.”⁸¹

In 1888, Rudd published a letter to the editor discussing some items to be considered by Ruffin Club members on the eve of the election of the organization’s officers. The letter suggested the importance of a club’s endorsement for those aspiring to public office. The letter also detailed the need on the part of the race to work collectively “for the good of each and all.”⁸² Throughout the life of the newspaper, Rudd continued to report on the proceedings of this political club.

⁷⁷ “The Ruffin Club Election,” *ACT*, 10 February 1888, p. 1.

⁷⁸ “City and Vicinity,” *ACT*, 27 May 1887, p.3.

⁷⁹ “Ruffin Club,” *ACT*, 10 February 1888, p.1.

⁸⁰ “Ruffin Club,” *ACT*, 3 June 1887, p.2

⁸¹ Dabney, 122.

⁸² “The Ruffin Club Election,” *ACT*, 10 February 1888, p.1.

II. Toward an Ecclesiological- Centered Justice: The Cincinnati/Detroit Period, 1887-1897

Rudd in Cincinnati

In order to publish the *American Catholic Tribune*, Rudd moved to Cincinnati, where he took up residence at 150 Central Avenue sometime around August 1886.⁸³

After his arrival in Cincinnati, Rudd established a new publishing plant and office for the *ACT* at 233 W. Fourth St. The establishment of the *ACT* will be discussed in some detail in chapter two.

A Member of St. Ann's Church (Cincinnati)

Following his arrival in Cincinnati, it appears the editor of the *ACT* began attending St. Ann's Parish. This traditionally black church had been founded in July 1866 at the request of a number of its African American members.⁸⁴ At the time Rudd arrived in Cincinnati, Fr. John Driessen S.J. was the pastor of St. Ann's. Rudd's membership at St. Ann's Parish is established by internal evidence from the *ACT* which indicates that he was elected as the chairperson of the parish's delegation to the first Colored Catholic Congress. In September 1888, the *ACT* reported, "A meeting of the members of St. Ann's Church was held Wednesday evening. Dan A. Rudd was elected Chairman, and Wm. Blackstone Secretary. The proposed Congress of Colored Catholics was discussed and heartily endorsed."⁸⁵

⁸³ See *Cincinnati City directory* (1887) Phone interview with Cincinnati Public library 7 May 2007, Cincinnati.

⁸⁴ Lackner, "The Foundation of St. Ann's Parish, 1866-1870: The African American Experience in Cincinnati," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 7, no. 2 and 3 (Spring/Summer 1988) :17.

⁸⁵ "The Congress of Colored Catholics," *ACT*, 21 September 1888, p.1. Ohio's delegation to the first Colored Catholic Congress appears to have all been members of St. Ann's. Wm. Blackstone may have been related to the "Blackston" family who were members of the St. Ann's some two decades earlier. See Lackner, "The Foundation of St. Ann's Parish, 1866-1870: The African American Experience in Cincinnati," 25-26.

Disillusionment with the Republican Party

For African Americans, the years between 1877 and 1895, were characterized by a growing disillusionment with the Republican Party.⁸⁶ A new generation of Republican leaders including Rutherford B. Hayes (1822-1893), James G. Blaine (1830-1893), Roscoe Conklyn, and John A. Logan (1826-1886), were more interested in industrial development than a “crusade for blacks.”⁸⁷ Following the lead of more pragmatic party leaders, Republicans during this period looked with a measure of indifference as southern conservatives with anti-African American sentiments regained control of state governments across the South. The Hayes-Tilden Compromise of 1877, which effectively gave the presidency to Rutherford B. Hayes and control of state governments in the South back to southern Democrats, paved the way for the eventual disenfranchisement of large numbers of blacks across the South.

As early as 1883, President Chester A. Arthur (1829-1886), was “toying with” “anti- Negro” segments of the party in the South. Moreover, in 1883, a Republican Supreme Court had offended blacks by declaring the 1875 Civil Rights Bill, Sumner’s Law, (named after Senator Charles Sumner, 1811-1874), unconstitutional.⁸⁸ The failure on the part of Republicans to pass the Lodge Federal Election Bill and the Blair Education Bill brought further recriminations from blacks including Thomas Fortune.⁸⁹ Rudd, like other prominent black newspaper editors, endorsed the Blair Bill. In

⁸⁶ Meier, 26.

⁸⁷ John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom, A History of African Americans*, 7th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1994), 253.

⁸⁸ Meier, 29.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

August 1887, at the National Colored Press Association meeting in Louisville, Rudd proposed a resolution urging the passage of this civil rights legislation.⁹⁰

By the summer of 1886, Rudd was showing signs of his own disillusionment with the Republican Party. In July 1887, for example, Rudd wrote, “This sign should be placed above every door of our buildings where Republicans are in charge, “No Negroes Need Apply.”⁹¹ In August 1887, Rudd declared that the “Negro should be a part and parcel of no political party that was not a part or parcel of them.” He further declared, “He was unwilling to wear any coat that was cut and put on him without his leave.”⁹² Again in March 1888, Rudd wrote,

Political Parties have all failed to do the Negro anything like justice. The Republican party with all the prestige of victory to back them were in power for twenty years after that victory and did much talking and promising but little in the end, when a rotten public opinion held up its hand in wholly [sic] horror at the appearance of equal citizenship, it dropped behind the cowardly subterfuge the tariff, and an outraged and disgusted people hurled that party from power and placed the reins of government in the hands of the Democracy. What followed [sic]? Were the boasted promises of the rehabilitated, reinstated party, in their professions of reform and equality redeemed? No. Nor is the Negro any better off now.⁹³

As time passed, Rudd’s position, with regard to African Americans leaving the Republican Party seemed to soften. For example, in a December 1887 issue of the *ACT*, Rudd defended Peter Clark’s decision five years earlier to shift his political allegiance to the Democratic Party.⁹⁴ Further, Rudd attacked Mr. Poe, the Republican auditor of the

⁹⁰ “The National Press Association,” *ACT*, 12 August 1887, p.3.

⁹¹ *ACT*, 15 July 1887, p.3.

⁹² *ACT*, 12 August 1887, p.3.

⁹³ *ACT*, 9 March 1888, p.2.

⁹⁴ *ACT*, 2 December 1887, p. 2. Koehler, 86. Clark was a local black educator and a leader in Cincinnati’s African American community. Dabney referred to him as “Cincinnati’s most famous colored citizen.” From 1859-1895 Clark was responsible for training almost all of the African American teachers who taught in the community’s black schools. See Dabney, 104, 107.

state, for the latter's decision not to appoint blacks to his administration.⁹⁵ Similarly, Rudd expressed appreciation for the courage exhibited by Thomas Fortune who had advocated political independence, and had supported the Democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland (1837-1908), in the 1886 presidential campaign.⁹⁶

Though Rudd continued his affiliation with the Republican Party, by May 1889, the editor of the *ACT* appeared to have placed his hopes for race justice in the Catholic Church. In response to unfriendly comments to blacks made by Mississippi's former governor, James L. Alcorn (1816-1894), Rudd wrote, "The South does not need a white Republican party [sic], it needs a good public sentiment which is the outgrow[th] of a right conscience."⁹⁷

A Congress Movement

While residing in the city of Cincinnati, Rudd began advocating a congress for all English speaking Catholics. By May 1888, Rudd was proposing the gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress. Rudd was the organizer and promoter of this movement. The editor also appears to have been the initiator of the lay congress movement which held its first gathering in November 1889 in Baltimore. The idea to hold a general lay congress seems to have had its genesis in discussions which occurred during the first Colored Catholic Congress meeting in Washington, D.C. in January 1889.⁹⁸ The Colored Catholic Congress movement held four more meetings in the nineteenth century subsequent to its

⁹⁵ *ACT*, 2 December 1887, p.2.

⁹⁶ *ACT*, 14 October, 1887, p.2.

⁹⁷ "White vs. Black," *ACT* 4 May 1889, p.2.

⁹⁸ On the fourth day of gathering a resolution was passed authorizing the executive committee to confer with the committee of the German Verein as to the advisability of holding a "general Catholic congress." "Washington D.C.," *ACT* 12 January 1889, p.4.

inaugural gathering. The establishment of Rudd's Colored Catholic Congress movement will be discussed in detail in chapters eight and nine.

A Conspicuous Race Leader

Rudd gained prominence in the African American community both locally and nationally throughout the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Besides Rudd's membership in the influential Ruffin Club, the editor also served as a leader in the Cincinnati branch of the Civil Rights League which had been formed in 1886, to combat race discrimination in public accommodations and to facilitate the withdrawal of African Americans from white establishments where they encountered insult and humiliation.⁹⁹ Rudd served in this league alongside a number of Cincinnati's prominent African American citizens, including Professor Charles W. Bell, Col. Robert Harlan, W.B. Ross and Captain Ford Stith.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, in December 1889, Rudd was involved in the establishment of the local branch of Thomas Fortune's National League. In fact, the organizational meeting for Cincinnati's local National League organization was held in the office of the *ACT*.¹⁰¹

As the subscription list of the *ACT* grew, so did Rudd's influence both among blacks and Catholics. It is reasonable to assume that through 1892 Rudd's reputation as a black Catholic leader was eclipsed only by Augustus Tolton. In May 1890, under the title "A Good Joke," Rudd printed a rumor which hinted that perhaps the editor of the *ACT* was the "greatest Negro Catholic in America."¹⁰² Three reasons help explain Rudd's name recognition. First, Rudd was the driving force behind the organization of the

⁹⁹ Gerber, 58; Koehler, 88.

¹⁰⁰ *ACT*, 11 January 1890, p.3

¹⁰¹ "City and Vicinity," *ACT*, 14 December 1889, p.3.

¹⁰² "A Good Joke," *ACT*, 17 May 1890, p.3.

Colored Catholic Congress movement. Secondly, Rudd was one of the organizers of the first lay Catholic congress held in Baltimore in 1889. Finally, Rudd traveled extensively on behalf of the *ACT*; on these excursions he met many African Americans and Catholics. Proof of Rudd's notoriety among blacks and Catholics is evidenced by an apparent increase in appearance requests. By the fall of 1891, for example, Rudd reported that he was receiving more requests for speaking engagements and appearances than he could fill.¹⁰³

Rudd's speech delivered in Indianapolis in the fall of 1890, seems to indicate the essence of the editor's apologetic campaign on behalf of the Catholic Church. In this address, Rudd discussed the work being done on behalf of blacks by the church. He argued that the Catholic Church was universal and therefore embraced all races. He highlighted the work being done by the church to eliminate the slave trade, a work led by Cardinal Lavigerie.¹⁰⁴ Rudd pointed out that though the church had been hampered in its efforts vis à vis blacks during the Civil War, it was presently working to convert the race. The editor explained that the Catholic Church offered the "best inducement" for black Catholics in the country and "employed more efficacious means to make honest industrious and conscientious citizens of them...." He noted that some 7,500,000 blacks were not "within the pale of Christianity" and that the best thing for the country and African Americans would be their conversion to the Catholic faith.¹⁰⁵

Many of those who heard Rudd speak were impressed with the editor. On one occasion, the *Commercial Gazette* referred to Rudd as a "gifted orator."¹⁰⁶ On another

¹⁰³ *ACT*, 12 September 1891, p.2.

¹⁰⁴ Indianapolis *Catholic Record*; quoted in "A Brilliant Lecture," *ACT*, 25 October 1890, p.2.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Commercial Gazette*; quoted in *ACT*, 17 June 1887, p.2.

occasion, this same Cincinnati publication referred to Rudd as a “clear and impressive talker” with “well defined ideas” on many subjects relating to the welfare of the race.¹⁰⁷

Rudd’s leadership abilities were demonstrated at the National Colored Press Association meeting held in Cincinnati in March 1891. Following this gathering, one writer said of Rudd, “Dan Rudd of the Catholic Tribune is a hustler from way back. He is snugly ensconced in new quarters with ample accommodations and a mammoth outfit. Dan has been ‘laying low’ but will soon show himself.”¹⁰⁸

After meeting Rudd, Thomas Fortune also was impressed with him. Following a lunch appointment with Rudd, Fortune said of the editor of the *ACT*,

Daniel Rudd does not eat a great amount, [sic] but he thinks mighty fast while doing so, and his thoughts are always such that the right man can turn them into the coin of the realm...he knows a great deal which the right sort of friend can pump out of him in great shape.¹⁰⁹

Given the above evidence, it remains something of a mystery as to why Fr. John Slattery (1851-1926), who served as the first Superior General of the American Josephites from 1892-1902, held Rudd in low esteem. As Lackner has pointed out, Slattery was sharply critical of Rudd’s newspaper.¹¹⁰ Further, on two occasions Slattery disparaged Rudd. For example, in 1893, despite the fact that Rudd had been selected as the national lecturer for the Colored Catholic Congress movement, Slattery wrote to William J. Onahan, an influential Catholic lay leader from Chicago, seconding Onahan’s

¹⁰⁷ *Catholic News*; quoted in “The Doom of Slavery,” *ACT*, 10 August 1889, p.1.

¹⁰⁸ *ACT*, 11 April 1891, p.2.

¹⁰⁹ “New York,” *ACT*, 9 May 1891, p.1.

¹¹⁰ Lackner, “The American Catholic Tribune No Other Like It,” 22.

conviction that Rudd would be an unfit speaker for the upcoming Columbia Catholic Congress which was to be held in Chicago that same year.¹¹¹

In a letter to fellow Josephite, Fr. John A. DeRuyter, Slattery also criticized both Rudd and *Journal* editor, Thomas Swann. Slattery was possibly upset because the two black Catholic newspaper proprietors seem to have been conducting aggressive marketing campaigns for their respective newspapers.¹¹² It is also possible that Slattery's seeming dislike for Rudd may have been rooted in the Josephite leader's paternalistic attitude toward successful, middle class African Americans.¹¹³

Rudd, Vocational Training and a Printing School

Rudd, like Booker T. Washington, was a strong advocate of vocational education for African Americans.¹¹⁴ As part of the racial uplift movement, Rudd believed that the pursuit of vocational expertise would lead to individual self improvement, and ultimately the advancement of the entire race. Through the last decades of the nineteenth century, as Washington diligently labored to build Tuskegee, Rudd worked to establish his own printing school. His efforts appear to predate the *ACT*. In 1890, about four years after the establishment of the newspaper he wrote,

¹¹¹ W.J. Onahan to John R. Slattery, 30 March 1893, 8 P-17; Slattery to W. J. Onahan, Easter Sunday [1893], LPB-1-111, both in the Josephite Archives, Baltimore, Maryland; See also Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune No Other Like It," 17.

¹¹² John Slattery, to John A. DeRuyter, 14 September 1892, P. LPB-1-5, Josephite Archives, Baltimore, Maryland; See also Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune No Other Like It," 22.

¹¹³ See Portier, "John R. Slattery's Vision for the Evangelization of American Blacks," 33-34. Despite Slattery's sometimes paternalistic attitude toward African Americans, Stephen J. Ochs correctly argues that he is to be credited for his courageous denunciation of racism with regard to integrating Epiphany College and St. Joseph's Seminary. Slattery is also due credit for the elevation of three African Americans to the priesthood, Randolph Uncles, John Henry Dorsey and John J. Plantevigne. See Stephen J. Ochs, *Desegregating The Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests 1871-1960* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 3.

¹¹⁴ We use the term "vocational education" today to label what was previously termed "industrial education." For more on the practical nature of "industrial education" see Franklin and Moss, 269-275.

Do you know the American Catholic Tribune has been gradually developing an Industrial School in your midst for more than five years? Do you know we take your children and teach them all branches of the printers' art? Do you know that we teach them short-hand, type-writing, and if desired, telegraphy? Do you know that school has grown to be by far the most extensive and complete printing concern owned and run by colored men in the world?...We invite you to call and see what we are trying to do.¹¹⁵

Subsequent to Rudd's move to Cincinnati, he continued to work to establish a printing school. In March 1887, Rudd wrote,

Aside from publishing a newspaper devoted to truth and right it is the aim of the Tribune to establish a school of printing for colored boys and girls. This we have already done; but as the amount at our disposal does not warrant it, we are as yet unable to take many apprentices. We hope, however, to be able in the near future to increase the number.¹¹⁶

Again in October, Rudd declared that the *ACT* was working to teach boys and girls the "art preservative" in order to help them trod the "way temporal."¹¹⁷ In June 1890, Rudd expressed a desire to further expand the printing school. He requested that his readers help him in this noble work by subscribing to the *ACT*.¹¹⁸ In December 1890, Rudd announced that both the Cincinnati and Chicago offices of the *ACT* had established attached printing schools.¹¹⁹ By November 1891, the *ACT* boasted that Rudd was operating the "most extensive and complete printing school owned and operated by Colored men in the world."¹²⁰ The school's shorthand class was progressing nicely, Rudd informed his readers in January 1891.¹²¹ In September of the same year, Rudd looked

¹¹⁵ "To the Race in Cincinnati," *ACT*, 14 November 1890, p.3.

¹¹⁶ *ACT*, 4 March 1887, p.2.

¹¹⁷ *ACT*, 7 October 1887, p.2.

¹¹⁸ *ACT*, 14 June 1890, p.2.

¹¹⁹ *ACT*, 6 December 1890, p.1.

¹²⁰ "To the Race in Cincinnati," *ACT*, 14 November 1891, p.3; "What Next," *ACT*, 6 December 1890, p.2.

¹²¹ "City and Vicinity," *ACT*, 24 January 1891, p.3.

forward to the beginning of the typing- shorthand class which was to commence in October.¹²²

Though Rudd regularly advertised his printing school prior to 1892, his urgency regarding its enrollment increased after a number of black Catholics in Philadelphia established the *Journal*, a rival black Catholic newspaper.¹²³ It is likely Rudd felt the need to diversify his business enterprise due to the very real competition the *Journal* seemed to portend. The establishment of the *Journal* and this newspaper's adverse impact on Rudd's *ACT* will be discussed in more detail in chapter two.

In February 1892, Rudd began publishing large, half-page advertisements in the *ACT* for the printing school. In these ads the editor claimed he could accommodate as many as fifty students. These same notices solicited students interested in apprenticing in "mechanical engineering, press work, stenography, and telegraphy."¹²⁴ The editor's printing school was an enterprise that served a valuable function for Rudd's printing business. For example, on one occasion he bemoaned the fact that the only employees

¹²² *ACT*, 12 September 1891, p.3.

¹²³ David Spalding noted that the publishers of the *Journal* were "listed simply as Swann and Hart." He referenced Willging and Hatzfeld's *Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States: A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List* (1964). This publication does list Swann and Hart as publishers of the *Journal* but does not cite their full names. Thomas W. Swann and Sam B. Hart were baptized in Philadelphia in a moving service in May 1892. They were baptized after the establishment of the *Journal*. Both Hart and Swann were members of Philadelphia's St. Peter Claver's Union. See "Philadelphia," *ACT*, 7 May 1892, p.1. Swann subsequently assumed a leadership role in Philadelphia's black Catholic community. The *ACT* suggests Swann was the chairman of St. Peter's Literary Committee. Further, he was a signatory of a resolution in the honor of deceased Colored Catholic Congress member, Jerome Augustine, in July 1892. See "Philadelphia," *ACT*, 9 July 1892, p.1. Neither Swann nor Hart appear to have taken part in the congresses. Though the *Journal* was published less than a year, it seems to have had a devastating impact on the *ACT*. Extant issues of this publication are housed in the American Catholic Historical Society Archives in Philadelphia. Complete copies will be placed in the Catholic Collection of Roesch Library on the University Campus along with copies of all of Rudd's known correspondence.

¹²⁴ See *ACT*, 27 February 1892, p.4.

suitable to fill the dozen or so openings the *ACT* occasionally needed to have filled were students he himself had trained.¹²⁵

In March 1892, Rudd announced that he would receive boys over sixteen years of age as apprentices and would graduate their pay scale as their printing skills developed. Students who learned the trade would be given full employment.¹²⁶ Despite the fact that Rudd was a strong advocate for vocational training for blacks, he did not seem to have any aversion to a more traditionally academic approach to higher education. He, after all, had attended a public secondary school in Springfield.¹²⁷

Rudd on occasion, however, condemned blacks who after securing a “smattering of an education in some high school or academy” thought they were too good to “labor with their hands like their parents.” Rudd further argued that the idea that “because a boy or girl had learned an algebraic [sic] theorem he or she was too highly educated to begin at the bottom of the ladder” had indeed infected the race. In the above attacks on blacks who had secured some academic training but had derived little practical benefit from it, Rudd echoed the sentiments of Booker T. Washington. Rudd expressed gratitude, however, that this same misguided presumption was “rapidly passing away.”¹²⁸ Despite Rudd’s convictions concerning vocational training, Rudd often praised black professionals who had obviously pursued more traditional courses of study.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ *ACT*, 5 March 1892, p.2.

¹²⁶ *ACT*, 12 March 1892, p.2.

¹²⁷ See *ACT*, 6 September 1890.

¹²⁸ *ACT*, 21 December 1889, p.2.

¹²⁹ Rudd bemoaned the fact that the appeal of a “cheap aristocracy” had injured the race. He promoted industrial training, but also lauded professional blacks. Rudd continued to see the merits of both a “classical” and “industrial” or vocational education. See Daniel A. Rudd and Theophilus Bond, *From Slavery to Wealth, the Life of Scott Bond* (Madison, Arkansas: Journal Printing Co., 1917), 369.

Rudd in Detroit

For reasons that will be explored in the next chapter, Rudd moved the *ACT* to Detroit sometime before the end of 1893. The move was made despite the fact that the Catholic Church in Detroit was doing little at the time to foster friendly relations with the city's black population. If Rudd's convictions regarding the Catholic Church's commitment to race justice and equality remained intact while in Cincinnati, they were presumably challenged by relations between Catholics and African Americans in Detroit. Though Lincoln Vallé had met Bishop Foley in the summer of 1890 and reported that Foley had encouraged him in his efforts on behalf of the paper, there is no evidence to suggest that Bishop Foley or the priests in the diocese took any active interest in winning blacks to the church. (See chapter two) Absent the active local support of church leaders in Detroit, it is possible that Rudd's zeal for promoting the Catholic Church as the most vital institution for the amelioration of race injustice in society began to wane.

After his arrival in Detroit, Rudd worked out of his home at 37 Mullet Avenue. This was his base of operations in 1894 and 1895 as well. Rudd's name does not appear in the city directory for 1896; it does reappear, however, the next year. In 1897, Rudd was residing at 469 Monroe Avenue.¹³⁰ It appears likely that the *ACT* did not thrive in its new home.

III. Rudd Moves South, The Southern Period, 1900- 1933

Following the publication of the *ACT*, Rudd moved to Boyle Town (now Boyle), Mississippi, where he began working as a manager in one of the town's lumber mills. In 1912, Rudd moved to Madison, Arkansas, after he was recruited to run the lumber

¹³⁰ Barbara Louie, archivist at the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, phone interview by author, 12 April 2007, Detroit.

operation of Scott Bond, a wealthy black farmer and entrepreneur. While in Bond's employ, Rudd partnered with Scott Bond's son, Theophilus, in the writing of the elder Bond's biography, *From Slavery to Wealth: the Life of Scott Bond* (1917). By the time this biography was published Rudd was promoting a more Washingtonian-styled economic self-help approach for achieving race justice in the U.S. A more detailed discussion of this approach occurs in the epilogue of this dissertation.

Sometime around 1919, Rudd went to work for John Gammon, a farmer merchant who lived near Marion, Arkansas. Correspondence between Rudd and Archbishop John B. Morris (1866-1946) indicates that Rudd remained active in the Catholic Church throughout this period. After a stroke in 1932, Rudd returned to Bardstown, Kentucky. Daniel Arthur Rudd died December 3, 1933.

In order to establish a context for a study on Rudd's view of justice, I have presented a biographical sketch of our subject's life. A more detailed account of Rudd's life after the demise of the *ACT* is included in the epilogue. In the next chapter, I will examine the establishment, operations, marketing and the eventual collapse of Rudd's *American Catholic Tribune*, the newspaper which disseminated Rudd's ecclesiological vision of justice.

American Catholic Tribune Timeline

- 1827 The establishment of *Freedom's Journal*, the first black newspaper published in the U.S.
- 1843 The establishment of *Palladium of Liberty*, the first black newspaper published in Ohio
- 1870's Charles Bell's *Declaration* published in Cincinnati
- 1880 Rudd worked as journalist for the *Sunday News*
- 1883 Rudd established and edited the *Review*
- 1884 Rudd established a publication he called the "*Tribune*"
- 1885 Rudd began publishing the *Ohio State Tribune*
- 1886 (August) Rudd established the *American Catholic Tribune*
- 1887 Rudd moved the offices of the *ACT* from 233 W. Fifth St. to 355 Central Ave. in Cincinnati
- 1888 Rudd purchased a fast cylinder press and folding machine
- 1888 (December) Rudd ended his partnership with J.T. Whitson
- 1889 (May) Fr. John M. Mackey joined the *ACT* as the Associate Editor
- 1890 (December) Rudd established a Chicago Edition of the *ACT*
- 1890 Mackey left the *ACT*
- 1891 (January) The Chicago office of the *ACT* was destroyed by fire
- 1891 (June) Rudd announced the coming of a number of new black political newspapers
- 1892 (February) The *Journal* was established in Philadelphia
- 1892 (April) The Detroit *Plaindealer* established a Cincinnati edition
- 1893 The nation entered an economic depression
- 1893 The Detroit *Plaindealer* collapsed

- 1893 (December) Rudd moved the *ACT* to Detroit
- 1897 The *ACT* collapsed

Chapter II

The American Catholic Tribune: An Instrument of Justice

Opportunity's Open Door (1865-1890s)

Before the conclusion of the Civil War, African American race leaders including the period's leading spokesperson, Fredrick Douglass, denounced the evils of slavery and fought for justice and equality for blacks. Douglass' direct advocacy on behalf of the rights of blacks served as something of a paradigm for subsequent, northern black newspaper editors and civil rights leaders, including Daniel Rudd, Harry C. Smith, long-time editor of the Cleveland *Gazette*, and journalist and anti-lynching activist, Ida B. Wells.¹³¹

Prior to emancipation, Douglass concentrated much of his energy on the condemnation of the institution of slavery. Like his successors, however, the civil rights leader consistently spoke against all manifestations of racial caste. For example, Douglass focused his post-war campaign of race justice on the necessity of asserting and defending the civil rights of blacks, including the right to vote. Douglass' approach with reference to his strong advocacy for the civil rights of blacks stands in contrast to the public pronouncements and economic self-help program of accommodationist, Booker T. Washington.¹³²

¹³¹ Wells was associated with a number of newspapers including the Memphis *Free Speech and Headlight*, and the *New York Age*. Wells is best known, however, for her campaign against lynching which began in earnest in 1892. For a biographic treatment of Wells see Linda O. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

¹³² Pitney, 45-46.

The close of the U.S. Civil War brought emancipation to the newly freed slaves residing in the southern and Border states. Blacks enjoyed an unprecedented period of opportunity during the time when transitional governments governed the states formerly allied with the Confederacy. The decade of opportunity, from the time of the close of the war to the end of radical reconstruction, however, did not last.¹³³

On April 14, 1865, President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), sixteenth president of the United States, was assassinated. This created a leadership vacuum in Washington, D.C. After sitting vice president Democrat Andrew Johnson (1808-1875) was sworn in as president, a power struggle occurred between Republicans in Congress, and the executive branch of government. If Johnson would have been able to push his own presidential version of Reconstruction through Congress, African Americans would have been trapped in a state of virtual slavery and subjected to a strict system of Black Codes.¹³⁴

¹³³ The work of twentieth century historians William Dunning, John W. Burgess and their students shaped the understanding of events of the Reconstruction period through the mid twentieth century. The Dunning School of Reconstruction historiography contended that the South accepted military defeat after the Civil War, sought to do justice to the former slaves and, above all, wanted quick reconciliation into the fabric of national life. After the assassination of Lincoln, President Johnson attempted to carry forward Lincoln's magnanimous policies but was thwarted by Radical Republicans infected with both an irrational hatred of the South and a desire to create a new loyal block of voters among blacks. Those who embraced this thesis also argued that Congressional Reconstruction (1867-1877) was marked by a decade of unprecedented corruption presided over by "carpetbaggers" and "scalawags." The participation of blacks in southern governments also was viewed as damaging to the public good. This dark period of history finally came to a close when the white community banded together to restore "home rule." By the 1960s, Revisionist historians, following the lead of earlier scholars like W.E.B. DuBois, reconstructed the picture of this period portraying the Radical Republicans as the heroes who were opposed by supremacist Redeemers. More recent scholars, including Eric Foner, represent post-revisionist historians who have attempted to move beyond the inadequacies of the above discussed, incomplete, narrative accounts. For example in, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*, the author attempts to present a "comprehensive modern account" of the period of Reconstruction unified by five broad themes. These include the importance of black agency during the period; the manner in which southern society as a whole was remodeled over time, including relationships between white planters, merchants, and yeomen; the complex interplay between race and class in the post-war South; the emergence of a national state with "vastly expanded authority and a new set of priorities;" and attention to the effects the changes in the North's economy and class structure had on Reconstruction. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988).

¹³⁴ See Harvey Fireside, *Separate and Unequal: Homer Plessey and the Supreme Court Decision that Legalized Racism* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2004), 43. This text contains a helpful treatment of the political context of the Reconstruction period.

However, thanks to the relative strength of Radical Republicans in Congress willing to risk the political fallout of such a move, the nation appeared to be on course to recognize the full civil rights of blacks, including suffrage.¹³⁵

In the decade following the U.S. Civil War, congressional leaders including Thaddeus Stevens (1792-1868), a house member from Pennsylvania, and abolitionist, and Charles Sumner (1813-1890), a Massachusetts's statesman and senator, resurrected the proposals of Radical Reconstructionists including a former member of Maryland's Congressional delegation, Henry Winter Davis (1817-1865), and Ohio Senator, Benjamin F. Wade (1800-1878). Stevens and Sumner helped push through a Radical Republican legislative agenda, despite President Johnson's veto. The result was a version of Congressional Reconstruction which did much to benefit the nation's southern blacks.¹³⁶

From 1865 through 1877 and the end of Radical Reconstruction, the recently emancipated slaves of the South exercised their newly won rights. During this same period, African Americans enjoyed unprecedented opportunities, educationally, politically and socially. Over Johnson's veto, for example, congress passed legislation to strengthen the Freedmen's Bureau, thus opening schools for blacks all across the South. Congress also passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866, granting blacks the rights of citizenship. Moreover, the Reconstruction Act of 1867 took a more harsh posture against the Confederate states formally allied against the Union, and divided the South into five

¹³⁵ Franklin and Moss, 247; LaWanda Cox and John H. Cox, "Negro Suffrage and Republican Politics: The Problem of Motivation in Reconstruction Historiography" in *Reconstruction an Anthology of Revisionists Writing*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp and Leon F. Litwack (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), 156-170. I find the position of LaWanda and John H. Cox on the motivation of Radical Republicans during the Reconstruction compelling. For example, they demonstrate that given the political unpopularity in the North of granting political rights to blacks these policies may have well been motivated by principle rather than party interests. As these authors point out, "formerly dismissed" politicians like "Pig Iron" Kelley, Ben Wade and Henry Wilson displayed in their public careers an interest in equal status for blacks.

¹³⁶ Fireside, 40-44.

military districts where martial law was declared. To rejoin the Union, former rebel citizens were forced to take an “ironclad” oath. Each state was also forced to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing citizenship to African Americans.¹³⁷

During this promising period for African Americans, southern states were required to rewrite their constitutions extending suffrage to blacks. These same state constitutions drafted in the South from 1867-1868 were the most progressive written up to that time.¹³⁸ The Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified in 1870 and offered national protection for the black franchise. Further, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 prohibited individuals from discriminating against African Americans in public places or on public carriers.¹³⁹

One issue indicating the improvement of fortunes for African Americans in the decade following the Civil War was their opportunity to participate in politics. For example, in South Carolina’s first elected post-war legislature, blacks held eighty-seven of the states’ 147 seats.¹⁴⁰ In Louisiana in 1868, African Americans won forty-two seats in the state legislature. Of this number, seven served in the state senate.¹⁴¹ P.B.S. Pinchback (1837-1921), a black politician, served as governor of Louisiana for forty-three days in 1873. In Mississippi, blacks won forty seats in that state’s first Reconstruction legislature; in Virginia, blacks held twenty-seven seats. Fewer seats were held by blacks in Alabama.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ Franklin and Moss, 226. The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 238.

¹³⁹ Rayford W. Logan, *The Betrayal of the Negro from Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson* (London: Collier Books, 1954), 21.

¹⁴⁰ Franklin and Moss, 239.

¹⁴¹ Fireside, 47.

¹⁴² Franklin and Moss, 239-40.

Despite the educational, political and social rights won by blacks in the years immediately following the Civil War, the belief in the inferiority of African Americans remained widespread. This was due, in part, to the popularity of the work of proponents of the theory of polygenesis like Samuel Morton.¹⁴³ Further, reactionary southern forces were not willing to recognize the equality of blacks. By force and intimidation, secret societies formed to keep the black man in “his place.” Groups calling themselves the Regulators, Jayhawkers, Constitutional Union Guards, the Pale Faces, the White Brotherhood, the Council of Safety, the 76 Association, and the Black Horse Calvary worked to undermine the goals of Radical Reconstruction.¹⁴⁴

Perhaps the most notorious white terrorist organization was established by Confederate General Bedford Forrest (1821-1877), the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. As early as the federal elections of 1868, this group joined with other white supremacists, like the Knights of the White Camellia and the Innocents, for the purpose of intimidating Louisiana’s black voters.¹⁴⁵

The Re-establishment of Home Rule in the South

The decade long window of hope and promise for African Americans residing in the South did not close immediately. It occurred slowly, as southern whites took oaths of allegiance and received pardons subsequently returning to positions of influence in their respective communities.¹⁴⁶ By 1872, however, amnesty and voting privileges had been

¹⁴³ Morton represents what has been labeled the American school of ethnology. He promoted the concept of superior and inferior races. See Pitney, 26.

¹⁴⁴ Franklin and Moss., 248-249.

¹⁴⁵ Fireside, 48-49.

¹⁴⁶ Despite the removal of the last vestiges of Ohio’s Black Laws in 1887, David A. Gerber notes a “precipitous decline” in black-white relations in the state during the latter part of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century. This decline in black-white relations was a national trend adversely affecting Northern as well as Southern blacks. See Gerber, 248. The decline in race relations is also detailed in Bennett’s study of New Orleans. See Bennett, 7.

restored to all but about six-hundred ex-Confederates. The Hayes-Tilden compromise of 1877 effectively ended the period of Radical Reconstruction. The federal government, beset by accusations of corruption, left the states to govern their own affairs with little interference from Washington, D.C. The victory in the disputed presidential election of 1876 was granted to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes (1822-1893). In exchange, federal troops were withdrawn from the last two states where they remained, Florida and Louisiana.¹⁴⁷

President Rutherford B. Hayes set the pattern for how succeeding presidents including James Garfield (1821-1881), Chester A. Arthur (1829-1886), Grover Cleveland (1837-1908), Benjamin Harrison (1833-1901), and William McKinley (1843-1901), would ignore the issue of African American civil rights. Rayford Logan points out that Hayes is afforded the dubious distinction of being the chief architect of white supremacy in the post-Reconstruction South. He further explained that because of the president's concerns over sectional strife, and the possible eruption of a new civil war, he left southern leaders to pursue their own strategy with regard to the place of blacks in American society. Logan has further pointed out that by the turn of the century, McKinley would complete the work of Hayes, his presidential forerunner.¹⁴⁸

Evidence of McKinley's failure to uphold the civil and political rights of southern blacks is demonstrated by the president's decision not to intervene in the disenfranchisement of blacks via Louisiana's notorious, constitutional "grandfather clause." Further proof of the president's failure vis à vis African American rights is

¹⁴⁷ Franklin and Moss, 251.

¹⁴⁸ Logan, 23-47.

demonstrated by his refusal to protect the suffrage of blacks disenfranchised by North Carolina's constitution which was ratified in 1900.¹⁴⁹

Southern politicians had little interest in encouraging African American suffrage, not only because of widespread sentiments with regard to black inferiority, but also because most blacks were loyal to the Republican Party well into the twentieth century.¹⁵⁰ Southerners, therefore, used intimidation and violence as tactics to keep blacks from participating in the electoral process. Buttressed by the fear of social equality and race "amalgamation," white politicians cheered the Supreme Court's repeal of the 1875 Civil Rights Bill. The repeal of this important legislation in 1883 opened the way for states to pass legislation segregating blacks and whites.

With the meager support offered to black schools in the South by local and state governments, and with white supremacist terror groups victimizing blacks, it was evident the window of opportunity for blacks in the post-Reconstruction South was rapidly closing. During this same period, in obvious conflict with the spirit of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, southern states began rewriting their constitutions with the intention of disenfranchising blacks. For example, Florida ratified a new constitution in 1885, Mississippi in 1890, South Carolina in 1895, Louisiana in 1898, North Carolina in 1900, and Virginia in 1902.¹⁵¹

During this same period, states began enacting laws establishing segregation. For example, in 1870, Tennessee enacted the nation's first law against interracial marriage. Five years later, this same state established the first in a series of Jim Crow laws; other

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹⁵⁰ African Americans joined the Democratic Party in large numbers during President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administrations.

¹⁵¹ Franklin and Moss, 238.

states followed Tennessee's example. Armed with the repeal of the Civil Rights Bill of 1875, states barred blacks from white hotels, barber shops, restaurants and theaters. By 1885, most southern states had laws requiring separate schools for blacks.¹⁵² By 1900, both major political parties had given up on working for the rights of blacks.

The Church and Opportunity's Open Door

In the Catholic Church, attitudes toward race appear to have generally followed societal trends. Proof that a unique door of opportunity and promise remained open for blacks in the Catholic Church throughout the 1880s and 1890s is evidenced by two bellwether issues. The first of these involves some church leaders' relatively progressive view of the ordination of blacks to the priesthood; the second involves the willingness of many Catholic leaders to allow parishes to remain racially integrated.

Even in the church, however, progressive views regarding race relations eventually gave way as the nation moved toward the establishment of the Jim Crow system. By the 1890s, recalcitrant attitudes held by prejudiced church officials dampened the work of advocates of the ordination of African Americans. By this time, even John Slattery seemed to acquiesce to pressure from southern bishops who demonstrated a reluctance to receive black priests into their respective dioceses.¹⁵³ Priests including John Henry Dorsey lived lonely lives marked by undue harassment without the support or confidence of their white ecclesial superiors.¹⁵⁴

Similarly, Dolores Egger Labbé has distinguished three phases in Catholic Church leader's attitudes concerning racially integrated parishes in Louisiana. In phase one, 1888-1897, African American parishes were created by the pragmatic Archbishop of

¹⁵² Ibid., 262.

¹⁵³ Ochs, 99, 134.

¹⁵⁴ See chapter four "Scarcity of Black Priests."

New Orleans, Francis Janssens (1843-1897), for the benefit of blacks. It was understood, however, that African Americans would be free to attend the parish of their choosing. A second transitional phase existed from 1897-1909. By 1909, however, the move to force blacks into segregated black parishes was underway.¹⁵⁵ The forced race segregation of parishes in New Orleans was due in large part to the Americanization of the city, a city which traditionally had been the home of a large population of Catholic free people of color. The changing sentiments of church leaders in Louisiana appear to mirror a similar trend in the larger church community.

The Black Press, Daniel Rudd and the ACT

One of the important ways African Americans worked against the stripping away of their civil rights was through the black press. The nation's first black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, was published in 1827 in the city of New York by Samuel Eli Cornish (1790-1859), and John Brown Russwurm (1799-1851). From its inception, a central function of the black press has been the promotion of equality and racial justice. Given the fact that race prejudice was prevalent in American society in the antebellum period, it is no surprise that Cornish and Russwurm sought to speak out on behalf of the nation's blacks. The decision to set the record straight with regard to issues relating to the nation's African American population was an act of black agency. As a result of this action, Cornish and Russwurm blazed the trail for subsequent black newspaper publishers including Daniel Rudd.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Dolores Egger Labbé, *Jim Crow Comes to Church* (New York: Arno Press, 1978), 27. Similarly, James B. Bennett has argued that by 1920s, the pattern of voluntary segregation in New Orleans' parishes was made mandatory. James B. Bennett, *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow in New Orleans* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 9, 210.

¹⁵⁶ Charles A. Simmons, *The African American Press: With Special Reference to Four Newspapers, 1827-1865* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland & Company Inc., 1998), 5.

The publishers of *Freedom's Journal* set out to accomplish five goals related to Rudd's own editorial agenda for justice. First, Cornish and Russwurm sought to offset misrepresentations of blacks in the white press. These caricatures were unflattering to blacks. Secondly, this New York publication sought to help African Americans become "useful members of society." Thirdly, the paper sought to promote character development among blacks. Fourthly, the paper aspired to encourage its African American readers to protect black civil rights and to vote in the interest of the race. Finally, the paper attempted to provide reading material that would encourage blacks to "enlarge their stock of useful knowledge."¹⁵⁷ As did the first African American newspaper, the *ACT* would raise its own, albeit, ecclesiologically-centered, "cry for justice."

Daniel Rudd, founder and proprietor of the *ACT*, worked for the elevation of the nation's black population. Rudd's campaign for racial uplift demonstrates the editor's commitment to overthrow the widely held conviction that darker skinned races were inferior to white Europeans.¹⁵⁸ For the editor of the *ACT*, race justice would be realized when African Americans achieved full equality. This equality would only become reality, however, when blacks were free to enjoy the same rights and opportunities as their white brothers and sisters. Though similar to calls for justice raised by other black leaders of his

¹⁵⁷ Armistead S. Pride and Clint S. Wilson, *The History of the Black Press* (Washington D.C.: Howard University Press, 1997), 13.

¹⁵⁸ Many of those who believed in the inferiority of groups of people believed that over time the strongest races would assume their dominance. These Social Darwinists, applied Charles Darwin's (1809-1882), scientific evolutionary theories to human social groups including racial groups. Actually, Darwin refuted the idea of the multiplicity of human species. Further, he did not believe that one race was superior to another or that one race was more advanced on the path of evolution. English Philosopher, Herbert Spencer applied Darwin's evolutionary theories to racial groups in society. It was Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), however, who popularized social evolution in America as an explanation of human development. He theorized that societal development occurred in three stages, "savagery," "barbarism" and "civilization." Philip Dray, *At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America* (New York: The Modern Library, 2002), 95. See also Fredrick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 17-18. See also Logan, 268-269.

generation, Rudd's vision of justice as it was promoted in the *ACT* cannot be explicated apart from the essential role the Catholic Church would play in its realization.

For Rudd, the press, secular and sacred, was to play a critical role in the attainment of justice for blacks in post-Reconstruction America. Early in his journalistic career Rudd declared, "The press is the mirror of our daily actions...The editors shape the very destinies of nations—yes, civilization. Take away our printing presses and in two centuries we would be as far backward as we have advanced in 200 years..."¹⁵⁹ Again, in 1887, he wrote, "if the press would unite in teaching man his moral duty, how much less trouble there would be in the affairs of life."¹⁶⁰ During the years of the *ACT*'s publication, 1886-1897,¹⁶¹ Rudd was an active member of the Colored Press Association. In January 1891, Rudd led a delegation of Cincinnati race leaders in a successful effort to get the association to select Cincinnati as its next meeting site.¹⁶²

While serving as a member of the Colored Press Association, the editor of the *ACT* proposed a number of suggestions as to how the national black press might be more effective. First, he believed the association should combine and purchase material as a cooperative. Secondly, he believed it would be advantageous to maintain a single engraving department for all association members. Finally, Rudd believed the association needed to be linked more closely via the telegraph.¹⁶³

The March meeting of the Colored Press Association, held in Cincinnati in 1891, seems to have been unusually productive. Rudd was subsequently praised for the

¹⁵⁹ "Public Meeting of the Black Citizens of Springfield," *Springfield Republic*, 13 April 1882, p. 2.

¹⁶⁰ *ACT*, 1 April 1887, p.2.

¹⁶¹ Some sources have suggested that Rudd continued to publish the *ACT* in Detroit through 1899. This is unlikely; Rudd is not listed in Detroit's City Directory after 1897. Eugene P. Willging and Herta Hatzfeld, *Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States: A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List*, Second Series, Part Twelve (Washington D.C., The Catholic University Press, 1966), 80.

¹⁶² *ACT*, 17 January 1891, p.2; *ACT*, 24 January 1891, p.3.

¹⁶³ *ACT*, 31 January 1891, p.2.

reception given the black press in the Queen City. Two years later, the editor of the *Cleveland Gazette*, influential state legislator Harry C. Smith, would write,

There is no denying the fact that the life infused into the Afro-American Press Association at its Cincinnati, meeting in 1891 has been ebbing ever since, until now the organization has about reached the low plain it occupied prior to the '91 meeting.¹⁶⁴

Subsequently, Rudd's talents were acknowledged when he was asked to serve in various leadership roles in this same national organization. For example, the editor of *ACT* served as chairperson of the press organization's executive committee in August 1893. He also served as chairperson of the bureau of information.¹⁶⁵

Not only was Rudd involved in the Colored Press Association, but he was also an active member of the Catholic Press Association. In May 1890, he published the papal letter urging the Catholic press to continue spreading the faith.¹⁶⁶ Rudd believed that by introducing blacks to the only religion that knew no color line, he was, indeed, striking a blow for justice. Beginning in June 1889, on page two, the editorial page of the *ACT*, Rudd began printing a quotation from Daniel 13:3; this same quotation appears to be a loose translation from the *Vulgate*. It read, "They who instruct others unto justice, shall shine as stars in the Kingdom of Heaven." Rudd further claimed, "Such is the reward of the supporters of this journal."¹⁶⁷

Evidence from the *ACT* reveals that Rudd regularly attended Catholic press gatherings. For example, Rudd attended the Catholic press convention held in Cincinnati

¹⁶⁴ *ACT*, 4 February 1893, p.2

¹⁶⁵ *ACT*, 12 August 1893, p.2.

¹⁶⁶ "The Pope and the Press," *ACT*, 10 May 1890, p. 1.

¹⁶⁷ *ACT*, 1 June 1889, p. 2. In July 1887, Rudd printed an exchange from the New Orleans *Democrat* featuring this same quotation. Rudd may have borrowed this quote directly from the above Southern publication. See "Advice to Parents," *ACT*, 15 July 1887, p.2.

in the spring of 1890.¹⁶⁸ Rudd also traveled to New York in the spring of 1891 in order to participate in a Catholic press meeting.¹⁶⁹ Rudd's speech before the Apostolate of the Press gathering in New York City in January 1892 was discussed in chapter one.

Daniel Rudd began his publishing career in post-Reconstruction America. During this time span, blacks sought to retain many of the post-Civil War gains won by southern African Americans. Charles A. Simmons has distinguished nine periods in African American Press history. The most violent and yet the most prolific period, according to Simmons, was the "era of reaction and adjustment" occurring from 1877 to 1915.¹⁷⁰ The number of newspapers established by blacks in this era seems to have swelled even as public sentiment toward African Americans hardened and violence against blacks increased. Of the roughly four-thousand race papers established in the United States since 1827, 2,099 were established in this particular era. 504 race papers were started in the United States from 1880-1890.¹⁷¹ One of the publications, founded in Cincinnati, was the *ACT*.

Ohio's Race Press

The *Palladium of Liberty* was Ohio's first black newspaper. It began publication in Columbus in 1843. The Cleveland *Alien American* and Cincinnati's *Herald of Freedom* were among the state's antebellum black newspapers. Cincinnati's *Colored Citizen* was one of the few black papers published in the United States during the Civil War. Fourteen black newspapers were established in Ohio in the period from 1877-1900. Charles W. Bell published the *Declaration*, Cincinnati's only black newspaper printed

¹⁶⁸ "Convention of Catholic Editors and Publishers," *ACT*, 10 May 1890, p.3.

¹⁶⁹ *ACT*, 9 May 1891, p.2.

¹⁷⁰ Simmons, 15,21.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* Rudd calculated the number of black papers circulating in the spring of 1891 to be two- hundred.

during the decade of the 1870s.¹⁷² Felicia Jones Ross has observed that the hostility of whites toward African Americans coupled with the immigration of a relatively large number of blacks from the South made post- Civil War Cincinnati a likely location for an emerging black press.¹⁷³

The decade of the 1880s was a milestone period for Ohio's race newspapers. During this ten year period, the diverse political and religious interests of African Americans were being represented by the black press.¹⁷⁴ The *ACT* demonstrated the diversity of editorial opinion in Ohio's black press. For example, Rudd, who had been a vocal Republican prior to the establishment of the *ACT*, was forced to negotiate the political convictions of his black Republican readers, all the while being careful not to offend his white Catholic readers, many of whom were loyal Democrats. Further, Rudd was a black Catholic writing from a Catholic editorial position, this when most blacks in the country were Protestants. Rudd's convictions with reference to the Catholic Church gave his vision of race justice a distinctive ecclesiological bent. In short, he argued that full social equality and race justice in the United States could not be realized apart from the mission and ministry of the Catholic Church.

The Birth of the *ACT* (1886)

Sometime before January 1885, Rudd established a newspaper he titled the *Ohio State Tribune (OST)*. The young, enterprising Rudd faced a number of challenges in the

¹⁷² Professor Charles W. Bell addressed the second Colored Catholic Congress in July 1890. At this same meeting Rudd pointed out that Bell held the distinction of being the only African American writing instructor in the country presently teaching in a white school. Bell also wrote the "Our Colored Citizen's Column" for the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*.

¹⁷³ Felicia G. Jones Ross, "Democracy's Textbook: A History of the Black Press in Ohio, 1865-1985," in Henry Lewis Suggs ed., *The Black Press in the Middle West, 1865-1985* (London: Greenwood Press, 1996), 244-246. It is likely Ross underreported the number of black papers established in this time period. Rudd, for example, announced the arrival of a new political newspaper, the *American*, in June 1891. Ross failed to mention this publication.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 246.

early months of the *OST*'s publication. For example, during this period, Rudd was criticized by the editor of the *Cleveland Gazette* for his failure to get a particular edition of the newspaper to print.¹⁷⁵ By 1886, the *OST* appears to have been destined for failure. Evidence for the near collapse of the *OST* can be found in an article published in the *Observer*.¹⁷⁶

In this same imaginative piece, the narrator traveled through a cemetery containing the city of Columbus' failed African American newspapers. As this narrator passed through the graveyard of black newspapers, he happened upon a grave dug for Daniel Rudd's *Ohio State Tribune*. The caretaker of this cemetery then explained to the narrator that the grave for the *OST* had, indeed, been dug, but "just before the funeral, its parent, the energetic Dan Rudd, resurrected it back to life." He further explained that Rudd "in the still hours of the night" had "placed the blanket of hope around it and carried it to Cincinnati, rechristened, the *American Catholic Tribune*." The narrator further explained the fact that the *ACT* was at the time the "most successful journal in America."¹⁷⁷

Evidence from the newspaper reveals that the first edition of the newly rechristened *ACT* was published on August 22, 1886. In the *ACT*, Rudd determined to create a national, weekly publication that would "continue to fight for the eternal principles of liberty, justice and equality before the law." He also promised to "publish the news without tedious detail," and to "endeavor to encourage a high standard of moral

¹⁷⁵ Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," 277.

¹⁷⁶ This publication was possibly the Columbus *Observer*.

¹⁷⁷ *Observer*; quoted in "Columbus, O.," *ACT*, 16 March 1888, p.2.

manhood.” These objectives appear to have been carried over from the *OST* to Rudd’s new Catholic publication.¹⁷⁸

A combination of motivations may have led Rudd to establish the *ACT*. Following the second gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress movement in July 1890, Rudd told a reporter of the Cincinnati *Times-Star*,

I have always been a Catholic and, feeling that I knew the teachings of the Catholic church [sic], I thought there could be no greater factor in solving the race problem than that matchless institution whose history for 1900 years is but a continual triumph over all assailants...

In this same interview, Rudd claimed, “we began a Catholic newspaper in this city with the view of removing, as far as possible, the misinformation which had emanated from the non-Catholic press of the race as based upon the teachings of non-Catholic white denominations.”¹⁷⁹ Subsequently, Rudd wrote that he started the newspaper in the hopes it would do what no other black newspaper had done,

give the great Catholic Church a hearing and show that it is worthy of at least fair consideration at the hands of our race, being as it is the only place on this continent where rich and poor, white and black, must drop prejudice at the threshold and go hand in hand to the altar.¹⁸⁰

Further, given the fact Rudd was a shrewd entrepreneur, it is reasonable to assume that the chance to carve out a unique niche for a black newspaper did not escape the editor’s notice.

Like other major black newspapers of the period including the Cleveland *Gazette* and the Washington *Bee*, the *ACT* was four pages in length and boasted either six or seven columns per page. In the pages of the newspaper one could find not only editorials

¹⁷⁸ *ACT*, 9 August 1890, p.2. In this edition Rudd reprinted an editorial from the first edition of the *ACT* dated August 22, 1886.

¹⁷⁹ “Development of Africa,” *ACT*, 19 July 1890, p.2.

¹⁸⁰ *ACT*, 9 August 1890, p. 2.

promoting the Catholic Church but also items copied from other major newspapers. The *ACT* contained news from the U.S. Congress, the Ohio State legislature, recipes, and the latest news in fashion, agriculture, science and wildlife. The *ACT* also included anecdotes, humor, short stories and poetry. The eleven year run of Rudd's newspaper was atypical among black publications. Many black newspapers were often short lived.¹⁸¹ The Philadelphia *Journal's* publishing life, for example, could be measured in months.

Rudd's ecclesiological vision of justice was probably still in development when he began the *ACT* in the late summer of 1886. It may have been that at the time he understood the promotion of the Catholic Church as adjunct to his ongoing campaign for "the eternal principles of liberty, justice and equality before the law." After all, giving the church a "fair hearing," which is what Rudd in his inaugural issue of the newspaper declared he wanted to do with the *ACT*, falls well short of the editor's subsequent suggestions regarding the link between race justice and the Catholic Church.¹⁸² Nonetheless, as Rudd became disillusioned with the political process generally and the Republican Party particularly, it appears that he became over time more and more convinced that justice for African Americans could only be attained through the ministry of the Catholic Church.

By the spring of 1889, Rudd began in the *ACT* to communicate a developed and coherent message concerning the critical role that the Catholic Church would necessarily play in the establishment of a just society. For example, in April 1889, Rudd revealed the

¹⁸¹ Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune: No Other Like It," (photocopy), pp. 1-2. The above material was taken from the original academic paper delivered at the American Catholic Historical Association meeting held at the University of Dayton in Dayton, Ohio, on April 23, 2005. This same material was edited out of the subsequent article published by Lackner under the same title in 2007. See bibliography.

¹⁸² See "The American Catholic Tribune," *ACT*, 2 September 1887, p.2.

inextricable link between the Catholic Church and the “glorious future” awaiting African Americans. He wrote,

There is a glorious future before our race in this land; but it rests on one condition, viz—Christianity. No race can develop its manhood without God. We must become Christians and then we shall be men in every sense of the word. Not Christians of a lame divided Christianity, but of a whole, harmonious church....¹⁸³

Again, Rudd revealed both his disillusionment with politics and the importance of the mission of the Catholic Church in his vision of justice when he wrote,

This is a good time for the Negro Just when the impulse of American politicians thought it a good time to throw the stalwart youth overboard and proceed with alacrity to carry out the idea, there steps in a force that is more potent than impulsive political parties and steady as gravitation, and calls a halt. That force is the Holy Catholic Church whose foundation is the Savior and whose plea and law is the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man.” She will not be disturbed in her work of equalization until it is consummated....¹⁸⁴

The genius behind the *ACT* was the indomitable and ambitious, Daniel Rudd. The success of the *ACT* including the newspaper’s remarkable eleven year publication was due to its “exceptional editor.”¹⁸⁵ Yet part of Rudd’s genius was demonstrated in the editor’s ability to staff the *ACT* with gifted employees. A compilation of all the names of the employees who worked for Rudd and the *ACT* is provided in the appendices of this dissertation. Though there were, undoubtedly, many more individuals who worked for Rudd during the newspaper’s eleven year run, the above mentioned source is an exhaustive list of the *ACT* employees whose names appear in the extant copies of the publication.

¹⁸³ “The Colored Man in the Popular Magazines,” *ACT*, 6 April 1889, p.2.

¹⁸⁴ *ACT*, 4 May 1889, p. 2.

¹⁸⁵ Lackner, “The American Catholic Tribune No Other Like It,” 15.

Audience

Lackner has argued that the *ACT*'s readership may have included more whites than blacks.¹⁸⁶ In this matter, Lackner makes a strong case which internal evidence from the *ACT* supports. For example Lackner notes that advertisements for skin bleaches, hair straighteners and African American funeral establishments, which often appeared in black newspapers of the period, were largely absent from the *ACT*. Moreover, a majority of subscriptions to the newspaper appear to have resulted from sales made during Rudd's many lectures in parishes around the country. These parishes were often attended by only a few blacks if any at all. As Lackner has observed, however, Rudd asked wealthy whites to contribute funds to the *ACT* so that free copies could be given to non-Catholic blacks throughout the country. Therefore, it is possible to maintain the argument that though the majority of Rudd's paid subscribers were white, his target audience was black. As is evident from the pages of the *ACT*, Rudd used his newspaper both to instruct and encourage black Catholics, as well as to proclaim Catholicism's merits to prospective black converts.

Evidence from the *ACT* supports the above hypothesis, for example, white church leaders including Fr. Patrick Corrigan of Hoboken, New Jersey, who gave the *ACT* one-hundred dollars yearly, did so in order to buy copies of the newspaper to be distributed among blacks.¹⁸⁷ Similarly, Monsignor John E. Burke (1852-1925), of St. Benedict the Moor Parish in New York City, and who subsequently served as director-general of the

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹⁸⁷ "A Helping Hand," *ACT*, 21 December 1889, p. 1.

Catholic Board for Mission Work, gave monies to the *ACT* because he believed that the newspaper was “of incalculable benefit to the race.”¹⁸⁸

Other clergy and members of the laity interested in seeing the faith spread among blacks must have also understood that Rudd’s primary audience would continue to be African Americans. Though Rudd’s newspaper was primarily geared toward blacks, Rudd was certainly aware that the *ACT* was being read by white Catholics sympathetic to the cause of blacks. Further, Rudd intended to reach both white and black readers with his occasional appeals for cash.

Funding the *ACT*

The timing of Rudd’s decision to establish the *ACT* could not have been better, coming as it did on the heels of the Third Plenary Council held in Baltimore in 1884, (Baltimore III). Seeking to build on what little progress had been made in the black apostolate since the Second Plenary Council in 1866, church officials from Rome urged American bishops in this 1884 council to address the needs of African Americans.¹⁸⁹ Seminary officials and religious orders were urged to recruit their adherents to work among blacks. Also, it was determined that a special yearly collection would be taken up in all the dioceses across the United States in order to fund “Indian” and “Negro” missions. During this era, the Josephites, led by the visionary John R. Slattery, worked to evangelize southern blacks. Further, the effects of St. Katherine Drexel’s (1858-1955)

¹⁸⁸ *ACT*, 2 March 1889, p.2.

¹⁸⁹ Prior to the Civil War, the Oblate Sisters of Providence led by Mother Mary Elizabeth Lange (1780’s?-1882), and Sulpician priest, Fr. Jacques Hector Nicolas Jourbert de la Muraille, worked among blacks in Baltimore. Similarly, the Sisters of the Holy Family led by Henriette Delille (1813-1862), and Juliette Guadin worked among African Americans in New Orleans. The Mill Hill Fathers arrived in the U.S. in 1871 to work among blacks. This was a religious order founded by Cardinal Herbert Vaughn (1832-1903). Vaughn was the Vice President of St. Edmund’s College in England at the time the order was founded. The Congregation of the Holy Ghost (Spiritans) arriving in the U.S. in 1872 also achieved some progress with regard to their efforts to evangelize African Americans beginning in Arkansas in the years following the Civil War. Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 99-10, 125-126, 131-132.

fortune, which she had committed to benefit the African American and Native American populations in the United States, were being felt. The religious order she founded, the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People, established in 1891, also was devoted to ministry among the above groups.¹⁹⁰ An increased interest in the African American apostolate following Baltimore III bolstered the editor's efforts to establish the *ACT*.

In December 1887, Rudd discussed the difficulties currently being faced by African American newspaper men. One of the major obstacles according to Rudd was the fact that they were forced to "spend most of their time hunting money to make the wheels go around..."¹⁹¹ The question as to how Rudd funded the *ACT* has been addressed by Lackner. Though he admits it is "impossible to resolve this question with absolute certainty," Lackner has calculated that the income from subscriptions would have provided Rudd with adequate means to cover the expenses of the *ACT*.¹⁹² Lackner's claims have less merit in at least two periods in the *ACT*'s existence, first, in the early months of the newspaper's publication through mid 1887; secondly, in the year following the establishment of the *Journal* in Philadelphia, 1892.

Starting a newspaper requires a capital investment. However, it is uncertain at this time how Rudd managed to raise this start-up money. Lackner has correctly identified a number of plausible streams of revenue from which Rudd might have drawn in his quest to get the *ACT* up and running. It is probable that James T. Whitson, Rudd's partner and

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 133-136.

¹⁹¹ *ACT*, 30 December 1887, p. 2.

¹⁹² Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune and the Puzzle of Its Finances," 37-38.

business manager, put up part of the capital to establish the *ACT*.¹⁹³ It also appears that Rudd was able to augment monies coming in from subscriptions with the stipends he earned when called on to give public lectures.¹⁹⁴ Rudd also sold advertisements in his newspaper and operated a printing business out of the *ACT* plant. Rudd's printing business, which produced custom made cards, letterheads, envelopes, bill heads, and funeral stationery, was also a source of revenue for the *ACT*.¹⁹⁵ Finally, Rudd established a printing school attached to the newspaper, and a printing business, though it appears unlikely that the school generated any profit, at least in its early years.

Lackner points out that another source of revenue for the newspaper was direct contributions.¹⁹⁶ Internal evidence from the *ACT* reveals that this was an important source of revenue for Rudd. These gifts, given largely by mission-minded Catholics, appear to have been a vital source of revenue in the *ACT*'s first year of publication. Rudd solicited funds from Catholic clergy and lay members alike. Speaking of the establishment of the *ACT* in September 1887, Rudd wrote,

Gladly have the Catholics of America, from one end of the continent to the other, come to our assistance, and helped us to prove by their generosity that the Catholic Church is the "only one where rich and poor, white and black, must drop prejudice at the threshold and go hand in hand to the altar."¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Whitson was born in Pennsylvania and was a graduate of Pittsburgh Central High School. He served as a principal for a black elementary school in Pittsburgh. He later completed medical training at Western Reserve Medical College. Rudd probably met Whitson while in Springfield, Ohio, the location of the latter's medical practice. The partnership between Rudd and Whitson was dissolved in July 1888. At this time, Rudd purchased Whitson's interest in the *ACT* and assumed all the enterprise's debt. See also Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune and the Puzzle of Its Finances," 28-29.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 36; *ACT*, 1 August 1891, p.2.

¹⁹⁶ Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune and the Puzzle of Its Finances," 30.

¹⁹⁷ *ACT*, 2 September 1887, p.2. This citation yields no clues as to the source of the quotation in Rudd's comments.

The collection of mission dollars from Catholics continued to be a source of revenue beyond the first year of the *ACT*'s publication. In 1889, Rudd wrote, "The American Catholic Tribune is a perpetual mission, and every dollar given or expended for it is a help in the mission."¹⁹⁸

The *ACT* suggests that the newspaper's largest cash supporter may have been Cardinal Lavig rie. Rudd met the cardinal in Lucerne, Switzerland, in August 1889. Lavig rie was so impressed with Rudd and his work among blacks in America that he committed to giving one-thousand francs per year to Rudd's publishing enterprises. This amount was pledged for the remainder of the cardinal's life.¹⁹⁹ The second largest contributor to the *ACT* in terms of dollars seems to have been Fr. Patrick Corrigan of Hoboken, New Jersey, who sent Rudd one-hundred dollars yearly in order to purchase copies of the *ACT* to be distributed throughout the country to prospective converts.²⁰⁰

Other Catholic donors seemed eager to spend a portion of their home mission dollars to aid Rudd and the newspaper's evangelization efforts among blacks. For example, John E. Burke, at the time serving as pastor of St. Benedict the Moor Parish in New York City, invited Rudd to speak on two occasions, only weeks apart. Following Rudd's speech to members of the parish in February 1889, Burke gave Rudd the following endorsement,

Mr. Rudd is publishing a newspaper. It has been of incalculable benefit to the race. Without it we would not have had the Congress. It costs a great deal of money to publish a newspaper. I want to see him succeed...I will act as an agent for the American Catholic Tribune and propose to help him otherwise. I will not ask you to give me a collection for him, but I do want to take the paper and pay him for it. I have been taking it for two years and gladly recommend it. I now give Mr. Rudd as a donation to the cause fifty

¹⁹⁸ *ACT*, 26 January 1889, p.2.

¹⁹⁹ *ACT*, 17 December 1892, p. 2.

²⁰⁰ "A Helping Hand," *ACT*, 21 December 1889, p. 1.

dollars. I do not give it for him, but for the paper. It is no charity for him, but it is an aid to his noble efforts.²⁰¹

Rudd also received financial aid and moral support from the Archbishop of Philadelphia, John Ryan (1831-1911), as well as from the Archbishop of Cincinnati, William Henry Elder (1819-1904).²⁰² The *ACT* was supported by other laymen who purchased their subscriptions in advance, commenting on the quality of Rudd's paper. For example, John Boyle forwarded Rudd six dollars to cover three years of the subscription fee. Boyle commended the newspaper's "Educating qualities."²⁰³

Rudd also enjoyed help from Protestant supporters as well as Catholic. When Rudd or one of his traveling agents visited a city, they depended on locals to introduce them to prospective subscribers. On one occasion, Rudd commended William Ecton, a prominent, black Protestant leader in Washington Court House, Ohio, who played host to Rudd when he visited the central Ohio town.²⁰⁴

Not all of those solicited by Rudd were eager to support the *ACT*. For example, Mrs. M. Torrensdales, a Walnut Hills native affiliated with a publication called the *Advocate*, discussed her refusal to support Rudd's fledgling newspaper in a letter to Fr. Daniel E. Hudson C.S.C., the editor of *Ave Maria*. She informed Hudson that she had refused Rudd, in part because she knew the "state of their finances."²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ *ACT*, 2 March 1889, p.2.

²⁰² See "Editor Mention," *ACT*, 25 November 1887, p.2. Archbishop Elder's endorsement of the *ACT* can be found on the editorial page of the extant copies of the *ACT*.

²⁰³ "A Few Samples of Many," *ACT*, 7 October 1887, p. 3. This donor was from Cincinnati.

²⁰⁴ *ACT*, 28 February 1888, p. 2.

²⁰⁵ M. Torrensdales to Fr. Hudson, 11 January 1887, transcript in the hand of M. Torrensdales, Hudson Papers, CHUD X-3 d, Notre Dame University Archives, South Bend, Indiana.

The ACT: A Growing National Newspaper (1886-1888)

Raising funds for the newspaper was not the only challenge Rudd and other black newspaper editors had to overcome. For example, Rudd suffered the same dilemma as the editor of the Detroit *Plaindealer* who bemoaned the fact that many African Americans in the city of Cincinnati subscribed to the *Commercial Gazette*, a local white newspaper with a race column, rather than subscribing to a black newspaper.²⁰⁶ Moreover, Rudd had to contend with black Protestants who opposed the newspaper because of its promotion of the Catholic Church. On one occasion, Rudd wrote,

We have met the same difficulties most other newspapers have encountered, and have in a measure overcome most of them. We have, also, met what no other Negro has met up to this time—a senseless opposition from those in whose interest the paper is published.²⁰⁷

In March 1887, the *ACT* could be purchased in at least five locations in the city of Cincinnati, at Mrs. L. Gray's home at 105 E. Broadway; at 208/210 Sycamore Street in an establishment owned by G.J.H. Lowen; at 125 W. Sixth Street in a business owned by J.A. Spinney; J.L. Cunningham's Barber shop located at 302 ½ W. Fifth Street; and the Palace Barber Shop located on Capital Street.²⁰⁸ In this same month, Rudd hired Cora Turner, a young black woman. Rudd boasted that no other Catholic newspaper in the country employed a woman in a similar position.²⁰⁹

By May 1887, the *ACT*'s fortunes appear to have been looking brighter, in part because of the efforts of hard working agents including Mrs. L. Gray. In this same month, Rudd informed his readers that he was having trouble filling orders because the *ACT*'s

²⁰⁶ Detroit *Plaindealer*, 9 December 1892.

²⁰⁷ *ACT*, 8 December 1888, p.2.

²⁰⁸ "City and Vicinity," *ACT*, 4 March 1887, p.3. ; *ACT*, 18 March 1887, p.1.

²⁰⁹ "Miscellaneous Scissorings," *ACT*, 4 March 1887, p.2. Turner may have left Rudd's employ for a number of months. She returned before October 7, 1887. In an October 7, 1887 issue of the *ACT*, Rudd mentioned that Turner was learning the art of printing. "City and Vicinity," *ACT*, 7 October 1887, p.3.

subscription list was growing so rapidly. Rudd singled out the cities of Cincinnati, Louisville and Baltimore as sites where this promising trend was occurring.²¹⁰ By early summer, Whitson had canvassed Eastern Ohio for the newspaper with great success. By June 1887, Rudd had hired Isaac Moten to fill the position of city editor. He also added a traveling agent, St. Louis native, Lincoln Vallé, who boasted eight years of experience in the newspaper business.²¹¹

In July 1887, Rudd attempted to broaden his readership by sending copies of the *ACT* to Esmeralda, Ecuador, through the Bishop of Portoviejo, Peter Schumacher.²¹² Rudd met the bishop while the latter was visiting the United States to find priests for his diocese. Though the *ACT* offered no “direct profit” for the people in Esmeralda, Schumacher hoped this “new manifestation of Catholicity” also would “benefit” his diocese.²¹³ In September 1887, Rudd hired John R. Rudd, his nephew. John Rudd had recently served as the editor of the *Springfield Review*.²¹⁴ By September 1887, subscriptions to the *ACT* could not have numbered many more than one-thousand. Despite this fact, Rudd claimed that with the help of hundreds, he had established a successful newspaper.²¹⁵

In the *ACT*'s early days in the Queen City, the newspaper was located at 233 Fourth Street. In October 1887, Rudd informed his readers that the *ACT* had outgrown its Fourth Street facilities. Anticipating an increase in the size of his office staff, as well as the installation of a new cylinder press, Rudd announced that the newspaper's new home

²¹⁰ “To Our Friends and Agents,” *ACT*, 13 May 1887, p. 2.

²¹¹ “City and Vicinity,” *ACT*, 22 April 1887, p. 3; “City and Vicinity,” *ACT*, 24 June 1887, p. 3.

²¹² Spelled currently “Porto Viejo.”

²¹³ “A South American Approval,” *ACT*, 22 July 1887, p.2.

²¹⁴ *ACT*, 2 September 1887, p.2.

²¹⁵ *ACT*, 9 September 1887, p. 2.

would be located at 355 Central Avenue. Further, Rudd declared that the Central Avenue location would also house a school for students interested in learning the art of printing.²¹⁶

The *ACT*'s move to more commodious quarters on Central Avenue corresponded to what appears to have been a new advertising strategy. For example, on the editorial page of the September 23 issue of the *ACT*, Rudd began advertising for *Dr. Sages Catarrah Remedy*. In the subsequent issue of the *ACT*, on page three, a section that includes local news, Rudd published a new type of "in text" advertisement for *Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery*. It may have been that the *ACT*'s move to its new home was made possible by increased revenue raised from this new source of advertising income.²¹⁷

The year 1888 was another good one for Rudd and the *ACT*. Rudd and his team of agents seemed to have had particular success marketing the newspaper in cities on the East Coast of the United States, including Pawtucket, Rhode Island. Rudd and his agents also were able to add subscriptions in Massachusetts in the cities of Fall River, Salem, Lowell, Cambridge and East Boston.²¹⁸

While part of Rudd's staff worked the East Coast, other agents for the newspaper canvassed territory closer to home. Isaac Moten, for example, spent a good deal of time working in his home state, Indiana. The *ACT* reported Moten's successful visit to the town of New Albany in the summer of 1888. Forays like this one increased the *ACT*'s

²¹⁶ *ACT*, 7 October 1887, p. 2.

²¹⁷ *ACT*, 23 September 1887, p.2; *ACT*, 30 September 1887, p. 2. Lackner addresses the types of advertising published in the *ACT*. Though African American papers were often criticized for ads trumpeting cosmetics, patient cures, clairvoyants, politicians and esoteric books, He states that the *ACT* had relatively few of these ads until about two years prior to the paper's departure from Cincinnati. See Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune No Other Like It," 3.

²¹⁸ *ACT*, 27 April 1888, p.2; *ACT*, 4 May 1888, p. 2; *ACT*, 11 May 1888, p.2.

circulation list in the Midwest.²¹⁹ By the summer of 1888, the newspaper boasted subscribers numbering in the thousands. At this same time, Rudd wrote, “Never before in the history of the American Catholic Tribune has the paper been in a better position than now to do the work for which it was established.”²²⁰

As the prospects for the newspaper improved, Rudd looked forward to doubling the size of the newspaper, going from four to eight pages. He also anticipated adding an *ACT* correspondent for each city and printing twenty-five thousand free copies of the newspaper per week to be distributed among African Americans. Rudd also hoped to further develop his printing school.²²¹

In August 1888, Rudd made two major capital investments including purchases of a “fast cylinder press” and also a “folding machine.” Both of these pieces of equipment were subsequently installed in the *ACT* plant.²²² The expense of these investments, as well as Rudd’s decision to buy Whitson’s interest in the paper, appears to have put a financial strain on the editor. Rudd’s financial outlays during this period may also explain the reason why he informed his readers in January 1889 that he needed 2,500.00 in cash.²²³

During this same period, John R. Rudd replaced Whitson as the *ACT*’s business manager. Though Whitson’s work load was presumably assumed by John Rudd, Daniel Rudd was, nonetheless, forced to travel on behalf of the paper more than the editor of the

²¹⁹ *ACT*, 6 July 1888, p. 2.

²²⁰ *ACT*, 20 July 1888, p. 2.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 2. It is important to note that Rudd and Whitson dissolved their partnership during this same month. It may have evolved around differences of opinion over the future direction of the *ACT*.

²²² *ACT*, 24 August 1888, p.2.

²²³ *ACT*, 26 January 1889, p. 2.

ACT would have liked. Moreover, late in 1888, Rudd complained that the quality of the newspaper would be better if the editor didn't have to travel four-fifths of the time.²²⁴

The Mackey Partnership (May 1889-January 1891)

In May 1889, Rudd asked Monsignor John M. Mackey, then pastor of the Cathedral of St. Peter in Chains in Cincinnati, to serve as his associate editor.²²⁵ As Lackner has pointed out, Mackey was the only white individual known to have been directly associated with the newspaper's publication.²²⁶ Though Rudd clearly viewed Mackey as a friend of blacks, it is uncertain why he asked Mackey to join the editorial staff.

It is true that more African Americans attended the cathedral where Mackey officiated than attended the city's predominantly African American Parish, St. Ann's.²²⁷

This may be a telling fact. Mackey apparently worked well with the cathedral's African

²²⁴ *ACT*, 8 December 1888, p. 2.

²²⁵ Rudd's partnership with Mackey failed to shield Rudd from the criticism the newspaper received from John R. Slattery and other Catholic leaders.

²²⁶ Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune No Other Like It," 6-7. John M. Mackey was born in Pallas Green near Limerick, Ireland in on February 1, 1836. Mackey was educated at St. Thomas College near Bardstown, Kentucky, though there are conflicting reports as to when he entered the institution. Mackey subsequently studied at the Mount Saint Mary's Seminary in Emmitsburg, Maryland. Bishop George Aloysius Carrell called Mackey a young man of "fine talents." Mackey entered Mount Saint Mary's Seminary in the fall of 1857, completing his studies in 1859. Mackey studied theology at the Sulpician's Grande Séminaire D'Aix. Mackey was ordained in the chapel of the American College in Rome by Archbishop John Baptist Purcell (1800-1883) June 14, 1862. In 1868, Mackey became affiliated with the Archdiocese of Cincinnati and subsequently was sent to St. Mary's Parish in Marion, Ohio, where he ministered for two years. During this two year period, Mackey established the missions of La Rue and Caledonia. In 1870, Mackey was assigned to St. Patrick's Parish in Cincinnati where he served seventeen years. In 1881, while serving as pastor of St. Patrick's, he was asked to fundraise for his Alma Mater, Mount Saint Mary's. Mackey's efforts on behalf of the institution were quite successful. In June 1888, Mackey was appointed pastor of the Cathedral of St. Peter in Chains in Cincinnati. Because of Mackey's speaking ability he was regularly asked to preach in neighboring parishes. Mackey served for a period of time as the editor of the *Catholic Telegraph*, and as associate editor of the *American Catholic Tribune* with Rudd, though his obituary makes no mention Mackey's partnership with the *ACT* or with Rudd. On July 21, 1905, Mackey took over as the Rector of Mount Saint Mary's of the West Seminary located near Cincinnati. Gary Agee, "The Reverend John M. Mackey and Daniel A. Rudd in the Second Colored Catholic Congress" (Research Paper., University of Dayton, 2003), 6-8.

²²⁷ *ACT*, 20 August 1889, p. 2. According to Lackner, 154 parish members appear on the membership roles from 1866-1870. Only sixty-four of these were adults, three were white. See Lackner, "The Foundation of St. Ann's Parish, 1866-1870: The African American Experience in Cincinnati," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 7, no. 2 and 3 (Spring/Summer 1988): 22.

American parishioners. A delegate to the African American Episcopal Sunday school convention held in Cincinnati in 1889 took notice of Mackey's work among the city's black population. For example, Mackey offered black Catholic converts a course on the sacraments that he himself taught.²²⁸ Rudd presumably viewed Mackey as an ally of African Americans for two additional reasons noted by Lackner. First, when Rudd decided in June 1888 to organize the first Colored Catholic Congress, Mackey graciously offered the use of the cathedral. Secondly, Mackey had invited Augustus Tolton, the first recognized African American priest, to the cathedral to speak in September 1888.²²⁹

The newspaper was well on its way to success prior to Mackey's arrival. For example, by the time Mackey joined the *ACT* in May 1888, the newspaper already employed five traveling agents including, Isaac Moten, H.L. Jones, William Gauntt, William Ervin and Lincoln Vallé. Also, Robert Ruffin, though not listed as a traveling agent, was, before Mackey's tenure, employed as the *ACT's* eastern representative.²³⁰ The decision to secure Mackey's editorial services illustrates Rudd's determination to improve the newspaper. It also demonstrates his business acumen.

Though Mackey promoted the *ACT* in his travels around the country, internal evidence from the newspaper suggests that Mackey's main contribution to the *ACT* was limited to his submission of a series of articles on the sacraments.²³¹ Though these articles are unsigned, they are almost certainly his work.²³² Beginning with the first issue in which Mackey is listed as associate editor, the editorial page of the *ACT* contains a

²²⁸ *ACT*, 20 July 1889, p. 2.

²²⁹ *ACT*, 14 September 1888, p.2.

²³⁰ Ruffin's home base was Boston.

²³¹ Mackey is reported to have promoted the *ACT* in Boston in August 1890. See *ACT*, 30 August 1890, p.2.

²³² The first installment of articles on the sacraments examines the sacrament of baptism. The author signed the article "J." "J" might well have been short for "John."

relatively sophisticated theological discussion of the sacrament of baptism. Rudd may have decided to publish the same type of material on the sacraments Mackey had been using in his new convert class at the cathedral. Through Mackey's year and one half tenure as assistant editor, a series of articles on the sacraments was a regular feature of the *ACT*. Though the *ACT* seems to have thrived under the Rudd/Mackey partnership, in some issues, Mackey's articles appear to crowd out editorial space formerly filled with Rudd's commentary on race issues.

In June 1889, Rudd offered new *ACT* subscribers a choice of promotional gifts.²³³ In September 1889, Rudd informed his readers that the *ACT*'s facilities were not adequate to house the growing job printing department.²³⁴ Rudd's success during this period cannot be completely attributed to Rudd's business acumen, however. For example, Rudd praised the ingenuity of his foreman and press room supervisor, Anthony Nickens whom he labeled a "real genius." Nickens, who had invented a wooden combination lock with three tumblers, made periodical repairs on the *ACT*'s printing equipment.²³⁵ The editor of the *ACT* also credited his traveling agents, including Isaac Moten, H.L. Jones and William Ervin as well as his nephew, city editor and business manager, Robert Rudd, for their help in expanding the *ACT*'s subscription base.²³⁶ During this prosperous time, Rudd hired mail clerk, Alma Bell, who worked in the newspaper's employ for at least two years.²³⁷

²³³ Gifts included "carvers in pairs" scissors, cork screw, butcher knife and similar household items and children's toys. "Read This," *ACT*, 8 June 1889, p.3.

²³⁴ "City and Vicinity," *ACT*, 14 September 1891, p.3.

²³⁵ *ACT*, 26 October 1889, p.2. John Keelan, a Protestant, was Rudd's former foreman. He left Rudd's employ and subsequently went to work for the Toledo *Blade*. See *ACT*, 9 November 1889, p.2.

²³⁶ *ACT*, 12 October 1889, p.2.

²³⁷ "City and Vicinity," *ACT*, 10 October 1891, p.3.

In October 1889, Lincoln Valle' reported that the *ACT* was operating three presses including a large Campbell press.²³⁸ The next month Rudd regretfully informed his readers that he would not be able to fill requests for back issues. The shortage was due in part to the popularity of Mackey's regular commentaries on the sacraments. It was also due to the printed lectures of Fr. H.A. Calmer.²³⁹ In November 1891, Rudd further exulted in the fact that the printing school attached to the *ACT* had grown to be the most extensive and complete owned by colored men in the world.²⁴⁰

A Chicago Office (December 1890-January 1891)

In December 1890, about a month before Mackey's departure from the *ACT*, Rudd decided to open a newspaper branch office and printing facility in Chicago. Lincoln Vallé, who traveled extensively with Fr. Tolton in the latter's attempt to raise funds to build St. Monica's Parish, took a lead role in the opening of the *ACT*'s Chicago office.²⁴¹ During this same period, Rudd strongly endorsed the church building efforts of Tolton. For example, he wrote, "We have but one Negro priest in this country and the first duty of the race is to show their appreciation of him by helping him to build the beautiful church which he has planned for Chicago."²⁴²

The newspaper's Chicago plant was located at 283 South Clark Street, Room 14. The Chicago venture was to be short-lived, however. In January 1891, the *ACT* reported that a fire had badly damaged the Chicago office. Rudd later seemed to suggest that the fire may have been an act of vandalism.²⁴³ Why Rudd chose not to comment more

²³⁸ "The Catholic Church and The Negro," *ACT*, 12 October 1889, p.2.

²³⁹ *ACT*, 23 November 1889, p. 2.

²⁴⁰ "Cincinnati," *ACT*, 14 November 1891, p.3.

²⁴¹ See "Chicago," *ACT*, 1 November 1890, p.1; *ACT*, 8 November 1890, p.2; "Chicago, Ill.," *ACT*, 22 November 1890, p.3. St. Monica's Parish is now named St. Elizabeth.

²⁴² *ACT*, 6 December, 1890. p.2

²⁴³ *ACT*, 25 February 1893, p.2.

extensively on the fire is unclear. Despite the loss of the *ACT*'s Chicago plant, in the winter of 1891, Rudd possessed the means to move Cincinnati's *ACT* operation to a more suitable location. The new *ACT* plant was located at 486 Central Avenue.²⁴⁴

Justice, the Southern Campaign

In January 1891, Rudd intimated the details of a previous conversation he had with a Catholic lawyer. Rudd claimed that this lawyer had reasoned that the best place to carry out missionary work among African Americans was the larger cities of the North. Rudd subsequently concurred with this assessment, "We believe the point is well taken; for here the Catholic influence is stronger and the per cent of illiteracy is much lower than in the South."²⁴⁵

The fact remains, however, that throughout the years of the *ACT*'s publication, most African Americans, between 89 and 90 per cent, lived in the South²⁴⁶ Though on one occasion Rudd claimed that if he had proper support he would spend half his time showing members of the race in southern cities the "fairness, the justice and the truth of Catholicity," evidence from the *ACT* reveals that Rudd's newspaper was almost exclusively a northern concern.²⁴⁷ A careful reading of the *ACT* illumines the fact that

²⁴⁴ *ACT*, 7 March 1891, p. 2.

²⁴⁵ *ACT*, 24 January 1891, p. 2

²⁴⁶ In 1900, the states with the largest number of African American's were all in the South. In descending order they rank as follows, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Texas. See *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1915), 26-30. See also Logan, 68.

²⁴⁷ *ACT*, 18 April 1891, p.2. In March 1887, Rudd announced his plans to visit the southern cities of Knoxville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Macon, Augusta, Savannah and Charleston. There is, however, no record of these visits printed in the *ACT*. It is reasonable to assume that Rudd would have made some reference as to the particulars of these visits had he, in fact, made them. See *ACT*, 18 March 1887, p.2. In March 1888, Rudd suggested that the Carolinas, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana were receiving the *ACT* as an "advocate of right and justice;" this claim appears to be hyperbolic, given the fact that Rudd's assertions cannot be substantiated by additional evidence from the newspaper. An exhaustive list of the cities visited by Rudd and his agents catalogued by year is included in the index of this dissertation.

Rudd and his agents made precious few forays into the states formerly allied with the Confederacy.

In March 1891, the *Golden State Catholic* printed a derogatory editorial which, no doubt, disturbed Rudd. Rudd even printed this exchange in the *ACT*. In this article, the editor of the California newspaper argued that the, “Blackman” was yet “an uncivilized factor in our country.” He further urged Rudd, “Mother Drexel” and Fr. Slattery onward in their work of converting blacks in the South. This same exchange challenged Rudd to, “Hurry up.... with your ‘American Catholic Tribune’ and spread the light among your unenlightened race.”²⁴⁸ This indictment targeting African Americans seems to have been indicative of the growing anti- African American sentiment in post-Reconstruction America. This same prejudicial sentiment targeting southern African Americans may have spurred Rudd and other advocates of the race to further investigate the condition of blacks in the South.

The initial impetus for Rudd’s decision to visit the South seems to involve discussions held at the Colored Press Association meetings hosted by the *ACT*’s editor in Cincinnati, in March 1891. Immediately following this important gathering, Rudd made what appears to be, an unprecedented trip to the “far south,” Nashville.²⁴⁹ In June 1891, Rudd wrote,

At last the TRIBUNE has found itself able to enter Southern field in earnest. We are glad of it, for it was the hope of being able to do something for the struggling race in the South as well as to dispel some of the shades that gather so thickly over the minds of our Northern brethren.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ “The Negro in Darkness,” *ACT*, 14 March 1891, p. 4.

²⁴⁹ Rudd considered Kentucky to be a Southern state. Thus his designation of his trip to the city of Nashville as a trip to the “far south.” See *ACT*, 18 April 1891, p.2.

²⁵⁰ *ACT*, 6 June 1891, p.2.

Evidence Rudd's interest in the South may have been the result of a larger initiative adopted by the Colored Press Association is found in an editorial published in the *ACT* in June 1891. As is apparent from the following quotation, part of the impetus for the editor's southern campaign was the need to defend the race from charges that blacks were regressing. At this time, Rudd wrote of his visit south,

The Colored Press of the country has taken hold of the matter, in a way that it has not been handled before. The Detroit Plaindealer has sent a correspondent through the various Southern States, to write up what he sees and hears. Miss Ida B. Wells, the accomplished editor of the Memphis Free Speech, has taken her pencil and tab, and gone into the Mississippi Delta. The American Catholic Tribune has sent a correspondent to report on the condition of the Southland...It is sheer nonsense to talk about the Colored people going backward; they are doing no such thing.²⁵¹

In May 1891, Rudd attended an organizational meeting in preparation for the third gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress which was to be held in Philadelphia in January 1892.²⁵² Disappointed by the region's previous representation, Rudd appears to have been selected by this committee to recruit delegates from the South to attend the upcoming congress. In August 1891, Rudd visited New Orleans and delivered a lecture at Alphonsus Hall to a small but "intelligent audience."²⁵³ In this address, Rudd apparently explained the significance of the upcoming congress of black Catholics. He also appears to have discussed the recent progress of the race.²⁵⁴ Rudd's tour of the "far South" was cut short, however, by an unidentified business crisis which forced him to return home.²⁵⁵

Rudd's initiative to carry his campaign for justice to the South was not limited to his own above detailed visit. In the summer of 1891, Rudd decided to hire a

²⁵¹ *ACT*, 27 June 1891, p.2.

²⁵² *ACT*, 20 June 1891, p.2.

²⁵³ *ACT*, 22 August 1891, p.2.

²⁵⁴ "A Congress of Colored Catholics," *ACT*, 8 August 1891, p. 3; *ACT*, 22 August 1891, p.2.

²⁵⁵ *ACT*, 22 August 1891, p. 2.

representative to travel to select southern cities. He chose Edward Reed who had previously worked as the *ACT*'s foreman in Cincinnati, but had subsequently relocated to Nashville.²⁵⁶ The *ACT* recorded Reed's visits to the cities of Nashville and Memphis, Tennessee, as well as to the following towns and cities in Mississippi: Water Valley, Canton, Jackson, Vicksburg, and Natchez.²⁵⁷ Reed wrote, "Tongue can not tell the horrible crimes that are committed on the Negro population." In the pages of the *ACT*, Reed related his own frightening experience in the town of Water Valley, Mississippi, where the correspondent was threatened with lynching. Commenting on conditions for blacks in Mississippi's small towns he wrote, "thousands of the Negro race... would leave tomorrow for Africa, if they only had the chance."²⁵⁸

The Demise of the *ACT*: A Counter Thesis (1891-1897)

Joseph H. Lackner has argued that the failure of the *ACT* in Cincinnati and its subsequent collapse in Detroit may be attributed to three factors. The first of these is related to the opposition the *ACT* faced at the hands of a number of influential black Catholics. The second factor leading to the newspaper's collapse, according to Lackner, involved Rudd's personality, particularly his "occasionally alienating manner." A third, according to this same author, had to do with Rudd's mismanagement of the newspaper, particularly his "expansionist tendencies."²⁵⁹ After an evaluation of Lackner's arguments, I will present what I believe to be a more compelling set of hypotheses explaining the demise of the *ACT*.

²⁵⁶ "City and Vicinity," *ACT*, 22 November 1890, p. 3.

²⁵⁷ "The Sunny South," *ACT*, 13 July 1891, p. 1.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁵⁹ Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune and the Puzzle of Its Finances," 38.

Lackner's Hypotheses

I. Opposition from African American Catholics

As Lackner has pointed out, the *ACT* did have its detractors among influential African American Catholics. For example, Rudd's newspaper was a target of criticism during the gathering of the second Colored Catholic Congress held in Cincinnati in 1890. Subsequent to the gathering, Slattery, speaking of the *ACT*, claimed that the "delegates had severely criticized its makeup, matter, poor paper, etc."²⁶⁰ Further, he informed his readers that Rudd had promised to move the newspaper to Philadelphia where the *ACT's* editor would be able to secure aid in its publication from the Spiritan priests. With their help, Slattery believed, the *ACT* might "become a source of incalculable good."²⁶¹

Internal evidence from the *ACT* indicates a conflict between Rudd and prominent members of Philadelphia's African American Catholic community did occur. This conflict can be traced to the spring of 1890, when a regular column contributed by Arthur Arnott, an influential member of the black Catholic community of Philadelphia who later would be a contributing editor to the *Journal*, was dropped from the *ACT* without notice.²⁶² The decision to drop Arnott's column may reasonably be attributed to Arnott's criticism of the *ACT*.

Criticism of the *ACT* in the spring and early summer of 1890 appears to have taken in some of Rudd's own employees. In what might be labeled a coordinated retraction, Lincoln Vallé, who had recently returned to Cincinnati from an extended tour of the Northeast, wrote in July 1890,

²⁶⁰ John R. Slattery, "The Congress of Negro Catholics," *Donahoe's Monthly Magazine* 24 (1890): 271.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² See *ACT*, 19 April 1890, p.2.

While in the East my fired ambition became so burning at the Editor in regards to the many typographical features of our office that might be added in order to better fit our Journal for our readers, but since my arrival I found out after close investigation that the fault was unavoidable under our present circumstances. I hope our friends will spare us a little more consideration and resort to thoughts that while we have faults we have virtues, and trust that they will help us maintain our virtues.²⁶³

Rudd did not allow his critics to go unanswered. In a July, 1890, issue of the *ACT*

Rudd wrote,

It is not our purpose to please every body. We can not do it. We are always greatful [sic] for advice whether we are able to follow it or not. We expect criticism. That it is sometimes adverse is in the very nature of things, No man is perfect. We are men, we will do the best we can. If we are successful we will be glad and thank Almighty God. If we are not successful then _____.²⁶⁴

Further, Rudd answered those who thought he should move the paper. He wrote,

The American Catholic Tribune is well pleased with its present location. This paper is just where it will always be. No change has ever been contemplated or mooted by us nor would any proposition to that effect be considered for a moment.²⁶⁵

Though Rudd did face opposition from some influential black Catholics with regard to the newspaper's quality, no direct link is discernable between this criticism and the newspaper's demise.

II. "An Occasionally Alienating Manner"

A second factor cited by Lackner as a possible cause for the demise of the *ACT* involves the editor's personality. In the pages of the *ACT* or in his correspondence one is hard pressed to find evidence of what Lackner has termed Rudd's "occasionally alienating manner." One may cite, of course, Rudd's conflict with partner and business manager, James Whitson. Such disagreements, however, might be expected in business

²⁶³ "A Vote of Thanks," *ACT*, 19 July 1890, p.2.

²⁶⁴ *ACT*, 26 July 1890, p.2.

²⁶⁵ *ACT*, 26 August 1890, p.2.

relations. For example, there were strained relations between the A.M.E. *Christian Recorder* editor, Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner, and its business manager, Bishop Henry M. Turner (1834-1915.) Turner promoted African American emigration to Africa while the former opposed it.²⁶⁶

One might also cite Rudd's conflict with Eastern agent, Ruffin, as evidence of an "occasionally alienating manner." However, as Lackner has observed, it appears that Ruffin's February 1892 complaint against Rudd involved money.²⁶⁷ It, therefore, seems more plausible to propose that the falling out between Rudd and Ruffin can be attributed to the editor's inability to continue to retain Ruffin's services. Rudd's choice to downsize staff in February 1892 might well have been necessitated by the establishment of the rival black Catholic newspaper, the *Journal*, first published in this same month.

There is not enough evidence to support the claim that a flaw in Rudd's personality was a contributing factor in the paper's decline and collapse. As is apparent from the pages of the *ACT*, Rudd effectively attracted contributors to support his newspaper. Further, Rudd appears to have been extremely gracious with his journalistic competitors. For example, in June 1891, Rudd reported the rumor that a number of black political papers were soon to begin publishing in the city. He intimated that he hoped they would last.²⁶⁸ Similarly, when the Detroit *Plaindealer* moved into the Cincinnati market in the spring of 1892, Rudd offered a generous appraisal of the paper, declaring that there

²⁶⁶ William Seraile, *Fire in his Heart: Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner and the A.M.E. Church* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 42.

²⁶⁷ Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune and the Puzzle of Its Finances," 34; Robert Ruffin, to John Slattery, 18 February 1892, transcript in the hand of Robert Ruffin, 9-H-26, Josephite Archives, Baltimore, Maryland.

²⁶⁸ *ACT*, 6 June 1891, p. 2.

was plenty of room in the city for another good newspaper.²⁶⁹ More tellingly, Rudd even offered his best wishes for long life and prosperity to the *Journal*.²⁷⁰

III. “Expansionist Tendencies”

Lackner’s claim that Rudd’s expansionist tendencies were a contributor to the paper’s demise is equally difficult to establish. Lackner has correctly asserted that Rudd attempted to grow the paper beyond a local, provincial concern.²⁷¹ One might argue, however, the newspaper’s survival depended on its appeal to a national market. After all, there were very few black Catholics in Cincinnati at the time of the paper’s publication, perhaps as few as 150.²⁷² Rudd’s target audience for the *ACT* was black. The aim of the *ACT* was to reach this constituency with a Catholic vision of justice. In order to reach the *ACT*’s target audience, and to establish an economically viable paper, an appeal to a broad national readership was imperative.

As to Rudd’s alleged over-ambitious expenditures involving capital investments, it is unclear from the pages of the *ACT* whether or not the editor moved beyond prudence in these matters. Further, it is probable that Rudd’s concentrated efforts in early 1892, for example, to expand the printing school, were related to the editor’s desire to diversify his business. The impetus for this diversification was likely prudence, and this resulting from a feared decline in subscriptions portended by the establishment of the *Journal*.

A More Compelling set of Hypotheses for Rudd’s Move to Detroit and the Collapse of the *ACT* (1893-1897)

It is the author’s contention that Rudd’s decision to move the newspaper to Detroit was occasioned by four factors. First, there were a number of new black

²⁶⁹ *ACT*, 23 April 1892, p. 2.

²⁷⁰ *ACT*, 6 February 1892, p.2.

²⁷¹ Lackner, “The American Catholic Tribune and the Puzzle of Its Finances,” 38.

²⁷² “Priests Who Labor,” *ACT*, 6 February 1892, p.1.

newspapers established in Cincinnati in early 1891; Secondly, the establishment of the *Journal* appears to have resulted in the *ACT* losing as many as three-thousand subscribers; thirdly, the collapse of the Detroit *Plaindealer* in 1892 may have encouraged Rudd to move his newspaper to Detroit. In moving to Detroit, Rudd may have believed that he could capture a significant share of the advertising dollars once controlled by the Detroit *Plaindealer*. Finally, the above adverse factors facing the struggling *ACT* were exacerbated by difficulties associated with the economic recession beginning in 1893.

I. Local competition

The decline of the *ACT* probably commenced sometime before the economic recession which began in 1893. Rudd's local subscription base may have been threatened as early as the summer of 1891. For example, in June 1891, Rudd reported that Cincinnati would soon be welcoming a number of new, black political newspapers.²⁷³ Later the same month, Rudd announced the arrival of the first of these anticipated publications, the *American*.²⁷⁴ In April of the next year, one of Rudd's journalistic associates, William H. Anderson, editor of the Detroit *Plaindealer*, began publishing a Cincinnati edition of his well known paper.²⁷⁵ Employing two of Rudd's former agents, William F. Anderson and W.S. Tisdale, the Detroit *Plaindealer's* editor, attempted to establish a subscription base in Cincinnati.²⁷⁶ A subsequent threat to the *ACT's* newspaper market share in Cincinnati may have come from another of Rudd's close associates, Charles W. Bell. In September 1892, Bell's *Ohio Republican* made its debut in the Queen City.²⁷⁷

²⁷³ *ACT*, 6 June 1891, p.2.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.* ; *ACT*, 27 June 1891, p.2.

²⁷⁵ See *ACT*, 23 April 1892, p.2.

²⁷⁶ William H. Anderson, editor of the Detroit *Plaindealer*, visited Rudd in his Cincinnati office on a number of occasions. Rudd may have met Anderson through the Afro-American League. Anderson served as the secretary of Fortune's organization.

²⁷⁷ *ACT*, 24 September 1892, p.4.

II. The Establishment of the *Journal* (February 1892)

Though it appears a decreasing market share and stiff competition for advertising dollars available to black newspapers in Cincinnati threatened the *ACT* as early as 1892, an even more profound blow to Rudd and his newspaper came with the establishment of a rival black Catholic newspaper in Philadelphia, the *Journal*. Despite Rudd's periodic claims that the *ACT* was the only black Catholic journal owned and published by colored men, other black Catholic publications were established during this period, including the *Journal of Philadelphia*, published from February 1892 to September 1892, and the *Colored American Catholic*, published in New York City in the summer of 1888.²⁷⁸

Though the impact of *The Colored American Catholic* on the *ACT* seems to have been negligible, the *Journal* threatened Rudd's national subscription base. Particularly vulnerable would have been Rudd's subscribers living in large urban centers on the East Coast, near Philadelphia. The *Journal* began publication February 14, 1892, subsequent to the meeting of the third Colored Catholic Congress. This newspaper was published in Philadelphia by Thomas W. Swann and S. B. Hart. Though its publication was relatively short lived, it appears to have existed long enough to do irreparable damage to Rudd's national subscription base.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Eugene P. Willging and Herta Hatzfeld, *Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States Part XV: A Statistical Analysis of the First Series, Parts 1+2 and of the Second Series, Part I-XIV (1+2)* (Washington D.C., The Catholic University Press, 1968), 138. This source lists only two newspapers printed on behalf of black Catholics and published by black proprietors, the *ACT* and the *Journal*. Internal evidence from the *ACT*, however, reveals a third publication, *The Colored American Catholic*, published in New York City by one, R. D. Dumas. This publication appears to have had some connection to St. Benedict's Mission in New York City though John E. Burke did not endorse it. See "The Colored American Catholic," *ACT*, 31 August 1888, p.1.

²⁷⁹ Extant copies of the *Journal* are housed at the American Catholic Historical Society Archives in Philadelphia. The first extant copy of the paper is the May 28, 1892, edition. The most recent copy of the publication is the Sept. 24, 1892 edition. The September 24 edition appears to have been the last issue of the *Journal* published.

Rudd's *ACT* may have reached as many as ten-thousand subscribers at its zenith in 1892.²⁸⁰ This number seems remarkable when measured against other notable black papers of the period including the A.M.E. *Christian Recorder*, which at its peak reached eight-thousand subscribers, though its subscribers numbered not more than 5,400 by 1880.²⁸¹ Another well known black newspaper, the *Chicago Conservator*, could boast of a circulation of just over one-thousand.²⁸²

Following the establishment of the *Journal* in February 1892, Rudd's *ACT* appears to have experienced difficulties in its marketing operation. For example, in 1891, the newspaper reported no fewer than fifty-five marketing visits made to various cities. In 1892, however, this number dropped to twenty-one. More tellingly, the circulation of the *ACT* which was reported to have been as high as ten-thousand in 1892, dropped to seven-thousand in 1893. In May 1892, the *Journal* boasted that it had three-thousand readers, the same number of readers the *ACT* is reported to have lost.²⁸³ Though the link between the establishment of the *Journal* and the crippling of the *ACT* cannot be proved conclusively, it is plausible.²⁸⁴

Until 1892, Rudd enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the black Catholic newspaper market. The *ACT* was a national publication; the newspaper boasted subscribers from Iowa to the East Coast. Many *ACT* subscribers resided in major urban centers including Philadelphia, Washington, D.C. and New York City. Rudd's marketing strategy reveals his conviction that the success of his newspaper depended on strong sales in cities along

²⁸⁰ Willging and Hatzfeld, 1966, 80. This source further reports that the *ACT*'s subscription list at its zenith may have numbered only eight-thousand. One source cited in this publication labeled the *ACT* a "regional paper" though as the editors point out, this claim is inaccurate.

²⁸¹ William Seralle, *Fire in His Heart* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 73.

²⁸² Suggs, 20.

²⁸³ *Journal*, 28 May 1892, p.1.

²⁸⁴ See Willging and Hatzfeld, 1966, 80.

the Eastern Seaboard. Rudd and his agents made many forays to this part of the country prior to 1892. With the establishment of the *Journal*, however, Rudd's publication was forced to compete for readers and advertising dollars in this distant market. Given Philadelphia's close proximity to other East Coast cities, The *Journal*, it is presumed, made inroads into the subscription base of the *ACT*.

The contributors to the *Journal* were leaders in their respective communities. Endorsements from these leaders, including Arthur Arnott, Martin J. Lehman, Stephen Davis, and George Washington, all from Philadelphia, as well as Charles Butler from Washington D.C., no doubt increased the *Journal's* subscription list.²⁸⁵ Given Fr. Thomas O'Keefe's contribution to the new publication, it is reasonable to assume that the *Journal* drew support from members of his parish, St Benedict the Moor's Parish in New York City, a church which had previously supported the *ACT*. O'Keefe authored an article published in the *Journal* in May 1892.²⁸⁶ It is plausible his endorsement of the *Journal* may have negatively impacted *ACT* sales.

Signs of a Struggling Newspaper

The arrival of the *Journal* appears to have adversely impacted the *ACT* financially. Though Rudd seldom solicited funds from his readers, internal evidence from the *ACT* reveals the fact that following the establishment of the *Journal* in February 1892, the *ACT* struggled financially.²⁸⁷ For example, in September 1892, Rudd wrote,

²⁸⁵ Arthur Arnott, Stephen Davis, M.J. Lehman and Charles Butler all participated in the third meeting of the Colored Catholic Congress held in Philadelphia in 1892.

²⁸⁶ *Journal*, 28 May 1892, p. 1.

²⁸⁷ Prior to 1892, Rudd occasionally asked readers for help with the *ACT*. In October 1888, while Rudd was planning the first Colored Catholic Congress meeting, he asked his readers to promptly pay their subscriptions. Again, in January 1889, following the breakup of his partnership with James Whitson, Rudd asked for donations to the newspaper. Though Rudd did occasionally ask for financial assistance, he did not resort to the same type of aggressive fund raising tactics employed by Bishop Henry M. Turner of the A.M.E. *Christian Recorder*. *ACT*, 20 October 1888, p.2; *ACT*, 26 January 1889, p.2; Seralle, 46.

The American Catholic Tribune is not in the habit of punching its subscribers; a large majority generally pay their bills promptly indeed. Still there are some who are very slow to pay. We speak of these things not by way of complaint but because of necessity...unless we are promptly paid we must of necessity fall behind.²⁸⁸

The extent of the *ACT*'s financial woes is further revealed when at the close of 1892 Rudd made the following plea printed on the front page of the newspaper,

The year draws to a close and we need money to meet our obligations. We would thank all subscribers who are indebted to us if they would remit us at once the regular annual subscription. We need money or we would not take this method of asking for it.²⁸⁹

By the close of 1892, there were also signs that the *ACT* was having operational difficulties. Prior to the fall of 1892, for example, the reader of the *ACT* had been spared any exposure to the friction which may have existed between Rudd and his agents.²⁹⁰ But in October of this same year, Rudd asked his readers not to quarrel with agents over undelivered papers. Instead, he encouraged them to contact the office so the problem could be corrected "in the proper way."²⁹¹ Again, in November 1892, Rudd ordered his tardy agents to "make their reports promptly."²⁹² Early in 1893, Rudd informed his agents that they would "greatly assist in the promptness of delivery of [the] paper if they [would] mail each list from the town they report."²⁹³ About a month later, Rudd singled out only one his agents for praise, Isaac Moten.²⁹⁴ In the spring of 1893, Rudd took the extraordinary step of confronting long time employee, William Ervin, this because the agent's report had not arrived by Saturday's deadline. Rudd bluntly added "we want it."

²⁸⁸ *ACT*, 24 September 1892, p.4.

²⁸⁹ *ACT*, 24 December 1892, p.1.

²⁹⁰ The exception would have been Rudd's cryptic comments concerning the dissolution of his partnership with Whitson.

²⁹¹ *ACT*, 22 October 1892, p.4.

²⁹² *ACT*, 5 November 1892, p. 4.

²⁹³ *ACT*, 25 February 1893, p. 2.

²⁹⁴ *ACT*, 1 April 1893, p. 2.

In this same issue, Rudd reminded employee James D. Gardner that he was to “confer a favor by writing regularly and following to the letter the instructions from the *ACT*’s office.”²⁹⁵

In conclusion, one might reasonably argue that the establishment of the *Journal* in Philadelphia caused significant strain on the *ACT*. It is also reasonable to conclude that this new black Catholic publication threatened the existence and future viability of the newspaper forcing Rudd to consider a radical relocation plan in order to keep the publication afloat.

III. The Collapse of the Detroit *Plaindealer* and the Move of the *ACT* to Detroit (1892-1893)

Though Rudd and his associates visited the city of Detroit on a number of occasions and were graciously received by members of the city’s clergy, it appears that this fact alone would not have led Rudd to move the *ACT* to Michigan. Nor is there evidence in the newspaper to lead one to believe that the move was encouraged by church officials. Rather, it is more plausible to assume that the move was motivated by business concerns. In short, Rudd wanted to take advantage of the vacuum created by the recent collapse of the Detroit *Plaindealer*.

Willging and Hatzfeld reported that Rudd may have moved the *ACT* to Detroit because of a drop in the number of its subscribers.²⁹⁶ There is evidence in the pages of the *ACT* to lead one to believe this move was being considered by Rudd as early as March 1893. For example, in the *ACT*’s March 4 issue, Rudd published a flattering biographical sketch of Detroit’s Bishop John Samuel Foley (1833-1918). Rudd praised the bishop both for his leadership in the construction of St. Martin’s Church in Baltimore, as well as for

²⁹⁵ *ACT*, 20 May 1893, p.2.

²⁹⁶ Willging and Hatzfeld, 1966, 80.

his record on education. Further, Rudd stated that it was the earnest wish of good Catholics that Foley and men like him might live long to reign over the American Church.²⁹⁷ The timing of this piece, as well as the article's description of the diocese of Detroit, suggests Rudd's consideration of a move north.

It is reasonable to assume that Rudd carefully calculated this move prior to his departure from Cincinnati. The question is begged then, "Why Detroit?" Rudd had visited the city of Detroit in the fall of 1887. In June 1889, Rudd announced that a planning meeting of a group charged with organizing the "Congress of the Catholic laity of the United States [sic]" was to be held in Detroit. In the next issue of the *ACT* Rudd wrote,

We are much pleased with our visit to the beautiful city of Detroit. The people are hospitable and full of American vigor. Rt. Rev. Bishop Foley, and Mr. W. M. O'Brien has our thanks for kindness to this paper. Editor Hughes of the *Michigan Catholic* showed us the city and suburbs in an afternoon drive.²⁹⁸

Despite Rudd's positive appraisal of the city, it seems unlikely that this alone would have led Rudd to move the *ACT*. Moreover, Leslie Woodcock Tentler has pointed out that neither Bishop Foley nor the clergy in his diocese are known to have spoken publicly on the matter of race. She also has suggested that relations between the Catholics and African Americans in Detroit were especially antagonistic, this given the fact that the two groups competed for jobs and housing. More tellingly, Irish Catholic toughs occasionally terrorized African Americans living in the section of the city largely inhabited by blacks. In turn, by the 1890s, African Americans in the city often sided with those who opposed foreign immigration. Some even lent their support to the virulently anti-Catholic American Protection Association. Further, by the mid 1890s, William

²⁹⁷ "Bishop Foley," *ACT*, 4 March 1893 p. 1.

²⁹⁸ *ACT*, 8 June 1889, p.2.

Hughes, longtime editor of the *Michigan Catholic* seems to have sided with groups hostile to the concern of African American equality. In 1893, for example, the same year Rudd moved the *ACT* to Detroit, Hughes, who was an anti-integrationist, even came close to condoning lynching.²⁹⁹

There is no record in the *ACT* of any attempts made by church leaders to influence Rudd to move the newspaper to Detroit.³⁰⁰ If Rudd would have been concerned primarily with exploiting a new, local black Catholic market, or moving to a location with a larger black population he would not have chosen Detroit. Given their relatively large black Catholic populations, New Orleans, Baltimore, New York, Philadelphia or St. Louis, would have been much more attractive host cities. It seems, therefore, economic considerations played a large part in Rudd's decision to move the newspaper to Detroit. Further, the editor of the *ACT* must have been convinced that he could continue to carry on the newspaper's campaign for justice from this new location.

It appears that Rudd's decision to move the *ACT* to Detroit was motivated by business considerations. It wasn't as if Rudd was seeking a market with a larger number of African Americans; in 1900, Detroit had only 4,129 blacks compared to Cincinnati, which boasted 14,498. Rather, it is more likely that Rudd sought to exploit a vacuum created by the collapse of the Detroit *Plaindealer*.³⁰¹ Detroit was Michigan's major urban center at the end of the nineteenth century; it also served as the hub of publishing in the state.³⁰² The major black newspaper of the region during this period was the Detroit

²⁹⁹ Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Seasons of Grace: A History of the Archdiocese of Detroit* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 494-495.

³⁰⁰ Though correspondence exists between Rudd and Detroit's own Henry F. Brownson (1835-1913), who worked with Rudd on organizing the first Catholic lay congress, it offers no clue as to why Rudd chose Detroit as the new home for the *ACT*.

³⁰¹ *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1915), 52.

³⁰² Suggs, 136.

Plaindealer. This newspaper was particularly successful in attracting local advertisements. Most black papers, on the other hand, could not count on a robust advertising income because of the relatively small number of African American entrepreneurs.³⁰³ The success of black newspapers depended largely on the publication's ability to sell subscriptions.

The *Plaindealer* was published up to the spring of 1893.³⁰⁴ Rudd was acquainted with William H. Anderson, the *Plaindealer's* editor. On at least one occasion the two met in Rudd's office in Cincinnati.³⁰⁵ It is plausible Rudd was privy to inside information concerning the *Plaindealer's* precarious condition. Given the potential vacuum in the local black publishing market which would have been created by the *Plaindealer's* collapse, Rudd may have decided that from Detroit he could reestablish the *ACT*, attracting local subscribers and advertisers who formerly were associated with the *Plaindealer*.

Subsequent to the *ACT's* move to Detroit, there are wide variations in the reported number of *ACT* subscriptions. Some sources speculate that the *ACT* reached as many as seven thousand, five-hundred subscribers from 1894-1897. Other sources judge the number of subscribers to be much smaller, as few as one-thousand over the last three years of its publication.³⁰⁶ In the last extant issue of the *ACT*, Rudd listed only two traveling agents, Isaac Moten and William Ervin.³⁰⁷ This number is down from the three listed in February 1892.³⁰⁸

³⁰³ Simmons, 6.

³⁰⁴ Suggs, 136.

³⁰⁵ *ACT*, 6 October 1888, p.3.

³⁰⁶ Willging and Hatzfeld, 1966, 80.

³⁰⁷ *ACT*, 8 September 1894, pp.2-3.

³⁰⁸ See *ACT*, 6 February 1892, p.2. The last extant issue of the *ACT* does, however, list an associate city editor, Jul. P. Hoefel, working alongside city editor John R. Rudd.

It appears that after the move to Detroit, the newspaper lost subscribers and subsequently had difficulty covering its operational expenses. Even though the *ACT* does not appear to have thrived in its new location, Rudd continued to demonstrate his ingenuity. For example, he established a printing office in Detroit which was wired for electricity. Moreover, he operated his printing plant with homemade electricity. The editor of the *ACT* also provided electricity for a number of neighboring businesses.³⁰⁹

IV. The Economic Recession of 1893

Some historians argue that the precipitating event of the nation's second longest and most severe depression, the economic recession of 1893, was the collapse of the National Cordage Company which occurred in May of this same year. By the time Rudd printed the first edition of the *ACT* from Detroit in December 1893, it had tightened its grip on the country. It wasn't until late 1897 that the U.S. economy began to slowly improve. Before the end of this economic depression, however, one fourth of the nation's railroads were bankrupt, five-hundred banks and 16, 000 businesses had failed. During this same economically depressed period, the nation's unemployment rate hovered around ten percent. The high rate of unemployment meant millions of the nation's citizens struggled to meet financial obligations. Moreover, available disposable income became scarce. These adverse economic conditions made it difficult for Rudd to resurrect the struggling *ACT* subsequent to its move to Detroit.³¹⁰

Despite the adverse economic climate created by the recession of 1893, some Detroit black newspapers, including the *National Independent* (1891-1903) and the

³⁰⁹ "The American Catholic Tribune," *ACT*, 18 August 1894, p. 1.

³¹⁰ John D. Buenker and Edward R. Kantowicz ed., *Historical Dictionary of the Progressive Era, 1890-1920* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 109-110.

Detroit *Advocate* (1891-1901) survived.³¹¹ It appears, therefore, the economic depression of the 1890s only partially explains the *ACT's* collapse. The competition by local black newspapers in Cincinnati, the establishment of the *Journal* in 1892, and an ill fated decision to move the newspaper to Detroit, all helped to seal the fate of the *ACT*.

In chapter one, a biographical sketch of Rudd was presented. In this chapter, an overview of Rudd's instrument of justice, the *ACT*, was discussed. In the next chapter we will move to examine the ecclesiologically-centered vision of justice promulgated by Rudd in the pages of the *ACT*.

³¹¹ Suggs, 136.

Chapter III

An Ecclesiological-Centered Vision of Justice in the *American Catholic Tribune*

Justice in the Black Press

Since its inauguration in 1827, the black press in the United States has consistently promoted a racial justice agenda. Beginning with the establishment of *Freedom's Journal*, this country's first black newspaper, African American editors have attempted to defend the rights and dignity of blacks. Following the U.S. Civil War, black journalists courageously labored to retain the civil rights won during the period of Radical Reconstruction. Further, African American editors addressed issues of concern in the black community, challenging perceived injustices even as they sought to combat commonly held racial stereotypes against blacks.

The *ACT* was only one of hundreds of black newspapers published in the United States from 1886-1897.³¹² It will come as no surprise that justice and equality were common themes addressed in race newspapers of the period. This fact is evident if one examines a sampling of the exchanges and editorials found in these same publications. For example, In May 1890, a writer from the Indianapolis *Freeman* declared, "The sanity of the average Southerner is rarely brought into question until the subject of Negro equality is breached. He then loses his head."³¹³ Similarly, a contributor to the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) *Christian Recorder* published in Philadelphia wrote, "All

³¹² Rudd estimated that there were two hundred black papers in the spring of 1891. See *ACT*, 11 April 1891, p.2.

³¹³ "Scin Tilliations," Indianapolis *Freeman*, 10 May 1890, p. 4.

we ask of friends and foes is justice as citizens...”³¹⁴ Another contributor to this same publication demonstrated his desire for racial equality when he claimed that the principled black preacher was “unpopular because he advocates ‘social equality’ in every deed, declaring that all are brethren...”³¹⁵

In the post-Reconstruction period, African American newspaper editors, including Daniel Rudd, waged a campaign to defend African Americans against negative stereotypes, and to bolster race pride within the black community. Rudd also joined his voice with other black race leaders who declaimed the evils of race segregation both in the nation’s schools as well as in public accommodations. Further, Rudd and his black journalistic peers called on businesses to hire African Americans routinely denied jobs because of their skin color. Black newspaper editors also found the southern prison system and the crop mortgage system of agriculture to be fraught with injustices.

Rudd’s campaign for race justice led him to speak out on the question of African American emigration. He further demonstrated a concern for the plight of Native Americans and people of color living beyond the borders of the U.S. The single most critical justice concern addressed by African Americans during this period, however, involved mob violence perpetrated against the race. This particular injustice often took the form of lynching. Rudd joined the influential anti- lynching advocate Ida B. Wells in vociferously condemning vigilante justice against blacks.

With regard to its campaign for race justice, the *ACT* was not unlike other notable black newspapers and magazines of the period. A survey of the popular black newspaper, the A.M.E. *Christian Recorder*, from April 24 through May 15, 1890, reveals a

³¹⁴ “Thoughts of a Mississippian,” A.M.E. *Christian Recorder*, 15 May 1890, p. 6.

³¹⁵ “What Are the Real Points of the Most Successful Preacher?,” A.M.E. *Christian Recorder*, 8 May 1890, p. 5.

discussion of a number of similar issues related to the justice concerns raised in the *ACT*. For example, in the *Recorder* one finds references made to issues including black emigration to Africa and other destinations outside the U.S.; racial segregation in public schools; racial equality before the law; mob violence against blacks; and the protection of the political rights of African Americans. Similar race justice concerns are raised in the July 1890 issue of the A.M.E. *Church Review*, an acclaimed African American monthly magazine.³¹⁶ In this latter publication, various articles discuss the advancement of the race; mob violence; the injustice of barring blacks from governing in the South; as well as a concern that voting restrictions be administered equitably to both whites and blacks.

Justice as Full Social Equality

The campaign for justice and racial equality led by African Americans in the nineteenth century was waged on a number of fronts. Though more radical white supremacists opposed any liberalization of race relations out of fear that these provisions would prepare the way for social equality, many whites were willing to recognize a limited equality for blacks residing in American society.³¹⁷ Some, for example, believed that African Americans should be granted equality before the law, in short, that blacks should be given the same treatment in courts as their white counterparts. Others whites who supported African American suffrage, including many Republicans, were willing to recognize the political equality of blacks.

³¹⁶ The *Review* is a quarterly publication. My aim was to do a survey of both the A.M.E. *Christian Recorder* and the A.M.E. *Church Review* for the same time period in order to get an overview of how these publications compare with Rudd's *ACT*.

³¹⁷ "The Negro Planter in the Common School," *Southern Planter and Farmer* XXXVII (April 1876), 253; quoted in H. Sheldon Smith *In His Image But...Racism in Southern Religion, 1790-1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), 267.

More progressive whites, including the *ACT*'s white co-editor, John Mackey, went so far as to advocate what may be termed a limited social equality for blacks. Though Mackey adamantly opposed "amalgamation" he nonetheless promoted a circumscribed social equality agenda. For example, he sanctioned the right of blacks to "practice all the trades....side by side with whites." He also believed "well conducted" blacks should be permitted to "sit at the table in public hostelries." Further, Mackey agreed that African Americans should be welcomed into parish schools, benevolent societies and charitable confraternities.³¹⁸

Full social equality between the races comes into clearest focus juxtaposed against the above mentioned limited versions of race equality. Social equality in its fullest expression was a disavowal of any system of racial hierarchy; it was an unreserved recognition of the unity of the human family. Social equality by definition called for an acknowledgement of the fundamental equality of the races on all fronts, legal, political, civil and social. This same acknowledgement, as it played out in nineteenth century American society, was accompanied by a campaign for the elimination of all vestiges of the color line which had effectively served to keep blacks from more intimate forms of social contact with whites.

Many whites residing both in the North and in the South, however, were not friendly to the idea of social equality between the races. There is little question that for whites the major objection to the recognition of the social equality of African Americans involved an impassioned opposition to interracial marriage and conjugal unions. White opposition to interracial unions was due in part to the widespread conviction that African Americans were inferior to whites. The belief in the inferiority of African Americans as a

³¹⁸ "The Congress Proceedings," *ACT*, 19 July 1890, p.1.

race was held even by some of the most progressive whites of the period. Further, some whites believed the offspring of these “illicit” interracial unions were morally and mentally inferior to children of the “parent races.” Elaborate racial classifications based on skin color were constructed in the nineteenth century. The darker skinned “mulattos” were often viewed as “vain,” “stupid,” and “lazy” while it was widely believed that the more light skinned children had the chance of becoming “decent” sort of people.³¹⁹

Rudd’s campaign for full social equality for blacks would have placed him in the company of African Americans who viewed the prohibitions against interracial marriage as an insult to the dignity of the race. Rudd’s “cry for justice” and the full social equality such a state of relations implied, however, was primarily a campaign for the most robust expression of civil rights for African Americans possible. Further, evidence from the *ACT* reveals that Rudd was indifferent with regard to the “ultimate amalgamation” of the races.³²⁰ For example, Rudd, on one occasion, stated that he neither promoted nor condemned the practice of interracial marriage.³²¹ With regard to interracial marriage, Rudd adopted a position which was similar to that of Archbishop Ireland who stated, “As to the social intercourse of intermarriage between the races, it is not a question of right or wrong. It is purely a question of taste.”³²²

Though nowhere in the pages of the *ACT* did Rudd directly endorse interracial marriage, he was at least on one occasion party to those who condemned laws forbidding interracial unions. Rudd attended the National Colored Press Association meeting held in Louisville in 1887. In this meeting a resolution was passed denouncing the acts of the

³¹⁹ Edmund Clarence Stedman, “Christophe,” *Century* XXIII (November 1881): 34-35; quoted in Logan, 269.

³²⁰ See Meier’s treatment of the issue of interracial marriage, 54-55.

³²¹ *ACT*, 4 February 1893, p.2.

³²² “Interviews,” *ACT*, 9 August 1890, p.1.

legislatures of Indiana, Tennessee, Virginia and the “other states, making intermarriage of the Colored race with other nationalities a penal offense.”³²³ Similarly, Rudd demonstrated his convictions on this issue when he declared that the marriage of Fredrick Douglass to “a lady of the other race” was a sign of the progress blacks had made in the twenty-five years since the conclusion of the Civil War.³²⁴

Whites were not the only group in American society opposed to interracial unions.³²⁵ Many blacks also objected to the practice. For example, John H. Smythe, a Washington, D.C. lawyer who served as minister to Liberia from 1875-1885, opposed interracial marriage. Blacks, like Smythe, opposed these practices, on the grounds of race pride and solidarity.³²⁶

Finally, for Rudd, neither a limited equality before the law nor a measured social equality would pass for race justice. Evidence from the editorials and exchanges of the *ACT* illumine the fact that he considered full equality as the only true expression of race justice for American society. Like the Archbishop of St. Paul, John Ireland, Rudd seemed to want the color line completely eradicated; justice for Rudd would only be achieved when all Americans regardless of race or class were viewed as children of the same Heavenly Father, when African Americans were recognized as the equal of their white counterparts, when African Americans were able to enjoy the rights and opportunities guaranteed to all citizens by the nation’s founding documents.

³²³ “The National Press Association,” *ACT*, 12 August 1887, p.2.

³²⁴ “The Negro,” *ACT*, 23 March 1889, p.2.

³²⁵ After the second Colored Catholic Congress held in Cincinnati in July 1890, Charles Butler, a leader of the congress movement from Washington D.C., expressed his desire to put copies of Mackey’s speech in the hands of blacks. It will be recalled that this same speech was a clear condemnation of the practice of racial “amalgamation.” See “Washington D.C.,” *ACT*, 2 August 1890, p.1.

³²⁶ Meier, 54.

Social Equality in the *ACT*

Rudd's campaign for justice and full equality for blacks would have been heard by whites as a call for social equality. In the pages of *ACT*'s editorials, however, the phrase "social equality" was very rarely employed. It is possible that the term was so emotionally charged that Rudd chose not to use it in conjunction with his own specific calls for race justice. Evidence from the *ACT* proves, nonetheless, that Rudd promoted equality between the races on all fronts. On one occasion, for example, Rudd printed an article from a black newspaper, the *Chattanooga Justice*, which promoted something less than full racial equality. This same writer claimed that the color line in society was so deep "We expect it to continue in the church, in the family, in marriage and all the rest." The writer of this exchange asked merely that African Americans be "equal before the law." Rudd was put off by this accommodationist position. He wrote in response, "This is driveling nonsense, and the man who writes such stuff would be of more service to the race and to civilization if he go off and hide himself forever. Shame! Shame!"³²⁷

Similarly, Rudd did battle with bigoted whites the latter of whom detected a social equality agenda in every assertion of black rights. On one occasion, for example, Rudd reminded his readers, "It is not social equality for a man to be accommodated according to his means, in hotels, common carriers, and in places of public amusement..." Rudd went on to say that, "The Negroes neither North or South care anything about race mixing socialbly [sic] with the whites, they have had too much of that...against their will..." In the above citation, Rudd affirmed his conviction that blacks were not interested in "domestic intimacy."³²⁸

³²⁷ *Chattanooga Justice*; quoted in *ACT*, 22 July 1887, p.2.

³²⁸ *ACT*, 17 February 1888, p.2.

Given the exigencies of race relations in post-Reconstruction America, Rudd at times seemed willing to concede the fact that social equality and the full justice such a state of race relations implied was a condition that would only be achieved in the future. Yet, he seems to have communicated his own position on social equality when he printed an exchange from the *Cincinnati Post* intimating the idea that social equality was indeed “a beautiful blossom of the living, growing tree of Christian Civilization.”³²⁹

Rudd actively promoted an agenda of equality prior to 1890. Yet in the spring of this same year, Archbishop John Ireland’s sermons and speeches concerning the need to grant African Americans immediate social equality seemed to embolden black Catholic leaders including the editor of the *ACT*. Only three months after Archbishop Ireland’s controversial sermon, delivered May 4 in Washington, D.C.,³³⁰ calling for social equality for blacks, Rudd confidently stated, “The basic proposition of all Christianity was the “Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.”³³¹ Given the fact that God created all the nations of the earth Rudd concluded, “there can be no possible inequality, except the inequality of accident” this, according to Rudd “did not change the relations of men.” Rudd claimed in this same editorial that the Catholic Church would “solve the Negro problem on the right lines.” According to Rudd, this would be done by making blacks the “*absolute social and political equal of every other race.*”³³² (Emphasis mine)

³²⁹ The *Cincinnati Post*; quoted in “The Post Our Friend,” *ACT*, 21 September 1889, p.2.

³³⁰ This same speech is discussed in some detail later in this chapter.

³³¹ The use of such a term would not have been objectionable to many females of the period. For example, Catherine Impey and Mrs. Isabelle Fyvie Mayo who supported Ida B. Wells, 1893 anti-lynching tour of Britain were the co-founders of the “Society of the Furtherance of the Brotherhood of Man,” an anti-caste organization.

³³² *ACT*, 19 July 1890, p.2.

Justice from the Church

Though Rudd's commitment to race justice and full equality for African Americans remained consistent throughout his life, his view as to the most effective means by which race justice would be realized in society went through significant development. There is no evidence to lead one to believe that Rudd promoted the Catholic Church as a primary agent for the establishment of race justice in society prior to the foundation of the *ACT*. Moreover, given the editor's active involvement in Republican politics, his activity in local campaigns for the protection of black civil rights, and the *OST*'s presumably Protestant subscription base, it is assumed that prior to August 1886, Rudd promoted a political/judicial activist approach for the amelioration of society's racial injustices.

Rudd was an active Catholic prior to the birth of the *ACT*. It was, however, after the establishment of the *ACT* that Rudd began promoting the church as a force that could bring about a major shift in race relations in America. Overtime, Rudd became more and more convinced of the central role the Catholic Church would necessarily play in ushering in a "new civilization," a more humane society characterized by full equality among all races. Moreover, Rudd came to believe that the Catholic Church would be the "force" which would not only elevate black Americans but would also teach members of society more generally the truth concerning the fundamental unity of the human family, in short, the "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man." Throughout the years of the *ACT*'s publication, Rudd continued to optimistically trumpet the essential role the Catholic Church would play in Christianizing society and ushering in an era of race justice in the U.S.

After the establishment of the *ACT* in the late summer of 1886, Rudd began to couch his vision of justice in theological language common among Christian groups in the late nineteenth century. In the exchanges and editorials of the *ACT*, Rudd promulgated a form of equality, couched in theologically rich language involving the phrase “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man.” In the pages of the *ACT*, Rudd asserted that it was the Catholic Church that taught the fundamental unity of humanity.³³³ Rudd on one occasion stated that the “plea and law” of the Catholic Church was, in fact, the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man.” This conviction, according to Rudd, ensured that the church’s work of “equalization” would not be “disturbed” until it was “consummated.”³³⁴

Rudd’s use of the term “plea and law” to describe the commitment of the Catholic Church to the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man” is interesting. There are a couple of ways to interpret Rudd’s language. He may have been trying to communicate in the strongest language possible his belief that the church was uncompromisingly committed to the unity of the human family. In other words, Rudd believed that Catholics could not ignore the truth of this doctrine. It may also mean that the doctrine of the relatedness of all people to God and to one another was, for the editor, not a peripheral doctrine, but rather a foundational one. Finally, Rudd may have used this phrase to communicate his conviction that the church was committed not only to living this “law,” but also to prophetically proclaiming it for the benefit of society.

Rudd was not a professional theologian. He did, however, make use of theological ideals in his campaign for justice. His appropriation of language about the “Fatherhood of

³³³ See *ACT*, 4 May 1889, p.2 ; *ACT*, 30 November 1889, p.2; “Good Words,” *ACT*, 24 January 1891, p.2. “C.K.A.,” *ACT*, 5 November 1890, p.2.

³³⁴ *ACT*, 4 May 1889, p.2; “Same Old Falsehood,” *ACT*, 22 July 1887, p.2.

God and Brotherhood of Man” was intentional, and it did theological work. Rudd’s use of this common theological formulation also made his message to fellow Christians, Protestant and Catholic, more compelling. Rudd and his contemporaries who used this theological language were appealing both to Jesus’ New Testament teachings on the Fatherhood of God and the Old Testament doctrine of the Creation.

Though not explicated in the pages of the *ACT*, Rudd’s use of language about the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man” recalls Jesus’ teaching on the subject. Jesus referred to God as “Father” at least 170 times in the New Testament. In prayer he addressed God only as “Father.”³³⁵ He also taught his disciples to address God as “Father.”³³⁶ The Lord’s teachings regarding the Fatherhood of God, presumed a corollary truth, the fundamental relatedness and equality of the human family. This theological formulation offered Rudd the opportunity to challenge believers of all Christian denominations on the basis of an internal Christian critique.

Similarly Rudd’s use of theological formulation involving the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood Man” was supported by the Christian doctrine of Creation recorded in Genesis. In other words, Christians believed that God the Father had created humanity, all races, from one single couple, Adam and Eve. They also believed this couple was created in the image of the Divine Father. Since all races were descended from this same couple, the unity of the human race was understood. This Christian theological tenet not only emphasized the interrelatedness of all people, but also the equality of the races.

Contrary to the teachings of Jesus, and to the doctrine of Creation, the harshest critics of the race, those most opposed to emancipation, and subsequently to the

³³⁵ Maxie Dunnam, *This is Christianity* (Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1994), 17.

³³⁶ *Matthew* 6:9-15.

integration of society, had long sought to emphasize racial distinctions. They made the case that whites and blacks were essentially unrelated. Blacks were a lesser form of humans, if human at all. Claims like these had made it possible for whites to justify holding slaves. This same line of bigoted thinking subsequently served as a justification for those who opposed both the extension of human rights to blacks as well as the racial integration of society.

An examination of the history of United States reveals the fact that a belief in the inferiority of blacks has long been a feature of racial sentiment in America. For example, Samuel Hopkins, an eighteenth century Congregationalist minister from Newport, Rhode Island, observed this fact. On one occasion he said whites refuse to acknowledge blacks to be “in any degree on a level” with themselves. Some Caucasians even believed African Americans to be “quite another species of animals” fit only for to serve whites.³³⁷

In 1900, for example, Charles Carroll argued that the white with his “exalted physical and mental characters” and the Negro with his “ape like physical and mental characters” could not be the “progeny of one primitive pair.”³³⁸ Instead, Carroll reasoned, only whites were made in the “image of God.” “Negros,” he argued, were indeed not a part of the human family at all. They were part of the ape family. Carroll wrote, “All scientific investigation of the subject proves the Negro to be an ape: and that he simply stands at the head of the ape family, as the lion stands at the head of the cat family.”³³⁹ Challenging the evolutionary theorists who Carroll blamed for perpetuating the idea that humanity was divided into five races, he further argued,

³³⁷ Smith, 19.

³³⁸ Charles Carroll, *The Negro a Beast* (Salem, New Hampshire: Ayer Company, Publishers Inc., 1900: reprint, 1991), 90.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

Hence to recognize the Negro as a “man and brother,” they were compelled to declare man an ape. Thus the modern Christian, like the atheist, takes man, whom God created “in his own image,” and takes the Negro, whom God made “after his kind”—the ape kind—and places them in the same family, as different “races” of one “species” of animal.³⁴⁰

Rudd’s declarations with regard to the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man” directly challenged individuals like Carroll, who denied the humanity of blacks.

Some whites living in the nineteenth century espoused a pluralistic theory of human origins. Though opposed by many clergy who believed the theory contradicted Christian orthodox teachings on the genesis of humanity and the universal savior hood of Christ, this controversial idea did appeal to some southern political, medical and literary leaders who supported the institution of slavery.³⁴¹ The belief in multiple origins of the races was given a boost by the American School of Ethnology led by prominent scholars including Samuel E. Morton, of Philadelphia and Louis Agassiz (1807-1873), of Harvard.³⁴²

By the mid 1840s, Samuel Morton, for example, had come to two important conclusions. He came to believe in the original diversity of the races of mankind, as well as in the inferiority of the “Negro.” Agassiz also believed in an indefinite number of distinctly created races. Though Agassiz believed these diverse races constituted a spiritual community, he argued that the Genesis account of Adam and Eve was the story of the creation of the white race.³⁴³ In this racially hostile climate, Rudd’s appeal to the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man” did theological work. Use of this

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Smith, 164.

³⁴² Ibid., 154-164.

³⁴³ Ibid., 156-157.

phraseology, for example, offered a vision of community free from race prejudice and the marginalization caused by the color line. This same mantra also embodied one of Rudd's key theological convictions employed by the editor in his campaign to promote justice and racial equality.

Though Rudd supported his vision of race justice and full equality with common theological language involving the "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man," he occasionally made use of other theological formulations. For example, on one occasion Rudd published an article by Dr. A.J. Faust³⁴⁴ which gave a doctrinal support for the essential unity and equality of the human family. He wrote,

The inherent rights of man as the creature of God, and the brotherhood of universal humanity, found their essential truth in the great central fact of the incarnation. The marriage of humanity to divinity changed forever the relation which master and slave bore to each other, and opened to each the same wonderful destiny, as co-heirs with Christ, of a citizenship in the heavenly kingdom. When the Lord took upon Him our nature and elevated the human race to the right hand of the Father, a revelation of equality and brotherhood was made which was entirely foreign to the then existing opinions of human liberty.³⁴⁵

On another occasion, Rudd printed an article which detailed the installation of Archbishop Francis Janssens, fifth Archbishop of New Orleans. This prelate made use of a biblical reference in support of the fundamental unity of the church. Rudd reported that the archbishop said, "there is no difference between Jew and Greek. The Church recognizes no nationality, recognizes no differences save those of creeds and those distinguished by faith and good works."³⁴⁶

³⁴⁴ A.J. Faust was an African American photographer from Washington, D.C. who addressed the first Colored Catholic Congress in 1889.

³⁴⁵ A.J. Faust, *Catholic World* XLIX April 1889); quoted in "The Catholic Congress," *ACT*, 20 April 1889, p.1.

³⁴⁶ "New Orleans," *ACT*, 21 September 1888, p.2. See Galatians 3:28; Colossians 3:11.

For Rudd and his contemporaries the Christian anthropology presupposed in a claim concerning the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man” necessitated a model of egalitarian, societal relations free of race or class prejudice.³⁴⁷ For Rudd, as for Archbishop Ireland,³⁴⁸ the anthropological conviction implied in the editor’s theologically rich language concerning the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man” was not accidental to the Catholic faith. Rather, Rudd declared, “the [basic] proposition of Christianity is the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man.”³⁴⁹ Rudd’s vision of race justice and the full equality implied therein required an overhaul of American society’s racial hierarchy. The editor’s egalitarian claims, centered as they were on his conviction regarding the fundamental unity of the human family, reveal the very essence of Rudd’s vision of justice. Moreover, from 1886-1897, in the pages of the *ACT*, Rudd promoted a vision of justice and full equality inextricably linked to the mission and ministry of the Catholic Church.

An Ecclesiologically-centered Vision of Justice

Rudd’s vision of justice communicated in the *ACT* can be described as ecclesiologically-centered for at least two reasons which will subsequently be discussed. The first has to do with Rudd’s attempt to erase the color line by converting blacks and bringing them into the Catholic Church, a church which Rudd claimed knew no color line. The second reason why Rudd’s vision of justice might be termed ecclesiological is because the editor espoused what has been termed the “Romantic apologetic for

³⁴⁷ Questions with regard to gender construction were only beginning to be raised at this time. Moreover, many of these journalists were male.

³⁴⁸ “A Neat New Church,” *ACT*, 24 December 1892, p. 1.

³⁴⁹ *ACT*, 19 July 1890, p.2.

Catholicism.”³⁵⁰ Those holding to this view of history looked with confidence to the Catholic Church because they believed it had been, and would continue to be, the principal civilizing force in society. Rudd, like other Catholics of the period, believed that the inequities of race injustice would eventually be overcome thanks to the tutelage of the one, divinely ordained church.

I. Converting African Americans

A Transnational Church

Rudd’s vision of justice can be described as ecclesiological-centered because he believed that blacks upon entrance into the church would be free from prejudice and the injustice of the color line. Rudd viewed the Catholic Church as a transnational force boasting a universal and diverse membership of people drawn from all races.³⁵¹ Because of its universal character, the church was able to challenge the parochial race views of America’s whites. Moreover, Rudd spoke out against white America’s espousal of what the editor termed an “Americanism” or race prejudice. Rudd believed that this same Americanism, “unknown outside the United States,” was what kept blacks from enjoying “full fraternal fellowship in the church organization.” Rudd also confidently declared that this Americanism had never been permitted to be a part of the Catholic Church’s practice. He further declared that within the pale of the church “all are equal.”³⁵²

³⁵⁰ The first to label this concept may have been Thomas E. Wangler in his article “John Ireland’s Emergence as a Liberal Catholic and Americanist: 1875-1887,” *Records of the American Historical Society of Philadelphia* 81 (June 1970): 67-82.

³⁵¹ In the early extant issues of the *ACT*, Rudd employed a sketch to represent his convictions with regard to the universality of the Catholic Church. For example, in both of the first two extant issues of the newspaper, February 18 and February 25, 1887, on the editorial page, Rudd included an engraving of the Pope arrayed in all his regalia. In this sketch, the Pope is surrounded by four adoring children. Two of these children are clearly white, one is clearly of African origin, and the other appears to be a native of the New World dressed in a feathered headdress. Below this caption are the words “The Church the mother of all.”

³⁵² “Good Words,” *ACT*, 24 January 1891, p.2.

This is not to say that Rudd had given up on America or on its institutions. For example, Rudd made a distinction between an illegitimate “American Spirit” and what he termed a “true American spirit.” Rudd believed an illegitimate and misguided American spirit was at work in the country doing all in its power to “crush out Negro Ambition.” On the other hand, “true American spirit,” according to the editor, was the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man.”³⁵³

Rudd believed that the American Catholic Church was largely untainted by race prejudice. Speaking of the Catholic Church Rudd wrote,

Among the members discrimination is unknown. Recognizing the fact that all mankind are children of a common Father, all are welcome around the family circle, the Altar of the Sanctuary. The Church seeks to propagate the Faith and bring all the children of God unto Christianity. She teaches the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and follows up her precepts with her practices.

And as if a challenge to individual American Catholics who refused to acknowledge the church’s teaching concerning the fraternity of the races, Rudd concluded, “Her followers can do no less than practice the same principles.”³⁵⁴

For Rudd, there was no organization offering the country’s African American population “such possibilities of assistance.” Speaking of the Catholic Church the editor of the *ACT* wrote,

Broad and liberal as she is, we can make headway within her pale that greatly advances us toward that social equality which we must reach in order to stand as full citizens, above the reach of prejudice which so restrains our civil equality, notwithstanding [sic] the great number of special statutes intended to obviate that effect.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ *ACT*, 31 August 1888, p.2.

³⁵⁴ “Good Words,” *ACT*, 24 January 1891, p.2.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Rudd believed the Catholic Church to be the only institution in the United States really affording blacks equality before the altar, an equality the editor believed was consistent with the teachings of Christ. In January 1887, Rudd claimed that blacks entering the Catholic Church would be received as equals.³⁵⁶ On another occasion, Rudd printed an exchange from the *Negro American* which declared that, “The Catholic Church” was the only church “offering the Negro communion on terms of equality.”³⁵⁷

In support of his claims, Rudd, on many occasions, wrote about the hospitality he himself had received at the hands of white Catholics. For example, in September 1887, after his return from a meeting of the German Verein held in Chicago, Rudd wrote,

The editor of this paper will always remember with deepest gratitude the courtesy shown him by the many Catholics he met in Chicago this week. Truly the Catholic Church is the place for the Negro if he wants to meet unadulterated Christian kindness.³⁵⁸

Because of Rudd’s faith in the “equalizing force” of the Catholic Church, he invited African Americans into this divine institution. Rudd believed that the Catholic Church would provide African Americans a sanctuary free of racial bigotry where blacks would be viewed not merely as the equal of whites, but rather, as members of the same family. Rudd wrote,

If American Negroes want to smash the overflowing bowl of prejudice in the church circles in America they should step as a single man, into the folds of “The only church on this continent where rich and poor, white and black must drop prejudice at the threshold and go hand in hand to the altar.”³⁵⁹

³⁵⁶ *ACT*, 13 January 1887, p. 2.

³⁵⁷ “The Negro and the Catholic Church,” *ACT*, 11 May 1888, p.2.

³⁵⁸ *ACT*, 9 September 1887, p.2.

³⁵⁹ *ACT*, 23 September 1887, p.2.

In January 1891, Rudd published the following editorial describing the fraternal relations between the races in the Catholic Church,

The close and intimate personal relations existing among members of the Catholic faith is well known and recognized. A brother in the church is indeed a brother in all that term implies, no difference what his race or complexion may be.

The editorial went on to explain that this sentiment was not merely the result of the “dictation of the priesthood.”³⁶⁰

Rudd believed the Catholic Church was an essential agent of uplift for African Americans. True to the Romantic impulses affecting nineteenth century American Catholicism, Rudd believed that God was at work in every age of history lifting the downtrodden. Those in the church embracing this Romantic theology believed that the incarnation was the watershed event in the uplift of humanity. In the incarnation, the divine nature elevated all of human nature by being united in a single person, Christ. As a result of the incarnation, a new principle was released in history that would continue to bring progress to society. Some leading Catholics of the period including Orestes Brownson, viewed the church as the continuation of the incarnation. Blacks entering the church would experience this lifting force. Rudd’s vision of the church as a force of uplift is consistent with Brownson’s ecclesiology.³⁶¹

By means of conversion, Rudd hoped to initiate blacks into the Catholic Church. He imagined the Catholic Church to be a universal institution; this meant that the fellowship which was enjoyed within this divine institution knew no sectional, race or

³⁶⁰ “Good Words,” *ACT*, 24 January 1891, p.2.

³⁶¹ Patrick W. Carey ed., *American Catholic Religious Thought: The Shaping of a Theological and Social Tradition* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 15-24.

class divisions. For Rudd, the Catholic Church was a visible community in the United States proclaiming and living out the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man.”

Rudd encouraged his white Catholic readers in their efforts to welcome blacks into the church. On one occasion, for example, Rudd stated that he had been often asked as to how to “bring the Negro into the Church,” Rudd wrote,

First Pray. Then, build up all the Catholic institutions that he has begun or that have been started for him. Build up to respectable proportions the convents of the Oblate Sisters at Baltimore, St. Louis and Leavenworth. Rebuild the Convent of the Sisters of the Holy Family at New Orleans. Wherever there is a Negro school where secular teachers are employed let the teachers be of the race. Help the Negro Catholic press, encourage the Negro to do for himself; and the question will answer itself.³⁶²

Evidence from the *ACT* does reveal the fact that a number of priests working in America at the time shared Rudd’s evangelistic concern for blacks.³⁶³

The Catholic Church as Force to Ameliorate Racial Injustice

During the post-Reconstruction years, many of the rights and freedoms won by African Americans came under assault. In this same period, many blacks experienced a sense of fear and foreboding. As conditions worsened for the nation’s black population, Rudd began promoting the Catholic Church as a force for the amelioration of racial injustice. Further, he promoted the church as the best hope for American blacks seeking a better future for themselves and their children. In the spring of 1889, for example, Rudd confidently wrote,

There is a glorious future before our race in this land; but it rests on one condition, viz-Christianity...Not Christians of a lame and divided Christianity, but of a whole harmonious church, which we know is our Holy Mother, the Catholic Church...³⁶⁴

³⁶² *ACT*, 16 November 1889, p.2.

³⁶³ See, for example, the work of John Slattery and the Josephites, as well as the work of John E. Burke of New York, and Patrick Corrigan of New Jersey, to name but a few.

³⁶⁴ “The

Through the *ACT*, Rudd sought to introduce African Americans to the Catholic Church, an institution the editor believed was firmly established on egalitarian principles.

The justice promoted in the pages of the *ACT* was embodied in an equality promulgated and practiced by the Catholic Church. In the pages of his newspaper, Rudd repeatedly affirmed the ideal that all people, regardless of race, were members of one family, a family with one divine Father. In other words, Rudd's theologically laden language concerning the "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man" suggested a lived commitment to equality existed in the Catholic Church which precluded discrimination based on race or class.

Protestantism and Race Justice and Equality

Rudd's use of the ideal of the "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man," however, was not unique to Catholic writers; for a number of years, for example, the masthead of the A.M.E. *Christian Recorder* bore the words "God Our Father, Man our Brother."³⁶⁵ Though Rudd recognized that the unity of the human family was a Christian conviction espoused by other Christian denominations, he believed such a communal spirit of equality, in the end, could only come to realization in society through the mission and ministry of the Catholic Church. This conviction introduced a polemic tone to some of Rudd's editorials.

Rudd believed that non-Catholic Christian denominations had failed in their efforts to receive African Americans into their churches as equals. For example, the editor of the *ACT* wrote of the Episcopalians, "while the Episcopalians have done

Colored Man in the Popular Magazines," *ACT*, 6 April 1889, p.2.

³⁶⁵ See A.M.E. *Christian Recorder*, 1 May 1890, p.1.

something for the colored people they have neither the depth of Christian charity nor the discipline to place the Negro on the same footing as they themselves under any and all circumstances in the church.”³⁶⁶ In December 1887, Rudd declared that the Presbyterians “have not the right sort of Christianity.” Rudd further speculated as to what their response might be when these same “so called Christians” would have to answer at the bar of eternal justice for “wrapping the gospel in elegant furs and resting it within hearts of prejudice?”³⁶⁷ On another occasion, Rudd attacked the Presbyterian Church for its handling of the one question “upon which all Christianity itself is based. All mankind are of one origin.” In this same article, Rudd went on to argue that the “true animus of Protestants” was revealed in this action “they would use the poor Negro but they can not allow an equal show in their churches.”³⁶⁸

Rudd likely viewed Protestant Churches as impotent products of human creation, expressions of what he termed “lame, divided Christianity.”³⁶⁹ Rudd would have no doubt been familiar with the type of polemic arguments laid out for Catholicism by Catholic apologists including Spanish priest and Catholic apologist, Fr. Jamie Balmes. Balmes wrote that “Protestantism, when viewed in a mass, appears only a shapeless collection of innumerable sects, all opposed to each other, and agreeing only in one point, viz. in protesting against the authority of the Church.”³⁷⁰ Rudd, as a Catholic, would have presumably viewed this tendency toward division as an intrinsic feature of Protestantism.

³⁶⁶ “To Be Well Shaken Before Taken,” *ACT*, 15 April 1887, p. 2.

³⁶⁷ *ACT*, 16 December 1887, p.2.

³⁶⁸ *ACT*, 13 April 1888, p.2.

³⁶⁹ “The Colored Man in the Popular Magazines,” *ACT*, 6 April 1889, p.2.

³⁷⁰ Fr. Jamie Balmes, *European Civilization Protestantism and Catholicity Compared in their Effects on the Civilization of Europe* (Baltimore: John Murphy Company Publishers, preface dated 1850), 27.

Rudd was well aware of the fact that a number of major Protestant denominations, including the Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists had divided over the issue of slavery before the Civil War. Further, the editor was cognizant of the fact that some Protestant denominations were continuing to create separate churches and ecclesial structures for their black members.³⁷¹ For the above reasons, Rudd could not believe that Protestantism possessed the capacity required for the monumental task of delivering justice by eliminating the color line, and bringing the races in America together.

Similarly, Rudd was committed to idea that the work of Christ was ordained to be continued through the teaching mission of the Catholic Church. He further believed that this divine and authoritative commission was given the Catholic Church from the “Almighty Emperior [sic] of time and eternity.”³⁷² For Rudd, this teaching commission was located in the papacy. Commenting on an article in the *Connecticut Catholic* which named each pope, Rudd wrote, “It is through this unbroken line stretching across nineteen centuries that the Catholic Church received from the Master the mission to preach and to teach.”³⁷³ The teaching ministry of the church, and the civilizing effect such a ministry had on the “heathen” was sometimes highlighted in articles Rudd printed in the *ACT*. For example, one article spoke of the “civilizing” power of the Catholic Church vis á vis Native Americans.³⁷⁴

Rudd believed that Protestants were operating outside the authority of God’s true church. For example, the editor opposed a proposal by Presbyterians to organize blacks into “separate existence.” Rudd believed that this plan to segregate blacks was ill

³⁷¹ See “The Negro and the Catholic Church,” *ACT*, 11 May 1888, p.2.

³⁷² *ACT*, 23 December 1887,p.2.

³⁷³ *ACT*, 4 April 1891,p.2; *ACT*, 13 January 1888 p.2.

³⁷⁴ *Church News*: quoted in “The Teacher of Nations,” *ACT*, 15 June 1889, p.1.

conceived and did not have the backing of legitimate church authority. Instead, he believed it was the result of “private judgment.”³⁷⁵ Evidence from the *ACT* reveals that Rudd could not imagine that such a divided form of Christianity, operating as it did outside the divinely sanctioned authority of the Catholic Church, would be able to correct the virulent race prejudice held by so many Americans.

II. The “New Civilization:” Rudd and the Romantic Apologetic for Catholicism

One might describe Rudd’s vision of justice as ecclesiologicaly-centered for a second reason. Rudd, very much a man of his time, firmly espoused a Catholic perspective as to the vital role played by the church in the emergence of Western Civilization. In short, Rudd espoused what has been termed the “Romantic apologetic for Catholicism.”

Those who espoused the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism viewed the Catholic Church as the mother of Western Civilization. These same proponents of this theory believed society over time and under the patient tutelage of the church had become more humane. They believed that as the Catholic Church had been an active force in the civilization of Europe’s pagan populations, so she would continue to lead modern society toward a more flourishing existence. They held this position over against Protestants who viewed the Reformation and the birth of Protestantism as a watershed event in the progress of civilization and human freedom.

Catholics who held to the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism viewed the Catholic Church as the divinely commissioned teaching agent for society. They believed her teaching ministry would be beneficial to all humanity. Those espousing this view

³⁷⁵ *ACT*, 13 April 1888, p.2. See also Balmes treatment of private judgment’s usurpation of lawful authority. Balmes, 26.

believed not only that the church was responsible for the elevation of marginalized groups including slaves and women, but also that it served a valuable role in instructing society to relate more humanely to the downtrodden and oppressed.

The Romantic apologetic for Catholicism was developed by such European Catholic apologists as Jamie Balmes and Count Charles de Montalembert (1810-1870), a French journalist, politician and historian.³⁷⁶ In Balmes seminal work, *European Civilization, Protestantism and Catholicity, Compared in their Effects on the Civilization of Europe*, the author examined the effects of Protestantism and Catholicism on European civilization. One of his primary sparring partners was François Pierre Guillaume Guizot (1787-1874), who challenged the church's record with regard to the development of liberty and the progress of civilization in Europe. For example, in one of Guizot's best known works, *History of Civilization of Europe*, Guizot argued that in the period from the fifth century to the twelfth century, church leaders had almost always "been led to range themselves on the side of power and despotism against human liberty, regarding [liberty] only as an adversary...taking more pains to subdue than to secure it."³⁷⁷ On the other hand, Guizot viewed the Reformation as a "great movement of the liberty of the human mind...an insurrection of the mind against absolute power in the spiritual order."³⁷⁸

Guizot believed that the reactionary forces dispatched to battle against Protestantism, specifically the Jesuits, did so unsuccessfully and to the detriment of civilization. He wrote concerning the Jesuits,

³⁷⁶ Montalembert authored among other works *Monks of the West, From St. Benedict to St. Bernard* (1877 ?)

³⁷⁷ François Pierre Guillaume Guizot, *The History of Civilization in Europe: from the Roman Empire to the French Revolution*, trans. William Hazlitt, (New York: J.B. Alden, 1893), 138

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 264.

Wherever they have interfered to any extent, they have carried misfortune into the cause with which they mixed. In England they ruined kings; in Spain the people. The general course of events, the development of modern civilization, the liberty of the human mind, all these powers against which the Jesuits were called upon to contest, fought and conquered them.³⁷⁹

Guizot further argued that the Jesuit campaign against “modern civilization and the liberty of the “human mind” resulted in no “splendor” nor “grandeur” no “great events, nor did it put in motion “powerful masses of men.” Conversely, Guizot claimed that the force being attacked by the Jesuits had conquered with splendor, it did “great things” by “great means”; it aroused the people, it gave to Europe great men, and changed, in the face of day, the fashion and form of states.”³⁸⁰

Balmes challenged the idea that Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century contributed much to the development of science, arts, human liberty and various other elements that comprise what may be termed, civilization. Balmes, for example, argued that European civilization owed to the Catholic Church “its finest ornament,” the “abolition of slavery.”³⁸¹ Balmes further argued, “Before Protestantism European civilization had reached all the development possible for it.” In fact, Balmes concluded, “Protestantism perverted the course of civilization, and produced immense evils in modern society.”³⁸² The Catholic apologist wrote,

the essential principle of Protestantism is one of destruction; this is the cause of its incessant variations, of its dissolution and annihilation. As a particular religion it no longer exists, for it has no peculiar faith, no positive character, no government, nothing that is essential to form existence; Protestantism is only a negative. If there is anything to be found in its positive nature, it is nothing more than vestiges and ruins; all is without force, without action, with the spirit of life. It cannot show an

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 272-273.

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 273.

³⁸¹ Balmes, 115.

³⁸² Ibid., 419.

edifice raised by its own hands; it cannot, like Catholicity stand in the midst of great works and say, "These are mine." Protestantism can only sit down on a heap of ruins, and say with truth, "I have made this pile."³⁸³

The Romantic apologetic for Catholicism was an interpretation of the development of civilization in Europe which was subsequently embodied in the work of many American Catholic apologists including Isaac Hecker (1819-1888) founder of the Paulists, and Archbishop John Ireland.³⁸⁴ Rudd and many of his Catholic contemporaries were convinced that the Catholic Church had performed, and would continue to perform an essential pedagogical role in the gradual improvement of society. These Catholic apologists believed that democracy (rightly conceived), civil rights, and improvements in the plight of the poor and women were fruits of the church's influence on society.

Rudd was influenced by the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism and consequently developed a Catholic hermeneutic for reading Western history. For example, on one occasion Rudd wrote,

That the Catholic Church, like a beacon light, points out the only sure way to a higher and perfect civilization is attested by the nineteen centuries that have rolled back into the past since She received Her commission from Her Divine Founder.³⁸⁵

In the editor's mind, the Catholic Church's efforts vis à vis the betterment of American society would benefit African Americans as well as whites.

Those nineteenth century apologists who adopted the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism and applied it to the question of race, would have crafted a historical narrative much like that of A.J. Faust, a black photographer from Washington, D.C. who

³⁸³ Ibid., 69.

³⁸⁴ Thomas E. Wangler, "John Ireland's Emergence as a Liberal Catholic and Americanist: 1875-1887," 67-82.

³⁸⁵ *ACT*, 18 May 1888, p.2.

addressed the first gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress in 1889.³⁸⁶ He argued that the Catholic Church had worked on behalf of the slave and the oppressed “before the African was stolen from his home by English slavers.” Faust further argued that the church, in its early days of existence, attempted to ameliorate the condition of the Roman slave. Faust also emphasized the civilizing and uplifting effect Christianity had on those in bondage.³⁸⁷

Faust defended the Catholic Church’s record on slavery. He, for example, argued that the church in the early years of its existence remained “passive” on the “great moral blight” because “immediate emancipation” would have been “extremely hazardous,” even if it could have been accomplished. “Time was required to prepare society and the slave population for a change of such vital consequences,” he declared.³⁸⁸

Faust also argued that when the “counsels” of the church were followed “nations advanced in law and liberty.” He reminded his readers that Pope Gregory the Great (540-604), had freed his slaves; Faust further explained that during the time of the Crusades, manumissions were granted to soldiers who volunteered to free the “holy city” from the yoke of the “infidel.” Similarly, Faust pointed out that the first writer to condemn the African slave trade was Dominic Soto, the Dominican friar and confessor of Charles V.³⁸⁹

Pope Leo XIII’s (1810-1903), encyclical “*On Human Liberty*” also embodies some of the same tenets of the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism applied as they were in the late nineteenth century to the “Negro Problem.” For example, in this encyclical the

³⁸⁶ “The Catholic Congress Photographed,” *St. Joseph’s Advocate* no. 2 (April 1889): 606.

³⁸⁷ “The Catholic Congress,” *Catholic World* XLIX (April 1889); quoted in *ACT*, 20 April 1889, p.1.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

pope claimed that the “powerful influence of the Church” had “ever been manifested in the custody and protection of the civil and political liberty of the people.” He further claimed, “The impartiality of law and the true brotherhood of man was first asserted by Jesus Christ;” Further, Leo claimed, “[Jesus’] apostles re-echoed His voice, when they declared that there was neither Jew or Gentile, nor barbarian, nor Scythian, but all were brothers in Jesus Christ.” This Catholic hermeneutic for reading history made it possible for the pope to conclude that “slavery, that old reproach of the heathen nations was mainly abolished by the beneficial efforts of the Church.”³⁹⁰

Rudd like other Catholic contemporaries including John Slattery, applied the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism to the “Negro question.” In a telling address given at the first Colored Catholic Congress gathering, Rudd declared that the “great church is destined to lift humanity to its highest planes of perfection; and in the moral and mental elevation of mankind, she must of necessity lift the Colored race.”³⁹¹ The editor of the *ACT* further wrote, “the great church of our Lord and Savior is quietly pursuing her divine mission, to ‘teach all nations,’ placing the seal of approval at all times upon Justice and equity and condemning in all seasons the injustice heaped upon the Negro...”³⁹² Similarly, Rudd wrote, “More than one-sixth of a vast population, each in law the equal of another, yet, in fact, debarred from common justice, stretch forth their hands to the Church asking that She teach mankind a decent respect for itself and God.”³⁹³

³⁹⁰ “Leo XIII. on Human Liberty,” *ACT*, 24 August 1888, p.1.

³⁹¹ Portier has suggested Slattery’s appropriation of the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism in the latter’s work on behalf of African Americans. The same historical hermeneutic is also prevalent in the work of the men who were active in the Colored Catholic Congress movement. See, for example, the speeches of R.L. Ruffin, and Archbishop Henry Elder, delivered at the first meeting of the congress. “Washington, D.C. Catholic Congress,” *ACT*, 12 January 1889, p.1. See also Portier, “John R. Slattery’s Vision for the Evangelization of American Blacks,” 26.

³⁹² *ACT*, 31 August 1888, p.2.

³⁹³ *ACT*, 18 May 1888, p.2.

Rudd's "New Civilization" Speech

On Rudd's speaking tours around the country, it appears that one of the editor's major themes was the important role the Catholic Church would play in the establishment of race justice in the country. In an early edition of the *ACT*, for example, Rudd printed an exchange from the *Commercial Gazette* of Cincinnati which said of the editor,

Mr. Rudd has prepared a new lecture he being gifted with oraorical [sic] powers as well as literary capacity. Its title is 'The New Civilization.' As a devout Catholic Mr. Rudd naturally and very justly ascribes to his religion vast potentialities in the way of elevating his people.³⁹⁴

In June 1887, The Louisville *Courier Journal* reported that Rudd had given "The New Civilization" speech to a large crowd gathered at Jackson Hall in Lexington, Kentucky. The *Courier Journal* reported that Rudd had said,

the new civilization has for its basis Christianity, and it embraces all that is charitable in social intercourse, fair in diplomatic relations and commercial exchange, and beautiful and pure in art and music, elegant and Christianly in literature and pleasing to God—Our creator above all things, our neighbor as ourselves.³⁹⁵

Rudd went on to point out that "the spark of civilization, the recording of past events and prophesy of that which was to come, was kept aglow... by the monks and Catholic Priests during the dark ages. Rudd stated that enough was known of these "forces" and "resources" to "place the whole human family in speaking distance." He further stated that if the black man is to keep pace with his "fair hued brother" he must be "grounded in truth and fairness, girdle about him the robe of energy, and enter every field where the genius of man avails to conquer." To this end, Rudd explained that his personal aim was to,

³⁹⁴ *Commercial Gazette*; quoted in "What Others Say of Us," *ACT*, 17 June 1887, p.2.

³⁹⁵ "Lexington, Ky.," *ACT*, 3 June 1887, p.2.

dispel some of the misinformation that exists among a portion of my race concerning the Roman Catholic Church: second to show that the Colored man has been the equal of every other man before the altars of the Catholic Church, beginning with the wise men of the East, who followed the star of Bethlehem and bowed in adoration of our Lord in the manger until this living hour.³⁹⁶

Rudd further explained,

I want to show him to--day, greater than ever before, Holy Mother Church is striving to educate and build up the unfortunate of every race and tribe, of every tongue and clime...Her member are members the world over, her priests are priests in all the earth.³⁹⁷

Though no complete copy of “The New Civilization” speech could be located, the above citation offers an example as to how the editor applied the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism to the question of race justice in America.

The Triumph of the Catholic Church

At times Rudd’s comments exuded the conviction that Catholicism would eventually unite all African Americans under one religious banner. Responding to Thomas Fortune’s exchange regarding Catholic efforts to evangelize blacks, Rudd wrote, “Mr. Fortune is right, as eventually, every tribe and tongue and nation will be found under one religious banner, no matter if they do differ now.”³⁹⁸ On another occasion, Rudd wrote,

It is useless for people to try longer to hide the fact, that the Colored people of America are coming in large numbers to the one true church. Because they find there that great spirit of real Christianity, which makes men equal before the altar of the Lord.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ *ACT*, 7 October 1887, p.2.

³⁹⁹ *ACT*, 25 May 1889, p.2.

Rudd went on to point out that Protestant groups were wrong in their denial of the fact that the black man had the “same right” as other people “to go into any and all of their meeting places under similar circumstances.” They were further wrong in leaving the “great highway defined and established by the Incarnate Son of God.” “When Christ commissioned the Church to teach, He thereby left His law in the keeping of men especially chosen for this purpose,” Rudd reasoned. The editor concluded that blacks were coming to see the deficiencies in Protestantism and would in a “few years be found largely in the Catholic Church.”⁴⁰⁰ The fact that blacks did not enter the Catholic Church in large numbers may be one of the reasons Rudd would subsequently promote Booker T. Washington’s economic, self-help program as a means of racial uplift.

In this chapter, I examined the nature of Rudd’s ecclesiological vision of race justice. We discovered that for Rudd, the Catholic Church became an indispensable force in the black quest for full racial equality. The question is begged, did Rudd find evidence among Catholics of his era to justify such lofty claims concerning the church? Or was he, on the other hand, merely pandering to his Catholic readers? In chapter four, I will examine this question.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

Chapter IV

Finding Race Justice in the Catholic Church

The Church as an Advocate

Just as Rudd's relatively humane treatment as a slave in Bardstown shaped the young editor's views concerning the Catholic Church and race justice, so did his experiences in the church as an adult. In the Catholic Church Rudd found a vehicle for his own development as a person, academically, spiritually and professionally. Moreover, he found an institution that supported him in the development of his own voice. Rudd also became part of a Catholic chorus dedicated to promoting equality and race justice in the United States. Further, Rudd's personal encounters with members of the American Catholic hierarchy, individual priests and lay persons reinforced his conviction that the Catholic Church was earnest in its efforts on behalf of race justice.

For example, the Archbishop of Cincinnati, Henry Elder (1819-1904), who throughout his lifetime maintained a genuine interest in the concerns of African Americans, came to Rudd's aid when the editor was working to establish the *ACT*. In a letter penned to Elder in 1888 Rudd wrote,

Dear Archbishop, I have every reason to thank you for your kindness to us and to the American Catholic Tribune for it was by your approval that the paper was able to stem the tide for that most dangerous period of the life of any newspaper, the first year. It was your approval also that gave us standing among the prelates and clergy of this country."⁴⁰¹

Similarly, Elder demonstrated his concern for the plight of African Americans by his decision to address the first gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress held in

⁴⁰¹ Daniel Rudd, to Archbishop Henry Elder, 3 May 1888, transcript in the hand of Daniel Rudd, Archdiocese of Cincinnati Historical Archives of the Chancery, Cincinnati.

Washington, D.C. in January 1889. Moreover, the prelate agreed to host the second meeting of the Colored Catholic Congress in Cincinnati in the summer of 1890. Further, in August 1888, Elder met with the only recognized African American priest in the country, Augustus Tolton. Elder also graciously received the members of the Sisters of the Holy Family of New Orleans who visited the city in December 1893.⁴⁰²

Rudd found additional proof for his claims regarding the church and justice in the work of other prominent church leaders. For example, Rudd judged James Cardinal Gibbons to be friendly to the cause of African American justice and race equality. In October 1888, Rudd published the prelate's letter endorsing the assembly of the first Colored Catholic Congress. Gibbons wrote of the meeting, "Your proposal to hold a National Convention of the Societies of Colored Catholics I readily approve..." More tellingly, Gibbons addressed the delegates at the gathering of the first Colored Catholic Congress reminding them that they belonged to a church which knew "no north, no south, no east, no west, no race, no color..."⁴⁰³ Similarly, Rudd found Archbishop Patrick John Ryan, the sixth bishop of Philadelphia, friendly to black aspirations for race justice. On one occasion Rudd wrote, "Archbishop Ryan was one of the first to send us a check for \$25 when the American Catholic Tribune was battling for a foothold."⁴⁰⁴

Rudd's positive assessment of the church's record on behalf of the race was further encouraged by supportive members of the Catholic clergy who Rudd and his staff met in their travels around the country. Monsignor John E. Burke of New York City and Fr. Patrick Corrigan of New Jersey were particularly helpful to Rudd in the editor's

⁴⁰² See *ACT*, 31 August 1888, p.2; "City and Vicinity," *ACT*, 21 December 1889, p.3.

⁴⁰³ "Washington, D.C. Catholic Congress," *ACT*, 12 January 1889, p.1.

⁴⁰⁴ "Editorial Mention," *ACT*, 25 November 1887, p.2.

attempts to win blacks to the Catholic Church.⁴⁰⁵ Rudd's agents also regularly reported on the cordial aid given them by clergymen serving in cities around the country. For example, in November 1890, Lincoln Vallé spoke of the warm hospitality given him by the family of Fr. Thomas Burke. After this meeting, the *ACT* reported that Vallé and Tolton were received, "as all Catholics receive their friends."⁴⁰⁶

Evidence from the *ACT* indicates that Rudd believed the church's efforts to eradicate the African slave trade demonstrated the fact that it was an ally in the quest for race justice. For example, Rudd printed Pope Leo XIII's appeal for donations to be used to stop the trafficking of blacks.⁴⁰⁷ Commenting on the pope's appeal and the subsequent circulars issued by American bishops Rudd wrote,

While Negroes in the United States may be abused by enemies and pretended friends, his case is still not a hopeless one; for while the Catholic Church exists, She will labor to elevate mankind the world over, with out regard to race or complexion. She has, in all ages, faced the prejudices of all the people of all the nations with God's eternal truth, the equality of all the sons of men.⁴⁰⁸

As discussed in chapter one, Rudd was also quite impressed with the dedication Cardinal Lavigérie demonstrated to the plight of blacks in Africa. In the *ACT*, Rudd published an exchange which reported that the pope had commissioned Lavigérie to lead in the campaign to eradicate the African slave trade. The exchange reported that a donation of 300,000 lire from the pope was forwarded to further Lavigérie's efforts.⁴⁰⁹

Rudd's conviction concerning the church's commitment to equality for African Americans was also bolstered by the ordination, and subsequent ministry of the nation's

⁴⁰⁵ "Ratified in New York," *ACT*, 2 March 1889, p.2.

⁴⁰⁶ Burke served in Chicago. *ACT*, 29 November 1890, p.3.

⁴⁰⁷ *Catholic Standard*; quoted in "The Holy Father's Appeal," *ACT*, 17 January 1891, p.1

⁴⁰⁸ "The Church Our Hope," *ACT*, 10 January 1891, p.2.

⁴⁰⁹ *Catholic News*; quoted in "The Doom of Slavery," *ACT*, 10 August 1889, p.1.

first openly recognized African American priest, Augustus Tolton. For example, Rudd described the High Mass conducted by Tolton at Cincinnati's Cathedral of St. Peter in Chains as "the same awful ceremony performed precisely like the same solemn services are performed from the 'Rising of the sun to the going down thereof the earth around.'" Though Rudd acknowledged that Tolton was only one of seven million blacks in America qualified to "offer the Divine Oblation," he argued that "if there were thousands of others all of them would be accepted as priests of God in any and every Catholic [Church] on the face of the earth." Similarly, Rudd informed his readers of Archbishop Elder's joy at Tolton's ordination. Rudd also noted that Elder had received Tolton "just as a priest is received always and by all good Catholics." Answering the critics of the Catholic Church in this same article, Rudd concluded that the Catholic Church was at work "curbing the great ynd [sic] raising the low."⁴¹⁰

Rudd's convictions with regard to the sincerity of the Catholic Church's efforts on behalf of the race appear to have been further encouraged during the gathering of the first lay Catholic congress which met in Baltimore in 1889. For example, at this gathering, Rudd himself was honored for the important role he had played in organizing the assembly.⁴¹¹ Further, the *Ave Maria* commented on the spirit of equality which pervaded the gathering. It stated,

The Negro, the Caucasian and the Indian, were all received alike, socially and otherwise. It was a deep feeling of Christian love and respect that caused great and wealthy Irishmen, Germans, and others—all true American citizens to kneel at the feet of the negro priest to ask him to invoke the blessings of Almighty God upon them.⁴¹²

⁴¹⁰ *ACT*, 31 August 1888, p.2.

⁴¹¹ *Philadelphia Tribune*; quoted in "For Two Christians," *ACT*, 21 December 1889, p.2.

⁴¹² *Ave Maria*; quoted in *ACT*, 21 December 1889, p.2.

Rudd published the comments of one who described the extent to which the color line was removed in this assembly. The contributor wrote,

It was indeed a scene never to be forgotten. There were no distinctions, there were no side issues, there were no 'ifs' and 'wherefores' but there was one grand and cordial enthusiastic and practical demonstration and acknowledgement of the great brotherhood of man.'

Commenting on the article, Rudd added, "We hope the above is plain enough for our able and distinguished contemporaries."⁴¹³

Rudd also witnessed the commitment of Catholic lay persons to race justice and equality. For example, in November 1890, Rudd and a Jewish guest, Mr. Geza Berger, were invited to attend the fifth annual council gathering of Kentucky's branch of the Catholic Knights of America. However, Dr. Henry DeGruyter,⁴¹⁴ Kentucky's representative for the Cincinnati newspaper, the *Volksfreund*, stated that he considered it beneath him to sit at the same table "with a negro and a Jew." The entertainment committee then moved to inform DeGruyter that he himself would not be permitted to attend. Moreover, it was decided that this same committee could "recognize no distinction of race or color."⁴¹⁵

A banquet was held on the last evening of this same gathering. During this banquet, Rudd was asked to respond to a toast. The *ACT* reported,

This was the signal of the grandest ovation of the evening and when Mr. Rudd arose the scene that followed could not well be described, The great audience almost went wild in its ovation to Mr. Rudd, the cheering lasting several minutes.

⁴¹³ Philadelphia *Tribune*; quoted in "For Two Christians," *ACT*, 21 December 1889, p.2.

⁴¹⁴ There are two different spellings for the name in the article. I have chosen the one most likely correct.

⁴¹⁵ *Commercial Gazette*; quoted in "No Color Line for Them," *ACT*, 15 November 1890, p.2.

Rudd addressed the gathering of approximately three hundred delegates after his toast. The *ACT* added, “Mr. Rudd’s address was scholarly and dignified, and his allusion that he was privileged to address those about him as brother Catholics brought forth renewed applause.”⁴¹⁶

Archbishop John Ireland: The Catholic Church Promoting Race Justice and Equality

Though Rudd’s convictions with regard to the Catholic Church’s commitment to race justice in society were supported by his past experiences in the church, it appears Rudd found his greatest proof of the sincerity of the church’s efforts on behalf of blacks in the work of Archbishop John Ireland. This same church leader campaigned for the immediate recognition of the social equality of the race. Further, it is likely that Rudd would have concurred with a writer from the *Literary Northwest* who declared that the “principle of the brotherhood of man was better embodied in the Archbishop than in any other prelate of this country.”⁴¹⁷ A survey of publications of the period and the exchanges published in the *ACT* reveals the fact that Ireland’s campaign for full social equality for blacks impacted not only the black Catholic community, but also the black Protestant community as well.⁴¹⁸

Ireland was a member of the liberal wing of the American Catholic hierarchy sometimes referred to as the Americanist party, which boasted other church leaders including Isaac Hecker, John Slattery, Bishop John J. Keane, (1839-1918), the first Rector of Catholic University of America, and Bishop Denis J. O’Connell (1849-1927)

⁴¹⁶ “C.K. of A.,” *ACT*, 15 November 1890, p.1.

⁴¹⁷ St. Paul *Literary Northwest* (May 1892); quoted in James H. Moynihan, *The Life of Archbishop John Ireland* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), 229.

⁴¹⁸ See “An Episcopalian View,” *ACT*, 16 December 1893, p.1; “How They See It,” *ACT*, 4 February 1893, p.1.

Bishop of Richmond, Virginia.⁴¹⁹ Ireland, affectionately referred to as the “consecrated blizzard of the West,” had served in the U.S. Civil War as a Union chaplain.⁴²⁰ His political sympathies were with Republicans, though it is difficult to determine to what extent Ireland’s political views affected his position with regard to race justice. As Thomas E. Wangler has observed, Ireland also viewed history through the lens of the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism.⁴²¹

Ireland, a Catholic Advocate of Equality for Blacks

Though a number of white Catholic leaders and white clergy employed the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism applying it as they did to the question of race, few of them approximated Ireland’s stand on the “Negro Problem.” Though theoretically, many Catholic leaders in the late nineteenth century would have gone on record to agree that God was indeed the father of all humanity, and that humanity all shared a common heritage, precious few of these leaders dared promote the immediate recognition of the full social equality of blacks, as proposed by Ireland.

“Amalgamation” was opposed by many Catholics in the liberal camp including Archbishop John Baptist Purcell, his brother Father Edward Purcell, as well as the *ACT*’s associate editor, John Mackey. Race mixing would have been odious not merely because of an aversion to mixing the races, but because such unions would have violated nineteenth century, American class norms. Others opposed to “amalgamation” believed that social equality and intimacy between the races though not inherently immoral should

⁴¹⁹ Portier, “John R. Slattery’s Vision for the Evangelization of American Blacks,” 24.

⁴²⁰ Marvin R. O’Connell, *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), 61-87.

⁴²¹ Thomas E. Wangler, “John Ireland’s Emergence as a Liberal Catholic and Americanist: 1875-1887,” 67-82.

only rightly occur after blacks reached some future albeit unspecified milestone of civilization, presumably approximating the level of white civilization.

Though there were a relatively small number of blacks living in the Archdiocese of St. Paul in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Ireland became a genuine ally of African Americans generally, and of black Catholics specifically.⁴²² Evidence from the *Northwest Chronicle* as well as the *ACT* shows that thinking regarding race justice, at least among Ireland and a small cadre of St. Paul's Catholic leaders seems to have reached a watershed moment by April 1890, the same year that a Louisiana law, Act 111, was passed, forcing blacks to ride in Jim Crow cars.⁴²³ For example, an April 11 issue of the *Northwestern Chronicle* articulated a number of Ireland's specific pronouncements concerning the race question. Here, he stated that there was for the race problem "but one solution...to obliterate the color line." Ireland believed that blacks should retain full political rights. The archbishop further argued that blacks should be treated as whites in all "public gatherings" and in "all public resorts" including hotels. The most controversial aspect of his platform, however, was Ireland's outspoken support for interracial marriage, a proposal that presumed absolute equality between the races.⁴²⁴

In April 1890, Rudd reproduced, in the *ACT*, a series of speeches given at a benefit to raise funds for the establishment of the archdiocese's first black congregation in St. Paul, St. Peter Claver's Church.⁴²⁵ Speeches were given by Fr. John Gmeiner, Fr.

⁴²² O'Connell, 268.

⁴²³ The *Northwest Chronicle* was published in St. Paul from 1867-1900. Act 111 was the law Homer Plessy and the Citizens Committee of New Orleans sought to overturn resulting in a critical Supreme Court battle in 1896, *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

⁴²⁴ *Northwestern Chronicle*, 11 April 1890, and 9 January 1891; quoted in O'Connell, 268.

⁴²⁵ This parish would be the only black parish established during Ireland's tenure in St. Paul. See O'Connell, 268.

John T. Harrison as well as by Archbishop Ireland. The “justice” expressed in these same addresses struck a chord with Rudd.⁴²⁶

Commenting on these speeches, Rudd pointed out that they were “remarkable in their clearness and justice.” Gmeiner spoke, for example, of the tendency of national groups to “exalt their own nationality or race above all mankind.” This, Gmeiner argued, many whites had done at the expense of “Africans.” In this same speech, he further argued that no “essential difference” could be identified between “Africans and whites.” Gmeiner declared, “The greatest apparent difference between Negroes and whites, consisted in the color of skin, Yet also this difference is only accidental.”⁴²⁷

Though Gmeiner intimated that he did not believe “Africans” had “yet reached the full height of modern civilization,” he reasoned that this unfortunate fact was to be explained by the “discouraging circumstances in which they had been placed for generations.” Further, Gmeiner spoke of the “remarkable progress” made by African Americans since they had been given “a fair chance.” He also spoke concerning his conviction that the great majority of blacks would remain in the U.S.; he further held out the hope that African American missionaries would evangelize Africa.⁴²⁸

When Archbishop Ireland addressed this same assembly, he stated that the blame for the “race problem” was “simple prejudice.” According to Ireland, the race question could be solved “If we put ourselves squarely on the broad platforms of American citizenship and the Christian religion.” Ireland pointed out that “liberty,” “fraternity,” and “equality,” “mere vibrations of the air” in Europe, were realized in this country, but only for the “white man.” Ireland asked, “Why only for him? Why draw a line before the

⁴²⁶ “Colored Catholics in St. Paul,” *ACT*, 19 April 1890, p.2.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

simple accident of color?” He further asked, “Are not the black man and the white man children of the same ancestry? Does not the same human blood course through their veins?” Ireland argued that it was a “stain upon the pages of our history that there were ever men beneath our flag whom we refused to treat as our equals.” He urged that amends be made by treating “our black brother as a man, our equal in matters political, civil or social.” Speaking of the injustice of slavery forced on African Americans Ireland declared,

We take slavery as an excuse for denying equality to day [sic] to the Negro. We loaded him with chains, we strove to keep him in ignorance, to degrade him and the effect of our own cruel treatment is cited as a justification of his social inequality. Why, in very shame we should hurry to take away from him all possible signs of our past conduct towards him; in very justice we should press upon him all rights to which a man is entitled from his fellow man....⁴²⁹

Ireland also spoke of the incompatibility of Christianity and race prejudice. He argued,

We are not merely Americans, we are Christians, and the cardinal principle of religion is one brotherhood for all men. Christ died for all; we are all laved in the same Baptismal waters; and the same hope of heaven is extended to all. How one Christian can repel from his side another, simply because he is of a different color, passes my understanding.”⁴³⁰

The solution to the race problem according to Ireland was to “obliterate absolutely all color line.” He explained to the African Americans in his audience “soon you will be recognized equals of your fellow citizens and soon it will be as impossible to exhibit towards you political or social ostracism, as it would be impossible to-day to bring back upon your limbs the chains of servitude.”⁴³¹

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

Ireland urged blacks to “take refuge in the Catholic Church.” He, in the name of the Catholic Church, promised African Americans “justice.” In the end, Ireland said he refused even to acknowledge that a “Negro problem” existed, declaring instead, “there is no problem to be solved. I know no color line, I acknowledge none.” The archbishop was well aware of how his words would be received, even by those whose opinions he held in “high value.” Yet he also confidently affirmed, “I believe I am right.” He continued, “Aye, untimely to-day [sic] my words will be to-morrow [sic] timely. My fault, if there were a fault, would be that I am ahead of my day. The time is not too distant when Americans and Christians will wonder that there was a race prejudice.”⁴³²

At the conclusion of this meeting, Fr. Harrison, rector of the Cathedral in St. Paul, invited his African American listeners to join St. Peter Claver’s Church. He referred to prejudice as a “monster” which, thanks to the leveling influence of the “old Church,” was becoming a thing of the past. Though one might expect that such an extraordinary set of speeches would have been better covered in the race press, an examination of the A.M.E. *Christian Recorder* yielded no comment on this series of speeches through May 1890.⁴³³

Equality Carried “too far”

The lack of commentary in the black press following the St. Paul speeches may have been because a record of the lectures of Gmeiner, Ireland and Harrison do not appear to have been widely circulated. Ireland appears to have sought to remedy this lack of publicity the next month. By May 1890, he seems to have been determined that his own controversial solution to the race question be widely circulated both inside and

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Ibid.

outside the Catholic Church. On May 4, 1890,⁴³⁴ Ireland's controversial sermon on the color line was delivered in dramatic fashion before a packed house in St. Augustine's Church in Washington, D.C. The Prelate was fifty-one years of age and at the zenith of his career at the time of this historic speech. Ireland's address at St. Augustine's Church was given several years before his reputation was tarnished by Pope Leo XIII's 1899 condemnation of a constellation of ideas termed "Americanism."⁴³⁵ It appears Ireland had agreed to preach in Fr. Michael J. Walsh's black parish on the condition that Walsh would have Ireland's sermon published in the *Catholic Mirror*.⁴³⁶

The atmosphere in the historic black church was electric with expectation as Ireland prepared to deliver this historic sermon. The local newspapers had announced that Ireland would preach, and a large delegation of notable people were present including Minnesota's delegation to Congress, Secretary of the Treasury, William Windon; Senator William D. Washburn (1831-1912) of Minnesota, Senator Powers and Auditor of the Treasury, John R. Lynch. Ireland, in this sermon, addressed the "race problem."⁴³⁷ He began by placing the blame for this problem on prejudice, stating that whites were in need of "lessons in charity, benevolence, justice and religion." In a bold statement,

⁴³⁴ James H. Moynihan incorrectly asserts that Ireland delivered his controversial sermon at St. Augustine's in Washington, D.C. in April 1890. See Moynihan, 228.

⁴³⁵ Leo XIII issued his condemnation of Americanism in his papal letter *Testem Benevolentiae*. John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism*, rev. 2d ed. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1969), 120.

⁴³⁶ Michael J. Walsh, to the editor of the *Catholic Mirror*. 5 May 1890, Baltimore; quoted in the "Colored Problem," *ACT*, 17 May 1890, p.2. Ireland's controversial St. Augustine speech calling for the recognition of the social equality of blacks is not included in *The Church and Society*, a two volume set of the prelate's collected works published in 1904. It may be that Ireland's ideals concerning the color line articulated in his 1890 speech were by 1904 even more out of step with national sentiment.

⁴³⁷ "There is no Color Line," *Catholic Mirror*, 10 May 1890, p. 5. See also Morris J. MacGregor, *The Emergence of a Black Catholic Community; St. Augustine's in Washington* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1999), 135-136.

Ireland further alienated many when he declared that the “color line” existed only “in the minds of those whose intellects were clouded by unjust reasoning.”⁴³⁸

Ireland urged America to make amends for slavery by “recognizing [blacks] in the enjoyment of all their rights.” He referred to the teaching of the Catholic Church, drawing attention to the “corner-stone” of its tenets, the “equality of all men.” “The solution of the question” was that individuals should “look one another in the face as members of the same family, children of the same God,” Ireland said. Further, he pointed out, “No church is a fit temple of God where a man because of his color is excluded or made to occupy a corner.” “The color line,” he said, “must go and soon, too.” “The line will be drawn at personal merit,” he added.⁴³⁹

In this same sermon, Ireland spoke directly to white Catholics. He reminded the crowd that whenever Catholics “gave way and yielded” to race prejudice “they contradicted the teachings of their hearts as given by God as to equality and fraternity.” He further requested that “Catholics who had been made to see that all were equal before God, extend the right hand of fellowship to their Colored brethren and say that there was not and could not be a color question between Catholics” This, according to Ireland, would be the “true and only solution” to the race question.⁴⁴⁰

Ireland further reminded his black listeners that they should exercise patience. He assured them that their “recognition” would be in “accordance with their merits,” that they should show themselves worthy of “religious and social equality.” Ireland urged members of St. Augustine’s Church to educate themselves and their children, to save

⁴³⁸ “There is no Color Line,” *Catholic Mirror*, 10 May 1890, p.5; also quoted in “Washington D.C.,” *ACT*, 10 May 1890, p.2.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

money to purchase a home, to be loyal subjects of the state, law abiding citizens seeking redress for injustices “where it should be given and in a proper spirit.” He further urged his African American listeners to “judiciously and sternly” “stand for their rights,” specifically their right to vote.⁴⁴¹

The Catholic *Mirror* did print Ireland’s sermon prefaced by the following words of introduction,

We have long wished for an ending to the discussion on the Negro question, but we cannot reach the end until the matter is settled and settled right. The venerable Archbishop of St. Paul preached a sermon in Washington recently that has awakened the deepest interest in every thing that pertains to the conversion of the Negro as well as to show conclusively that the race prejudice is a crime that we must as Catholics, lift ourselves above it or go down under Just retribution.⁴⁴²

If getting out his revolutionary albeit controversial position on the race question was what Ireland sought, the prelate’s sermon delivered at St. Augustine’s accomplished his purpose.⁴⁴³ The words and ideals found in Ireland’s sermon caused a stir around the country and received reviews in a number of newspapers, Catholic and Protestant alike. Rudd commented on this speech in an *ACT* editorial. His enthusiasm for the ideals articulated in Ireland’s St. Augustine sermon is apparent. He urged black newspapers to publish the prelate’s message. Rudd wrote in editorial, “If the Colored press of the United States mean to be fair to the race and the cause of equality the sermon of Archbishop Ireland will be reproduced in every Negro paper in the United States...Justice must and

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² “The Colored Problem,” *Catholic Mirror*, 10 May 1890, p.4; also quoted in “Archbishop Ireland and the Negro Press Comments,” *ACT*, 17 May 1890, p.2.

⁴⁴³ James H. Moynihan labeled Ireland’s attitude with regard to the “Negro problem” as “revolutionary.” He seems to show sympathy with Archbishop Ryan’s assertion that Ireland had gone “too far” in his proscriptions involving social, political and religious equality for blacks. (See subsequent in text reference to Ryan’s letter) O’Connell in his treatment of the stand that Ireland took vis à vis the question of race in America shows that Ireland did not demonstrate the same concern for other minority groups in the country e.g. Native Americans or emigrant Ruthenian Uniates. See O’Connell, 268-269.

will prevail.” He further called the speech a “revelation” and urged his readers to “Read it.”⁴⁴⁴

The response from the press was immediate. Many praised Ireland’s sermon. One black writer, presumably Protestant, called him “the man of God—the Elijah of this age.”⁴⁴⁵ The *People’s Advocate* stated that the ideals in Ireland’s message were “aggressive and radical, the legitimate results of conviction and moral courage.” This same publication recognized the significance of Ireland’s sermon given the archbishop’s “official position” in the Church.⁴⁴⁶ The Catholic *Mirror* printed Ireland’s speech acknowledging the fact “The equality of all men, in the eyes of the Common Father of mankind, can not for one moment be questioned by a follower of Jesus Christ.” The same writer concluded, “This is the corner-stone, the groundwork for the Christian system.”⁴⁴⁷ The Catholic *Columbian* of Columbus, Ohio, stated that the Catholic Church “does not draw the color line.” “She teaches,” the editorial continued, that “God is our Father and that we are brothers in Christ.”⁴⁴⁸

For many blacks Ireland’s St. Augustine sermon provided proof of the Catholic Church’s friendliness to cause of race equality. This overture did not go unnoticed in the black press. A number of race newspapers also offered a positive review of Ireland’s comments. The New Orleans *Pelican*, a secular black newspaper, affirmed Ireland’s position concerning the color line. The color line existed, the contributor declared, only

⁴⁴⁴ *ACT*, 10 May 1890, p.2.

⁴⁴⁵ Albert Whitman, “Archbishop Ireland on the Color-Line,” *A.M.E. Christian Recorder*; quoted in *ACT*, 21 June 1890, p.2.

⁴⁴⁶ *Peoples Advocate*; quoted in “Rome’s Bid,” *ACT*, 24 May 1890, p.2.

⁴⁴⁷ *Catholic Mirror*; quoted in “Archbishop Ireland and the Negro Press Comments,” *ACT*, 17 May 1890, p.2.

⁴⁴⁸ The Catholic *Columbian*; quoted in “Archbishop Ireland and the Negro Press Comments,” *ACT*, 17 May 1890, p.2.

“in the minds of those whose intellects were clouded by unjust reasoning.”⁴⁴⁹ Similarly, the Chicago *Conservator* agreed that the color line was substantiated only in a prejudicial mind. Further, the editor argued, though the Catholic Church may have had its “superstition” and “error,” it did, however, “recognize in every human being a child of God.”⁴⁵⁰ Thomas Fortune’s newspaper, the *New York Age*, noted the “startling truths” communicated in Ireland’s “remarkable” sermon on “Social Equality.” So impressed was Fortune with Ireland’s ideals, that the former reviewed the archbishop’s comments in the next day’s edition of the *Age*. Particularly remarkable to Fortune was Ireland’s claim that African Americans were assured “absolute social and religious equality” in the Catholic Church.⁴⁵¹

The Washington *Bee* commented on Ireland’s sermon, noting that it “ha[d] created a great deal of commotion among Protestant denominations and the colored people generally.” This same black newspaper also informed its readers that through Ireland, the Catholic Church had essentially declared “the first truth of the gospel,” to be “That all men are human and being so have souls.” This, according to the writer, was the “element which determines equality.” This same publication recognized the fact that the Catholic Church was the first to “extend the hand of fellowship and declare in favor of a universal brotherhood and equality...” The *Bee* further claimed that the archbishop should be congratulated for “both his just expressions as well as for his diplomacy.”⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁹ New Orleans *Pelican*; quoted in “Archbishop Ireland and the Negro Press Comments,” *ACT*, 17 May 1890, p.2.

⁴⁵⁰ Chicago *Conservator*; quoted in “Archbishop Ireland and the Negro Press Comments,” *ACT*, 17 May 1890, p.2.

⁴⁵¹ New York *Age*; quoted in “Archbishop Ireland and the Negro Press Comments,” *ACT*, 17 May 1890, p.2.

⁴⁵² “Brave Defense,” *ACT*, 24 May 1890, p.2.

Rudd affirmed that he could have included in the *ACT* many other positive reviews of Ireland's message both from Catholic papers and from African American papers, but, he declared, he had referenced enough to show that Archbishop Ireland had "an army of honest, open-hearted men behind him and with him in his magnificent demand for simple justice." Rudd further urged his readers to drop their "foolish conceits and labor to lift to a higher level, all the children of men." "This is Christianity," Rudd concluded.⁴⁵³

Opposition to Ireland's Justice

As might be expected, Ireland's historic and controversial sermon proposing the immediate recognition of the social equality of blacks also received negative reviews. In June 1890, for example, Rudd printed an exchange from the *New York Tribune* acknowledging the fact that Ireland had been "roundly abused" in southern journals because of the revolutionary ideals articulated in his sermon at St. Augustine's.⁴⁵⁴ Similarly, the *New Orleans Times Democrat* criticized these same controversial ideals. The editor of this latter newspaper decried the "social equality" sentiments espoused by Ireland. This same publication claimed that the color line had been "fixed by nature herself." According to this same southern publication, those preaching Ireland's brand of "equality theory" were opening the way to "race demoralization."⁴⁵⁵ Another of Ireland's detractors who had voiced his disapproval of the archbishop's handling of the race issue argued that had the archbishop delved "a little farther into physiology," the prelate would have found that blacks and whites had "distinct, and clear characteristics, which prove

⁴⁵³ "Archbishop Ireland and the Negro Press Comments," *ACT*, 17 May 1890, p.2.

⁴⁵⁴ *New York Tribune*; quoted in "Echoes Awakened," *ACT*, 14 June 1890, p.2.

⁴⁵⁵ Albert Whitman, "Archbishop Ireland on the Color-Line," *A.M.E. Christian Recorder*; quoted in *ACT*, 21 June 1890, p.2.

that they are essentially of different kinds.” He further claimed that Ireland had misrepresented his religion.⁴⁵⁶

Ireland’s controversial views regarding the obliteration of the color line also drew expressions of reservation from high ranking Catholic Church leaders, including, for example, Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia, host of the third gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress, and perhaps also Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan (1839-1902), of New York. For example, on May 20, 1890, Ryan penned a letter to Corrigan expressing his sentiments on Ireland’s May 4 sermon. Ryan wrote,

Archbishop Ireland has created a sensation in Washington and through the country, by declaring that Catholics should admit negroes to social as well as political and religious equality. His enthusiasm sometimes leads him too far, but his purity of intention is unquestionable. Social equality is always the last attained, and only time and merit on the part of the Negroes can affect it.⁴⁵⁷

John Mackey’s Response to Ireland

Though Rudd found convincing proof of the Catholic Church’s concern for race justice in Archbishop Ireland’s St. Augustine sermon, the prelate did not speak for all American Catholic Church leaders. For example, the most striking opposition to Ireland’s position on social equality, and race justice came from an unlikely source, John Mackey who served as associate editor of the *ACT* from May 1889, through January 1891.⁴⁵⁸ As pastor of the Cathedral of St. Peter in Chains in Cincinnati, Mackey also hosted the second Colored Catholic Congress.⁴⁵⁹ In Mackey’s comments before this same assembly one can discern a circumscribed view of equality which, no doubt, would have been less

⁴⁵⁶ “More Thoughts on the Colored Problem,” *ACT*, 14 June 1890, p.2.

⁴⁵⁷ Patrick J. Ryan, to Michael Augustine Corrigan, 20 May 1890, transcript in the hand of Patrick J. Ryan, Special collection AANY C-17, Archdiocese of New York Archives, St. Joseph’s Seminary, New York. (I viewed photocopies of this correspondence, mailed by the archivist.) See also Moynihan, 228.

⁴⁵⁸ See biographical note on Mackey in chapter two.

⁴⁵⁹ “Colored Catholics,” *ACT*, 20 April 1889, p.1.

palatable to many African Americans who had previously endorsed Ireland's call for an immediate eradication of the color line.

Mackey's opening sermon, delivered at the second Catholic congress, has for some time puzzled scholars, in part because Mackey's comments concerning "amalgamation" at the beginning of his address seem oddly out of place. Lackner and David Spalding have noted the sermon's oddity. For example, Spalding noted that the optimism of the members of the second Colored Catholic Congress seemed to have been "unshaken" by the opening sermon delivered by Mackey.⁴⁶⁰ Lackner labeled this same opening sermon an "improbable" one.⁴⁶¹

Evidence from the *ACT*, however, illumines the context for Mackey's otherwise puzzling comments. Mackey's address before the delegates of the second Colored Catholic Congress was given only about two months after Archbishop Ireland's controversial sermon delivered in Washington, D.C. In Ireland's watershed sermon, the archbishop had declared that the color line existed only "in the minds of those whose intellects were clouded by unjust reasoning." Ireland further stated that the color line was a product of the imagination in those individuals infected with prejudice. He further argued that the color line must go.⁴⁶²

Knowing the merits of Ireland's proposal were being discussed around the country, especially among African American Catholics, Mackey sought to respond to Ireland. Given this context, Mackey's opening comments before the second Colored Catholic Congress in Cincinnati in July 1890 make perfect sense, even if they express the

⁴⁶⁰ Spalding, 344.

⁴⁶¹ Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune: No Other Like It," 4.

⁴⁶² "Washington D.C.," *ACT*, 10 May 1890, p.2.

sentiments of many in the church who felt Ireland's campaign for social equality had gone "too far." Mackey declared,

The white race does not desire amalgamation with the Negro race. The individual of either race who disregards this line of demarcation drawn apparently by nature herself, is no credit to either race. The races will go down the stream of time to the end on parallel lines as they have reached us, equal in the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man.⁴⁶³

In attributing the color line to nature, Mackey echoed the sentiments of Ireland's critics, including the contributor to the New Orleans *Times Democrat* cited above. In the opening lines of Mackey's sermon, he directly challenged Ireland's claim that the color line was a product of race prejudice. Instead, Mackey attempted to legitimize the color line by suggesting it had been established by "nature herself." Similarly, Mackey's opening comments concerning his disapproval of "amalgamation" illumine the fact that the cathedral's pastor did not hold Archbishop Ireland's views with regard to interracial marriage, the most objectionable obstacle to social equality in the minds of many. Given the context for Mackey's sermon, his comments regarding those who might "disregard the color line" can only be viewed as a challenge to Ireland, as it was to many of the African American congressional delegates seated in the cathedral for the second Colored Catholic Congress.

Mackey's decision to deliver his controversial sermon to the second Colored Catholic Congress was a calculated move. He knew well Ireland's position, and he attempted to stake out a more conservative stand, particularly concerning the limits of social equality. At the same time, Mackey was cognizant of the appeal Ireland's ideals concerning race justice and social equality had for African Americans. On the last day of the second congress, Mackey spoke "in forcible language the attitude of the Church

⁴⁶³ "The Congress," *ACT*, 19 July 1890, p.1.

toward the races,” all the while claiming to occupy a position “squarely on the same platform as Archbishop Ireland.”⁴⁶⁴ Perhaps Mackey’s attempt to align himself with Ireland was the result of a subsequent endorsement of the archbishop’s position on the color line articulated by Charles Butler, a delegate from Washington, D.C.

Justice from Ireland’s Church

For Rudd, Ireland’s sermon seemed to provide convincing proof that the Catholic Church indeed was an ally for blacks seeking full equality and race justice in America. Following Ireland’s watershed sermon, Rudd appears to have more closely monitored the archbishop’s comments on race and the color line. Further, Rudd seems to have employed Ireland’s words and ideals to agitate for his own similar claims vis à vis race justice and equality.

In January 1891, for example, Rudd again made room to record Ireland’s prescription for race justice and social equality in the pages of the *ACT*. Speaking to a crowd celebrating the twenty-eighth anniversary of emancipation, Ireland attacked the evils of the “nefarious” slave system which he claimed “could not long endure” in a society “imbued with Christian principles.” “Christianity,” Ireland continued, “emphasized the brotherhood of man.” Ireland also called into question the alleged inferiority of African Americans.⁴⁶⁵

Though Ireland conceded the fact that many blacks were uneducated and therefore did not deserve certain “political privileges” or “social favors,” he did insist that these less fortunate blacks should be treated the same as “ignorant” and “boorish” whites. Ireland further pointed out that it had been pride which had kept whites from treating the

⁴⁶⁴ Rudd, *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses* (Cincinnati: American Catholic Tribune, 1893), 127.

⁴⁶⁵ “The Negro Problem,” *ACT*, 24 January 1891, p.1.

African American as “our brother.” Ireland argued that blacks should be the equal of whites before the law. In this same speech, he again voiced his approval of interracial marriage.⁴⁶⁶ Though many liberals would have agreed that the civil and political equality of blacks should be recognized, few would have supported the absolute removal of the color line, because such a state of relations would have legitimated interracial marriages.⁴⁶⁷

The archbishop further claimed that blacks should enjoy the same political rights as whites. Moreover, he believed that any inferiority in education that might make the black man “unfit” to hold office or vote, should hurriedly be remediated “for his sake and our own.” Ireland also favored opening all “professional avenues” for black employment. He further argued that gentlemen of whatever hue should enjoy the same opportunities with regard to public accommodations. Ireland concluded that social equality was largely a “matter of taste,” but as to the archbishop’s stand on the issue, the prelate confidently claimed, “my door is open to men of all colors, and no one should blame me.”⁴⁶⁸

Ireland’s position on justice and equality vis à vis African Americans resonated with Rudd. The editor of the *ACT*, commenting on the above speech, called it “a masterly plea for justice to the negro.”⁴⁶⁹ As will become more apparent in chapter five, many aspects of the above speech would have appealed to Rudd’s sensibilities with regard to equality and race justice e.g., Ireland’s refutation of the alleged inherent inferiority of blacks, Ireland’s call to open all avenues for African American employment, as well as

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ireland’s stand on this last question, distinguished him from other liberals including Slattery and Mackey.

⁴⁶⁸ “The Negro Problem,” *ACT*, 24 January 1891, p.1.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

the archbishop's demand for strict equality based on merit rather than the accident of skin color.

About one year after Ireland's controversial sermon was delivered in St. Augustine's Church in Washington, D. C., Rudd again referenced this watershed message. The editor of the *ACT* had recently begun a tour of the "far South." While traveling through the South, Rudd discovered that Archbishop Ireland's words were "on the lips of almost every Colored man we met there." Based on the editor of the *ACT*'s communications with both blacks and whites in this region, and the popularity of the archbishop's solution for settling the race question, Rudd estimated that it would not take long to convert that section of the country. Rudd wrote, "The gospel of humanity, of love and forgiveness, the gospel of equality before the altar, as preached by the archbishop has taken deep root and means more than any passing commentary from us could explain."⁴⁷⁰

In May 1891, the editor of the *ACT* again made room in his paper for Ireland's comments on behalf of African Americans. Commenting on Ireland's participation in the confirmation of a large group of children from the diocese of St. Paul, the correspondent described the,

delightfully Christian spectacle of a white child walking up the nave of the old cathedral by the side of a black one to receive the sacrament of confirmation from the hand of one who [sic] never misses an opportunity to raise his voice in favor of the colored man.

The writer further pointed out the fact that the "color line" had been "broken down in St. Paul."⁴⁷¹ Again, in late November 1891, the *ACT* reported on a speech given by Archbishop Ireland. This address was delivered to an audience gathered to voice their opposition to separate car legislation which had been recently passed in Tennessee.

⁴⁷⁰ *ACT*, 2 May 1891, p.2.

⁴⁷¹ "Pentecost at the Cathedral," *ACT*, 30 May 1891, p.3.

Ireland, in this address, asserted that he was “proud to call all men” his “brothers.”

Similarly, he stated, “Before the Omnipotent we are equals, We are all his children.”⁴⁷²

In December 1891, Rudd traveled to Washington, D.C. to meet with Catholic congress leader, W.S. Lofton, in order to discuss the upcoming gathering of the third Colored Catholic Congress which was to be held in Philadelphia in January 1892. Rudd was surprised to find that Archbishop Ireland had been scheduled to preach at St. Augustine’s Church. In his Sunday sermon, Ireland urged his African American hearers to proclaim their rights. The archbishop also spoke the following Tuesday for the Knights of St. Augustine Commandery no.2. After Ireland had been introduced, the crowd gave him an ovation lasting five minutes. The archbishop then urged the congressional delegates to go to Philadelphia to “tell the Catholic world what you want, and demand it, continue as you are and you shall be right.”⁴⁷³

Proof that Ireland was viewed as a something of a patron for a church committed to race justice is found in Philadelphia’s black Catholic publication, the *Journal*. This publication routinely led its editorial column with the following words from Ireland’s controversial May 4, 1890 sermon, “They who exercise prejudice against their colored brethren contradict the principles of justice and charity of the Father of Mercy, who lives on the altar. No institution that closes its doors on the colored orphan is worthy of the name of charitable or religious.” Demonstrating the importance of Ireland’s remarks to black Catholics, it should be noted a second quotation from the “Consecrated Blizzard of the West” was included on the editorial page. This quotation read, “The white people

⁴⁷² “Civil Rights,” *ACT*, 28 November 1891, p.2.

⁴⁷³ “Washington, D.C. *ACT*, 19 December 1891, p.2.

now stand in need of lessons in charity, benevolence, justice and religion, for they have permitted unreasonable causes and prejudices to sway them.”⁴⁷⁴

An Internal Critique

One of the dilemmas Rudd was forced to address in the pages of the *ACT* was the existence of bigoted Catholics who refused to recognize the full equality of African Americans.⁴⁷⁵ Evidence from the *ACT* reveals the fact that Rudd did not allow the prejudicial behavior of individual Catholics to impugn the work of the entire church. In other words, the editor of the *ACT* was able to distinguish between the sinful behavior of individual Catholics, and the official teachings of the church.

In September 1888, Rudd wrote, “We believe there are some bad Catholics, who bring about a misunderstanding by their willful disobedience of Catholic teachings, but the Church does not approve their work...”⁴⁷⁶ Speaking of bigoted Catholics, Rudd wrote, “If here and there one finds some person or persons who profess to belong [sic] to the Catholic Church, who are blinded by race prejudice, they learned it elsewhere than in the teachings of Mother Church.”⁴⁷⁷ Rudd also had in mind sinful Catholics when on another occasion he wrote, “The Father should not be held accountable for the bad doing of his son, unless it is evident that he is the cause of his son’s bad conduct.”⁴⁷⁸

Rudd, at times, was forced to defend African Americans from prejudicial attacks sometimes leveled by white Catholic newspapers. In the fall of 1889, for example, the

⁴⁷⁴ *Journal*, 6 August 1892, p.2.

⁴⁷⁵ On one occasion, it appears Rudd may have made use of an ecclesiological model articulated by Isaac Hecker’s in the latter’s *The Church and the Age*. In this same text, Hecker discussed the presence of “bad Christians” in the church. The author defined these “bad Christians” as those who were “deaf to the word of God,” who listened to their temper, and otherwise followed their passions. Hecker, therefore, spoke of the need of ongoing “reform” and “revolution” in the church. See Isaac Hecker, *The Church and the Age* (New York: H.J. Hewitt, 1887), 222-226.

⁴⁷⁶ *ACT*, 14 September 1888, p.2.

⁴⁷⁷ *ACT*, 1 April 1887, p.2.

⁴⁷⁸ *ACT*, 25 May 1888, p.2.

editor of Cleveland's *Catholic Universe* claimed that whites were destined to rule America's inferior black race. The Cleveland editor argued that sympathy should be given to white southerners forced to employ "natural law" in their efforts to preserve "Caucassian [sic] domination." Rudd took this same Catholic editor to task when he wrote,

Are we to understand that the hundreds of thousands of Negroes who have been murdered for doing what the law, in its plainest terms, says they have the right to do were murdered according to "natural law"? Is the unmerciful beating of innocent and helpless women and children in the still midnight hours, by masked and bloodthirsty scoundrels a part of that "natural law"? Is the burning of the hard earned homes and chasing of trembling and unarmed men with rifles and shot guns, a part of that "natural law?.."

Given the above insult, Rudd believed he had to defend the race. In response, he reminded his readers that in the South whites had a higher illiteracy rate than blacks. He also claimed that blacks had learned crime from their "Caucasian brother."⁴⁷⁹

The *Catholic Journal of the New South*, or *Adam*, published in Memphis also expressed racial sentiments at odds with Rudd's vision of race justice. For example, on one occasion, this Memphis publication, declared that the benevolence of Katherine Drexel was wasted on African Americans. The editor further stated that she should have earmarked her contribution to benefit members of her own race.⁴⁸⁰ On another occasion, the editor of this same publication expressed his disgust at the fact that interracial marriage was permitted in twenty- three North American states and territories. Rudd

⁴⁷⁹ "Some More Natural Law," *ACT*, 14 September 1889, p.2.

⁴⁸⁰ "A Piece of Meanness," *ACT*, 17 January 1891, p.2. ???

responded by referring the editor to the writings of Archbishop Janssens of New Orleans who had defended the practice.⁴⁸¹

Rudd was fully aware of the race discrimination blacks suffered at the hands of their white Catholic brothers and sisters. For example, Rudd published the comments of St. Augustine's William S. Lofton and Charles H. Butler who both strongly criticized church leaders for not opening Catholic schools to blacks residing in Washington, D.C.⁴⁸² Similarly, in July 1887, Rudd printed a *Western Appeal* exchange which informed the *ACT's* editor of the refusal on the part of the Sisters of Mercy to serve Vintrolia Vanbansher, a black sixteen year old who had come to their hospital for treatment.⁴⁸³ Despite these incidences, the optimistic Rudd, supported by his positive experiences in the Catholic Church, maintained his conviction that the best hope for blacks seeking full equality and justice in America was to be found in Catholicity. Within this sometimes imperfect church, Rudd believed that the truths of Christianity would challenge the prejudiced attitudes of its wayward members.

Tellingly, leading magazines and newspapers of the period were willing to concede the fact that caste prejudice was "minimized in the Catholic Church,"⁴⁸⁴ On one occasion, for example, Rudd wrote,

Such papers as the *A.M.E. Recorder*, the *Detroit Plaindealer*, the *New York Freeman*, (later the *Age*) and *A.M.E. Church Review*...improve each opportunity to show that whatever else may not be in accordance with [sic] their views, Catholic Unity and the absolute equality of all people, of every race, before Catholic Altars are deserving of the highest commendation and meet their unanimous approval.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸¹ *The Memphis Catholic Journal, Adam*; quoted in "The Nonsense of it; Adam Again Talks Foolishness," *ACT*, 4 February 1893, p.2.

⁴⁸² "The Congress," *ACT*, 26 July 1890, pp.1-2.

⁴⁸³ *ACT*, 15 July 1887, p.2.

⁴⁸⁴ "Men and Things," *ACT*, 17 November 1888, p.1.

⁴⁸⁵ *ACT*, 18 November 1887, p.2.

On another occasion, the editor of the Detroit *Plaindealer* claimed that the Catholic Church was stirring up Protestants to do their duty. Though the editor of this publication was unwilling to acknowledge the claim that the Catholic Church had always remained untainted in its dealings with African Americans, still yet he argued that with the emergence of Catholic leaders including “Boyle,”⁴⁸⁶ “Ireland” and “Lavigérie,” times had changed.⁴⁸⁷

Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner of the highly regarded black magazine, the *A.M.E. Church Review*, on another occasion wrote, “The Catholic Church is in dead earnest in the work undertaken among the colored people of the country.” He further stated, “Rome draws no ‘color line’ in Christianity as in the hierarchy...it is well understood by the most prejudiced Catholic that when he appears as a worshipper he must leave his prejudice behind.”⁴⁸⁸

While conceding the fact that race prejudice was not as prevalent in the Catholic Church, other Protestant newspapers attempted to raise the conspiratorial specter of a mass conversion of blacks to the Catholic Church in order to urge Protestants to take a more just stand toward African Americans. For example, the *Star of Zion*, a black Methodist organ, claimed,

In Catholic churches, as a rule, there is but little race prejudice, and all races worship together with the slightest friction; but when the Negro goes into a white Protestant church, as a rule, he is ordered to the gallery and if he refuses to go, is generally ejected—and yet this is called advanced Christianity...”

⁴⁸⁶ John Boyle O’Reilly (1844-1890) served as editor/proprietor of the Boston *Pilot* from 1876-1890. He was an advocate for African Americans.

⁴⁸⁷ Detroit *Plaindealer*, 27 January 1893, p. 4.

⁴⁸⁸ *ACT*, 18 November 1887, p.2. Tanner, who was subsequently elected as a bishop, also edited the *A.M.E. Christian Recorder* from 1868-1884.

The editor continued,

there are thousands, who like us, are yielding to, and will yield, to the cajolery and inducements offered by the ever active and ingenious Catholic priests and sympathizers, who promise them equal rights and privileges with them in Church and State, until at no distant date they will possibly divide and decimate our ranks to such a startling extent, that will be almost powerless to stem the tide of their insidious encroachments.⁴⁸⁹

Challenges to Rudd's Ecclesiological-Centered Vision of Justice

The Small Number of Black Priests

Despite Rudd's claims regarding equality, justice and the Catholic Church, some black newspapers challenged the editor's pronouncements because at this time, only a few black priests were serving the Catholic Church in the United States. On one occasion, for example, a Protestant newspaper, the Philadelphia *Sentinel*, reported,

The Negro finds himself never advancing beyond the altar railings in the Roman Church. If he is capable, and has the ability and this cursed race prejudice do [sic] not show itself, then make them priests or let them advance to the highest position in the Roman Church....

In answer to this criticism, Rudd drew attention to the beatification of St. Peter Claver who Rudd claimed was "a Negro, who went beyond the railing in the Roman Church."⁴⁹⁰ Defending the Catholic Church's record on the ordination of black priests, Rudd subsequently commented, "Every Negro in the United States knows, if he has read his exchanges, that in this country there are Colored boys studying for the priesthood in Catholic Colleges."⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁹ Methodist *Star of Zion*; quoted in *ACT*, 2 February 1889, p.2.

⁴⁹⁰ *ACT*, 20 January 1888, p.2. Rudd seems to have been under the misguided impression that Claver was black. In fact, Claver was a white, Spanish Jesuit who in the seventeenth century served the slave population in what is today the South American country of Columbia. He was canonized by Pope Leo XIII in 1888. Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 23.

⁴⁹¹ *ACT*, 4 May 1888, p.2.

Though only one openly recognized black priest served the church in America in 1890, Augustus Tolton, there was reason at the beginning of the last decade of the twentieth century for Rudd to be optimistic. For example, Stephen Ochs in his study of black vocations in the United States reveals that during the last decade of the nineteenth century, the American Josephites, under the able leadership of John Slattery, worked diligently for the ordination of African Americans. Moreover, during this same period, Slattery found allies for the cause of black vocations in the Holy See as well as among influential Americanist church leaders including Archbishop John Ireland and Bishop John J. Keane.⁴⁹²

Despite Rudd's efforts to answer criticisms of the Catholic Church's record vis à vis African American vocations, many church officials especially in the South opposed the ordination of black priests. For example, American bishops routinely denied blacks the opportunity to serve before the altar. Demonstrating the same race prejudice widely held in American society, the historical record shows that Catholic bishops believed blacks incapable of remaining celibate. They also believed blacks were unable to meet the academic requirements of seminary training. The American Josephites, who led the campaign to ordain black priests in America, were able to promote only three candidates to the priesthood before the end of the first decade of the twentieth century when racial conditions in the country deteriorated measurably. The three black priests ordained by the Josephites included Charles Randolph Uncles in 1891, John Henry Dorsey in 1902, and John J. Plantevigne in 1907. The cause of black vocations suffered in the years following Plantevigne's ordination; not until 1941 was another black priest ordained by the order.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹² Ochs, 1-8.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.,

Segregated Catholic Churches

The Catholic Church in the South remained integrated during the period of the Civil War. In the Archdiocese of New Orleans where most black Catholics resided, several factors kept parishes integrated until the late 1880s. For example, free people of color who dominated black leadership in the city were proud of their contribution to the church even if they resented being forced to sit in the same pews formerly reserved for slaves. Wishing to remain in their existing churches, these same leaders preferred to push for “better conditions” in regular parishes. Furthermore, most black Catholics resided in the French sections of New Orleans as Canon Peter L. Benoit of the Mill Hill Fathers discovered on his visit to the city in 1875. It is likely these same priests opposed segregated parishes because they wished to retain the financial support of their black Catholic members. Finally, the shortage of priests in the diocese impeded the normal growth in the number of parishes, let alone the development of segregated black churches.⁴⁹⁴

Dolores Egger Labbé has argued that the establishment of the Josephites and Katherine Drexel’s order, the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People, actually encouraged the creation of racially segregated organizations, even though neither of these two groups advocated segregation. This was true because bishops seeking to work among blacks in their diocese could take advantage of aid in the form of personnel and mission money only if the churches were segregated.⁴⁹⁵

As Labbé has pointed out, the decision to establish segregated parishes in New Orleans was led by Archbishop Janssens, a progressive on race issues. Janssens who

⁴⁹⁴ Labbé, 17-24.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

served during the height of the Americanist influence on the church attempted to adapt Catholicism to the American context, which meant acquiescing to the city's norms vis à vis race segregation. The prelate's move to create segregated parishes was fuelled by his fear that African Americans were leaving the Catholic Church in large numbers because they were not being permitted to participate fully in parish life. For this reason, Janssens looked to the national church paradigm as a way of creating voluntarily segregated parishes; he did this in the hopes of keeping blacks in the Catholic Church.⁴⁹⁶ James B. Bennett has pointed out the fact that the well-meaning Janssen did more to move the city's churches toward forced segregation than did his predecessors who largely ignored the concerns of blacks. Moreover, Janssen made this unilateral decision to initiate segregated parishes over the objections of many of the city's leading "Afro-creoles."⁴⁹⁷

As a result of Rudd's convictions regarding the church and justice, and because the editor had insisted that no color line existed in the Catholic Church, he was forced to defend the existence of these separate black parishes. On one occasion, the editor of the *ACT* wrote,

It is a well known fact that every so-called Colored Catholic Church in this country was built at the earnest request of its Colored members, and, against the wishes and solicitation of the white members of the parishes from which they came."⁴⁹⁸

Rudd's position on the existence of black parishes reveals his ambivalence toward their creation. Rudd was an integrationist. He, after all, had vigorously opposed segregation in Ohio's schools because he believed that segregated schools fostered race

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 37. See also Bennett, 168.

⁴⁹⁷ The Creoles often felt victimized by the "American Binary form" of segregation that distinguished only racial traits. Before the nineteenth century, the major divide in the city was cultural, French and American. With the Americanization of the city, Creoles, who had prior to this time retained a measure of standing in the city, were increasingly grouped with other non-whites at the bottom of the social stratum. See Bennett, 164-165, 178-179, 182.

⁴⁹⁸ *ACT*, 4 May 1888, p.2.

prejudice.⁴⁹⁹ Rudd fought against racial segregation in the state's schools even when other black leaders warned that the establishment of integrated schools would endanger the jobs of Ohio's black teachers.⁵⁰⁰

Despite Rudd's opposition to segregation in Ohio's schools, he reluctantly endorsed the establishment of black parishes. Rudd wrote,

WE have not been outspoken in favor of the organization of what is termed "Colored Catholic" churches. Nor, in fact, any other sort of class churches, except on the basis of language; because the Catholic Church is big enough and broad enough to hold all races and all the classes on planes of absolute equality.

Rudd went on to explain that non-Catholic blacks "demand" and "have organizations and work through them. The creation of these parishes was an attempt to "counteract this vast influence." Rudd further claimed that this arrangement was voluntary. He wrote, "Not that we can not, but we do not avail ourselves of the opportunities and invitations given us by the Church to enter any and all of the Catholic Churches where we please."⁵⁰¹

Other Catholics more vociferously opposed the creation of separate African American parishes. For example, a Canadian Catholic from Kamloops, British Columbia, John F. Smith questioned Rudd on the practice. Smith wrote,

I do not see the good that would arise from it, but the evil that may be the outcome—the erection of Colored Churches for our people, schools for Colored children, ordaining Colored priests for Colored people, and Colored teachers for Colored children etc., for it will, in my opinion, result in a still wider breach than that now exists, and may culminate in a complete separation of the two races in the Church.

⁴⁹⁹ *ACT*, 9 March 1888, p.2

⁵⁰⁰ See chapter five.

⁵⁰¹ *ACT*, 28 June 1890, p.2.

Smith further surmised that the practice of building race churches was an American innovation since he had seen no race church in all his travels.⁵⁰² In the subsequent issue of the *ACT*, Rudd responded to Smith,

Out of one flesh and one blood, God created all the nations of the earth. The Catholic Church teaches within her domain the absolute religious equality of all mankind before her altars... This thing of color distinction is not in her teachings, never has been there and never will be. Any one claiming to be a Catholic and who varies from this rule will have to answer for dereliction of duty at the bar of eternal justice.⁵⁰³

The editor of the *ACT* recalled his family's positive experiences in St. Joseph's at Bardstown. He further recalled how the white members of St. Joseph's had urged their African American brothers and sisters to remain in the parish after the latter group had purchased property with the intention of establishing a black church.⁵⁰⁴

In the winter of 1888, Smith again wrote the *ACT* expressing his concern over the establishment of separate churches for blacks. Smith's letter was published in the February 3 issue of the *ACT*. Smith wrote,

Are the majority of Colored Catholics in the States of so degrading a type as to necessitate the erection of separate buildings for their worship? Not having been brought face to face with these affairs and conditions of these people, I refrain commentation [sic], but, will say the same as was said on a previous occasion, that separate church is purely an American innovation. It is to be hoped that the authorities of the church having at heart the interest of church and people, will adopt the best means available to reconcile the two races, especially in the church.

This same writer went on to argue, "There certainly can be no better means instituted in fostering the existing breach, than the establishing of separate parishes."⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰² "Kamloops, B.C.," *ACT*, 27 May 1887, p.2.

⁵⁰³ *ACT*, 3 June 1887, p.2.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁵ "Mr. Smith Slightly Misinformed," *ACT*, 3 February 1888, p.1.

It appears that John R. Slattery was compelled to offer an answer to Smith's query. In the February 17 issue of the *ACT*, Rudd published an apology for the creation of black parishes penned by Slattery. Slattery argued that the primary reason for the establishment of separate black churches was white "prejudice." He bluntly stated, "Many Catholics dislike Negroes." Slattery further acknowledged the existence of "many bad Catholics." He claimed that even some "good Catholics" were prejudiced against African Americans. Slattery saw no need to "run counter to these prejudices" by forcing blacks and whites into the same parishes. He further expressed his conviction that segregated parishes "do more to break [prejudice] down than any other influence in the land..." Slattery contended that segregated parishes served as mission stations for African Americans. He also argued that because blacks desired separate parishes, this alone was "reason enough why they should have them."⁵⁰⁶

Slattery's defense of separate parishes for blacks was subsequently challenged by Charles Butler, a member of St. Augustine's Parish in Washington, D.C. and a leader in the Colored Catholic Congress movement. Butler called into question Slattery's suggestion that race prejudice must be allowed to gradually die out. He argued that the church had "conquered worse enemies than prejudice." Butler juxtaposed Slattery's defense of separate race churches with a previously received letter from John Boyle O'Reilly. This letter expressed a less tolerant view of race prejudice. O'Reilly wrote,

It is as it ought to be in the Catholic Church, that a man's skin is forgotten by both white, black, red and yellow. All souls are alike, and all men's hearts answer to the same keys. Prejudice of color or country is the chief narrowness and ignorance. Those who receive communion together are wretched christians [sic] if they refuse to sit together at their common tables.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁶ "Why Separate Churches," *ACT*, 17 February 1888, p.1.

⁵⁰⁷ "Washington, D.C.," *ACT*, 9 March 1888, p.2.

Slattery's apology on behalf of the creation of separate black parishes also brought a reflective response from Smith who argued that Slattery was speaking from an "American point of view" since such sentiments could not be traced to the "teachings of the Catholic Church." Smith could find no justification in placating prejudiced Catholics. Further, the Canadian Catholic objected to members of the church dictating to Catholic leaders on questions of principle. Speaking of the church, Smith declared, "Except in the present case we can find no instance where she has catered to the whims of the greater or smaller portion of her congregation when the principles of the Church are involved." Nor could Smith reconcile Slattery's use of the term "good" in relation to prejudiced Catholics. He argued, "A community could not be declared good if hatred is cherished in their hearts." Smith went on to conclude, "From the argument used in justification of separate churches and the source from which it emanated, [Slattery] we do not wonder at the Colored Catholics preferring their own churches and pastors..."⁵⁰⁸

Rudd's own position on the existence of separate black parishes seems to resemble most closely that of Archbishop Ireland. For example, when Ireland dedicated a new black parish in the city of St. Paul in 1892, the prelate expressed some ambivalence over the matter. He stated that the establishment of a separate church for African American Catholics was only a temporary measure designed to benefit blacks. Further, Ireland proposed that all races should worship together. He also emphasized the fact that blacks retained the right to attend any of the city's parishes.⁵⁰⁹ Rudd seemed to be expressing something of the same sentiment when he wrote,

⁵⁰⁸ "Why Are There Separat [sic] Churchese [sic] For the Colored Race?," *ACT*, 13 April 1888, p.1.

⁵⁰⁹ "A Neat New Church," *ACT*, 24 December 1892, p.1.

There is no desire on the part of the Church to set apart separate churches, as in this city, Washington, Baltimore, New York, Louisville and elsewhere, they are largely attended by whites and the Colored people go into any other Catholic church [sic] that may be convenient to them, and they are welcome....If every so called Colored Catholic church would be done away with instantly the Colored Catholics would be at home in any other Catholic church beneath the Sun.⁵¹⁰

Despite the comments by Slattery, it is apparent that some Catholic leaders including Archbishop Janssens of New Orleans created separate parishes out of concern for the spiritual well being of blacks unable to fully participate in the parish life of predominantly white churches. Evidence from the *ACT* illumines the fact that they were formed in response to the desires of black Catholics who appreciated the opportunities for leadership and participation thus provided.

Conclusion

Rudd's vision of justice entailed an uncircumscribed and full equality called forth by a commitment to the conviction that all humanity was the offspring of one Father. Rudd's claims concerning the "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man" precluded divisions based on race and class. It is fitting to refer to Rudd's vision of justice as "ecclesiological-centered" because it was inextricably linked to his understanding of the mission of the Catholic Church. For example, Rudd urged African Americans to become a part of the Catholic Church through conversion. He understood the church to be a universal institution unspoiled by American race prejudice. For Rudd, the Catholic Church was an oasis for American blacks, a friendly home characterized by a lived commitment to the unity and equality of all races. In short, Rudd believed blacks would receive justice in the church.

⁵¹⁰ *ACT*, 1 April 1887, p.2.

Similarly, Rudd's vision of racial justice is termed "ecclesiological-centered" because of Rudd's application of the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism to the issue of race. In other words, Rudd believed that the Catholic Church as an institution had played a vital role in the development of Western Civilization. Moreover, as a proponent of this hermeneutic of history, Rudd believed that the Catholic Church would continue to exercise a vital pedagogical role in ameliorating racial divisions in American society.

Throughout his life, Rudd found convincing proof for his claims concerning the church's sincerity on behalf of the African American quest for race justice. From his early years in Bardstown through his years of publishing the *ACT*, this conviction was retained. Rudd found the most tangible evidence of the church's sincerity vis à vis blacks in the message of full equality promulgated by Archbishop John Ireland. On the other hand, when Rudd did encounter individuals in the Catholic Church who held prejudicial views against blacks, he did not allow their bigotry to impugn the work of the entire church.

Chapter V

Applications of Rudd's Vision of Justice Through 1887

Race Justice from the *OST* to the *ACT*

In Rudd's *Ohio State Tribune*, forerunner to the *ACT*, the editor campaigned for "the eternal principles of liberty, justice and equality before the law." He changed his struggling newspaper's focus renaming it the *ACT* in August 1886. Even after the *ACT*'s rechristening, however, Rudd continued to promote racial equality in its editorials and exchanges. Rudd's "cry for justice" articulated in the pages of the *ACT* remained primarily a campaign against the race prejudice which had pervaded nineteenth century American society. Rudd believed that race prejudice kept African Americans from experiencing justice and the full equality such justice presumed. Further, this same blight, affecting as it did public sentiment, ensured that blacks would be unable to enjoy all the benefits of American citizenship inspired in the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

Rudd's campaign for recognition of the full equality of African Americans was but one manifestation of a larger, black, racial uplift movement. Vincent Harding has traced the genesis of American black protest and justice seeking back to Africa and the beginnings of the European slave trade.⁵¹¹ Moreover, Harding makes a connection between those early justice seekers and the Civil Rights leaders who protested racial segregation in post-World War II America. He further makes the case that this "river" of black freedom fighters and justice seekers has been represented across the centuries by

⁵¹¹ Vincent Harding, *There is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 3.

many individuals. These same courageous individuals, in their quest for freedom and justice, have launched many “creative black initiatives,” he contends. Harding’s work makes it possible to view Daniel Rudd’s activism in relation to the contributions of other black leaders concerned with racial uplift and justice including, among others: Paul Cuffee (1759-1817), Nat Turner (1800-1831), Fredrick Douglass, Ida B. Wells, Thomas Fortune, Booker T. Washington, Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968), and Malcolm X (1925-1965).⁵¹²

After the establishment of the *ACT*, Rudd’s campaign for justice became more ecclesiologically -centered. Rudd’s use of the phrase, “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man” presumed equality among members of one, united human family. Rudd’s use of this common theological formula could be supported both by the teachings of Jesus, as well as by the Christian doctrine of the Creation. Rudd believed that because African Americans were children of the same divine Father, they should rightly enjoy the same privileges, opportunities and responsibilities as their white brothers.

Because of Rudd’s commitment to an ecclesiologically-centered vision of justice, the editor could not let claims regarding the inherent inferiority of blacks go unanswered. To this end, he promoted a race pride agenda in the *ACT*. Rudd’s ecclesiologically-centered vision of justice assumed the essential equality of all members of society regardless of race. The editor imagined a racially integrated society in America. He, therefore, fought against the discrimination of blacks seeking employment. The editor also fought against segregated schools. Evidence from the *ACT* further reveals that Rudd’s sense of justice was offended because of the exploitation and mistreatment of

⁵¹² Ibid., xxi.

members of the race including those trapped in unfair crop mortgage agreements and those languishing in less than humane conditions in southern prisons.

As will become apparent, Rudd's ecclesiologically-centered vision of justice, promoted in the editorials and exchanges of the extant issues of the *ACT*, ran counter to the strong anti- African American sentiment prevalent in the U.S. in the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century. Let us now examine Rudd's promotion of race pride.

I. Race Pride: an Apology for African Americans

As early as August 1886, the same month Rudd's *OST* was rechristened the *ACT*, the editor spoke out against the "invidious discrimination" and "caste prejudice" which he claimed was "ever bobbing up to thwart the American Negro in his manly efforts to make himself an honest and upright citizen." Rudd further claimed that the chief cause for the unjust state of race relations in the United States was the fact that "one class is and has always been taught that they are better than the other, and people who known [sic] otherwise had rather submit to the injustice than worry themselves enough to correct this evil."⁵¹³

By Rudd's own account, a fundamental cause for the unjust state of affairs plaguing America's blacks was the promotion of white superiority. Because Rudd's vision of justice was a campaign for full social equality for African Americans, he felt the need to challenge misguided notions about the inferiority of blacks. The most fundamental component of Rudd's race justice agenda involved the editor's attempt to counter the conviction that African Americans were inferior to whites. Rudd did this, in part, by featuring the achievements of blacks. For this reason, the first issue related to his

⁵¹³ *ACT*, 9 March 1888, p.2.

campaign for race justice to be discussed in this chapter will be Rudd's campaign to foster race pride.⁵¹⁴ The promotion of race pride would have been directed toward his African American audience. This emphasis was foundational to the editor's quest for equality and consequently operative from the very beginning of Rudd's journalistic career.

Lackner has observed that Rudd promoted race pride in the pages of the *ACT*. He has further pointed out, that Rudd kept before his readers examples of successful African Americans worthy of imitation. Such exposure, Lackner has argued, would have also sensitized whites, "making them aware of the race's achievement and equality."⁵¹⁵ Moreover, Rudd's promotion of race pride is linked to the editor's convictions regarding race justice and full equality for blacks. Rudd believed racial equality would not be possible in the United States if whites continued to hold prejudiced opinions as to the character and capabilities of blacks. Therefore, in the pages of the *ACT*, Rudd promoted an agenda of race pride, even as he attempted to challenge those white readers who retained a belief in the inferiority of blacks.

A. Rudd Answers Race Critics

In his weekly editorial column on page two of the *ACT*, Rudd sometimes published the comments of race critics. He did this in order to rebut them. For example, on one occasion, Rudd published the comments of one, Rabbi Edward N. Calisch, of Richmond, Virginia. Calisch had declared,

The Negro today in America betrays only too clearly his close kinship to his savage and present brothers in African wilds. In spite of all learning, contact and association with the whites, he is dominated by a superstition,

⁵¹⁴ Lackner previously identified Rudd's *ACT* campaign to build race pride. See Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," 270.

⁵¹⁵ Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," 270.

as gross, as powerful as ever held sway over the weaken [sic] of minds of primitive man...Marital ties are spider webs...Thus far education has been powerless to affect the emotional nature.⁵¹⁶

Rudd defended the race and the cause of justice and equality by arguing that the,

Rabbi's knowledge of the Afro American [sic] is about on par with the knowledge nine-tenths of all the other white men who take up their little pens to solve the Negro Problem. He has met some barbers, some Pullman car porters [sic] and some hotel waiters. Then he has probably stood outside or perhaps inside of some church where some ignorant Afro American [sic] preacher has "explained the Bible," the words of which he could neither pronounce or define;...⁵¹⁷

Rudd went on to declare that if the Rabbi were to enter one of the "refined homes of Afro-Americans in Richmond or any other considerable town he would, we think, form a new opinion—reflect other colors."⁵¹⁸

At times, Rudd was forced to defend African Americans from the attacks leveled by bigoted Catholics. For example, in February 1891, the *Catholic Journal of the New South*, printed in Memphis, published an article which raised questions as to the effectiveness of converting southern blacks. The editor wrote,

It is a waste of time and money to endeavor to inculcate the doctrines of Catholicity into the cranium of a full grown Southern darkey....You know but little of the negro people until you live among them, then you will be forced to the conclusion that it takes a mighty sight of religion to keep the negro from robbing a hen roost if a favorable opportunity is presented.⁵¹⁹

Rudd argued in response that he had experience in the South with members of his race.

He defended Katherine Drexel's expenditure of funds for African American missions.

Moreover, he argued that the black convert made "as good a Christian as a white man."⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁶ Rabbi Edward N. Calisch, "A Case of Experience With The Negro Problem," *Reform Advocate*; quoted in *ACT*, 5 March 1892, p. 1.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2. The term "Afro-American" is often hyphenated in literature of the period. Rudd does not follow this convention. I have hyphenated the term in text.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵¹⁹ *Catholic Journal of the New South*; quoted in "Converting the Negro," *ACT*, 7 February 1891, p. 2.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

B. Featuring Black Catholic Leaders

In order to foster race pride, Rudd routinely introduced his readers to successful, African American Catholics. For example, in March 1887, Rudd published a sketch and a biographical feature of Fr. Augustus Tolton, referring to him as the “most conspicuous man in America.”⁵²¹ Rudd seems to have taken particular pride in the nation’s first openly recognized African American priest.⁵²² Further, the fact that a black American had been elevated to the priesthood aided Rudd in his attempt to convince blacks of the Catholic Church’s friendliness to their cause.

On one occasion, Rudd printed a correspondence from the *ACT*’s business manager, J.T. Whitson, which seems to exult in the esteem the white residents of Quincy, Illinois, showed Tolton. Whitson wrote, “Even the little boys and girls as do the adults, raise their hats to him as he passes along the streets and the good pious white Catholics are as ready to kneel down and receive a blessing at this hands as the whitest man on whom the sun ever shone.”⁵²³ Again, in 1890, Lincoln Vallé interviewed Tolton for the *ACT*.⁵²⁴ Moreover, by December of this same year, Rudd had decided to actively support the priest’s efforts to raise funds for his planned church building in Chicago.⁵²⁵ Further evidence of the priest’s importance to Rudd’s attempt to inculcate race pride in his readers is evidenced by the fact that as early as 1888, Rudd marketed portraits of Tolton.⁵²⁶

⁵²¹ *ACT*, 11 March 1887, p.1.

⁵²² In August 1888, Rudd reported that Fr. James C. Clunes was ordained by the archbishop of San Francisco for the diocese of Trinidad. This would have made him the first to have been ordained by an American prelate in the United States. This honor has been traditionally reserved for the Fr. Charles Uncles, a Josephite ordained in 1891. See *ACT*, 3 August, 1888, p.

⁵²³ “Quincy, Ill.,” *ACT*, 11 March 1887, p.4.

⁵²⁴ “Chicago,” *ACT*, 1 November 1890, p.1.

⁵²⁵ *ACT*, 6 December 1890, p.2.

⁵²⁶ “City and Vicinity,” *ACT*, 27 October 1888, p.3.

Rudd attempted to inspire race pride in his readers by featuring other distinguished, African American Catholics including W.S. Lofton from Washington, D.C. Lofton had graduated from the dentistry program at Howard University, and subsequently, became an influential leader in the Colored Catholic Congress movement.⁵²⁷ Rudd also featured lesser known, albeit successful, African American Catholics. For example, the editor of the *ACT* printed an exchange from Philadelphia eulogizing Mary Frances Augustine. This accomplished woman had been one of the city's most distinguished caterers.⁵²⁸ Similarly, Rudd introduced his readers to James Armstrong, a respected, black, lay Catholic leader from Chicago who was an important and influential ally of Tolton.⁵²⁹

C. Featuring Race Leaders

Rudd's campaign to foster race pride featured non-Catholic race leaders as well. For example, in April 1891, Rudd printed a large sketch of the president of the Colored Press Association, John Mitchell, Jr.⁵³⁰ Similarly, in September 1887, Rudd referred to the achievements of a former slave who had moved to China and subsequently gained ownership of a syndicate bank.⁵³¹ Also, Rudd highlighted the accomplishments of one, W. McGwinn, a black student at Yale, who had taken second highest honors at the law school.⁵³² On another occasion, Rudd informed his readers that J.A. Carpenter, an

⁵²⁷ "Washington D.C.," 23 March 1888, p.1.

⁵²⁸ Mary Francis began the catering business around 1818. Mary Frances was the widow of Peter Augustine. One of the offspring of this couple was P. Jerome Augustine, who participated in the Colored Catholic Congress movement. Mary's family name is spelled "Augustin" in this article. It is assumed that this spelling is incorrect given the fact that her son Jerome's name is subsequently spelled "Augustine." See "Items From the Quaker City," *ACT*, 8 March 1890, p.2.

⁵²⁹ "Chicago, Ill," *ACT*, 15 November 1890, p.1.

⁵³⁰ *ACT*, 11 April 1891, p.1.

⁵³¹ *ACT*, 30 September 1887, p. 1.

⁵³² "Baltimore.," *ACT*, 22 July 1887,

African American, had invented a mechanical hoist.⁵³³ Rudd also took pride in the burgeoning numbers of black professionals in the United States. In the spring of 1887, for example, Rudd informed his readers that there were at the time eight black doctors practicing medicine in New York. Further, he informed his readers that there were four black doctors practicing medicine in Richmond, a city served by fourteen black undertakers.⁵³⁴

D. Featuring Successful Women of Color

Rudd's effort to bolster race pride by highlighting the accomplishments of African Americans was not limited to male examples. He also made mention of a Cincinnati native, Miss Ida Gray, who had been elected vice president of her dental class in Ann Arbor, Michigan.⁵³⁵ Similarly, Rudd praised the work of Consuela Clark, who had graduated from medical school and was serving as a physician in St. Louis.⁵³⁶ In November 1892, Rudd praised an unnamed black woman and entrepreneur who he claimed was the parent of eight children, and yet made time to successfully run both her business and her family farm.⁵³⁷

Evidence from the *ACT* reveals the fact that Rudd took particular pride in the existence of African American religious orders and the work that these same women of color accomplished. Consequently, the editor promoted the ministry of the Oblate Sisters of Providence as well as the Sisters of the Holy Family of New Orleans. Rudd's decision to feature women of color in non-traditional roles demonstrates not only the editor's convictions with regard to race pride and African American agency, but also yields clues

⁵³³ "Current Topics," *ACT*, 3 June 1887, p.1.

⁵³⁴ "Are they in Partnership," *ACT*, 20 May 1887, p.1.

⁵³⁵ *ACT*, 8 December 1888, p. 2.

⁵³⁶ *ACT*, 13 April 1889, p.2.

⁵³⁷ "A Woman Contractor," *ACT*, 5 November 1892, p.5.

as to his views on the question of gender identity, a topic which will be addressed in chapter seven.

E. Featuring the Historic Contributions of African Americans

Rudd also served his vision of justice and equality by educating both blacks and whites as to the important historical contributions made to the nation by African Americans. This function was all the more important because these same contributions were often overlooked or ignored altogether by American historians of the period. This sort of selective history writing on the part of white historians forced African American writers including Rudd to defend the historical record of the nation's black citizenry. By writing the contributions of black Americans back into the American historical narrative, Rudd was acknowledging the investment made by them in the building of the United States. Further, Rudd was making the case that African Americans had the right, along with their white counterparts, to enjoy the fruits of the nation's bounty.

In the spring of 1889, Rudd proposed that blacks honor their own race with monuments. For example, when a group of African Americans from Illinois proposed a monument to honor Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), William Seward (1801-1872), Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips (1811-1884), and John Brown (1800-1856), Rudd wrote, "One of the greatest crimes is [the Negro's] shortsightedness." He continued,

Are there no Colored men among the living or the dead who were contemporaries and co-workers with these great men in the struggle for liberty? Are we forever to extol the praises of the white man and find nothing in Negro courage, virtue, character and devotion worthy of monument?⁵³⁸

Similarly, Rudd ran several exchanges informing his readers of the progress being made on a monument to honor African American patriot, Crispus Attucks (1723-1770), who

⁵³⁸ *ACT*, 30 March 1889, p2.

was believed to have been the first to die in America's war for independence.⁵³⁹ On another occasion, Rudd informed his readers that a credible source had informed him that an African American was the last to fire a shot in the U.S. Civil War.⁵⁴⁰

F. Rudd's Defense of Blacks in the South

Through the early 1890s, as whites in the South became more committed to a system of racial segregation, public criticism of blacks appears to have escalated. When the Colored Press Association held its meeting in Cincinnati in March 1891, for example, the condition of African Americans living in the South was a topic of discussion. This discussion seems to have been precipitated by a felt need on the part of the delegates to defend the record of the race. Internal evidence from the *ACT* during this period reveals the fact that a number of detractors from around the country were claiming that blacks were becoming less rather than more civilized over time.⁵⁴¹ Subsequent to the press meeting, Rudd announced that the *ACT* would join the Detroit *Plaindealer* and Ida B. Well's *Memphis Free Speech*, in dispatching a correspondent to "report on the condition of the Southland." Rudd wrote, "The letters and correspondents [sic] will certainly prove highly interesting, to those who are interested in the race. It is sheer nonsense to talk about the Colored people going backward; they are doing no such thing."⁵⁴²

In the summer of this same year, Rudd published a report from Sarah Cole, a school teacher from the city of Cincinnati, who had spent a month in the South. In this report, Rudd discussed Cole's observations. The school teacher had observed that blacks

⁵³⁹ E.B. Jourdain, Boston University Law School; quoted in "Crispus Attucks," *ACT*, 6 July 1888, p.1.

⁵⁴⁰ "Last Gun at Appomattox," *ACT*, 18 March 1887, p.1.

⁵⁴¹ "Negro in the Dark," *ACT*, 14 March 1889, p.4.

⁵⁴² *ACT*, 27 June 1891, p.2.

in the South owned property, were involved in business, and were pursuing education.⁵⁴³ Rudd's own correspondent, Edward Reed, who also had traveled to the South in the summer of 1891, argued that blacks were not regressing. As evidence for his claim, Reed highlighted the success of an enterprising black grocery store owner from Jackson, Mississippi.⁵⁴⁴

Rudd believed that his promotion of race pride was consistent with the teachings of the church. The editor's convictions with regard to the "Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man" were supported by the teachings of Jesus and the biblical account of the Creation. The equality that such a theological formula implied kept Rudd battling those guilty of promoting negative stereotypes of African Americans. He understood that if full equality between the races was to be realized, both blacks and whites would need to be reeducated as to the contributions made by blacks to society, both past contributions, and the present ones. To this end, the *ACT* was pressed into service.

II. Rudd's Opposition to Race Segregation

A second race justice issue addressed by Rudd in the *ACT* involves the editor's disapproval of America's movement in the 1880s and 1890s toward a legally sanctioned, racially segregated society. If the amount of coverage in the *ACT* is indicative of Rudd's editorial priorities, one of his most important concerns was the injustice inherent in such a caste based social structure. It is likely that this issue was important not only to blacks living in northern and Border States, but also to blacks in the South who were witnessing more intimately other bitter expressions of injustice e.g., lynching, the crop mortgage system, and the poor condition of southern prisons.

⁵⁴³ *ACT*, 22 August 1891, p.3.

⁵⁴⁴ "The Sunny South," *ACT*, 13 July 1891, p. 1.

Rudd was an integrationist. He believed the color line as it was then being drawn in various sectors of society was a gross injustice forced on African Americans by prejudiced whites. Moreover, the editor believed that segregating the races exacerbated race prejudice. He further believed that equality could not be achieved in a society that sought to maintain a color line between the races. On one occasion, Rudd printed an exchange from the *Crusader* of New Orleans under the heading “Good Sense.” The contributor of this particular exchange seems to have given voice to Rudd’s own opposition to separate exhibits, bar associations etc.⁵⁴⁵ Further, the *ACT* detailed Rudd’s opposition to a plan to create a separate state for African Americans. In fact, he labeled the effort “some queer nonsense.” Rudd believed that the flag of the United States should rightly float over all “one country, one people with equal and unabridged privileges.”⁵⁴⁶

The issue of race segregation was a concern not only to Rudd but also to other black Catholics as well. For example, black delegates who were a part of the Colored Catholic Congress movement criticized church leaders on a number of occasions for not allowing blacks to attend Catholic high schools and colleges.⁵⁴⁷ This issue will be discussed further in chapters eight and nine.

A. The Ely Arnett Bill of 1887

In the *ACT*, a prominent place was given to Rudd’s opposition of race segregation. This emphasis is in part revealed by the fact that the editor devoted a substantial amount of editorial space to the celebration of Ohio’s repeal of the last vestiges of the state’s Black Laws. For example, in the late winter and early spring of

⁵⁴⁵ *Afro-American Sentinel*; quoted in *ACT*, 22 August 1891, p.2. This same writer objected to separate race journals. Rudd obviously did not object to the existence of black papers and journals.

⁵⁴⁶ *ACT*, 19 August 1893, p.2.

⁵⁴⁷ See “Resolutions Adopted,” *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.1.

1887, Rudd repeatedly made reference to the passage of the Ely Arnett Bill, legislation which not only dismantled Ohio's Black Laws, but also made provision to desegregate the state's public schools.⁵⁴⁸ In the first extant issue of the *ACT*, Rudd wrote, "The cry of justice is heard." Rudd enthusiastically penned these words in response to the passage of the Ely Arnett Bill, legislation.

Though the Sixth Article of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had forbidden slavery and involuntary servitude in the Northwest Territory, state leaders began placing restrictions on African Americans in 1804, a year after Ohio became a state. Ohio's first Black Law forbade the settlement of African Americans unable to produce a certificate of freedom. In 1807, African Americans were forbidden to settle in the state unless within twenty days of their arrival they could secure a five-hundred dollar bond which had to be posted by two whites who would guarantee the good behavior of the individual. Similarly, laws were drafted which denied blacks the right to testify in court, to be seated on a jury, or to serve in the state militia. In 1829, a law was passed which specifically forbade blacks from attending state common schools or from receiving any portion of the state's school funds. Though this law was repealed in 1849, school districts in Ohio continued to deny blacks entrance into the state's public schools.⁵⁴⁹

Led by Bishop Benjamin Arnett of Green County, and supported by the state legislature's two other black members, Jere A. Brown and Robert Harlan,⁵⁵⁰ House Bill

⁵⁴⁸ The Ely Arnett legislation will be subsequently discussed in this chapter.

⁵⁴⁹ Rubin F. Weston, ed., *Blacks in Ohio History: A Conference to Commemorate the Bicentennial of the American Revolution* (Ohio Historical Society, 1976), 4-5. See Frank Quillin, *The Color Line in Ohio: A History of Race Prejudice in a Typical Northern State* (Michigan University Press, 1913: reprint, New York: Negro University Press, 1969), 24.

⁵⁵⁰ Harlan was born in Mecklenburg County, Virginia in 1816. He lived in Kentucky for eight years but left for California to seek his fortune in gold prospecting in 1848. Through wise investments he returned with a respectable fortune, and he opened a successful business before moving to London, England. Harlan was instrumental in the establishment of Cincinnati's first black school. He also served as a state senator from

71, the Ely Arnett Bill, was introduced to repeal Section 4008 of the Ohio Code. The aim of this historic legislation, sponsored by the assembly's African American delegation, was to erase all remaining vestiges of the state's Black Laws including the provision prohibiting interracial marriage. The most important practical component of the Ely Arnett legislation was the outlawing of racial segregation in Ohio's schools.⁵⁵¹ Subsequent to the passage of this historic legislation, blacks would, in theory, be permitted to attend the same schools as whites.

B. Segregated Schools

Rudd, a strong advocate of mixed schools, believed the separate school system made the state "an aider and abettor" in the crime of "prejudicial-fostering." The editor of the *ACT* had stated his opposition to segregated schools the summer before the passage of the Ely Arnett Bill. The editor wrote,

We called attention to the system of public schools which educating the races apart made the state an aider and abettor in the crime of prejudicial-fostering between different races of her citizens. No one seemed to see the crime. We have not ceased, however, nor will we while God permits us to wield pen and tongue to write and declaim against an out rage, blacker than even human slavery itself, until the foul blot is removed...⁵⁵²

Rudd believed those who opposed mixed schools, for example, Cincinnati educator, Professor William H. Parham, did so out of economic self interest.⁵⁵³ In March 1887, Rudd acknowledged the fear of black leaders who suspected that Cincinnati's African American teachers would be fired as a result of the passage of the Ely Arnett

Hamilton County. In 1890, Harlan attended the second Colored Catholic Congress held in Cincinnati and addressed the assembly at the reception following the meeting. "Colored Statesmen," *ACT*, 18 February 1887, p.2.

⁵⁵¹ Quillin, 33.

⁵⁵² *ACT*, 9 March 1888, p.2.

⁵⁵³ See *ACT*, 18 March 1887, p.2; *ACT*, 24 June 1887, p.2. Rudd reported Parham served as the principal of Gaines High School in Cincinnati for the school year ending June 1887. This educator was born in Virginia in 1839 of free parents and migrated to Ohio via Philadelphia. Parham taught in Cincinnati's black schools prior to his elevation to the position of principal. See also Gerber, 41-43.

Bill. Rudd, however, took exception with claims that the *ACT*'s position on mixed schools would result in the elimination of the black teaching profession in Cincinnati.⁵⁵⁴

The editor received criticism from within the black community because of his support of mixed schools.

The A.M.E. *Christian Recorder*'s position on the question of mixed schools put it at odds with the *ACT*'s editorial stand. At this period of time, A.M.E. Church educational philosophy was committed to the preparation of African American school teachers. Consequently, church leaders were quite concerned over the anticipated closure of Ohio's black schools. It was, after all, in black schools where the overwhelming majority of Cincinnati's African American teachers served.⁵⁵⁵

Some black leaders opposed mixed schools not merely to protect the jobs of black teachers, but also for cultural reasons. Many believed white teachers were prejudiced toward their black students and, therefore, could not be positive role models for them.⁵⁵⁶ Some contributors to the A.M.E. *Church Review* including, F.L. Carozo, voiced their support for separate schools, at least for the foreseeable future. Carozo believed that mixed schools would be the ideal but feared, however, that the "odious race distinction" would only be wiped out over several centuries with "absorption or amalgamation."⁵⁵⁷

Rudd believed the eradication of the color line in Ohio's schools was a major stride toward a more just society. He believed that if black teachers were in fact fired from the city's schools, the black community would be capable of challenging the

⁵⁵⁴ *ACT*, 1 July 1887, p.2.

⁵⁵⁵ Gilbert Anthony Williams, *The Christian Recorder, Newspaper of the African Methodist Episcopal Church: History of a Forum for Ideas, 1854-1902* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company Inc., 1996), 77-78.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁷ Stephen W. Angell and Anthony B. Pinn, ed., *Social Protest Thought in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1862-1939* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 114.

dismissals. Further, Rudd informed his readers that Cincinnati's superintendent, E.E. White, had a "reputation of fairness." The editor of the *ACT* believed that White might, indeed, appoint black teachers to mixed schools. Rudd told his readers that no "cry" would be made until there was need. Rudd warned, however, "We will guard with jealous care the interests of the race and dispute at every point the march of un-American prejudice."⁵⁵⁸

In the years after the passage of the Ely Arnett Bill, Rudd drew attention to the refusal on the part of Cincinnati's school board to comply with the state's ruling against school segregation. Rudd also decried the failure of the city's school board to appoint black teachers to mixed schools. In June 1889, Rudd discussed the proposed closing of the city's African American Gaines High School. The editor wrote, "If Gaines High School is to be allowed to stop where it is, then invidious discrimination against well qualified teaches must end." Rudd threatened that if the discrimination did not end "we will find ourselves in the hottest fight on the School Question that has yet occurred in this State." He further added, "We want justice or nothing."⁵⁵⁹

In September 1890, Rudd again articulated his opposition to the city's segregated schools. Further, he criticized Cincinnati's school board for its refusal to appoint qualified black teachers. Rudd asked, "What right has the state to draw taxes from all people for school general purposes and then to discriminate against any class of citizens?" Rudd called for the resignation of Mr. Morgan, the city's school superintendent; because he believed Morgan was not broad enough "to do justice to all

⁵⁵⁸ *ACT*, 10 June 1887, p.2. Rudd regularly reported on the struggle to have appointed black teachers in Baltimore's schools. See "Baltimore, MD.," *ACT*, 22 April 1887, p.1 ; "Baltimore," *ACT*, 3 June 1887, p1.

⁵⁵⁹ *ACT*, 22 June 1889, p.2.

classes.”⁵⁶⁰ Again in September 1891, Rudd proposed a bitter fight with the city’s school board. This was done because of the board’s decision to send a delegation to St. Louis for the purpose of seeking advice as to how to racially segregate Cincinnati’s schools.⁵⁶¹ In October of this same year, Rudd advised his readers to seek an injunction to stop payment for the “illegal schools” rather than to assemble yet another public meeting concerning the matter.⁵⁶²

Following the passage of the Ely Arnett Bill in 1887, integration was “quickly” and “peacefully,” accomplished in the majority of school districts in the state;⁵⁶³ uproar, however, was caused, by this same legislative action in cities like Felicity, Oxford, New Richmond and Xenia.⁵⁶⁴ It took a number of years to desegregate Cincinnati’s schools.⁵⁶⁵ After the desegregation of the city’s schools, a decision was made to keep the well regarded Gaines High School open for blacks. Black teachers continued to teach in this institution.⁵⁶⁶ After the passage of the Ely Arnett Bill, however, the “superintendency” of the school was abolished. Over the next three years, the school declined in attendance as the city’s black students moved into racially integrated schools.⁵⁶⁷ Gaines was closed in about 1890. As some African Americans leaders had warned, the board refused to hire black teachers in the city’s integrated schools. Repeated attempts to have qualified black

⁵⁶⁰ *ACT*, 13 September 1890, p.2.

⁵⁶¹ *ACT*, 5 September 1891, p.2.

⁵⁶² *ACT*, 10 October 1891, p.2.

⁵⁶³ Gerber, 264.

⁵⁶⁴ Quillin, 94-97. Quillin’s emphasis on the negative consequences of the Ely Arnett legislation on various local school districts across the state may have been partially conditioned by the author’s racial bias. His work was published in 1913.

⁵⁶⁵ Gerber, 264.

⁵⁶⁶ “City and Vicinity,” *ACT*, 24 June 1887, p.3; *ACT*, 22 June 1889, p.2. Rudd reported in this last reference that it was being rumored that Gaines was to be soon closed.

⁵⁶⁷ Dabney, 108.

teachers appointed to these schools proved unsuccessful. The campaign was given up altogether in 1897.⁵⁶⁸

III. Employment Opportunities

A third race justice issue addressed by Rudd in the editorials and exchanges of the *ACT* is related to Rudd's campaign to ensure that blacks seeking skilled employment were not discriminated against merely because of their race. For example, the *ACT* made repeated references in 1887 to the efforts on the part of blacks seeking to win jobs in racially integrated schools. The fact that African Americans during this period were routinely denied the opportunity to join labor unions and to work in various industries remained a consistent topic of editorial for Rudd throughout the life of the *ACT*.

In 1890, blacks made up 21.7 percent of agriculture, fishing and mining workers in the U.S. and approximately 22.6 percent of the nation's service workers. In other words, African American representation in these less desirable fields of labor was roughly double their percentage of the total U.S. population. Conversely, in this same year, African Americans made up only 3.6 percent of manufacturing workers, 4.3 percent of trade and transportation workers, and 3.6 percent of professional workers. Tellingly, in the more skilled fields of employment, blacks numbered less than one third of their percentage in the total population.⁵⁶⁹

A. White Discrimination against Blacks Seeking Employment

In the editorials and exchanges of the *ACT*, Rudd sought to remedy this injustice. He believed that no racial group should be denied access to jobs based merely on the accident of skin color. In the editorials of the *ACT*, Rudd decried the fact that blacks were

⁵⁶⁸ Gerber, 264-265.

⁵⁶⁹ Logan, 161.

denied access to jobs and refused entrance into trade unions. This justice issue was emphasized early in the extant issues of the *ACT*. For example, through the spring of 1887, Rudd closely covered the deliberations of the Maryland Educational Union, an organization formed in April 1887 to lobby for the hiring of African American teachers in that state's black schools.⁵⁷⁰ As has been discussed above, Rudd also editorialized on the need to appoint black teachers to integrated schools in the state of Ohio.

In the *ACT*, Rudd repeatedly condemned discriminatory hiring practices. For example, in September 1887, Rudd pointed out that fire departments around the country were routinely refusing to employ blacks. When the city of Cincinnati continued its practice of employing only white firefighters, Rudd responded,

Do the firemen forget that many of them are paid with money collected from Negro Citizens? From this day on, we demand of the authorities of this city a recognition of the 20,000 Colored citizens here; recognition in the fire department and we propose to keep up the cry until it is done. If the authorities want it, meetings will be held to enforce the demand.⁵⁷¹

Three years later, Rudd again criticized the fire department of Cincinnati for its refusal to hire African Americans.⁵⁷²

Rudd's campaign to open the doors for blacks seeking employment remained constant throughout the years of the publication of the *ACT*. Speaking at the first Colored Catholic Congress held in Washington, D.C. in January 1889, Rudd argued, "attention should be paid to the problem of why Colored youth do not learn trades." He further argued that it was the fault of trade unions. The editor of the *ACT* stated that "Trade

⁵⁷⁰ See "Baltimore MD.," *ACT*, 22 April 1887, p.1; "Baltimore," *ACT*, 29 April 1887, p. 1.

⁵⁷¹ "No Colored Men Admitted," *ACT*, 2 September 1887, p. 2.

⁵⁷² *ACT*, 31 May 1890, p.2.

unions stand in the way of our youth learning trades....” though Rudd conceded the fact that in some cases it was because of self interest rather than racism.⁵⁷³

In an official address drafted by the delegates of the first Colored Catholic Congress, the assembly offered an appeal to Catholics. In this appeal, labor organizations were asked to “admit Colored men within their ranks on the same conditions” as others. Similarly, factory owners and other entrepreneurs were asked to employ African Americans in their businesses “without discrimination, and on the merit of their individual capacity, intelligence and integrity.”⁵⁷⁴

B. Jobs and Black Agency

Though Rudd complained that whites often refused to hire qualified blacks, he did not believe African Americans should sit idly by passively waiting for white sentiment to change. Rudd was a strong advocate of black agency. He believed that if African Americans were to establish their own businesses, there would be a steady supply of jobs for blacks. On one occasion, Rudd remarked, “One business firm is worth more to a community, than a thousand politicians.”⁵⁷⁵ On another occasion, the editor of the *ACT* stated, “There is not any reason why there should not [sic] be a large number of business houses run by Colored men in this city.” Further, he believed the local market around the Queen City would support such enterprises.⁵⁷⁶ In April 1888, Rudd urged African Americans to enter the mercantile business. In this same editorial, the editor challenged the notion that whites would not patronize a well-run African American owned clothier. Rudd wrote,

⁵⁷³ “The Address,” *ACT*, 12 January 1889, p.4.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁵ *ACT*, 6 December 1890, p.2.

⁵⁷⁶ *ACT*, 5 August 1887, p.2.

If Colored men wish their sons and daughters to occupy important positions in life, those of us who have money must launch into business. We must commence if necessary on a small scale and aim to increase our stock and trade as our means and opportunities afford. We must learn to do business with all classes of people. As the demands of our businesses require more help let us employ Colored men and women or employ some Colored and some white and in this way set the example for our white brethren...⁵⁷⁷

In June 1889, Rudd claimed that there were fifteen-thousand blacks living in the city of Cincinnati. Rudd was convinced the city's African American population could support a dry good business as well as a shoe factory. He once again affirmed his conviction that consumers would buy from any race. Rudd believed his proposal would create more jobs for the African American population than either the city's school system or Hamilton County was willing to provide. Rudd further claimed that infighting between members of the African American community had kept such enterprises from being established.⁵⁷⁸ Rudd returned to this same theme in October 1890, when he said of the city's black population, "All of these must eat, wear clothes and have furniture..." He further commented, "Do you want employment for yourselves and your children? Make it."⁵⁷⁹

Rudd routinely lauded the work of black entrepreneurs in the pages of the *ACT*. For example, In October 1889, Rudd praised the entrepreneurial efforts of George W. Hayes and Griffith Watson who jointly owned a large provision store in Cincinnati.⁵⁸⁰ On another occasion, Rudd praised African Americans in Lexington, Kentucky, for heeding

⁵⁷⁷ *ACT*, 13 April 1887, p.2.

⁵⁷⁸ *ACT*, 29 June 1889, p. 2.

⁵⁷⁹ *ACT*, 25 October 1890,p. 2.

⁵⁸⁰ *ACT*, 5 October 1889, p.2.

his advice with regard to the establishment of businesses.⁵⁸¹ In the summer of 1890, the *ACT* encouraged its readers to support black business enterprises. For example, Rudd urged his readers to buy stock in the Cincinnati based, Garnett Building and Loan Company operated by a number of prominent African Americans including C.W. Bell and Sam B. Hill.⁵⁸²

IV. Southern Prisons

A fourth race justice issue that was discussed early in the life of the *ACT* was the manner in which prisons were operated in the South. Before the end of the Civil War, in southern states including, for example, Georgia, a two-tier system of punishment existed for the state's criminals, one for blacks, and one for whites. The base for the punishment of black convicts was the plantation; care was taken not to interrupt the labor of the rehabilitating slave. Following the war, southern states resorted to loaning out prisoners to private contractors, an arrangement which made it possible for states to raise much needed revenue. Further, white southerners found this labor pool to be cheap and reliable. Some employers even preferred prison labor to that provided by the free market.⁵⁸³

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, black leaders worked to improve the treatment of inmates being held in these same institutions. It was an issue that black race leaders cared deeply about because many of the inmates confined in southern jails were African Americans. For example, in Mississippi, where prison conditions during the period have been described by one scholar as "inhuman," as many as 90 per cent of the

⁵⁸¹ *ACT*, 26 October 1889, p.2.

⁵⁸² *ACT*, 30 August 1890, p.2; "City and Vicinity," *ACT*, 5 April 1890, p.3. Both Bell and Hill participated in the second Colored Catholic Congress held in Cincinnati.

⁵⁸³ Robert P. Weiss, ed., *Social History of Crime, Policing and Punishment* (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1999), 493-495, 510-511.

inmates were black,⁵⁸⁴ and many of these were children. Further, because of overwork, torture and unsanitary living conditions, an alarming number of inmates in Mississippi's lockups died while in custody. In 1887, for example, sixteen percent of the state's prison population died.⁵⁸⁵

Concern on the part of the nation's black leaders over the conditions of southern prisons was widespread. For example, Thomas Fortune's proposed Afro- American League sought to address the cruel treatment of those languishing in these same institutions.⁵⁸⁶ Though Rudd devoted relatively little attention to the plight of African American prisoners in the South, evidence from the *ACT* demonstrates that he did consider the state of southern prisons and the cruel treatment of black prisoners to be a question of justice. Speaking of manifestations of injustice, Rudd, on one occasion, labeled these penal institutions, "Southern hell holes." He also found it intolerable that men and women were chained together and forced to work on southern roads and highways.⁵⁸⁷ Rudd further warned that the convict labor system in the South was "bearing sad fruit."⁵⁸⁸

Part of Rudd's objection to the southern penal system was related to the prisoner loan program. Though the practice had apparently been outlawed in some states, inmates in states including Tennessee were being loaned out to various private individuals as an alternative labor pool. On one occasion, the editor of the *ACT* pointed out that 320

⁵⁸⁴ Christopher R. Adamson, "Punishment After Slavery: Southern State Penal Systems, 1865-1900" *Social Problems* 30, No. 5 (June 1983): 566; quoted in Julius Thompson, *Lynchings in Mississippi, A History 1865-1965* (London: McFarland & Company Inc., 2001), 33.

⁵⁸⁵ David M. Oshinsky, *"Worse Than Slavery": Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 46.

⁵⁸⁶ "The Afro-American League," *ACT*, 16 September 1887, p.1.

⁵⁸⁷ *ACT*, 7 October 1887, p.2.

⁵⁸⁸ *ACT*, 31 October 1891, p.2. According to Rudd, the "sad fruit" being produced by the continuance of such an unjust system was "oppression" and "anarchy."

convicts from a single camp were pressed to work in such an arrangement. Rudd would have objected to such a practice not only because of its resemblance to slavery, but also because of the degrading treatment some inmates were forced to endure.⁵⁸⁹

V. Crop Mortgage System

Like Rudd's condemnation of southern prison conditions, Rudd's campaign against the crop mortgage system was probably part of the *OST*'s editorial agenda prior to the founding of the *ACT*.⁵⁹⁰ Rudd's vision of a just and equitable social order was also offended by the crop mortgage system as it was then being practiced in the South. After emancipation, southern aristocrats retained their ideas as to how society should be organized. Because these same power brokers owned the land, blacks during the 1870s and 1880s returned to work for white land owners in an economic contract system that rendered them virtual slaves.⁵⁹¹ Rudd believed this contract system exploited African American renters. Where this unjust economic arrangement prevailed, African American laborers were paid one quarter to one half of the year's crop of cotton or corn; they were provided a home, fuel, and in some cases food.⁵⁹² This contract system, however, worked to further impoverish black tenant farmers who often found themselves in debt when their accounts were settled at the end of the crop year.

Rudd's opposition to the crop mortgage system placed him in company with other African American protestors. In November 1887, for example, Rudd printed an exchange which highlighted the injustices of the crop mortgage system as it was being practiced in the South. The article revealed the fact that plantation owners often paid their laborers in

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁰ *ACT*, 9 March 1888, p.2.

⁵⁹¹ Howard Kester, *Revolt Among the Sharecroppers* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 20-21.

⁵⁹² Franklin and Moss, 234.

paper slips redeemable only at the plantation store. These plantation stores, in turn, significantly inflated the price of staple items, thus diminishing the sharecropper's profits.⁵⁹³ In February 1888, Rudd printed an article discussing the issue. In this exchange, the contributor explained that African Americans were having difficulty getting ahead because the crop mortgage system made it hard for them to secure a profit.⁵⁹⁴

Subsequent to Rudd's issuance of the call for the first Colored Catholic Congress, the editor of the *ACT* gave a number of reasons for assembling the meeting. Among the reasons Rudd cited was the need to address the unjust crop mortgage system.⁵⁹⁵ In August 1894, Rudd again voiced his opposition to this economic arrangement. Rudd argued in this editorial that blacks were not the only ones to suffer from the inequitable system. The editor wrote,

The crop mortgage system which we have inveighed in season and out is a very bad one for the producing farmer, no matter whether he be a land owner, a renter or only a common laborer....Store orders and big charges give the store and shopkeeper the advantage over the consumer and they in turn lose largely to the outside wholesalers, because they must wait for the crop to ripen year after year before they can make settlement...⁵⁹⁶

The five justice issues discussed above were addressed by Rudd from the establishment of *ACT* through 1887. The above discussion demonstrates how Rudd's ecclesiologically-centered vision of justice and his views concerning equality impacted his stand on a number of important questions being faced by African Americans of the

⁵⁹³ *Chicago Times*; quoted in "Sugar Plantation Laborers," *ACT*, 25 November 1887, p. 1.

⁵⁹⁴ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; quoted in "Credit System," *ACT*, 24 February 1888, p. 1.

⁵⁹⁵ *ACT*, 22 June 1888, p. 2.

⁵⁹⁶ "The Southern Farmer," *ACT*, 18 August 1894, p.2.

period. In the next chapter, I will examine race justice issues emphasized by Rudd in the *ACT* from 1888-1894.

Chapter VI

Applications of Rudd's Vision of Justice from 1888-1894

Chapter Introduction

In chapter five, I examined how Rudd's ecclesiological vision of justice was instantiated in a number of specific questions of race justice emphasized by Rudd in the *ACT* prior to 1888. In this chapter, I will consider the remaining race justice questions addressed in the editorials and exchanges of the *ACT* from 1888-1894. A more clear chronology with regard to these topics can be discerned over this period, and so they will be discussed in the order they were emphasized by Rudd in the newspaper. The first race justice question to be discussed in this chapter, Black Emigration from the South, was emphasized by Rudd in 1888. The second to be addressed in this chapter, Discrimination in Public Accommodations, was addressed by the editor in 1890-1891. The third, the plight of Native Americans, was emphasized by Rudd from 1890-1892. The final race justice question to be discussed in this chapter, lynching and mob violence, was emphasized by Rudd after March of 1892.

The order in which these issues are taken up in this chapter does not indicate their significance to Rudd. For example, evidence from the *ACT* reveals the fact that, for Rudd, lynching was the most outrageous of the crimes against blacks. He, therefore, gave it more attention than the other race justice issues addressed in the *ACT*. The race justice issue garnering the second most space in the *ACT* from 1888 forward was the issue of discrimination against blacks in public accommodations. Finally, though Rudd voiced his

opposition to black emigration from the South, and the injustice inherent in the way the Native Americans were being treated by the United States government, these later two issues received relatively little editorial space.

Because of Rudd's commitment to the full equality of all Americans regardless of race, the editor believed it unnecessary for blacks to leave the country in order to find a rich full life. He desired simply to see African Americans treated as other citizens, and so objected to the discrimination of blacks in public accommodations. Violence against blacks was for Rudd the penultimate violation of the "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man." Rudd, therefore, vociferously condemned lynching and mob violence. Finally, Rudd's commitment to an ecclesiological-centered vision of justice, and the equality of all humanity led him, somewhat inconsistently, to speak out against the mistreatment of other groups, including Native Americans, women and Chinese immigrants.

I. Black Emigration from the South (An 1888 Emphasis)

The American Colonization Society was organized in 1817, two years after black businessman, Paul Cuffee transported thirty-eight blacks to Africa at his own expense. President Bushrod Washington, Henry Clay (1777-1852), and John Randolph of Roanoke were among the society's prominent members. With aid from both the federal and the state governments, the organization sought to establish a colony of free blacks in Africa. The first ten years of the organization's existence were its most effective. Some twelve-thousand blacks were returned to Africa. The motives for their return were varied; while some thought that blacks were incapable of adjusting to Western Civilization, some believed returning blacks would result in the evangelization of Africa's people of color.

Southern blacks in relatively significant numbers also viewed emigration as a desirable alternative to the conditions they were forced to endure in the South. An overwhelming majority of blacks in the North, however, opposed immigration.⁵⁹⁷

Though Rudd may have spoken out against black emigration from the southern United States prior to the establishment of the *ACT*, he did not systematically address the question until January and February 1888. Internal evidence from the *ACT* indicates that a newly conceived plan to establish a colony in South America for African Americans may have provoked Rudd's comments on the issue. In the winter of 1888, Rudd published a number of exchanges on the topic. Moreover, he began in his editorials to voice his opposition to the proposed exodus.

Evidence from the *ACT* demonstrates the fact that some African Americans abandoned any hope that blacks would receive the recognition of their full equality in America. Some of these same disgruntled blacks sought to make their way to less developed areas of the Western United States as well as to Africa and other foreign destinations. This they did in the hopes of establishing a more just social order, free of race prejudice. Though Rudd in the *ACT* gave the matter relatively little editorial coverage, he did, on occasion, voice his disapproval of black proposals to exit the country.

There were many Americans in the United States in the latter part of the nineteenth century skeptical as to whether blacks and whites could live together in a just and harmonious society. In post-Reconstruction America, many blacks lost faith in the American enterprise. African Americans simply found it impossible to imagine that they would be granted the equality guaranteed them by the nation's founding documents, let

⁵⁹⁷ Franklin and Moss, 168-169.

alone the full equality implied in a Christian paradigm for society. Because these disheartened individuals had given up on the kind of race relations assumed in Rudd's theologically laden language concerning the "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man," some advocated a program of emigration.

Some African Americans proposed that blacks should return to Africa; some proposed other locales in the hopes of escaping America's race prejudice. The emigration movement found strong support among able black leaders including A.M.E. Church leader, Bishop Henry M. Turner. For a number of years, Turner served as the business manager of the A.M.E. *Christian Recorder*. He also wrote a column in this same publication, from 1876-1880, entitled "Wayside Dots and Jots." In his column he promoted African emigration.⁵⁹⁸

Like Turner, A.M.E. Bishop Richard H. Cain (1825-1887), supported emigration to Africa, this after losing faith in the prospects of black advancement in post-Reconstruction America.⁵⁹⁹ Among the country's African American population, the strongest supporters of African emigration were often rural, southern blacks who found themselves in a "condition not too far removed from slavery."⁶⁰⁰ For example; in Mississippi during the 1880s, blacks were faced with an extremely hostile social climate. Those who opted to stay in Mississippi rather than emigrate, sometimes joined together to form separate black communities, e.g., the Mound Bayou community established by Isaiah Montgomery (1847-1924), and incorporated in 1877.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁸ Williams, 91.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., 87.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., 92, 101.

⁶⁰¹ Thompson, 18; Franklin and Moss, 259. Montgomery was the only black to serve in the Mississippi constitutional convention which voted in 1890 to place educational requirements and a poll tax of two dollars on voters, a move which effectively disenfranchised many of Mississippi's black voters.

Support for African American emigration from the South seems to have peaked in 1879, and again in about 1890. The primary impetus for migration, according to August Meier, seems to have been economic. Though threats of mob violence and political repression did play some role, they were primarily used as rationalizations for a decision to emigrate.⁶⁰² Despite support for emigration among some southern blacks, an overwhelming number of readers who addressed their correspondence to the *Recorder* during this period opposed emigration. In this, they followed the lead of A.M.E. Bishops Benjamin Tucker Tanner and Benjamin F. Lee (1841-1926), both of whom served as editors of the A.M.E. *Christian Recorder*.⁶⁰³

During the post- Reconstruction years, the *Recorder* received correspondence from a steady stream of detractors who denied the wisdom of emigration. These opponents of emigration were typically middle class blacks who retained faith in American institutions.⁶⁰⁴ Rudd, like his better known contemporary, Thomas Fortune, opposed African emigration. Fortune had offered four reasons why blacks should not return to Africa. First, “Afro Americans” were not Africans; secondly, Africa had no government; thirdly, the threat posed by natives and diseases; and finally, the investment made by blacks in this country made the United States the well earned home of the race.⁶⁰⁵

Fortune’s comments concerning African American investment in the building of America, mirrors Rudd’s own rationale for opposing emigration. Rudd wrote,

⁶⁰² Meier, 59-61.

⁶⁰³ Williams, 102.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., 101.

⁶⁰⁵ Angell and Pinn, 252.

The American Negro has felled the forests and moulded [sic] the bricks in the Southland, he is a part and parcel of America's greatness. Any one who thinks that he is fool enough now to leave the monuments of his unrequited toil must be sadly deluded.

He continued,

This talk of exodus makes us tired. The only exodus the American Negro needs is to exodus himself out of bed in the early morning, and save the money he earns. His other ills will disappear by this and the practice of virtue, quicker than any other way.⁶⁰⁶

On another occasion, Rudd printed an exchange from a publication entitled the *Pelican*. This article also seems to express Rudd's sentiments with regard to emigration.

The *Pelican* contributor concluded that the South was

the place for the Negro: here he thrives and prospers, and although in the past denied his political rights, by Southern Democrats, a change of sentiment, of progress, is rapidly breaking up these old ideas, and Southern Democrats are beginning to believe that the Negroes have rights which they are bound to respect, and, so believing are declaring themselves in favor of according the same to them.⁶⁰⁷

In the February 10 issue of the *ACT*, Rudd voiced his opposition to a proposed scheme to establish a colony of African American pioneers in South America. Rudd wrote,

The Exodus to South America, is like other panaceas for "all ills," it will not cure them, so the Negro who has a homestead and a mule in the South will stay there, and the one who has neither or its equivalent is too lazy or too careless to be a pioneer. Don't worry about the exodus.⁶⁰⁸

Rudd's experiences as an African American living in a Midwestern state, where blacks were relatively better positioned, socially and economically, no doubt influenced the editor's position on emigration. In other words, had Rudd lived in the Deep South, he

⁶⁰⁶ *ACT*, 10 February 1888, p.2.

⁶⁰⁷ New Orleans *Pelican*; quoted in "The Proposed Exodus," *ACT*, 10 February 1888, p. 1. This same exchange details the miseries endured by African Americans who migrated in large numbers to Kansas in 1879 and 1880.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

may have been more keenly attuned to the hardships that might have made emigration a desired option. Further, Rudd's editorial statements regarding the issue indicate his strong faith in the American economic system. He was convinced, in part by his own life experience, that an enterprising African American willing to work hard would find success in America.

Black migration to Africa was not only motivated by economic factors. Many African Americans and whites believed that American blacks would play a significant role in the evangelization of Africa. Though Rudd was a strong advocate for the evangelization of blacks in the United States, and though he voiced his support for the evangelistic work of Cardinal Lavigerie in Africa, the editor did not solicit missionaries for the cause.⁶⁰⁹

II. Discrimination in Public Accommodations: an 1890-1891 Emphasis

Rudd believed the practice of denying African Americans equal access to public accommodations and public transportation was a violation of their civil rights. Neither could this practice be reconciled with the editor's ideal, equitable societal paradigm. On a regular basis, Rudd informed his readers of instances in which blacks were denied equal access to public accommodations merely because of their race. Beginning in 1890, Rudd began to address this issue in earnest.

Whereas the move toward de facto segregation in Ohio took hold as late as the 1890s, Cincinnati, like other southern Ohio communities, had continued to be influenced by southern racial norms throughout the post-Reconstruction period.⁶¹⁰ The federal Civil

⁶⁰⁹ Some black leaders like Edward W. Blyden LL.D. seemed to believe that blacks were destined by God to evangelize Africa. See Angell and Pinn, 237.

⁶¹⁰ Gerber, 258-260.

Rights Bill of 1875 was ruled unconstitutional in 1883.⁶¹¹ In response, northern state legislatures passed laws banning discrimination against blacks. Ohio's provisions were, however, widely under-enforced. Further, the financial penalties for violation of these same laws were often insignificant.⁶¹²

A. Discrimination in Cincinnati

Even after state codes criminalizing racial discrimination in public accommodations were passed in 1884, blacks in Cincinnati were routinely denied equal accommodations. For example, in 1890, state representative John Green of Cleveland was refused lodging in several of the city's hotels. Though the following year Green was able to secure accommodations in Cincinnati's prestigious Gibson House, he was expected to take his meals in the hotel kitchen.⁶¹³

Why Rudd began emphasizing this justice issue in 1890 is unclear. It may have been that at this time the practice of denying blacks equal accommodations was becoming more prevalent and increasingly flagrant. Whatever the reason, early in 1890, Rudd decided to wage an aggressive campaign against businesses guilty of discriminating against blacks. In January 1890, for example, Rudd claimed Cincinnati was being "outraged" due to the fact that businesses were refusing to serve blacks. Further, Rudd attacked African Americans who allowed race discrimination to continue unchallenged. He wrote, "When the best known and ablest Colored men can be insulted by anyone who sees fit to do so and no one speaks in resentment then it is time to ask, what is the Negro good for?..." Rudd further threatened, "We have rested under this thing long enough and

⁶¹¹ Dray, 56.

⁶¹² Douglas, 90-91.

⁶¹³ Gerber, 58-59.

shall no longer be silent... We know this will strike hard. But we are prepared to give and receive hard blows..."⁶¹⁴

The editor of the *ACT* sometimes published the names of local businesses guilty of practicing discrimination against African Americans. On one occasion, Rudd drew attention to a sign in John Heider's West Fifth Street eatery informing blacks they would be permitted to eat only in the rear of the restaurant. Given the insult, Rudd questioned his readers as to whether they would continue to patronize the establishment.⁶¹⁵ On another occasion, Rudd published an anonymous letter detailing Coney Island's refusal to allow African Americans to patronize the local amusement park. The same letter bemoaned the fact that discrimination in some localities in Ohio was getting worse rather than better. The letter also detailed the legal liability of any person choosing to discriminate against the state's black citizenry. Further, the letter urged action on the part of Cincinnati's African American population declaring "there is but one way to stop these infernal outrages, and that is by making an attack all along the line, upon every hotel, every restrurant [sic] and every place of public amusement, that violates the Statutes of this State in these matters."⁶¹⁶

In the spring of 1890, Rudd's campaign against racial discrimination in public accommodations moved beyond rhetoric. The editor also believed it was necessary to take legal action against establishments guilty of violating the rights of African Americans. His convictions with regard to judicial activism led him to file suit against a restaurant owner in Cincinnati. The lawsuit was filed after Rudd was denied service at the P.C. Butler Delicatessen. The editor had visited the establishment with the Strauss

⁶¹⁴ *ACT*, 18 January 1890, p.2.

⁶¹⁵ "City and Vicinity," *ACT*, 20 July 1888, p. 3.

⁶¹⁶ "A Card," *ACT*, 26 July 1890, p.2.

Brothers, white tailors who advertised with the *ACT*. Apparently, both Rudd and the Strauss brothers were indignant over the matter. Stung by the insult, the editor of the *ACT* subsequently secured the legal services of attorney, J.R. Foraker. The courts ruled in favor of Rudd, awarding him a judgment of one-hundred dollars in the case. Commenting on this same ruling, Rudd wrote, “The putrescent sore of United States prejudice, is a cancerous growth and should be speedily removed.”⁶¹⁷

In 1892, Rudd attempted to address yet another perceived affront to race justice. In an editorial, Rudd called for the resignation of Dr. Judkins. In a hospital trustee meeting, Judkins had proposed that convalescing blacks and whites should be housed separately. Rudd argued that the doctor was serving his own prejudice rather than the public’s interest. The *ACT*’s editor called the proposal “a shame that should be remedied as soon as possible.”⁶¹⁸ It is unclear the outcome of Judkin’s campaign, Rudd did not follow up on the case in the pages of the *ACT*.⁶¹⁹

B. Separate Coach Law

The first state to pass comprehensive legislation to separate the races traveling in railroad cars was Tennessee in 1881. This same state legislature, apparently unaware of this 1881 bill, passed another Jim Crow law in 1891.⁶²⁰ Other states joined in adopting

⁶¹⁷ *ACT*, 19 April 1890, p.2.

⁶¹⁸ *ACT*, 6 August 1892, p.2.

⁶¹⁹ The Color line was pervasive in Cincinnati’s hospitals through the 1920s. For example, blacks admitted to the tax supported Cincinnati General Hospital were admitted but were segregated from white patients. Black doctors supported the establishment of Mercy Hospital in 1925 to serve the city’s black population. The hospital venture proved to be unsuccessful surviving only a short time. See William W. Giffin, *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio, 1915-1930* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), 183-184. See also Dabney, 390-391.

⁶²⁰ The reason for the passage of this subsequent bill is unclear. Stanley J. Folmsbee suggests the legislature was “apparently unaware” that the state already had such a law. See Notes and Documents: “The Origin of the First ‘Jim Crow’ Law”; quoted in Gilbert Thomas Stephenson, “The Separation of the Races in Public Conveyances,” ; quoted in Paul Finkelman, ed., *The Age of Jim Crow: Segregation from the End of Reconstruction to the Great Depression*, vol. 4 (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1992), 245.

similar Jim Crow legislation including, Florida in 1887, Mississippi in 1888, Texas in 1889, Louisiana in 1890, Alabama, Georgia and Arkansas in 1891.⁶²¹ Evidence from the *ACT* reveals that this issue became more pressing to Rudd sometime after 1890, the year southern states including Georgia and Louisiana began passing separate coach laws.⁶²²

As early as October 1887, Rudd had identified the practice of race discrimination on public transit as an “injustice” which demanded redress.⁶²³ Rudd believed separate coach legislation to be an “outrage.” These laws, according to the editor, were the result of “accursed prejudice” and, therefore, worked against the spirit of nineteenth century progress.⁶²⁴

An increase in references to this issue began in June, 1891; two months after Tennessee passed its second separate coach bill. Commenting on an exchange giving the details of Tennessee’s legislative ruling Rudd argued,

The State of Tennessee has disgraced herself in the recent legislation in that State, discriminating against a large portion of her citizens how long such outrageous proceedings will continue, God alone knows. Some time or other people will learn common sense.⁶²⁵

Again in August of this same year, Rudd reported on an address given by Peter H. Clark at Cincinnati’s Mound Street Baptist Church. The subject of the address was “The Progress of the Negro.” In this address, Clark spoke of the “discomfort” of the “Jim Crow car” to whites. Seeking to point out the illogical nature of such legislation, Clark recalled that he had heard of one instance where a black man traveled alone in a segregated car for a thousand miles, while whites were forced to stand in an overcrowded compartment.⁶²⁶

⁶²¹ Finkelman, 190-191.

⁶²² See Meier, 72.

⁶²³ *ACT*, 7 October 1887, p.2.

⁶²⁴ “Tis Done At Last,” *ACT*, 21 May 1892, p.2.

⁶²⁵ *ACT*, 13 June 1891, p.2.

⁶²⁶ “The Jim-Crow Car,” *ACT*, 22 August 1891, p.1.

By 1892, Kentucky, Rudd's state of birth, was considering enacting its own version of separate coach legislation.⁶²⁷ In February this same year, the editor of the *ACT* remained confident that the legislation would not pass. After the state legislature subsequently approved the bill, Rudd was deeply disappointed and adamantly voiced his disapproval. He wrote,

Men of Kentucky, this is criminal. Who can tell how many of these latter day saints sucked their infantile nourishment from black paps? The white men of Kentucky have robbed the Negro race of its identity, and now that they have done so wish to hide the crime drawing an artificial line. The separate coach law is an outrage. How long O Lord, how long?⁶²⁸

In the above response Rudd employed a biblical stock phrase, "How long O Lord, how long," a lament the editor used in the *ACT* only when confronted with what he considered to be the most egregious manifestation of injustice. For example, he made use of this language in May 1892 in an article on lynching. After an apparent increase in incidents of mob violence in the South, Rudd described these "murders" as "brutal" and "shocking." He further argued that the government "exist[ed] on the specious plea of equality of all men before the law." If the same government could not protect its citizens, he warned, its fate would then be "inevitable dissolution, anarchy and consequent desolation..." Concluding this statement Rudd used the same phraseology, "How long, O Lord, how long?"⁶²⁹

The stock phrase used by Rudd above was taken from Psalm 94.⁶³⁰ In this same Psalm, the writer offered a lament at the unjust state of affairs confronting God's people. Moreover, the psalmist suggested that these same individuals guilty of propagating

⁶²⁷ Charles A. Lofgren, *The Plessy Case: A Legal-Historical Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 22.

⁶²⁸ *ACT*, 21 May 1892, p. 2.

⁶²⁹ *ACT*, 14 May 1892, p.2.

⁶³⁰ See Psalm 94:3.

injustice were the enemies of the Lord. Despite the prospering of the wicked, the Psalm concluded with a more hopeful assessment of the future. For the text declared that in the end, God would bring judgment on the evil doers.

III. Native Americans: an 1890-1892 Emphasis

The Anthropological Society of Washington, the nation's first organization formed exclusively for ethnological enquiry, met in Washington, D.C. in March 1879. Native American cultures provided these ground breaking social scientists with subjects for research. These researchers shared a common intellectual heritage. They accepted social evolution as a general explanation of human development. In this regard they followed America's chief proponent of this theory, anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881). Armed with these same assumptions, even the most progressive thinkers of the day believed that Native Americans should not be allowed to slow Westward expansion or the development of the nation's vast resources.⁶³¹

This social evolutionary thinking provided the rationale for the subjugation, "civilization," and the relocation of many of America's indigenous groups. The Catholic Pottawatomie serves as case in point. In 1838, eight-hundred members of this group living peaceably in the Michigan-Indiana area were removed by the government to a new home on Sugar Creek in southeast Kansas. James Hennesey S.J. has observed that the move was marked by "chicanery" and "fraud" on the part of whites who profited from the "victimization" of this native group. Sadly, this forced removal offered a preview of the government's relations with Native Americans for the next sixty years.⁶³²

⁶³¹ Hoxie, 14-17.

⁶³² James Hennesey S.J., *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 14-17.

Rudd's vision of justice called forth by his rich theologically laden language regarding the "Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man" necessarily impacted the way the editor viewed relations between whites and other minority groups including, Native Americans.⁶³³ Beginning in late 1890 and early 1891, and then again in early 1892, Rudd began emphasizing white exploitation of the Native American population.

Neither Rudd nor many of his contemporaries viewed America's indigenous population in a culturally sensitive manner. As might be expected, a cultural elitism with a bias in favor of a Western view of civilization and progress pervades the literature of the period. For example, in one *Catholic World* article from February 1889, a Catholic contributor suggested that the "Indian" was "little more than a savage, being at best in a transition state from barbarism to civilization." Though this same writer acknowledged the government's mismanagement of the "Indian Problem," he, nonetheless, argued that the "tribal relation" should be "broken up completely," and Native American lands "surveyed and allotted to the Indians in severalty."⁶³⁴

On the other hand, some articles in the *Catholic World* during this same period convey sensitivity to the injustices being suffered by the nation's indigenous population. In July 1892, for example, a contributor speaking about the fate of Native Americans stated that the "blackest pages in the history of our country are the records of our dealings with them."⁶³⁵

⁶³³ Rudd never really took up the cause of prejudice against Chinese immigrants. Moreover, on a number of occasions, Rudd printed stereotypical and culturally unflattering material disparaging this maligned group. See for example, "Current Topics," *ACT*, 19 July 1890, p.2; *ACT*, 30 March 1889, p.3.

⁶³⁴ Martin Marty O.S.B., "The Indian Problem and the Catholic Church," *Catholic World* XLVIII (February 1889): 579.

⁶³⁵ D. Manley, "The Catholic Church and the Indians," *Catholic World* LV (July 1892): 328.

Rudd, in the pages of the *ACT*, did not consistently present Native Americans in a culturally sensitive manner, nor did he always portray them in a positive light. In October 1887, for example, Rudd published an exchange praising the exploits of Joe Hurt who, the article claimed, had killed four-hundred “hostile Indians.” This same writer detailed an episode in which Hurt prevailed upon seventeen “copper colored savages” whom he subsequently scalped.⁶³⁶ Similarly, In October 1892, Rudd printed an exchange which declared that the “Digger Indians” of Northern California did not possess “a single good characteristic.” They were, according to this contributor, “swiny, dirty, indolent, and sometimes ugly.” The Native American subject of this particular article was reportedly killed after bathing because his fellow tribesmen did not recognize him after his bath.⁶³⁷

Why did Rudd print the above material in the *ACT*? It is evident that the editor’s negative stereotypical portrayal of Native Americans is incongruent with his claims regarding the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man.” For example, how could a member of the Digger tribe not possess a single good characteristic; if he or she was a member of the human family and created in God’s image?

Two factors may explain why the above articles and others like them appear in the *ACT*. First, Rudd was a man of his times; he was no less susceptible to negative stereotypes than other members of society. Given Rudd’s bias toward a Western view of civilization, it is possible to see how he could have retained negative stereotypical views of America’s indigenous population. Secondly, and more practically, Rudd was a newspaper man who had a business to run. He needed to fill his newspaper with interesting and relevant material. At times, he may have been guilty of not carefully

⁶³⁶ “Hurt, the Hunter,” *ACT*, 28 October 1887, p.1.

⁶³⁷ “A Victim of Soap and Water,” *ACT*, 22 October 1892, p.3.

considering the contents of what was printed. On the other hand, he may have disagreed with some of the positions of contributors to the *ACT*, but, he had a print deadline.

Despite the above problematic references, evidence from the *ACT* reveals the fact that Rudd believed that Native Americans were the victims of injustice. In 1889, for example, the editor published Archbishop Ryan's remarks from the prelate's opening sermon at the lay congress held in Baltimore in November of this same year. The archbishop declared that Negro slavery and the unjust treatment of the "Indians" were "great blots on our civilization."⁶³⁸ Rudd applied the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism to the "Indian Problem" just as he had done for the "Negro Problem." An exchange from the *Church News* which was published in the *ACT* declared, "The Church...is able to transform the hostile Indians into law-abiding and industrious men...When we contemplate what the Church has done, and is doing for the heathens, we cannot fail to conclude that she, and she alone, has properly interpreted the meaning of the command to teach all nations."⁶³⁹

Following the U.S. Civil War, the presidential administrations of Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885), and Rutherford B. Hayes hoped to successfully "civilize" Native Americans by replacing tribal agents with men approved by the nation's religious leaders. This ambitious post-war plan did not work for a number of reasons. Moreover, Catholics were particularly aggrieved by Grant's decision to appoint mostly Protestants to these key posts, this despite the fact that the Catholics had more experience working with Native Americans in the West.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁸ "Father Burke Wants Help," *ACT*, 21 December 1889, p.1.

⁶³⁹ *Church News*; quoted in "The Teacher of Nations," *ACT*, 15 June 1889, p.1.

⁶⁴⁰ Hoxie, 2-3.

Rudd's awareness of the injustices being faced by Native Americans comes into clearest focus in his discussions of the administration of Baptist, Indian Commissioner, General Thomas J. Morgan.⁶⁴¹ Morgan had been appointed to the post despite Catholic opposition. Rudd wrote, "There has probably not been so much trouble in reference to Indian education in any administration in the last 50 years as has come to public notice under the commissionership of Mr. T.J. Morgan." Rudd went on to accuse Morgan of being "narrow" in his conception of the duties of the job and "mean" in his management of the schools under his supervision. In this same editorial, Rudd claimed that the government had "first robbed" the "Indians" and then "almost annihilated" them.⁶⁴²

Rudd's attacks on Morgan began as early as 1890, when the *ACT* published an exchange criticizing Morgan's decision to move two Native American students from their school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to Morgan's home to work as servants. The objections surrounded the fact that these girls had not been legally appointed; did not have the permission of their parents; nor were they being properly compensated.⁶⁴³ Rudd printed another exchange detailing Morgan's mismanagement of the affairs of Native Americans; the occasion for the article was the first "Indian Catholic congress" held at the Cheyenne Agency.⁶⁴⁴ In this article, the author pointed out that Native Americans had not been afforded the opportunity to "participate" in the nation's wealth. The same writer queried, "Was ever a greater injustice visited on any people?" Similarly, the author juxtaposed the

⁶⁴¹ Thomas Jefferson Morgan had led black troops in the Civil War, served as a Baptist minister and teacher of theology. He also served as the federal government's Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1889-1893. As an educator, he wanted to provide systematized day schools, by providing them with divided grades and uniform textbooks.

⁶⁴² *ACT*, 28 May 1892, p.2.

⁶⁴³ *Washington Critic*; quoted in "Morgan's Peons," *ACT*, 23 August 1890, p.1. One of Morgan's staunchest critics was Richard Pratt, the celebrated headmaster of the Carlisle Native American School. In this instance, Rudd seems to be taking up what might have been one of Pratt's objections.

⁶⁴⁴ Rudd reported that this gathering was held in July 1892, at the Cheyenne River Agency in South Dakota. See "Catholic Indians," *ACT*, 16 July 1892, p.2.

generosity of Katherine Drexel with the general lack of interest, on the part of Catholics and non- Catholics alike, in the impoverished “Indian Sisters” of the community of the Sacred Heart.⁶⁴⁵

The *ACT*'s most direct attack on the unjust administration of Morgan appeared in a December 1892, issue of the newspaper. The case against Morgan and his administration was articulated in an open letter written by Mr. C. F. Lummis of Albuquerque, New Mexico, and addressed to the Rev. Daniel Dorchester, Morgan's superintendent of “Indian” education. In the letter, the Indian schools, under the supervision of Morgan, were accused of violating the Constitution and the laws of the United States. Further, they were reputed to have violated the legal, human and religious rights of the school's students.⁶⁴⁶ Though the above articles detailing the injustices suffered by the nation's indigenous population in Morgan's administration appear to have been driven in part by religious polemics, Rudd did, nonetheless, view the government's relations with Native Americans to be fraught with injustice.

IV. Lynching and Justice (March 1892-1894)

Development in Rudd's Convictions on Lynching

Vigilante justice in the United States was born during the period of the American Revolution, and was often viewed as a valuable community service. Regulators and vigilante committees took it upon themselves to punish criminals and to upbraid moral infringements including wife beating, prostitution, and drunkenness. The first African American to be executed by a mob was lynched in 1741, at Roxbury, Massachusetts. From 1882-1885, more whites than blacks were executed by vigilantes. In 1886, the same

⁶⁴⁵ *Catholic News*; quoted in “The Indian Catholic Congress and Starving Indian Sisters,” *ACT*, 23 July 1892, p.1.

⁶⁴⁶ “Dr. Dorchester,” *ACT*, 3 December 1892, p.1.

year the *ACT* was established, this trend changed. This same year the archives at Tuskegee reveal that seventy-four blacks were lynched, this compared to only sixty-four whites. In subsequent years the number of blacks killed always exceeded the number of white lynching victims.⁶⁴⁷

Phillip Dray, in his study of the phenomena of lynching in the United States, has convincingly argued that the lynching of blacks was not merely an expression of violence by a small number of whites. Lynching was, instead, one response in a widespread movement to keep blacks in subjection, a movement which included a large segment of respectable, white society. Dray further argued that the portrayal of “beastlike” blacks seeking to ravish white girls was largely “fallacious” though effectively employed as a justification for lynching. More moderate whites opposed to lynching, accepted the violent practice as a necessary evil because of their fear of “race pollution.”⁶⁴⁸

Some black leaders including W.E.B. DuBois went through a period of development with regard to their views on lynching. For example, Dubois first believed that violence against blacks was to be attributed to a few “coarser whites.” However, after the 1899 lynching of Sam Hose, an African American man from Georgia accused of murdering his former employer and raping the widow, DuBois’ sentiments changed.

According to Dray, DuBois came to believe,

Lynching was simply the most sensational manifestation of an animosity for black people that resided at a deeper level among whites than he had previously thought, and was ingrained in all of white society, its objective nothing less than the continued subordination of blacks at any cost.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷Dray, viii, 19-29.

⁶⁴⁸Ibid., 64.

⁶⁴⁹Ibid., 15.

If space in editorials and exchanges is indicative of Rudd's priorities about justice and racial equality, the single most important issue he emphasized in the pages of the *ACT* involved lynching and vigilante violence against blacks. In the last sixteen years of the nineteenth century, as many as 2,500 blacks were lynched. Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana were the states where most of these crimes occurred.⁶⁵⁰ Vigilante murders peaked in 1892. Thompson has observed that 262 people were lynched during this year; of this number, 162 were African Americans.⁶⁵¹ Like H.T. Johnson who served as the editor of the A.M.E. *Christian Recorder*, Rudd raised his voice against the practice of lynching.⁶⁵²

The most acclaimed anti-lynching activist of the period, however, was Ida B. Wells. Rudd was acquainted with Wells. In the pages of the *ACT*, Rudd sometimes referred to her by her penname, "Iola." On at least two occasions, Wells visited Rudd in the *ACT* office in Cincinnati.⁶⁵³ Ida B. Wells received a great deal of press attention in the 1890s. Following the infamous Memphis lynchings in March 1892, Wells became a vociferous critic of vigilante violence. Wells traveled to England where she conducted two speaking tours and raised support for her crusade against lynching. Her inflammatory style, however, sometimes put off less confrontational race leaders including Rudd. Two years after vandals had destroyed Wells' printing operations in Memphis, the editor of the *ACT* suggested that Wells' rhetoric may have gone too far.⁶⁵⁴ Rudd wrote of Wells,

⁶⁵⁰ Franklin and Moss, 312.

⁶⁵¹ Thompson, 35. Meier has suggested that 235 people were lynched in 1892. See Meier, 20.

⁶⁵² While living in Arkansas, Rev. H.T. Johnson worked to end the practice of lynching in the state. See Williams, 39.

⁶⁵³ *ACT*, 15 July 1888, p.2.

⁶⁵⁴ *ACT*, 25 June 1892, p.2; McMurray, xvi.

“Goaded by the sight of the blood of her friends she wrote caustically of the outrage and possibly wrote some things unnecessary.”⁶⁵⁵

Opposition to lynching was not based merely on the guilt or innocence of the victim. Many in society opposed the barbarous practice because it denied the victim the right to due process before the law. Both, the Fifth Amendment, and by application the Fourteenth Amendment, were meant to ensure that a person accused of a crime would: have the right to hear the charges brought against them; have the right to be tried in a court of competent authorities; have the privilege of confronting their accusers in a trial of proper proceedings; and have the right to be freed unless found guilty.⁶⁵⁶

Evidence from the editorials and exchanges in the *ACT* shows that for Rudd, lynching became a pressing justice concern early in 1892. Prior to 1892, Rudd occasionally reported on lynchings occurring around the country. These accounts, however, were quite often exchanges from other newspapers. Rudd seems to have taken these news items concerning lynching at face value. Moreover, the editor of the *ACT* did not as a rule object to the fact that these victims were denied due process, nor did he quibble over their guilt or innocence. For example, in July 1887, Rudd printed an exchange reporting the lynching of James Walden. The article merely stated that the victim was of “bad character and vindictive.”⁶⁵⁷

The justification given for the lynching of black victims often was an alleged sexual assault against a white female. But, as Ida B. Wells later pointed out, this charge

⁶⁵⁵ “One Woman’s Work,” *ACT*, 25 August 1894, p.2.

⁶⁵⁶ Dray, 18.

⁶⁵⁷ “Lynched,” *ACT*, 1 July 1887, p.1.

did not appear in many lynching accounts in white newspapers. Moreover, in cases in which the charge of rape was leveled, the victim of the lynching was often innocent.⁶⁵⁸

In the *ACT*'s articles on lynching prior to 1892, Rudd seldom contested the veracity of the assault charges brought against the accused. For example, in May 1888, Rudd printed an exchange entitled "Bad Man Lynched." This same article informed the reader that the black victim was killed because he had been preparing to commit a "nameless crime" against a young lady, Miss. Smith.⁶⁵⁹ On another occasion, Rudd printed an exchange under the heading "Brutal Crime Quickly Avenged." This article detailed the lynching of a black man, accused of violence against an elderly white woman.⁶⁶⁰ Similarly, Rudd printed the following exchange without comment, "John Humphreys, colored, was taken from jail at Asheville, N.C. and lynched for an outrage on a young white woman."⁶⁶¹ Finally, under the heading "A Wretch Lynched," Rudd detailed an account of an African American lynched near Donaldsville, Louisiana, for an alleged attack on a young girl.⁶⁶²

Rudd's sensibilities with regard to lynching were not as well developed as they might have been had he resided in the Deep South. Further, not everyone in America viewed lynching as inherently immoral. In fact, there were individuals in the Catholic Church who thought the practice of lynching helped shore up the deficiencies of the American legal system. For example, in an article written by John W. Johnston and printed in the August 1887, issue of *The Catholic World*, the author explained how the practice of lynching had been used in various localities to overcome the deficiencies of

⁶⁵⁸ McMurray, 143.

⁶⁵⁹ "Bad Man Lynched," *ACT*, 11 May 1888, p.2.

⁶⁶⁰ "Brutal Crime Quickly Avenged," *ACT*, 6 July 1888, p.3.

⁶⁶¹ *ACT*, 20 July 1888, p.2.

⁶⁶² "A Wretch Lynched," *ACT*, 17 November 1888, p.4.

the American penal system. Given these deficiencies, the author seemed to condone vigilante justice. The contributor further reasoned that if the practice were to be stopped, “a thorough reform” of the judiciary system would be required.⁶⁶³

Despite a resolution condemning the practice of lynching passed by delegates gathered at the National Colored Press Association meeting held in Louisville in 1887, Rudd afforded the issue relatively little editorial ink prior to 1892.⁶⁶⁴ This is not to say that before 1892, Rudd ignored the violent practice altogether. For example, in July 1889, Rudd challenged the governors of Mississippi and Louisiana to halt the “brutal murders and midnight terrors, carried on without let or hindrance by disorderly citizens.”⁶⁶⁵ Two months later, Rudd again reiterated his conviction that the “causeless murders” carried out across the South were causing a sense of sorrow in the affected region, in part, because blacks were arming to defend themselves.⁶⁶⁶

In a telling editorial, Rudd attacked the logic of those perpetrating atrocities in the South. He also explained that whites were in danger from mob rule. He further claimed that those guilty of these acts of violence were “criminals...nothing but the counterparts of the anarchists and mobcrats of the North.” The editor of the *ACT* observed that the excuse given by whites for these violent acts was their fear of a race war; this continued Rudd, was a “bugbear.” Rudd further noted, “If one Negro kills a white man in a personal altercation, many white men of the community cry out ‘race war,’ rush to arms, the militia headed by the governor march to the scene and kill every negro in sight...”⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶³ John W. Johnston, “Judge Lynch,” *The Catholic World* XLV (August 1887): 593-604. Rudd did not comment on this article in the *ACT*.

⁶⁶⁴ “National Press Association,” *ACT*, 12 August 1887, p.3.

⁶⁶⁵ *ACT*, 6 July 1889, p.2.

⁶⁶⁶ *ACT*, 7 September 1889, p.2.

⁶⁶⁷ *ACT*, 14 September 1889, p.2.

Prior to 1892, Rudd also published a letter of protest to the U.S. President penned by citizens of Newport R.I. This same letter condemned the “unrestrained murdering of innocent American citizens” in some of the states of the South.”⁶⁶⁸

Lynching and Justice from 1892

Rudd’s sensibilities to the injustice of mob violence may have been stirred as early as the summer of 1891, when one of Rudd’s traveling correspondents, Ed Reed, was nearly lynched in Water Valley, Mississippi. Similarly, Rudd was no doubt aware of the infamous lynching of a black man accused of killing a white woman and assaulting her daughter in nearby Oxford, Ohio.⁶⁶⁹ Though prior to 1892, Rudd occasionally raised a cry to protest the injustice of the practice of lynching, it was not until March of this same year that one is able to discern a change in Rudd’s temper on this important question.

Internal evidence from the *ACT* testifies to the fact that Rudd became a vociferous anti-lynching activist following the murders of three black men in Memphis. On March 9, 1892, Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell and Will Stewart were taken from their jail cell at 3 a.m., and subsequently murdered by a vigilante mob. Stewart and McDowell were fatally shot, and McDowell’s eyes were gouged out. The only crime committed by these men, according to Rudd was the crime of “defending themselves.”⁶⁷⁰

This violent act, perpetrated against men who had no prior criminal record, sent shock waves through the African American community around the country. According to her biographer, it was a watershed event in the life of Ida B. Wells, in part, because she

⁶⁶⁸ Newport Rhode Island *Observer*; quoted in “An Emphatic Protest,” *ACT*, 16 November 1889, p.2.

⁶⁶⁹ Gerber, 249-250.

⁶⁷⁰ “One Woman’s Work,” *ACT*, 25 August 1894, p.2.

knew the victims. Wells subsequently filled the columns of the *Free Speech* with editorials and “anti-lynching tirades.”⁶⁷¹

In the spring of 1892, Rudd began to focus in a more systematic way on the injustice of lynching and mob violence. In March 1892, for example, Rudd printed an exchange from the *St. Joseph Advocate* detailing the execution of ten black strikers in Arkansas, who had been holding out for higher wages. After these victims were killed, their bodies were burned. This same article also mentioned the lynching of Ned Coy who had been charged with assaulting a married woman, presumably white. According to the contributor of this exchange, the victim had been killed despite the lack of corroborating evidence.⁶⁷²

In April 1892, Rudd printed an exchange from the *Memphis Reflector* detailing a mass meeting held in that city to protest the March lynchings. He also published the resolution passed by this assembly’s outraged citizens. Some of this city’s African American citizens proposed mass emigration to Oklahoma. For example, the Reverend W. A. Brinkley declared “in strongest terms” his intention of making his way “clean out of the sound of the wicked.”⁶⁷³

Like Memphis’ African American population, Rudd and Cincinnati’s black community were deeply impacted by the March lynching which had occurred in Tennessee. Early in April, a mass meeting was held in Cincinnati to protest the lynching and to demonstrate the city’s “heartfelt sympathies” and “deep distress” for the grieving survivors. In this same meeting, Cincinnati’s black citizens passed a resolution which included the assembly’s approval for a circular which set aside May 31 as a day for

⁶⁷¹ McMurray, 143.

⁶⁷² *St. Joseph’s Advocate* (April 1892); quoted in “A Human Holocaust,” *ACT*, 26 March 1892, p.2.

⁶⁷³ *Memphis Reflector*; quoted in “Mass Meeting,” *ACT*, 2 April 1892, p.2.

fasting and prayer.⁶⁷⁴ The resolution also called for agitation through the press. It further proposed the sending of a delegate from every American city to Washington, D.C. in order that these same delegates might lay before the president and congress the grievances of African American citizens. This group of delegates was also to communicate to the nation's leaders their deep frustration and to inform them, that the country's African American population would "stand this treatment no longer."⁶⁷⁵

Those who gathered in Cincinnati to voice their opposition to the Memphis murders, attempted unsuccessfully to have the assembly's resolution printed in Cincinnati's white owned newspapers. Black city leaders subsequently praised Rudd for his willingness to publish the resolution. They explained,

Though we are oppressed, starved and slain, yet we thank God that he has enabled us to own a paper among our race that will, and can plead the cause of our people. For when the white papers of Cincinnati refused to publish our sentiments Mr. Dan A. Rudd, editor and proprietor of the American Catholic Tribune stepped forward and said, "Gentleman, I am a poor man, but I love my race. Give me your rejected manuscript and I will publish it and donate and mail five hundred copies free of charge..."⁶⁷⁶

The African American community in Cincinnati remained agitated over the issue of lynching throughout the spring and summer of 1892. On April 19, 1892, Rudd, S.J. Hunter and W.B. Porter met to issue a call for a national black convention which was to be held in Cincinnati, July 4 -5, 1892. The meeting was organized to "enlist the sympathy of all civilization on behalf of justice."⁶⁷⁷ As David Spalding has pointed out, the July convention was hastily called and poorly organized.⁶⁷⁸ Evidence from the *ACT* shows that Rudd led the drive to organize the convention; he subsequently served as the

⁶⁷⁴ "A Cry from St. Louis," *ACT*, 2 April 1892, p.2

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁶ "Think! Consolidate! Agitate!," *ACT*, 9 April 1892, p.2.

⁶⁷⁷ "The Negroes Condition," *ACT*, 23 April 1892, p.2.

⁶⁷⁸ Spalding, 348.

meeting's presiding officer. Perhaps due to poor attendance, the convention was changed to a mass meeting immediately prior to its commencement.⁶⁷⁹

In the months between the call for the 1892 convention and its subsequent gathering, Rudd continued to publish editorials decrying the practice of lynching. In May 1892, for example, Rudd explained that mob law posed more of a threat than “giant trusts and corporations.” He wrote,

Whatever danger may lurk in these, it is not so imminent as the mob law that terrorizes the people by wholesale murders so brutal and shocking in their nature as to raise doubt in the minds of some, of the civilization of the American people. This thing cannot last. Justice must somewhere find the point of retribution. The United States Government can call out the army and navy to save the life of a few seals, or to resent some insult offered a drunken sailor in the most remote corner of the earth, yet when men and women, citizens of the United States are hung, shot, skinned alive or burned at the stake all over the country, for crimes of which they have never been proven guilty, this mighty government whose vigilance bids the greatest nations quake, declares she cannot protect her citizens at home...If bad example continues to prevail, it will have serious effect on the whole people and sooner or later inevitable dissolution, anarchy and consequent desolation will prevail. How long, O Lord, how long?⁶⁸⁰

In June 1892, a special memorial meeting was organized by black leaders in Cincinnati. The assembled citizens passed a resolution condemning lynching and the unequal prosecution of the law. This document read by Rudd, the chairperson of the committee on resolutions, stated,

Whereas, in many parts of the United States, lawless mobs have made it a rule and practice, to take from the officers of the law, prisoners whose alleged offense against the State and society has never been proven and executing said prisoners either by hanging, shooting, burning, skinning alive or disjoints and, Whereas, Certain States have encouraged this violence, the outgrowth of prejudice by passing laws that unjustly discriminate between the citizens thus violating the Constitution of the United States. And Whereas, These unjust practices not only subvert the

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁰ *ACT*, 14 May 1892, p.2.

spirit and genius of American Government, but sow seeds of danger which must, if matured in the future as in the past, develop [sic] into Anarchy and destroy the Republic. be it [sic] Resolved, That we condemn as a crime against civilization the afore said mobs and unjust laws as well as the spirit that gives rise to them.⁶⁸¹

Rudd in conclusion addressed these words to the gathered assembly, “ in the name of the great God of all from whom justice must come at last, as come it will; we appeal to our fellow citizens, to give us a living chance in the race of life.”⁶⁸²

A Mass Meeting Protesting Lynching (July 1892)

On July 4, 1892, the day of the Cincinnati convention protesting lynching, Rudd addressed the gathered assembly in an attempt to temper the crowd. The editor of the *ACT* declared, “We need no dynamite. We are willing to trust to an enlightened common sense and to the judgment of men who must admit the justice of our demands.” Despite Rudd’s attempt to reign in the emotions of those in attendance, Mr. Merryweather, a refugee from Arkansas, took the floor predicting a time when the white race would receive “a baptism of blood.” Rudd subsequently wrote, “Mr. Merryweather was so full of breathings of vengeance that when his time expired the convention refused to extend the limit.”⁶⁸³ A resolution was passed during this gathering which seems to suggest Rudd’s conviction with regard to the fundamental unity of all the nation’s citizens regardless of race. The resolution read,

We appeal to the American people in the imperial name of justice. The problem to be solved is not a Negro problem. The so called Negroes are scarcely one tenth of the people of this country. They are powerless to solve any problem, but they may again be the victims of the Nation’s injustice and the occasion of the condemnation.

The resolution continued,

⁶⁸¹“Memorial mtg.,” *ACT*, 4 June 1892, p.3.

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*

⁶⁸³ “Colored National Convention,” *ACT*, 9 July 1892, p.2.

We ask nothing of you in behalf of colored people, except the right to eat the bread our own hands have earned, to dwell safely in our homes, to pursue our vocations in peace, to be granted a fair and equal opportunity in the race of life to be protected under the law and to be judged according to the law.⁶⁸⁴

Following the mass meeting, Rudd kept up his campaign against the practice of lynching. Commenting on the proposed presentation of “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” at the upcoming World’s Fair which was to be held in Chicago in 1893, He sardonically proposed a presentation of a “few special scenes depicting the barbarities of the present.”⁶⁸⁵ In September 1892, Rudd criticized the American press and American public opinion because each was obsessed with the disease of cholera, all the while ignoring a more deadly malady wrought by “American prejudice.” He wrote, “Not less than twenty-thousand Colored men have been murdered in cold blood by irresponsible scoundrels, in the last two decades...”⁶⁸⁶

In August 1894, Rudd wrote, “All good people condemn the crime that gives excuse for the lynching murders that disgrace all America.” He declared, on the other hand, that half the time, the accused victim was innocent. Rudd concluded, “There is law enough for both of these classes of criminals. Public sentiment should compel its enforcement. For irresponsible people to smear human blood all over the country for the alleged crimes....does not correct the abuses charged.”⁶⁸⁷

Rudd’s 1892 editorial campaign against the practice of lynching locates him among his peers in the black press of the period. A steady cry of protest against mob

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ *ACT*, 25 March 1893, p.2.

⁶⁸⁶ “The Cholera,” *ACT*, 24 September 1892, p.4. I am uncertain as to where Rudd received his figures to support this hyperbolic claim. The total Rudd uses is as much as ten times higher than scholars suggest for the same period.

⁶⁸⁷ “One Woman’s Work,” *ACT*, 25 August 1894, p.2.

justice was raised by the nation's African American editors throughout the last fifteen years of the nineteenth century. Besides the vociferous campaign against the practice conducted by Ida B. Wells, references condemning lynching can be found in both the *A.M.E. Christian Recorder* as well as in the *A.M.E. Church Review*. In 1893, the latter of these publications published the views of one contributor who recommended that African Americans band together to form a secret organization for self defense.⁶⁸⁸ Similarly, the *Journal*, a black Catholic newspaper published in Philadelphia declared, "we believe in the efficacy of prayer as being essential in the attainment of all objects, but we are frank when we say that something is necessary besides prayer." This same publication reminded its readers that the "Negro was the last individual to learn that self preservation is the first law of nature."⁶⁸⁹

In like manner, Rudd's contemporary, Harry Smith of the *Cleveland Gazette*, wrote, "The wholesale lynching of Afro-Americans charged with crimes, from stealing a chicken up, goes on through out the south [sic]. The most barbarous are committed by "southern chivalry'..."⁶⁹⁰ In October 1893, Smith commented on the lynching of an African American man in Roanoke, Virginia. He wrote,

The poor Afro-American lynched, and whose body was riddled with bullets, then burned, is now generally acknowledged to have been innocent of the offense charged. The offense was striking down a woman and robbing her of \$2.30. The woman was at her work next day as usual."⁶⁹¹

⁶⁸⁸ Meier, 72-73.

⁶⁸⁹ *Journal*, 28 May 1892, p.2.

⁶⁹⁰ *Gazette*, 19 August 1893, p.2.

⁶⁹¹ *Gazette*, 14 October 1893, p.2.

Conclusion

As has been argued, Rudd's Catholicism allowed the editor to imagine an equitable and harmonious society free from race prejudice. As will become obvious in the next chapter, Rudd also addressed domestic justice questions of concern more generally to nineteenth century Americans, Catholics and Protestants alike. Similarly, Rudd's "cry for justice" led the editor to stake out positions on international justice questions. In the next chapter, I will examine Rudd's "cry for justice" as it relates to concerns beyond the pale of race justice for African Americans.

Chapter VII

Beyond Concerns of Race Justice

Chapter Introduction

In chapters five and six, I examined how Rudd's vision of justice was embodied in a number of race questions of interest to blacks in the late nineteenth century. But Rudd's ecclesiologically-centered vision of justice and his commitment to the "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man" led him to imagine a harmonious, global society, free from the exploitation of any group of individuals. More precisely, in this chapter, I will show how Rudd's "cry for justice" reached beyond the editor's campaign for racial equality for African Americans. Evidence from the *ACT* reveals that Rudd was concerned with the quest for women's rights. He was also concerned over the exploitation of laborers. As a member of the Catholic Church, the editor was aware of the injustices being faced by this American religious minority, and so, addressed issues including the school question. As intimated above, Rudd's campaign for justice and full equality had a global aspect. For example, Rudd supported the restoration of the temporal authority of the pope. He also spoke out for home rule for Ireland, and condemned the injustices facing peoples of color both in Africa, and Latin America.

In the first section of this chapter, I will examine how Rudd's campaign for justice affected his position on domestic issues of concern to nineteenth century Americans. These issues will be addressed under three headings, Gender Justice, the School Question, and finally Economic Justice. An attempt will be made to arrange these

headings in a chronological order based on the order they were emphasized by Rudd in the *ACT*. As will become apparent, Rudd spent more editorial ink on the school question and on economic justice issues, than he did addressing issues that might be placed under the heading of gender justice.

In the latter half of this chapter it will become apparent that Rudd's "cry for justice" addressed important questions beyond the borders of the United States. These international justice concerns will be addressed under three headings, Justice for Ireland, the Temporal Authority of the Pope, and the Exploitation of People of Color beyond the U.S.

I. Women and Justice: 1887-1888 Emphasis

A Woman's Proper Sphere

After the close of the American Revolution a new era of proscriptive pronouncements governing women was ushered in.⁶⁹² Barbara Welter has described the "cult of true womanhood" as it served to provide a model for the ideal woman of the nineteenth century. This ideal woman was to be characterized by four virtues; piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity. Anyone tampering with this construct was deemed an enemy of God, civilization and the republic. Moreover, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, much of the literature of the era reinforced the notion that the place of the woman was by her own fireside.⁶⁹³ From this vantage point, the true, pious woman

⁶⁹² James J. Kenneally, *The History of American Catholic Women* (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 13.

⁶⁹³ In Penny Edgell's Becker's study of gender ideology in the *Ave Maria* from 1865-1889, she has pointed out that about one-third of the articles on women produce "alternative interpretations" that are critical of the "official ideology" of the "True Catholic Woman." Despite this fact, more traditional views of the place of the woman in society can be found in church writings of the period including Cardinal Gibbon's, *Our Christian Heritage*, published in 1889, a book which was reported to have sold over 170,000 copies. Penny Edgell Becker, "Rational Amusement and Sound Instruction": Constructing the True Catholic Woman in the *Ave Maria*, 1865-1889," *Religion and American Culture* 8, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 55-90; James Cardinal Gibbons, *Our Christian Heritage* (Baltimore: John Murphy and Company, 1889).

could instruct her children and bring her men back to God.⁶⁹⁴ Those ascribing to this role for the ideal woman often viewed women's suffrage to be potentially harmful to the family as well as to society.⁶⁹⁵

The social norms governing the proper role of the woman in society were part of a wider domestic ideology which was espoused by a large segment of nineteenth century Americans, Catholic and Protestant alike. One important proponent of Catholic domestic ideology was Bernard O'Reilly whose *Mirror of True Womanhood* (1876) went through seventeen editions by 1892. In its pages, the author communicated the beliefs held by many Catholics during the late nineteenth century.⁶⁹⁶

The woman, according to O'Reilly, was the more spiritual of the two sexes. He believed that women were endowed with unlimited power for good and evil. This power was to be brought to bear in the home. The home, according to O'Reilly, was the woman's God-appointed sphere of influence, a place where the true woman could be queen and become a saint. She was to be the mistress and sovereign there, and not only because of the nature of things, but because of the supremacy of her goodness. If the woman's proper sphere of influence was the home, then she was often discouraged from taking an active public role in society. On one occasion, O'Reilly wrote, "No woman animated by the Spirit of her Baptism...ever fancied that she had or could have any other sphere of duty or activity than that home which is he domain, her garden, her paradise, her world."⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹⁴ Jay P. Dolan, *In Search of American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 124.

⁶⁹⁵ Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2, part 1 (Summer 1966): 151-174.

⁶⁹⁶ Kenneally, 3-4.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Though O'Reilly may have been opposed by some writers...His was the majority opinion. During the Civil War, suffragists seeking a sphere of influence beyond the home including were opposed not only by members of the Catholic hierarchy, but also by prominent Catholic women including Ellen Ewing Sherman, wife of General William T. Sherman and Madeline Vinton Dahlgren, wife of Admiral John Dahlgren.⁶⁹⁸ James J. Kenneally seems to be correct in his assertion that many Catholics retained a more traditional and circumscribed view of the ideal woman even as Protestants, during this period, gradually adopted more "reasonable sentiments" with regard to the proper role of the woman in society.⁶⁹⁹

Despite widely held Protestant convictions about the "Cult of True Womanhood", creative and visionary women in the Catholic Church had for years been assuming roles not traditionally ascribed to them. For example, Elizabeth Lange, a Haitian immigrant who arrived in the U.S. in about 1817, joined forces with Fr. Jacques Nicolas Joubert de la Muraille and together they established a black religious community in Maryland, the Oblate Sisters of Providence.⁷⁰⁰ Similarly, heiress Katherine Drexel's vision and commitment to missions did much to promote missions among blacks and Native Americans in the United States. Moreover, women who assumed religious vows, despite their willingness to submit to male authority, challenged assumptions about the proper sphere of the woman. Whereas the ideal woman of the nineteenth century was viewed as a paragon of piety and was expected to find her fulfillment in marriage and house keeping, those who took religious vows were among the most liberated in America.

⁶⁹⁸Gibbons, 363; 56 "American Catholic Women," in *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*.

⁶⁹⁹ Kenneally, 13.

⁷⁰⁰ See Diane Batts Morrow, *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: the Oblate Sisters of Providence 1828-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

Many were self supporting, owned property, became well educated, and were otherwise free from the dominance of a husband and the responsibility of motherhood.⁷⁰¹

Gender and the Romantic Apologetic for Catholicism

The Romantic apologetic for Catholicism was applied to the history of women by Catholic leaders. In James Cardinal Gibbon's *Our Christian Heritage*, for example, one finds a typical expression of the church's position vis à vis the elevation of the woman in Western society. Gibbons argued that in Greek culture the woman was kept in "perpetual bondage" and "unending slavery." Similarly, he stated that in almost every nation of antiquity she was regarded as a "slave", an "instrument of man's passions" rather than his equal. Further, he affirmed, "Every impartial student of history is forced to admit that woman is indebted to the Catholic religion for the elevated station she enjoys today in family and social life."⁷⁰²

Other Catholic writers including, for example, William P. Cantwell, embraced this historical hermeneutic vis à vis the position of women in nineteenth century society. Writing for the *Catholic World*, Cantwell declared that Christianity had raised the woman from the low station to which paganism held her, and had elevated her "social status" and afforded her "legal emancipation."⁷⁰³

Cardinal Gibbons wrote that women were the "peer of man in origin and destiny, in redemption by the blood of Christ, and in the participation of His spiritual gifts."⁷⁰⁴ Despite the equality implicit in the above citation, Gibbons subsequently

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., 43. The "True Catholic Woman" ideology made a place for women in the convent. It was assumed, however, that these same pious women would submit to male superiors with the same respect and deference a woman was to give her spouse. Religious women, however, did not always manage this.

⁷⁰² Gibbons, 360-361.

⁷⁰³ William P. Cantwell, "Woman in Early Christianity and During the Middle Ages," *Catholic World* XLV (September 1887):818.

⁷⁰⁴ Gibbons, 361.

clarified his position. He argued that women, though they possess equal rights, do not necessarily possess “similar” rights. Following this logic, Gibbons attempted to establish a distinct, albeit limited, sphere of influence for women. “To restrict her field of action to the gentler vocations of life is not to fetter her aspirations after the higher and the better,” he added. Granting a woman “supereminent” rights instead of mere “equal” rights, would endow her with a “sacred influence in her own proper sphere.” Gibbons further observed that when women “trench on the domain of man” they should not be surprised if the honor once afforded them be diminished. Gibbons concluded by positing “the noblest work given to woman is to take care of her children.”⁷⁰⁵ This same sentiment is echoed by William P. Cantwell who wrote, “Woman is forcing herself out of her sphere, and precipitating a conflict which must hurl her back into the slough from which Christianity raised her.”⁷⁰⁶

The Emergence of the “New Woman”

The last two decades of the nineteenth century were marked by conflict over the emergence of the concept of the “new woman.” The “new woman,” educated and middle class, attended college, became involved in clubs, settlement houses and politics.⁷⁰⁷ During this same period, women in large numbers began entering professions once held exclusively by males. Similarly, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, women worked to secure the right to vote. By the 1890s, traditional domestic ideology concerning the role of the woman in society was slowly giving way as women both inside and outside the Catholic Church asserted their rights.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰⁵ Gibbons, 363, 371.

⁷⁰⁶ Cantwell, 821.

⁷⁰⁷ Dolan, 117.

⁷⁰⁸ Angell and Pinn, 266.

During this same transitional period, African American women across the denominational spectrum worked to win their rights as citizens and to gain a voice in their respective churches. For example, Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, in her study of the National Baptist Convention, has detailed the influence African American women had on the development of the black Baptist church. She argued that women contributed in varied but significant ways in the black church's quest for justice. They worked not only to eliminate racism from society, but they also sought to end gender discrimination as well. In the process, women formed separate female conventions at the state, local and national levels. These women advocated voting rights, equal employment, and educational opportunities. During this same period, women authored a biblically based theology which affirmed the value of women. In addition, in the late nineteenth century, women made up the overwhelming majority of the teachers serving black pupils in schools across the South.⁷⁰⁹

In the A.M.E. Church, women also began exerting their rights as individuals. In the last few decades of the nineteenth century, some black women entered ministry. For example, Amanda Berry Smith (1837-1915), was perhaps the best known black woman evangelist of her era. Despite an 1884 ruling forbidding the ordination of women in the A.M.E. Church, some women became ministers. Women also made their influence felt by their work on women's missionary societies which were established in congregations around the country. Other female groups that exerted influence on the A.M.E. Church

⁷⁰⁹ Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Woman's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 2, 42, 67, 149.

were the Women's Mite Missionary Society and the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society.⁷¹⁰

Justice for Women

By the 1890s, members of the laity as well as some church leaders including Archbishop John Ireland and Bishop John Lancaster Spalding (1840-1916), Bishop of Peoria, were challenging more traditional limitations placed on women in society.⁷¹¹ Though Rudd at times did publish articles and exchanges that echoed more traditional views about the "True Catholic Woman," he seems to have been more sympathetic with church leaders who pushed for greater rights and for an expanded sphere of influence for women.

There is at least one article published in the *ACT*, however, which articulates a more traditional view as to the proper role women were to assume in society. In May 1888, Rudd published an exchange from the Philadelphia *Standard* which stated its opposition to women serving as church officers or on church councils. This same exchange, further argued that society was losing all sense of the fact that the woman had "a special sphere of action and a special duty to perform." The writer also bemoaned the fact that women were clamoring to take up occupations once limited to males including, among others, medicine, law and politics. The article further reasoned that women had no right to move beyond their proper sphere of activity because this could be done only by neglecting their husbands and children.⁷¹²

Though Rudd did print the above article articulating this more conservative position vis à vis gender equality and the proper role to be played by the woman in

⁷¹⁰ Angell and Pinn, 267-268.

⁷¹¹ Dolan, 123.

⁷¹² "Women's Rights and Duties," *ACT*, 25 May 1888, p.1.

society, nowhere in the *ACT* did he take ownership of it. In fact, in many issues of the newspaper, Rudd seems to have celebrated the fact that women were successfully assuming roles traditionally held by males. For example, In May 1887, Rudd mentioned the exploits of a teenage woman who had taken the place of a man in the log woods and thereafter held her own, despite the difficult and inclimate conditions.⁷¹³ In July 1887, Rudd claimed the wife of John Murray of Pennsylvania was as good a blacksmith as he.⁷¹⁴ In this same month, he claimed, the best horseman in Massachusetts was, in fact, a woman.⁷¹⁵ In October 1889, Rudd informed his readers that a young woman, Mary Alexander, had scored higher on the civil service exam than anyone to date.⁷¹⁶ In September 1891, Rudd praised the fine job being done by the female professors at Butler University in Indiana.⁷¹⁷ Similarly, in March 1894, the editor of the *ACT* printed an exchange portraying the wives of France's entrepreneurs as the real brains and vitality behind the businesses of their husbands.⁷¹⁸

Given the lack of editorial comment from Rudd on gender issues, clues as to Rudd's stand on the question of women's rights must be discerned primarily from the exchanges printed in the *ACT*. For example, in July 1887, Rudd published a lecture delivered by Mary Britton, an African American journalist from Kentucky. In this lecture, Britton argued that women like their male counterparts were uniquely gifted from birth by God. They by right, according to Britton, should make use of this giftedness beyond the sphere of the home and not "merely content themselves with rearing talented

⁷¹³ "Current Topics," *ACT*, 20 May 1887, p.1.

⁷¹⁴ "Current Topics," *ACT*, 1 July 1887, p.1.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁶ "Current Topics," *ACT*, 26 October 1889, p.1.

⁷¹⁷ "In Women's Behalf," *ACT*, 12 September 1891, p.1.

⁷¹⁸ *ACT*, 8 March 1894, p.4.

children.” Britton also argued, “every human being has a right to mark out his or her own destiny, subject only to those restraints of society which are applied to all alike.” Further, Britton pointed out that those in the church who were guilty of subjecting women to a lesser position had “studiously avoided Christ and made much of Paul.” She explained, “Christ inaugurated the reform [sic] and its progress has been the long continued efforts in Europe and America to rid the statute books of laws, made in the sole interests of men, and denying to wives and mothers their just rights.” Further, she defended women’s suffrage, declaring it “a potent agency in public reforms.” Britton concluded, “Taxation without representation” is “tyranny.”⁷¹⁹

Evidence from the *ACT* reveals the fact that Rudd was sympathetic to Britton’s position with regard to the woman’s role in society, including her position on voting rights. Rudd called Britton a “talented young lady and rising journalist.”⁷²⁰ Rudd also appreciated the work of suffragist Mrs. Judge Ruffin.⁷²¹ In March 1888, Rudd wrote,

The ladies of the Bay State have a powerful advocate of woman suffrage in the person of Mrs. Judge Ruffin. She discusses all questions pertaining to the subject in a manner that shows that she has given the matter much consideration. She and Miss Britton of Lexington, Ky., would make a whole team for the female voters of the hub city. The women up this way are getting very tired being help-mates to men. They are sighing for a change.⁷²²

Suffrage for Women

The rise of American feminism can be traced to the reform movements of the 1830’s and 1840’s. These were in turn generated by the Second Great Awakening

⁷¹⁹ “Woman’s Suffrage,” *ACT*, 22 July 1887, p.1.

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷²¹ This appears to be the wife of George L. Ruffin. The Ruffin Club was named after this African American Judge from Massachusetts.

⁷²² *ACT*, 30 March 1888, p.2.

following the Civil War. Many in American society believed that by promoting woman suffrage American politics would be elevated to a higher plane. Though the Catholic Church took no official position, it was primarily Catholic clergymen who assumed an outspoken anti-suffragist position. Protestant clergymen, on the other hand, were often more willing to support women's suffrage than any other male group.⁷²³

Rudd also appears to have supported women's suffrage. In December 1890, Rudd printed an exchange from the *Chicago Tribune* discussing the declining number of female voters in Boston. Rudd went on to declare that the reason for this waning of interest was the misuse of the ballot on the part of a population seeking to "sweep 'Romanism' from the famed American Athens." This they could not do, according to Rudd, because of the wisely cast votes of Catholic women. Rudd went on to declare his conviction that women were "no more, nor less, intelligent than men." He stated that he would not object to women voting. He further declared, "we understand the constitution of the United States, they have that right."⁷²⁴

Again in February 1890, Rudd published an article entitled "Sex Prejudice." The author of this exchange made the case for women's suffrage, further reasoning that a woman should be allowed to enter any field of her choosing. "Nor should the school teacher, clerk or saleswoman have to deduct a discount from her salary merely because she is a woman," the author concluded.⁷²⁵

Rudd's support of the franchise for women placed him in company with more liberal American bishops including Bishop John Lancaster Spalding and Archbishop John

⁷²³ J.M. Craig, "Women's Suffrage Movement," *Dictionary of Christianity in America* pp. 1267-1268.

⁷²⁴ *ACT*, 6 December 1890, p.2.

⁷²⁵ "Sex Prejudice," *ACT*, 22 February 1890, p.3.

Ireland.⁷²⁶ Similarly, Rudd's position in some ways mirrors the editorial stand expressed by Detroit's leading black newspaper, the *Plaindealer*. In March 1890, for example, the editor of the *Plaindealer* wrote, "Those who oppose woman suffrage are using the same argument that was used against the Afro-American when it was proposed to give him the right of suffrage..." This same editor pointed out that women had higher graduation rates and that their "average moral character" and "mental equipment" were "above men," implying that women were more qualified to vote than their male counterparts.⁷²⁷

If the editor of the *ACT* refused to forthrightly distance himself from the idea that the primary role of the woman was to manage her home, he seems to have been equally convinced of her ability to contribute to the broader society. For example, Rudd printed an exchange in February 1890, decrying the art craze among homemakers. The writer claimed, "The average American housewife can put her house in order, and minister to the needs of husband and children, read a dissertation on social reform or political economy, acquaint herself with congressional and legislative news" and spend less time decorating the home.⁷²⁸ In the same issue, Rudd printed an exchange from the *Queen Bee*. It read, "Do not be afraid if your wife votes that you will loose your cook. The chances are that she may conduct a scientific cooking-school and feed you upon the results."⁷²⁹ Further, in August 1890, the editor of the *ACT* printed an exchange which made the case that women should use their "moral sweetness and purity—to sweeten not only the home but society and government as well."⁷³⁰

⁷²⁶ "American Catholic Women," in *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*. 56.

⁷²⁷ *Plaindealer*, 24 March 1893, p.4.

⁷²⁸ "In Woman's Behalf," *ACT*, 22 February 1890, p.3.

⁷²⁹ "Notes for Woman Readers," *ACT*, 22 February 1890, p.3.

⁷³⁰ "How to Cure Social Ills," *ACT*, 23 1890, p.2.

With regard to questions concerning the proper role a woman should assume in society, Rudd seems to have adopted a stance closely allied with progressive Catholic women including among others, F.C. Farinholt, Mary L. Spellissy, and Katherine Mullaney. Spellissy, for example, argued the wife who “conforms her life to the couplet in Don Quixote and stays at home as if she were lame, is in danger of becoming morbid and a dullard, an uncongenial companion to her husband and an incapable as an advisor to her children.”⁷³¹ The afore-mentioned female Catholic activists promoted an equality that called for a larger role for women in society. Among them were those who believed society would benefit from allowing women to vote. For example, Mary A. Dowd, bolstered by Archbishop John Ireland’s address given at the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union gathering in Chicago in September 1893, argued that the evils threatening home made it necessary for women to exercise the franchise.⁷³²

If the editor did espouse a relatively enlightened position on gender equality, his decision not to seat women delegates at the first Colored Catholic Congress held in Washington, D.C. in January, 1889, remains problematic. Rudd wrote prior to the congress, “While in the Call there is no clause prohibiting the attendance of female delegates, yet we do not believe its signers thought it advisable to have women delegates at this, the initial meeting.” He intimated that the signers expected “the different sodalities and other societies of ladies would be represented by their spiritual directors or by other of their gentlemen well-wishers.”⁷³³

Rudd and the congressional organizer’s decision not to seat women delegates is unremarkable for the time period in question. For example, the German Central Verein

⁷³¹ “The Public Rights of Women,” *Catholic World* LIX (June 1894): 305, 314-315.

⁷³² *Ibid.*

⁷³³ *ACT*, 24 November 1888, p.2.

founded in 1855, was led by men until the creation of the German women's auxiliary in 1916.⁷³⁴ Similarly, the first meeting of the Catholic lay congress held in Baltimore in November 1889, had no female leadership or delegate representation.⁷³⁵ Finally, the National Baptist Convention (NBC), U.S.A. formed in 1895, allowed the male delegates to represent black Baptist women until 1900; it was then that the Women's Convention of the NBC was formed.⁷³⁶

Though the decision to permit only male delegates to be seated at the Colored Catholic Congress gatherings was unremarkable, it is possible that Rudd and the other organizers were reluctant to seat women delegates because it may have been objectionable to members of the Catholic hierarchy like Gibbons and Elder. Rudd needed the approval of church leaders to carry out the congresses, and it is reasonable to assume that he would have attempted to avoid any unnecessary controversy. Whatever the reason, the decision not to seat women delegates at this important gathering demonstrates the fact that the ideal society called forth by an acknowledgement of the "Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood Man," did not always fully consider the aspirations of one half of humanity.

II. The School Question: An 1890-1891 Emphasis

Catholics and Protestants on Education

Speaking of the public school question, John T. McGreevy has pointed out that no issue in post-Civil War America so quickly "generated both anti-Catholicism and

⁷³⁴ Phillip Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers: German American Catholics and the Social Order* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), 23, 183. The name of this women's organization was the National Catholic Women's Union.

⁷³⁵ *Souvenir Volume of Three Great Events in the History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (Detroit, Michigan, 1889; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978).

⁷³⁶ Higginbotham, 6-8.

Catholic belligerence...”⁷³⁷ In 1884, America’s Catholic bishops formalized the Congregatio de Propaganda instructions requiring Catholic parents to educate their offspring in Catholic schools.⁷³⁸ On the other hand, many liberal national leaders viewed education as the means by which to produce loyal citizens. These same national leaders discerned no sectarian bias in the manner in which liberal education was promoted in the United States. According to McGreevy, however, the American educational system often contained an inherent anti-Catholic animus.⁷³⁹

Catholics objected to the “non-sectarian” religion being promulgated in American public schools. Similarly, Catholics opposed the use of the King James Bible. They also resented the fact that Catholic children in public schools were forced to recite a Protestant version of the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount.⁷⁴⁰ Moreover, many believed that the “watered down” “lowest-common-denominator” form of Protestantism promulgated in public school classrooms was simply not potent enough to stave off the significant threat posed to society by “materialism,” “formal unbelief” and “secularism.”⁷⁴¹ As McGreevy has pointed out, by the early 1870s, many intellectuals in the United States had more or less given up on using the public schools to teach religion.⁷⁴²

As an active member of the Catholic press, Rudd did not fail to raise a voice of protest any time he believed his co-religionists were being treated unfairly. Catholics had long viewed themselves as victims of systematic discrimination on the issue of tax-

⁷³⁷ McGreevy, 112.

⁷³⁸ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

⁷⁴¹ O’Connell, 291.

⁷⁴² McGreevy, 115.

supported schools. Because of mandatory readings from the King James Version of the Bible and with the prominent role played in the administration of public schools by Protestants, Catholics viewed these schools as “centers of proselytization.”⁷⁴³

A survey of publications of the period reveals that Catholics viewed the school question to be a pressing issue of justice. For example, Morgan Sheedy contributed an article to the *Catholic World*, in August 1889, entitled “The School Question: A Plea for Justice.” In this article, Sheedy articulated the main tenets of the Catholic position on the school question. He argued that it was a “natural and divine right” for parents to educate their children. He further argued that to offer an education that was either godless or beholden to an “indefinite Christianity” in a nation of Christians was a position that “ought to be impossible of acceptance.” Sheedy argued that it would be unfair to create a system where “exclusive control and enjoyment of the school funds” was delegated to one class of the community. He also explained that forcing Catholics to pay for the education of their own children as well as taxing them to support public schools from which they derived no benefit was “practically a double system of taxation.” The existing system of education which put much of the cost of public education on the backs of Catholics was, according to Sheedy “the grossest injustice, to use a rather mild term.”⁷⁴⁴

A Debate within the Catholic Community on the School Question

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, immigrants greatly increased the numbers of American Catholics. This influx of new members led to debates as to the best way to accommodate their needs. The debate over how to best care for the needs of these newly arrived immigrants was a principle concern for the Third Plenary Council of

⁷⁴³ O’Connell, 291.

⁷⁴⁴ Morgan M. Sheedy, “The School Question: A Plea For Justice,” *The Catholic World* XLIX (August 1889): 647-655.

Baltimore in 1884. One strategy for serving the needs of the immigrants was to provide a system of parochial schools.⁷⁴⁵

The school question was debated among Catholics in the United States who disagreed as to what extent the church should adapt to American culture. On the one hand, Archbishop John Ireland and the Americanists believed that immigrants should be mainstreamed into American society. On the other, Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan and his conservative allies remained skeptical of American culture and the advisability of the church accommodating it. While Archbishop Ireland and Bishop John J. Keane believed the future of Catholicism was more promising in America than in the tradition-bound states of Europe, conservatives including German Catholics took a “less sanguine” view of American society and its compatibility to Catholicism.⁷⁴⁶

This same debate spilled over into discussions about the public school system. Conservatives like Bishop Bernard McQuaid (1823-1909), of Rochester, New York, were outspoken advocates of independent parochial schools.⁷⁴⁷ Moreover, Germans who sought to preserve their language and culture in their new home envisioned the parochial school as a means to this end. Similarly, Irish conservatives would have opposed the support of public schools because many believed that public schools promoted religious indifference. European conservative Catholics would have found the use of public schools untenable because of their objection to the claim that the state rather than families possessed the preeminent right to educate its youth.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁵ W.L. Portier, “Americanism,” *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1990), 53-56.

⁷⁴⁶ Gleason, 78. See also 97. David O’Brien, “Americanism,” *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*.

⁷⁴⁷ O’Connell, 299.

⁷⁴⁸ Gerald P. Fogarty S.J., *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy From 1870 to 1965* (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier Inc., 1982), 65-66; Gleason, 36.

On the other hand, liberal American Catholics led by Archbishop Ireland did not view the public school as necessarily hostile to the faith. Ireland, for example, proposed a compromise with the state school system, an agreement modeled on the “Poughkeepsie Plan,” a plan which made the state financially responsible for the secular training of all students. Religion instructors would then enter these schools after regular hours and instruct students based on their religious affiliation.⁷⁴⁹

Archbishop Ireland had proposed his controversial ideas about the potential for a partnership between the state and religious schools in a speech he delivered before the National Education Association on July 10, 1890, in St. Paul. This speech was entitled “The State School and the Parish School- Is Union between them Impossible?” In the same address, Ireland proposed that the state pay for the “secular” instruction of those students in private religious schools as well as public.⁷⁵⁰

Ireland had given this speech during the same week the Colored Catholic Congress was gathered in its second meeting in Cincinnati. In fact, it is possible that Ireland’s commitment to speak before the teacher’s convention in St. Paul on July 10, 1890, is what kept the prelate from traveling to the Colored Catholic Congress, meeting the same day in Cincinnati. It is reasonable to assume that Ireland’s school speech received little coverage in the *ACT* because the July and early August issues of Rudd’s newspaper were occupied with reporting the details of the second Colored Catholic Congress.

⁷⁴⁹ Subsequently, in 1891, Ireland instituted a similar plan in the communities of Faribault and Stillwater Minnesota. The plan was known as the “Faribault Plan.” Robert Leckie, *American and Catholic* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1970), 240; O’Connell, 291.

⁷⁵⁰ O’Connell, 298.

Approximately six weeks after Ireland's school speech, Rudd did chide the editor of the *Catholic Journal of the New South*, or *Adam* for his omission of both Ireland's speech on social equality, as well as his school speech. Following Ireland's school speech the *Adam* of Memphis declared, "Archbishop Ireland raised a hornet's nest around his ears by his recent utterances regarding a solution to the Negro problem, but it is nothing to the storm that his address at St. Paul on the school question aroused." Rudd responded, "And we regret to say that our esteemed Southern contemporary did not publish the words of the great Archbishop on either question."⁷⁵¹ These above references make it appear that Rudd had no objections with those who favored an Americanist, assimilationist approach to the school question.

Similarly, Rudd published a speech given by Americanist, Bishop John Keane in March 1890. In this speech, Keane proposed that instead of "minimizing" Christianity in the school system in order to make it acceptable to those "who have the least faith," a plan should be developed which would allow the state's to have full control over secular training but allow each religious group to teach "Christianity freely and fully."⁷⁵² This proposal coming from one in the liberal, Americanist camp drew no criticism from Rudd.

Rudd's apparent excitement over Ireland and the Americanist approach to the school issue did not translate into opposition against anti-assimilationist Catholics who remained skeptical of America's public school system. In 1889, Wisconsin passed the Bennett Law. This legislation mandated compulsory school attendance for children between the ages of eight and fourteen. It also mandated that classes be taught in English. Those most aggrieved over the passage of this anti-Catholic school legislation were the

⁷⁵¹ *ACT*, 23 August 1890, p.2.

⁷⁵² "Moral Education," *ACT*, 8 March 1890, p.1.

anti-assimilationists who had little use for the public schools. Moreover, because the above provision would have expedited the assimilation of the children of newly arrived immigrants, Archbishop Ireland would have had little trouble with many of the provisions of the law. Conversely, Archbishop Michael Heiss (1818-1890) of Milwaukee, and Bishops Kilian Flasch (1831-1891), of the diocese of LaCrosse, and Fredrick Katzer (1844-1903), who would also serve as Archbishop of Milwaukee, joined forces with Lutherans in decrying the legislation.⁷⁵³

It will be recalled that Rudd had developed a positive relationship with members of the German Verein in the early years of his newspaper's publication. Rudd's strong renunciation of the Bennett Law evidences the fact that he saw no redeeming value in the legislation. Rudd wrote, "The Bennett law is well understood as the tail-end of Boston bigotry that has been switching around the western side of Lake Michigan, hunting for a delayed blizzard." Though it is conjecture, it is possible that Rudd's comment on the "delayed blizzard" is a coy slight at Ireland's delayed condemnation of the Bennett Law.⁷⁵⁴ In short, Rudd seems to have been pulled in two directions on the Bennett Law. Though he was a fan of Ireland and his proposals regarding the elimination of the color line, he was nonetheless sympathetic to Catholics who wanted to maintain their own religious schools.

Rudd, Justice and the School Question

If Rudd cannot be definitively located in the assimilationist camp or the anti-assimilationist camp with regard to the school question, what were his views on the school question? Rudd clearly believed that all school children should receive a Christian

⁷⁵³ O'Connell, 292.

⁷⁵⁴ *ACT*, 20 September 1890, p.2.

education. Rudd responding to a speech given by Rev. S. F. Scovel, president of Wooster College, wrote,

Catholics are not the only people in the world, who are pleading and demanding a Christian education for their children in this country...If this Republic is to stand, its children must have a good, practical, moral education, that is given hand in hand with the physical and intellectual. To teach correct morals entirely outside of the principals of Christianity is impossible. Therefore children should have a Christian education.⁷⁵⁵

Rudd would have agreed with Catholic Americans who overwhelmingly opposed secularized schools, schools which they believed advanced “civic virtue” divorced from Christianity.⁷⁵⁶ The editor of the *ACT* further believed that the church should by right play an essential role in the moral education of children. Rudd, for example, printed an exchange contributed by Fr. William Mullheron of Auburn, New York. In this article, Mullheron found reason to lay the blame for many of society’s ills at the feet of those who excluded God from the classroom and divorced religion from education. Among these ills was the increase in divorce and crime rates, the increase in the number of incidents of suicide and insanity, as well as an increase in the number of cases of “loathsome immorality.”⁷⁵⁷

In July 1891, Rudd published the sermon of John Mackey, his former associate editor, a sermon which was delivered at the laying of the corner-stone of the Holy Cross School in Cincinnati. In his homily, Mackey alluded to the injustices perpetrated by Ohio’s educational system on the state’s Christian population. He further emphasized the

⁷⁵⁵ *ACT*, 23 August 1890, p.2.

⁷⁵⁶ O’Connell, 292.

⁷⁵⁷“The School Question,” *ACT*, 8 December 1888, p.1.

importance of religion and virtue in the education of a child. Like Sheedy, Mackey believed the current public education system bred crime.⁷⁵⁸

In Rudd's editorial, published in this same edition of the *ACT*, the editor offered qualified support for Mackey's views. Though he agreed with the main tenets of Mackey's argument, Rudd did not agree with Mackey's claim that the two major political parties would avoid the divisive school issue in the upcoming gubernatorial election. Rudd argued that Governor James Campbell (1843-1924), thirty-eighth Governor of Ohio, and William McKinley, who would also become Governor of Ohio in 1891, and subsequently the twenty-fifth president of the United States, were courageous men. He further declared that he, himself, would send the gubernatorial candidates marked copies of the *ACT*, "that they may know that the Catholic body in the State of Ohio, as well as in the nation, demands the equal rights for which Reverend Father so manfully contends." In this same editorial response, Rudd wrote, "Rampant bigotry and intolerance are on the run, we purpose to keep these evils going, until the sense of justice and fairness of the people have righted the wrong that weighs so heavily upon the honest and intelligent Catholic portion of Ohio's citizenship."⁷⁵⁹

Many of the skirmishes in the battle over the school question occurred in the city of Boston. In 1888, Rudd attacked Massachusetts's officials because he believed they were treating the city's Catholic population unfairly. Rudd labeled these state officials "puritanical bigots." Further, he observed that their policies were opposed by Catholics and "all fair minded men of every denomination" on the "broad grounds of constitutional

⁷⁵⁸ "Corner Stone Blessing," *ACT*, 25 July 1891, p.1.

⁷⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

justice.”⁷⁶⁰ When the Detroit *Plaindealer*, praised the Protestants of Boston for their position on the school question, the editor of the *ACT* fired back. Rudd reminded his counterpart from Detroit, “One half of the population of the city of Boston are Catholics. Have they no right to say what shall and what shall not be taught in the schools for which the[y] pay to support.” Rudd further pointed out that the “American spirit,” lauded by the *Plaindealer*, was the same spirit which “debased and robbed the Negro” holding him “beneath every other race under the sun.”⁷⁶¹

With regard to the school question, Rudd argued that “parents have rights with which the state cannot interfere.”⁷⁶² He pointed out that it was a “well known fact” that “large classes of people” were paying taxes for schools they could “not in good conscience use.”⁷⁶³ He further claimed, “The foolish idea that children may be brought up to a high sense of moral manhood and womanhood, without having gone through a thorough and constant course of instruction in morals, while the other faculties are being trained, is sheerest nonsense.”⁷⁶⁴ Addressing the editor of the Springfield *State Capital* of Illinois, Rudd wrote, “If the readers of our contemporary will but follow the advice of the Catholic Church, and see that no obstacles are thrown in the way of the moral education of children, it would be unnecessary within even another year to ask, “what shall we do with our children.”⁷⁶⁵ In August 1890, Rudd wrote, “If this Republic is to stand, its children must have good, practical, moral education, that is given hand in hand with the physical and intellectual.”⁷⁶⁶

⁷⁶⁰ *ACT*, 18 April 1888, p.2.

⁷⁶¹ *ACT*, 31 August 1888, p.2.

⁷⁶² “The Parochial School,” *ACT*, 22 August 1891, p.2.

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁵ *ACT*, 4 April 1891, p.2.

⁷⁶⁶ *ACT*, 23 August 1890, p.2.

Rudd believed it impossible to “teach correct morals entirely outside of the principals [sic] of Christianity”⁷⁶⁷ Rudd believed that Catholics were being double taxed because they were forced to support the public school system, a system they could not in good conscience use. In October 1887, Rudd answered a *Commercial Gazette* article which proposed that the Catholic Church was attempting to “superced” [sic] common schools by establishing educational institutions in which theology would “occupy a prominent place.” Rudd argued that Catholics merely wanted to educate their children “in their own way.” He further reminded the newspaper’s editor that Catholics “pay a very large portion of the school tax, from which they derive little benefit.”⁷⁶⁸ Similarly, in response to an exchange from the *American Baptist*, Rudd declared that the African Americans living in Lexington, Kentucky, who had chosen to send their children to the Catholic school operated by the Sisters of Charity, were, in fact, paying more in school taxes than their black Baptist counterparts.⁷⁶⁹

Rudd as a Black Catholic

Though Rudd espoused a Catholic viewpoint concerning the need for religious training, this did not stop him from condemning the race discrimination affecting the nation’s institutions of learning. In fact, Rudd drew parallels between the discrimination suffered by Catholics, and that suffered by African Americans. On one occasion Rudd wrote,

Let us define the injustice. Catholics are taxed to support the public schools whether they use them or not; this is the law and but little complaint is made, yet it is not just. The colored people are taxed and receive a benefit. But what right has the State to take money from both of

⁷⁶⁷ *ACT*, 23 August 1890, p.2.

⁷⁶⁸ *ACT*, 21 October 1887, p.2.

⁷⁶⁹ *ACT*, 20 October 1888, p.2.

these classes, and classes they are, and then refuse to give colored teachers places simply because they are colored?⁷⁷⁰

It should be further noted, that Rudd's support of the Catholic position on the school question did not silence his criticism of the Catholic educational system. For example, in August 1891, Rudd distinguished two "defects" in the operation of Catholic schools. The first involved the lack of a "common system of management;" the second, involved the fact that these same schools were not "open to all races alike."⁷⁷¹

Though Rudd and his white Catholic counterparts shared many similar convictions vis à vis the nation's education system, there were significant points of departure. For example, Rudd like many of his black Republican peers supported the Blair Federal Aid to Education Bill. This proposed legislation, drafted by Senate Republican Henry Blair of New Hampshire, protected the political rights of African Americans and at the same time provided federal aid to improve the nation's schools, especially in the South.⁷⁷² Rudd's contemporary at the *Cleveland Gazette*, Harry Smith, editorialized upon the proposed legislation in November 1889. He wrote,

The *Gazette* has so often spoken in favor of the Blair Education Bill, which will come before the Fifty-first Congress with better chances of passing than ever in its history, that its readers are familiar with its stand in favor of this great measure to secure national aid to education, particularly in the South....Education for the masses, both white and colored, in the South is the thing most needed to bring about a change for the better in every avenue of Southern life.⁷⁷³

Rudd, like Smith, favored Senator Blair's legislation. For example, in August 1887, the National Colored Press Association met in Louisville, Kentucky. During this meeting, Rudd proposed a resolution. Rudd began this resolution "Whereas, the census of

⁷⁷⁰ *ACT*, 20 September 1890, p.2.

⁷⁷¹ *ACT*, 22 August 1891, p.2.

⁷⁷² Meier, 22.

⁷⁷³ *Gazette*, 30 November 1889, p.2.

1880 shows a shocking state of illiteracy, therefore, be it “Resolved, that we urge upon Congress the passage of the Blair Educational Bill.”⁷⁷⁴ As John McGreevy has pointed out, however, most Catholics did not favor Blair’s educational initiative. They believed that education should remain a local issue. Catholics also may have opposed Blair’s legislative initiative because Blair was a Republican whose anti-Catholic sentiments were occasionally aired from the senate floor.⁷⁷⁵

III. Economic Justice: An 1890-1891 Emphasis

It comes as no surprise that Rudd addressed America’s pressing economic issues in the *ACT*’s editorials and exchanges. During the decades of the 1880s and early 1890s, the Catholic population of the United States was largely foreign born and working class.⁷⁷⁶ During this period, tens of thousands of this nation’s unskilled workers, many of whom were Catholic, joined labor organizations to demand from capitalist barons, shorter hours, higher wages and a voice in the improvement of working conditions. Labor strife often led to strikes and lockouts some of which turned violent e.g. the Haymarket strike in Chicago in 1886, and the Homestead strike in Homestead, Pennsylvania, in 1892. During this tumultuous period, church leaders, including the head of the American Catholic Church, James Cardinal Gibbons, attempted to chart a course for the faithful. He was, for example, instrumental in convincing Roman church officials that it would be a mistake to condemn the Knights of Labor.⁷⁷⁷

Social Catholicism was a late nineteenth century phenomena which matured in the early decades of the twentieth century. No longer was it sufficient for Catholics in this

⁷⁷⁴ “The National Press Association,” *ACT*, 12 August 1887, p.3.

⁷⁷⁵ McGreevy, 123.

⁷⁷⁶ Dolan, 73.

⁷⁷⁷ Ellis, 106.

period to simply conduct missions of mercy. Proponents of Social Catholicism believed the mission approach was individualist and inadequate. Those promoting social Catholicism were convinced that the injustices of the age needed to be addressed at the foundational level.⁷⁷⁸ The aims of Social Catholicism resembled in many ways those of the largely Protestant Social Gospel movement. Both in America and Europe proponents of the Social Gospel worked to address issues of justice and equity in a complex world a century into the industrial revolution.⁷⁷⁹

Pope Leo XIII's 1891 encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, became the foundational document of Catholic social thought. Leo XIII's adherence to "natural law" philosophy led him to recognize that many modern social arrangements predicated on individual self interest violated an ideal communal pattern of societal relations.⁷⁸⁰ Those who appealed to Leo's work were doctrinal conservatives and social progressives. These same social Catholics sought room for the state and the public order to provide the framework for the societal justice being advocated. Social Catholics who appealed to Leo promoted new concepts of the stewardship of private possessions. Moreover, they stopped well short of condemning the ownership of private property.⁷⁸¹

Rudd, along with other Catholic leaders of the day, believed that the Catholic Church had a valuable role to fill in the establishment of a more just economic order. Rudd published Pope Leo XIII's letter to the Kaiser of Germany on the occasion of the Berlin Labor Conference in the spring of 1890. In this correspondence, the pope

⁷⁷⁸ McGreevy, 128-130.

⁷⁷⁹ Martin Marty, *A Short History of American Catholicism* (Allen, Texas: Thomas More, 1995), 144; McGreevy, 127-138.

⁷⁸⁰ McGreevy, 137.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*, ; Marty, 147-148.

explicated the important role religion and the church would necessarily play in the “successful solution of the matter.” Leo explained,

The religious sentiment, indeed, is the only thing that can give authority to law; and the Gospel is the only code containing the principles of true justice and those maxims of mutual charity which should unite all men as children of the same Father and members of the same family.⁷⁸²

This same article further reasoned that the church was the only power “competent to deal with the tremendous issues involved in the social and industrial movement.”⁷⁸³ In the same issue of the *ACT*, Rudd printed an exchange which pointed out that the church was the “most faithful guardian of the rights of the wage earners. Her system of political economy is founded on the saying of her divine founder: The laborer is worthy of his hire...”⁷⁸⁴

Rudd believed all members of the human race, whether they were capitalist or common laborers were, indeed, members of the same family. In short, Rudd employed the egalitarianism inherent in his language concerning the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man” to the issue of class divisions, just as the editor had done to race relations.⁷⁸⁵ For example, Rudd published the platform of the first lay Catholic congress, a gathering he helped to organize in Baltimore in November 1889. This document seems to give voice to Rudd’s own sentiments on class relations. The document read,

Another danger which menaces our Republic is the constant conflict between labor and capital. We, therefore, at all times must view with feelings of regret and alarm the antagonism existing between them...The

⁷⁸² Pope Leo’s Advice,” *ACT*, 29 March 1890, p.1.

⁷⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁴ “Labor Problem,” *ACT*, 29 March 1890, p.1.

⁷⁸⁵ Fr. Edward McGlynn (1837-1900), like Rudd, centered his controversial social justice campaign on the fundamental unity of the human family as expressed in theological language involving the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man.” Whereas Rudd’s campaign primarily concentrated on the divisiveness of racism, McGlynn’s commitment to the fundamental unity of the human family challenged the class divisions disadvantaging the impoverished. Despite the similarities in the two theological approaches, Rudd opposed McGlynn’s socialist economic policies. Carey, 220-241.

remedy must be sought in the mediation of the Church through her action on individual conscience and thereby society, teaching each its respective duties as well as rights...⁷⁸⁶

Again in November 1890, Rudd discussed the rights of workers. He explained that capitalists were bound to “recognize the laborer as a co-worker, as one entitled to [the] reward of work. The worker was, according to Rudd, “to be treated not not [sic] as a machine, but as a man, justly, generously, kindly...” Only this kind of treatment would bring a “solution to the labor trouble,” Rudd reasoned.⁷⁸⁷

On at least one occasion, Rudd proposed that a more equitable share of profits be allocated to the nation’s working class laborers. For example, Rudd argued that though the duties of the nation’s rail porters were “onorous” [sic] and their service “indispensable,” their pay was but a “pittance.” Rudd continued,

If some of the money that is expended in high salaries and private cars for the chief officials of the Palace Car Companies should be given to this overworked class of men, who are really always obedient and obliging servants of the public, there would be much less cause for the spotters and detective system, used by millionaires who cater to the public comfort.⁷⁸⁸

Leo XIII’s encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, was without question the Catholic Church’s most decisive and comprehensive word on economic justice and class relations. The Catholic Church during this period maintained an aversion to economic liberal principles.⁷⁸⁹ Catholic leaders were convinced economic liberalism put workers at risk by subjecting them to the varieties of market forces. This aversion made it possible for Ultramontane Catholics to embrace a more social understanding of political economy.

⁷⁸⁶ “Catholic Congress,” *ACT*, 16 November 1889, p.1.

⁷⁸⁷ “League Reading,” *ACT*, 8 November 1890, p.1.

⁷⁸⁸ *ACT*, 4 April 1891, p.2. Similarly, Rudd appeared to retain reservations as to possibility that the railroad industry might gouge its costumers. In the same issue of the *ACT*, Rudd urged state authorities to maintain Ohio’s canal system in order to stave off such an eventuality.

⁷⁸⁹ McGreevy, 130.

For example, Catholic leaders like Italian Jesuit, Matteo Liberatore (1810-1892), urged workers to form guilds for workers and employers. Further, Liberatore attacked the economic theory which supported unrestrained capitalism as it had been promulgated by free marketers including Adam Smith. During this period, Catholic leaders looked longingly back to the period of the Middle Ages as an ideal era less possessed by the “pursuit of individual self interest.”⁷⁹⁰

Rerum Novarum, was, in part, the Vatican’s attempt to improve the economic plight of urban industrial workers in Europe and in the United States, many of whom were Catholic. Rudd’s distaste for systemic economic injustice, however, was probably most exercised by his disdain of the crop mortgage system. The editor of the *ACT* urged blacks to make their own way in the United States through thrift and hard work. Yet he understood, however, the systemic nature of injustice, and how America’s sharecropping system disadvantaged African American farmers attempting to negotiate a fair sharecropping contract.⁷⁹¹

Leo XIII’s encyclical resonated with Rudd. Rudd printed *Rerum Novarum* in its entirety in five installments throughout the summer of 1891. Further, Rudd enthusiastically endorsed the ideals promulgated in this encyclical. In August 1891, he wrote,

In this day of strikes and the oppression that causes them of the injustice of man to man, of prejudice, of murder and of violence, this great paper from the pen of the head of the Christian Church, is as refreshing as a summer shower and as strong as everlasting truth...It would be almost a crime for one claiming to be interested in the condition of the poor, if he refused to at least read and study the treatise that covers so completely and

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid., 130-131.

⁷⁹¹ The sensitivity to systemic barriers blocking the pathway to progress for blacks seems absent from Rudd’s 1917 pronouncements on economic self help.

fairly every phase of the question of equity as the Encyclical of Leo XIII.⁷⁹²

Rudd would later call the document a “masterly plea for the freedom of labor and its just compensation.”⁷⁹³

Rudd endorsed the primary tenets explicated in *Rerum Novarum*, including the document’s opposition to socialist economic theory. Rudd’s opposition to socialist ideology was articulated in the *ACT* prior to 1891. In March 1887, for example, Rudd published a refutation of Henry George’s (1839-1897), “land theory,”⁷⁹⁴ delivered by Fr. Higgins in Cincinnati. Higgins further observed that, misery and societal degradation was not the result of wealth but rather of the “dishonest methods of gaining it.” Rudd subsequently editorialized “after subjecting Mr. George’s arguments to the test of logic, the lecturer established the true philosophical basis of property in general and of landed property in particular.”⁷⁹⁵

Rudd, like the overwhelming majority of Catholics of the period, found Henry George’s support of a confiscatory tax untenable. Nowhere in the *ACT* did Rudd show any sympathy for socialist ideology; rather, he seemed to exhibit a strong faith in America’s capitalistic system. Further, he repeatedly urged blacks to establish businesses, or to bind together to create joint business ventures.⁷⁹⁶

As noted above, a number of strikes and work stoppages occurred in the United States during the years of the *ACT*’s publication. Some of these strikes resulted in bloodshed and in the destruction of property. Finding a solution as to how capital and

⁷⁹² *ACT*, 1 August 1891, p.2.

⁷⁹³ *ACT*, 25 June 1891, p.2.

⁷⁹⁴ See subsequent note on George’s single tax proposal.

⁷⁹⁵ “Henry George’s Theories,” *ACT*, 11 March 1887, p.2.

⁷⁹⁶ See chapter five “Employment Opportunities.”

labor might co-exist peacefully and to the profit of both groups was a concern for Catholics and Protestants alike. In 1889, for example, James Cardinal Gibbons published *Our Christian Heritage*. In this text, he included a chapter entitled “The Laboring Classes.” In this same chapter, Gibbons argued, “whoever strives to improve the friendly relations between the proprietors and the labor unions by proposing the most effectual means of diminishing and even removing the causes of discontent is a benefactor to the community.”⁷⁹⁷

Similar sentiments were expressed in the *ACT*. For example, in May 1889, John M. Mackey delivered a lecture at Music Hall in Cincinnati on the topic of “trusts.” In this speech, Mackey articulated the damage that trusts inflicted on society. He further stated “Peace, harmony, and due regard must be preserved between the classes and the masses by rendering to each what belongs to him, and by strictly adhering to the dictates of justice, natural justice not merely legal justice.” Mackey went on to compare the present system of trusts to the “anaconda” which serves to make the “poor poorer, and the capitalist richer.” Over against the “Internationalists” and the Social Labor Party, Mackey endorsed the more conservative Knights of Labor organization which actively sought redress for workers through government legislation and arbitration.⁷⁹⁸

Rudd supported the right of workers to organize into labor unions. In so doing, he followed the lead of both James Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Manning. Gibbons believed labor unions to be the “legitimate successors of the ancient guilds of

⁷⁹⁷ Gibbons, 443.

⁷⁹⁸“Speech by Rev.J.M. Mackey,” *ACT*, 11 May 1889, p.2.

England.”⁷⁹⁹ Subsequently, the right of workers to organize to secure better wages and working conditions was endorsed by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.

Rudd’s conviction concerning the right of workers to organize was also informed by his views concerning race justice. Though he believed in the right of laborers to organize, Rudd also believed that African Americans should be permitted to join labor unions. This sentiment was expressed in the official address to Catholics published by the delegates of the first Colored Catholic Congress in January 1889. The address read, “we appeal to all labor organizations, trade unions etc., to admit Colored men within their ranks on the same conditions as others are admitted...”⁸⁰⁰ In May 1892, Rudd commented on the meeting of the first chapter of the American Federation of Labor to be established in Ohio. The editor of the *ACT* offered praise to this organization because it made “no distinction to membership on account of color or nationality.”⁸⁰¹

The *ACT*’s editorial position concerning whether or not laborers should resort to the strike seems to intimate an ambivalence also articulated in *Rerum Novarum*. For example, on June 16, 1894, the *ACT* published an article that may have been penned by John R. Rudd, the editor’s nephew and employee. The article celebrated the end of the coal strike suggesting that this same strike had hurt all parties involved.⁸⁰² Following the lead of Catholic leaders, Daniel Rudd seemed to be reluctant to endorse strikes. Perhaps he also believed strikes would not solve labor disputes on right terms. On occasion, however, Rudd seemed to favor the position taken by strikers. In July 1891, for example, Rudd called attention to the detrimental effects on labor caused by the notorious prison

⁷⁹⁹ Gibbons, 441.

⁸⁰⁰ Rudd, *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*, 70.

⁸⁰¹ “City and Vicinity,” *ACT*, 14 May 1892, p.3. Though J.R. Rudd was the city editor, internal evidence from the *ACT* suggests Daniel Rudd penned this article.

⁸⁰² *ACT*, 16 June 1894, p.3.

lease program. Perhaps owing to his convictions concerning the ethics of the strike, Rudd would not comment on whether the striking miners in Tennessee were right or wrong. He did, however, recognize in this labor action the “knife of advancing civilization” cutting out the cancer that had been “gnawing at the very vitals of southern development.”⁸⁰³

Rudd’s experience of race discrimination sensitized him to the frustration felt by members of America’s underclass. Those seeking to throw off oppression by violent or revolutionary means, however, found no sympathy with Rudd. Rudd believed in the inevitable advance of civilization, and assigned to the church an important role in the emergence of a just and equitable society. Speaking of African Americans, for example, the editor of the *ACT* wrote, “What benefit...will it be to him politically to join in praising anarchy in America as against the Organization left by Christ himself and against which he declares “‘The Gates of Hell shall not prevail.’”⁸⁰⁴

A careful reading of the *ACT* illumines a distinctive distaste for the breakdown of law and order. For example, in the early extant issues of the *ACT*, Rudd closely followed the trials of the Chicago anarchists who were condemned to death in November 1887.⁸⁰⁵ Similarly, Rudd reported on the fate of the notorious Tolliver gang of Rowan County, Kentucky; the Ravenna, Ohio gang; as well as the Bald Knobbers of Missouri.⁸⁰⁶ Anarchy in the *ACT* appears to serve as the antithesis of the “new” civilization the church was actively seeking to establish in society. Further, the editorials and exchanges in the

⁸⁰³ “A Sign of Times,” *ACT*, 25 July 1891, p.2.

⁸⁰⁴ *ACT*, 22 July 1887, p.2.

⁸⁰⁵ See *ACT*, 7 September 1887, p.1; *ACT*, 23 September 1887, p.1; *ACT*, 7 October 1887, p. 3; *ACT*, 14 October 1887, p.2.

⁸⁰⁶ See *ACT*, 29 June 1887, p.2; *ACT*, 15 September 1887, p.3; *ACT*, 21 October 1887, p.4 ; *ACT*, 1 April 1887, p.4; *ACT*, 13 April 1887, p.3; *ACT*, 13 October 1887, p.2.

ACT drew similarities between the race killings in the South and the work of anarchists in the North.⁸⁰⁷

Rudd's disdain for the revolutionary ideology of anarchists was echoed by prominent Catholic contemporaries including Archbishop John Ireland. For example, in a speech delivered in July 1894, Ireland chastened labor for their actions in a strike held in Chicago. Ireland pointed out that though the laborers rights were sacred, there existed "something above them and absolutely supreme—social order and the laws of public justice." Ireland argued that those who defied law and the constitutional authorities threatened to disrupt the social fabric ensuring "life and safety to the poor as well as to the employer."⁸⁰⁸

Rudd's distaste for anarchists may have informed his views concerning economics as well. On one occasion, Rudd attempted to persuade his readers that Henry George's economic theories mirrored the theories of German socialists and would therefore, lead to the confiscation of "all productive industries."⁸⁰⁹ Though a number of African American contributors to the *A.M.E. Church Review* espoused various degrees of socialist ideology, e.g., the Reverend James Theodore Holly, and the Reverend R.C. Ransom, Rudd seemed to hold with the majority of A.M.E. contributors who retained a strong faith in America's capitalist system.⁸¹⁰

One of the most controversial and outspoken advocates for social justice in the late nineteenth century was Fr. Edward McGlynn. He had become the pastor of St. Stephen's Parish in New York City in 1866, a position he held until 1886. McGlynn had

⁸⁰⁷ "Race War," *ACT*, 14 September 1887, p.2.

⁸⁰⁸ "Archbishop Ireland," *ACT*, 18 August 1894, p.1.

⁸⁰⁹ "All the Same," *ACT*, 19 August 1887, p.2.

⁸¹⁰ Angell and Pinn, 324-340.

first hand pastoral experience with poverty and human degradation. Subsequently, St. Stephen's pastor became convinced by New York City mayoral candidate, Henry George, that the fundamental remedy to economic and social injustice was a single tax system which would effectively disincentivize exploitive, land speculation. This economic approach threatened the right of individuals to own and make profit from their private property holdings.⁸¹¹ Because of McGlynn's endorsement of the single tax proposal, and his support of mayoral candidate, Henry George, the priest was branded a socialist. He was subsequently excommunicated from the church, in part because of his disobedience.⁸¹²

In June 1887, Rudd defended the pope's decision to excommunicate McGlynn. He further stated, "Well the Church will go on in her work caring for the downtrodden and checking the march of anarchy, paganism and infidelity."⁸¹³ The above citation leaves one with the impression that Rudd was unwilling or unable to discriminate between socialism and anarchism. The editor's negative views concerning both seemed, nonetheless, to mirror the views of many in the Catholic Church including Pope Leo XIII.

Justice beyond the Borders of the United States

I. Justice for Ireland: An 1887-1888 Emphasis

The First Home Rule Bill

On April 8, 1886, about three months before Rudd began publishing the *ACT*, Prime Minister William E. Gladstone (1809-1898), who lead Britain's Liberal Party, rose in the House of Commons to present his Government of Ireland Bill, otherwise known as

⁸¹¹ George's single tax proposal provided for a tax on rent that would have essentially transferred profits from the landlord to the community, though George stopped short of actually nationalizing private property.

⁸¹² Carey, 220-221. McGlynn was reinstated into the church in 1892, and died in 1900.

⁸¹³ "The Same Old Falsehood," *ACT*, 22 July 1887, p.2.

the “First Home Rule Bill.” This watershed legislation involved the transfer of some power from the British ruling class to moderate representatives of the Catholic Irish nation.⁸¹⁴ Though many in Britain were divided over the issue, the Irish were not. They wanted to secure as much self determination as could be won from Britain.⁸¹⁵ In fact, many more concessions were won by Ireland’s population over the next forty years. The first Home Rule Bill demonstrates the rise of Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891), and the Irish nationalists or Home Rule Party who had, by 1886, worked its way from the periphery of British politics to becoming a real force in Westminster, and this on behalf of the interests of Ireland’s predominantly Catholic population.⁸¹⁶

During the formative years of the Home Rule Party’s development 1880-1885, the organization became the “recognized spokesman” for the interest of institutions allied with its cause including Ireland’s Catholic Church.⁸¹⁷ Further, the cause of Irish Nationalism was widely publicized outside of Europe. A number of Irish and non-Irish Americans supported the campaign for Ireland’s independence. It is not surprising to find Rudd’s sympathies directed toward the cause of his Catholic brothers and sisters living on the Emerald Isle.⁸¹⁸

In the pages of the *ACT*, Rudd advocated Irish Home Rule. As has been intimated, Rudd’s journalistic support for the cause of Irish justice was common among his peers in

⁸¹⁴ Alan O’Day, *The English Face of Irish Nationalism* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ltd., 1977), 2. This legislation marked an important milestone in Ireland’s move toward administering its own territory. The subsequent passage of additional legislation over the next few decades broadened these gains.

⁸¹⁵ Conor Cruise O’Brien, *Parnell and His Party 1880-1890* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 184.

⁸¹⁶ O’Day, 1. The Home Government Association was formed in 1870 with Isaac Butt as its leader. Not until 1881 when Charles Stewart Parnell, leader of the Irish Land League, began to emerge as the voice of the Home Rule Party did the petitions begin to carry weight with Gladstone and the English Government. During this period, Parnell took advantage of the dependence of Britain’s Liberal Government on his Irish nationalist party. See *Oxford Companion to British History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 516-517.

⁸¹⁷ O’Day, 40.

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

the Catholic press. For example, Rudd joined other Catholic contemporaries including S. B. Gorman in the promotion of an independent Ireland free from British oppression. In August 1887, Gorman contributed an article to the *Catholic World* in which he confidently affirmed that Ireland would someday have self government. This same contributor spoke out against the injustice of the oppressive coercion law of 1887.⁸¹⁹

Home Rule for Ireland was not merely a Catholic issue. Support for Irish Home Rule was a part of the Republican platform in the late 1880s. For example, Joseph Foraker, Governor of Ohio, and subsequently a U.S. Senator, supported Irish Home Rule. In April 1887, Rudd praised Foraker's speech delivered at Ohio University. In this speech, Foraker declared "The people of Ireland will sooner or later have home rule, in spite of all England can do, because it is the cause of liberty and the people." Rudd subsequently editorialized "If the Governor could bring all in his party up to his own high standard of thinking, what a party he would lead."⁸²⁰

Rudd's support for Irish Home Rule placed him in the company of other prominent African Americans including Fredrick Douglass.⁸²¹ Because a great many African Americans remained loyal to the Republican Party during the last decades of the nineteenth century, Rudd probably found many sympathizers among delegates when the editor of the *ACT* proposed the following resolution at the National Colored Press Association meeting in 1887,

Whereas, the people of Ireland, like the American Negro, have been suffering and struggling under the injustice of man to man, and, Whereas, From every land where an Irishman is found there comes determination unconquerable, and liberal hands to aid in the freedom of the Emerald Isle; therefore, Resolved, That we send hearty greeting and warm

⁸¹⁹ S. B. Gorman, "Ireland Again Under Coercion," *Catholic World* XLV (August 1887): 664-671.

⁸²⁰ *ACT*, 29 April 1887, p. 2.

⁸²¹ "Washington D.C.," *ACT*, 23 December 1887, p.1.

congratulations to the sons of Erin for their matchless devotion to a noble cause.⁸²²

Perhaps an additional reason why so many African Americans supported the cause of Irish independence is that many blacks could identify with the population of Ireland's struggle for civil rights and for full citizenship. The linking of these two similar campaigns for justice goes back at least to the mid nineteenth century when Irish Nationalist politician Dennis O'Connell (1775-1847), vociferously condemned the institution of American slavery.⁸²³ Subsequently, Rudd drew a parallel between Ireland's struggle for independence and the plight of African Americans when he wrote,

It hardly seems possible, that civilization would at this point of its development, brook for a moment the scenes that are being enacted in Ireland. It seems to us at this distance from the state of action, that if lost even to all sense of duty and fairness to their fellow men, common sense would teach the land-lords and the Government of England that they are sowing seeds that will eventually disrupt the kingdom. But we do not need to go to Ireland to find cases of injustice. America is full of them as a hill is of ants.

The American examples of injustice cited by Rudd included the southern prison system, the crop mortgage system and the discrimination routinely faced by black travelers in the South.⁸²⁴

Other African American leaders including Thomas Fortune joined Rudd in linking the African American quest for justice and freedom to the campaign for Irish Home Rule.

⁸²⁵In June 1887, Rudd ran an article from *The Baptist Tribune*; one portion of this exchange pointed out the fact that like blacks, the Irish and "Indians" were likewise

⁸²² "The National Press Association," *ACT*, 12 August 1887, p.3.

⁸²³ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 62-63.

⁸²⁴ *ACT*, 7 October 1887, p.2.

⁸²⁵ "Shots From Gotham," *ACT*, 16 May 1891, p.1.

oppressed. The editor of the journal further noted that the suffering of these groups should serve to bind them together in mutual sympathy.⁸²⁶

Rudd's support for Home Rule for Ireland remained strong even after Parnell's fall from grace and the subsequent division of the Home Rule forces in 1890. In the spring of 1891, Rudd lamented the division of political allies who had for a long time been "so nearly united in the defense of Old Ireland." Rudd further wrote, "We trust that the clouds which now hang so low and threaten to darken the pathway of those who fight for justice, will soon lift and show a silver lining."⁸²⁷

Rudd's campaign for justice for Ireland also led the editor to speak out against the mistreatment of the country's inhabitants by English landlords. For example, Rudd opposed English expulsions of Ireland's tenants from their homes. He also decried the fact that, in Ireland, 9,141 evictions were written in the month ending in June 1887.⁸²⁸ In February 1889, Rudd again took aim at the carrying out of Irish evictions.⁸²⁹

Similarly, in June 1892, Rudd printed an exchange from the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* penned by John Boyle O'Reilly. This article compared the tools of eviction employed by English tenants, "writs and crowbars," to the "halters and slave ships" used in the transport of African slaves to the United States. Subsequently, Rudd drew comparisons between Ida B. Wells' expulsion from Tennessee, and England's expulsions of Ireland's citizens.⁸³⁰ After 1892, Rudd spoke little of Ireland's plight.

⁸²⁶ *ACT*, 22 July 1887, p.2.

⁸²⁷ *ACT*, 4 April 1891, p.2.

⁸²⁸ "Nine Thousand Evictions," *ACT*, 22 July 1887, p.2.

⁸²⁹ "Ireland's Chances," *ACT*, 23 February 1889, p.2.

⁸³⁰ *ACT*, 25 June 1892, p.2. Wells' fiery editorials published after the infamous March 1892 Memphis lynchings led to the forced shutdown of the *Free Speech*. Since Wells' life had been threatened she decided not to return to Memphis. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells*, 148-149.

Instead, the editor seemed to devote more and more attention to his anti-lynching campaign.

II. Temporal Authority of the Pope: An 1890-1891 Emphasis

The Restoration of the Temporal Authority of the Pope

The campaign for the restoration of the papal domains initially seized in 1848 from Pope Pius IX (1792-1878), by Italian nationalists and later retaken for the final time by Victor Emmanuel II ⁸³¹(1820-1878), in 1870, was yet another issue of international justice of particular concern to Catholics throughout the years of the *ACT's* publication.⁸³² A number of the exchanges in the *ACT* decried the injustices inherent in the government of Italy's seizure of papal church property. For example, in November 1888, Rudd published an exchange explaining that the "Vicar of Christ, the Pope," had been, "robbed sacreligiously [sic] of his temporal domain and of the resourses [sic] of the Propaganda." This exchange further criticized the fact that the "insane Italian revolutionists [had] taken by force and fraud the patrimony of the Holy See," and had "deprived the Pope of his temporal crown as Sovereign of Rome—yes, deprived His Holiness of it unjustly and sacrilegiously, and even deprived him of his personal liberty, and have made him virtually a prisoner of the Vatican."⁸³³

A pastoral letter penned upon the conclusion of the fifth Provincial Council of Cincinnati in 1889, and published in the *ACT*, expressed similar sentiments. The letter read,

It is a matter of history that [the pope] has been deprived of his temporal principality by violence...Misrepresentation and fraud were used without scruple to mislead public opinion with regard to the disposition of the

⁸³¹ The first king of united Italy.

⁸³² 384-386, R. Aubert, "Pius IX, Pope, BL," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia 2nd Edition*.

⁸³³ "Pontiff and Pagan," *ACT*, 17 November 1888, p.2.

people of Rome, who had remained in the greater part faithful to their ruler, the Pope.⁸³⁴

Another article printed in the *ACT* highlighted a more recent injustice committed against the church. In May 1890, for example, the *ACT* reported that a convent which had been the property of the Capuchins had been seized and demolished by Italian authorities. The article labeled this seizure a,

piece of the grossest injustice on the part of King Humbert and his minions to rob those holy men of their lawful possessions, and banish them without the slightest cause, but merely because of bigoted dislike entertained towards them on account of their religious principles.⁸³⁵

Though many Catholics loyal to the pope had bemoaned the overthrow of the papal states by Italian nationalists in 1848, Some American Catholics expressed sympathy for the advocates of Italian unity. For example, Orestes Brownson maintained sympathy for the writings of other Liberal European Catholics including Charles de Montalembert, Augustin Cochin, Henri-Dominique Lacordaire, Bishop Félix Dupanloup, Lord Acton, Richard Simpson, and John Henry Newman. Not only did Brownson echo the sentiments of a number of his liberal European allies with regard to his opposition to ultramontane devotions including the use of the scapular⁸³⁶ and the miraculous medal in honor of the Immaculate conception, but he also believed that were the Vatican to maintain control of the papal states, it would doom the pope's subjects to "hopeless slavery."⁸³⁷

⁸³⁴ "Pastoral Letter," *ACT*, 8 June 1889, p.1.

⁸³⁵ "Malignant Hatred," *ACT*, 10 May 1890, p.1.

⁸³⁶ The scapular is a piece of cloth worn under one's shirt; it forms the most important part of the clothing of a monastic. Many religious congregations and orders also now wear the scapular as part of their religious dress.

⁸³⁷ McGreevy, 21, 45-48.

The *ACT* and the Restoration of the Temporal Authority of the Pope

In the *ACT*, Rudd also published a modest number of exchanges demanding redress for the government of Italy's crimes against the pope and the Catholic Church. For example, at the first gathering of the Catholic Lay Congress held in November 1889, delegates voiced their demand for the "absolute freedom of the Holy See." This freedom was "indispensible" [sic] for the "peace of the Church and welfare of mankind." The delegates further demanded that "the freedom" being sought be "respected by all secular governments."⁸³⁸

Though Rudd did not allocate a great deal of editorial space to this issue, he did call for the restoration of the pope's temporal power. In June 1891, the editor of the *ACT* wrote,

The truth is that the head of the Catholic Church should not be subject to any but the God who created him. He is not free in the exercise of his duties, as spiritual head of the Church, as long as he is in a position to be robbed, insulted and abused by a government that is not only inimical, to the Church but even opposed to every idea of Christianity and revealed religion....nothing short of absolute independence will place the Pope in position to carry out his mission, as vicar of Christ.⁸³⁹

Subsequently, Rudd reminded his Catholic readers that those who believed that the Catholic world had given up on the "idea of restoring the temporal power of the pope" were deceived. Rudd argued "Catholics are awake to the importance of the subject, and do not hesitate to say so upon every favorable occasion."⁸⁴⁰

Rudd's strong support of the Vatican may have been partially conditioned by Rome's history of advocacy on behalf of African Americans. Even as southern bishops like John England were defending American slavery, Pope Gregory XVI (1765-1846),

⁸³⁸ "Catholic Congress," *ACT*, 16 November 1889, p.1.

⁸³⁹ *ACT*, 6 June 1891, p.2.

⁸⁴⁰ *ACT*, 26 September 1891, p.2.

condemned the slave trade in his 1839 encyclical, *In Supremo Apostolatus Fastigo*.

Similarly, Rome's advocacy is evident in its efforts to get American bishops to address the needs of blacks following the U.S. Civil War. This advocacy on behalf of blacks was demonstrated in both Baltimore II, 1866, and in Baltimore III, 1884.⁸⁴¹

III. The Exploitation of People of Color: An International Focus: 1889 Emphasis

In October 1889, Lincoln Vallé, one of the *ACT*'s traveling agents, said of Rudd, "Mr. Rudd has devoted years of study to the questions that affect the Negro race in the United States, not only, but in all the world and is therefore competent to discuss them in all their bearings."⁸⁴² As implied in the above quotation, Rudd's "cry for justice" was not exhausted with his campaign for equality on behalf of African Americans residing in the United States. Evidence from the *ACT* reveals that Rudd was concerned with the plight of people of color throughout the world.

A. Rudd's Campaign Against the African Slave Trade

Rudd's concern for international questions of justice comes into clearest view with the *ACT*'s coverage of Cardinal Lavigérie's anti-slavery campaign in Africa. The Catholic Church's fight against African slavery was led in large part by Cardinal Charles Lavigérie, the Bishop of Algiers.⁸⁴³ Rudd began reporting on the work of Lavigérie as early as July 1887.⁸⁴⁴ In November 1887, Rudd printed an encyclical from Pope Leo praising Lavigérie's work on behalf of Africa's captives. Again in February 1888, Rudd

⁸⁴¹ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 39-40, 121, 132.

⁸⁴² "St. Louis, Mo.," *ACT*, 12 October 1889, p.3.

⁸⁴³ Jose de Arteche, *The Cardinal of Africa: Charles Lavigérie*, trans. Mairin Mitchell (London: Sands and Company, 1964), 162.

⁸⁴⁴ *St. Joseph's Advocate*; quoted in "Child Martyrs in Africa," *ACT*, 15 July 1887, p.1. Rudd reported that Lavigérie was born in Esprit, France, in 1825. He was appointed to the see of Carthage in 1867, and raised to the dignity of cardinalate in 1884. See "The Pope on Slavery," *ACT*, 24 November 1888, p.1.

published an exchange from the *Ave Maria* praising the “great apostle of the anti-slavery crusade.”⁸⁴⁵

Though occasional reference is made to the work of Lavigérie prior to 1889, Rudd’s real interest in the cardinal’s work increased when he became directly involved in the campaign to end the human trafficking of Africans. In the late spring 1889, Rudd made reference to the upcoming gathering of an anti-slavery conference which was to be hosted by Lavigérie in Lucerne, Switzerland, in August of the same year.⁸⁴⁶ In a subsequent issue of the *ACT*, Rudd published a letter from Lavigérie to Archbishop Francis Janssens of New Orleans. In the letter, the cardinal expressed a desire to see “some representatives of the Colored population of the United States” take part in labors that were intended to “benefit the continent of their origin...”⁸⁴⁷ Expressing a genuine concern to participate in the eradication of the African slave trade, Rudd, accompanied by his eastern agent Robert Ruffin, traveled to Europe to attend the anti-slavery conference. This meeting, however, was subsequently postponed due to elections in France.⁸⁴⁸

Despite the cancellation of the congress, the American delegation’s meeting with Lavigérie made a deep impression on the editor of the *ACT*. Both Rudd and Ruffin were warmly received by the convalescing prelate. Rudd reported that the cardinal placed one arm around Ruffin, the other around him, and then “stood silent for a moment almost overcome with emotion.” Lavigérie then kissed them “as a father would kiss his sons,” Rudd recalled. In one of their meetings with the cardinal, Rudd and Ruffin were

⁸⁴⁵ *Ave Maria*; quoted in “The Spirit of Cardinal Lavigérie,” *ACT*, 9 February 1889, p. 2.

⁸⁴⁶ *ACT*, 15 June 1889, p.2.

⁸⁴⁷ “Cardinal Lavigérie to Archbishop Janssens,” *ACT*, 27 July 1889, p.2.

⁸⁴⁸ “D.A.R. in Hamburg,” *ACT*, 17 August 1889, p.1.

consecrated to raise support in the United States for the ongoing campaign against slavery in Africa.⁸⁴⁹

The editor of the *ACT* enthusiastically embraced Lavigérie's work. Subsequent to Rudd's meeting with the cardinal he wrote, "there is no doubt that the great Anti-slavery Crusade, which has been inaugurated by the eloquent Cardinal to combat this gigantic evil and which has already spread throughout Europe, will finally reach our own shores." Rudd further noted, "there is no prospect of any permanent conquest to the Catholic faith until the crimes of an unnatural slavery be done away with."⁸⁵⁰ The following month, the editor of the *ACT* wrote, "those who have not followed the public prints closely may not be aware of the fact that a million of people are captured annually in Africa, and either die of ill treatment or are sold into slavery. It is against this horrid traffic that the Church is directing her forces."⁸⁵¹

Rudd took seriously his commission from the cardinal. The editor commenced his campaign on behalf of Lavigérie's work after he returned home from his visit to Europe. In October, Rudd traveled to St. Louis where he discussed the efforts of the cardinal with those gathered at St. Elizabeth's Parish.⁸⁵² In the November 9 issue of the *ACT*, Rudd printed an engraving of the prelate along with the following appeal:

The great apostle of Africa whose portrait appears above, has attracted the attention and enlisted the sympathy of all the civilized nations of the earth in his magnificent fight for Justice and Freedom for the poor African. To encourage his work, it is intended to form anti-slavery societies in all the states of this Union. It is right and proper that America, especially the United States of America should do something to requite the Negro for the wrong done him.⁸⁵³

⁸⁴⁹ "The Congress," *ACT*, 26 July 1890, p.1.

⁸⁵⁰ "The Abolition of Slavery," *ACT*, 24 August 1889, p.1.

⁸⁵¹ "Cardinal Lavigérie," *ACT*, 14 September 1889, p.2.

⁸⁵² "St. Louis, Mo.," *ACT*, 12 October 1889, p.3.

⁸⁵³ *ACT*, 9 November 1889, p.1.

Rudd's efforts on behalf of Lavigerie's campaign proved to be a major point of emphasis during the second Colored Catholic Congress which was convened in Cincinnati in July 1890.⁸⁵⁴ For example, Rudd's formal call for the congress stated that the assembly would continue the work of the first congress and also "take into consideration the great work of Cardinal Lavigerie in his efforts to abolish the African slave trade."⁸⁵⁵

In the opening address of the second Colored Catholic Congress, Rudd discussed his meeting with Lavigerie. The editor also gave an account of the cardinal's subsequent commissioning of Rudd and Ruffin.⁸⁵⁶ As is evident from the proceedings, the congress did discuss the work of the African prelate. For example, the final resolution of the second congress demonstrates both Rudd's influence on that gathering, as well as the importance placed on Lavigerie's campaign by the other delegates. The resolution read,

His Eminence Cardinal Lavigerie having appealed to all and especially the Colored people of the United States to make every sacrifice in aid of the benighted Africa, we, therefore ask that a practical plan be immediately prepared by the Executive Committee to assist His Eminence in his noble efforts to abolish the African slave trade.⁸⁵⁷

B. Slavery in Brazil

Rudd's concern over the plight of the global slave trade led him on a few occasions to make a passing reference to the plight of Brazil's slaves. For example, on one occasion, Rudd informed his readers that there were 700,000 slaves in Brazil.⁸⁵⁸ On another occasion, Rudd reported on the reluctance of Brazil's slaveholder's to free their

⁸⁵⁴ *ACT*, 12 April 1890, p.2.

⁸⁵⁵ "A Call for a Congress of Colored Catholics," *ACT*, 21 June 1890, p.3.

⁸⁵⁶ "The Congress," *ACT*, 26 July 1890, p.1.

⁸⁵⁷ "Resolutions," *ACT*, 30 August 1890, p.1.

⁸⁵⁸ "Current Topics," *ACT*, 8 July 1887, p.1.

slaves.⁸⁵⁹ In May 1888, slavery was abolished in Brazil; this same month, Pope Leo XIII issued his encyclical celebrating this momentous event, *In Plurimis*.⁸⁶⁰ Rudd subsequently published an exchange announcing the emancipation of Brazil's 1.5 million slaves.⁸⁶¹

C. Mexico's Peonage System

Rudd's concern over the exploitation of non-whites residing beyond the borders of the United States is also revealed by his decision to print an exchange detailing the "ill treatment" of Mexico's agriculture workers living in remote parts of that country. The author of this article stated that the "wretched peons hire themselves out as beasts of burden to whosoever desires to lease them." This same writer also argued that with a pay of four dollars a month, many of the "poor Indian[s]" were never able to get out of debt. The contributor further stated that the offspring of the indebted laborers were being forced to work to fulfill the financial obligations of their parents.⁸⁶²

D. American Colonial Policies

Rudd also editorialized about what he believed to be unjust American colonial policies. On at least two occasions in the *ACT*, Rudd decried American colonialism as it related to people of color. For example, in May 1891, Rudd published an exchange revealing what he believed to be an underhanded U.S. plan to pit the nation of Haiti and

⁸⁵⁹ "Current Topics," *ACT*, 20 January 1888, p.1.

⁸⁶⁰ Dale Torston Graden, *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil Bahia, 1835-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 199; Arteché, 159.

⁸⁶¹ *Boston Pilot*; quoted in "1,500,000 Slaves Set Free," *ACT*, 1 June 1888, p.1. I have found various reports of the number of slaves residing in Brazil at the time of their emancipation. Some reports are as low as 700,000, some as high as two million. Whether this discrepancy had to do with the lack of statistical data or other factors, I have been unable to determine.

⁸⁶² "Slavery in Mexico," *ACT*, 25 May 1888, p.1.

the nation of “San Domingo” against one another in an attempt to secure a coaling station in the Caribbean for American ships.⁸⁶³ Rudd wrote,

It is the same old story of the white man playing one Negro against another....The truth is if the white man would keep his finger out of the West Indian pie, there would be fewer revolutions down there, and less room to charge the Negro with incapability of self government.⁸⁶⁴

Beyond a critique of American policy toward black led governments in the Caribbean, the above citation is a forceful, frontal attack on whites guilty of thwarting the efforts of blacks. It is, perhaps, as strong a critique as any in the *ACT*. Rudd’s criticism was aimed at those seeking to exploit divisions among blacks. The editor further resented the fact that blacks, after being thus victimized, were open to ridicule for their incompetence. The sentiments expressed in the above quote may offer insight as to why Rudd opposed the division of the black vote. Rudd did not want to see the collective power of blacks diminished by splitting the African American vote between Republicans and Democrats. The above criticism may also have been evoked by personal experience. For example, it will be recalled that John Slattery publicized the comments of blacks who criticized the *ACT* at the meeting of the second Colored Catholic Congress. Rudd may have felt that Slattery was attempting to unite black opposition against him.

Conclusion

It will be noticed that the cause of a number of marginalized groups e.g., Jews and Chinese immigrants is not really taken up in earnest by Rudd in the *ACT*. Despite this fact, Rudd did on occasion publish exchanges detailing their plight. For example, in June 1887, Rudd published an exchange which reported the burning of a Jewish enclave in

⁸⁶³ Rudd was likely referring to the modern country, the Dominican Republic.

⁸⁶⁴ “The Same Old Story,” *ACT*, 23 May 1891, p.2.

Hungary. According to the contributor, 125 Jews were left homeless.⁸⁶⁵ On another occasion, Rudd published an exchange which gave a brief account of two Chinese slave girls held in bondage in New York.⁸⁶⁶ Rudd's lack of comment on discrimination against Chinese immigrants may have been the result of his opposition to immigrant labor.

In this chapter, I have examined how Rudd's ecclesiologically-centered vision of justice was instantiated in questions of justice beyond race. In the next two chapters, I will explore how Rudd's campaign for justice became concretized in the Colored Catholic Congress movement.

⁸⁶⁵ "Outrages Against Jews," *ACT*, 24 June 1887, p.3.

⁸⁶⁶ "Slaves in New York," *ACT* 20 May 1887, p.2.

Colored Catholic Congress (CCC) Timeline

- 1830 Establishment of the African American convention movement
- 1848 The Catholic congress movement is meeting in Europe
- 1855 The German Verein is established in U.S.
- 1868 American Catholic writers promote the idea of holding an American congress modeled after the European model
- 1887 (May) Rudd proposes a congress of all English speaking Catholics
- 1887 (September) The German Verein holds a congress in Chicago
- 1888 (October) Rudd proposes a meeting of the (CCC) movement
- 1888 (August) The German Verein holds a congress in Cincinnati
- 1888 (October) Rudd makes the official call for the first gathering of the (CCC)
- 1889 (January) The first meeting of the (CCC) in Washington, D.C.
- 1890 (July) The Second meeting of the (CCC) in Cincinnati
- 1891 (August) Rudd travels to New Orleans to recruit for the third meeting of the (CCC)
- 1891 (November) Official Call for the third gathering of the (CCC)
- 1892 The third gathering of the (CCC) in Philadelphia
- 1892 (February) The first issue of the *Journal* is published in Philadelphia
- 1892 (March) Memphis lynchings
- 1892 (April) Rudd makes a call for an all race convention to protest lynching
- 1892 (July) The all race convention meets in Cincinnati to protest the lynching of blacks
- 1893 (March) Rudd publishes the *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*, an account of the first three gatherings of the (CCC)
- 1893 The fourth Meeting of the (CCC) in Chicago
- 1894 The fifth Meeting of the (CCC) in Baltimore

Chapter VIII

The Colored Catholic Congress Movement and its first Meeting

The Congress Movement: An Overview

The Colored Catholic Congress movement, inspired by visionary Daniel Rudd, held five meetings in the nineteenth century. As a result of the organizational efforts of the editor of the *ACT*, the first Colored Catholic Congress met in Washington, D.C., in January 1889. With the support of Archbishop Henry Elder of Cincinnati, the congress met in Cincinnati in July 1890. A third congress was held in Philadelphia, in January 1892. Internal evidence from the *ACT* reveals that though Rudd did help draft the final resolution of the fourth Colored Catholic Congress, he did not take an active leadership role in the gathering which met during the World's Fair in Chicago in September 1893.⁸⁶⁷ It is also unclear as to whether or not Rudd participated in the nineteenth century's final meeting of the Colored Catholic Congress, which convened in Baltimore, in October 1894.

Though Rudd's involvement in the leadership of the Colored Catholic Congress movement appears to have ended after the meeting of the third congress in 1892, Rudd blazed the trail for future black Catholic lay leaders including Thomas Wyatt Turner (1877-1978), whose organization, the Committee for the Advancement of Colored Catholics, subsequently known as the Federated Colored Catholics, fought for the rights of African Americans in the Catholic Church. Rudd, it may be argued, was also the spiritual forerunner of groups like the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus and the National Black Sisters Conference, established in 1968, and the National Black Lay Caucus

⁸⁶⁷ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 187.

created in 1969. It was not until 1987, however, that there was a revival of Rudd's congress movement. The 1987 meeting of the newly reestablished Black Catholic Congress movement was held in Washington, D.C. Sixteen Hundred delegates attended.⁸⁶⁸

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to chart the sources of inspiration for the Colored Catholic Congress movement. Next, I will examine the stated goals Rudd sought to accomplish with the gathering of this body. A catalogue of events leading up to this historic gathering will also be explored in this chapter. Finally, an account of the deliberations, resolutions and results of the meeting of the first Colored Catholic Congress will be set forth.

In the subsequent chapter, a discussion of the deliberations and highlights of the remaining four congresses will be taken up, as well as a brief overview of the all race convention Rudd organized in the summer of 1892 to protest the practice of lynching. The chapter concludes with an examination of a persistent question as to the reason why Rudd may have severed his relationship with the Colored Catholic Congress movement.

Rudd and the Roots of the Colored Catholic Congress Movement

It is impossible to discuss Daniel Rudd's vision of justice and equality for African Americans without an examination of the Colored Catholic Congress movement. Rudd's Colored Catholic Congress initiative was an extension of the *ACT's* campaign for justice. The decision to organize this group of African Americans Catholics was an attempt, on the part of Rudd, to carry the work of justice forward enlisting other foot soldiers in the

⁸⁶⁸ Cyprian Davis, "God of Our Weary Years," in *Taking Down Our Harps: Black Catholics in the United States*, ed. Diana L. Hayes and Cyprian Davis (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1998), 37-41; Diana L. Hayes, "The Black Congress Movement," in *What's Left? Liberal American Catholics*, ed. Mary Jo Weaver (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999), 246-248.

campaign. In short, Rudd believed that collective action held out the most promise for the amelioration of the injustices being forced on the nation's African Americans. It is also important to note, the proceedings of the first three congresses are recorded in the *ACT* as well as in Rudd's first book entitled *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses* (1893).

The Colored Catholic Congress movement was an initiative born in the black Catholic community. David Spalding, in his ground breaking article "The Negro Catholic Congresses, 1889-1894," correctly identifies Rudd as the "chief architect of the Negro Catholic congress movement."⁸⁶⁹ Cyprian Davis has also identified Rudd as the "one individual" responsible for the birth of the Colored Catholic Congress movement.⁸⁷⁰

Rudd, a black man concerned with racial uplift, strongly believed in African American agency. He was equally convinced that blacks ought to be the group to take a leading role in addressing the injustices facing the country's African Americans. For example, in April 1887, Rudd urged blacks to stand up for themselves.⁸⁷¹ In April 1889, Rudd praised the efforts of those who had agitated on behalf of blacks. At the same time he insisted, "the Colored people themselves must solve the Negro problem."⁸⁷²

Writing in the spring of 1888, prior to the issuance of the official call for the first Colored Catholic Congress, Rudd argued that those who desired freedom must be the first to "strike the blow." Further demonstrating his commitment to black Catholic agency, Rudd wrote, "we thought the best way to turn the attention of our race to the Catholic Church was to "first find out how many Catholics we would have to start with and then

⁸⁶⁹ Spalding, 337.

⁸⁷⁰ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 164.

⁸⁷¹ *ACT*, 1 April 1887, p.1.

⁸⁷² "The Colored Man in the Popular Magazines," *ACT*, 6 April 1889, p.2.

put that force to work.”⁸⁷³ Again, following the third gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress in Philadelphia in January 1892, Rudd exulted in the fact that with the establishment of the congress movement, black Catholics themselves had “taken hold of the work as laymen in a thoroughly practical way.”⁸⁷⁴

The Colored Catholic Congress movement appears to have been a hybridization of the African American convention movement founded in 1830, and the European Catholic congress tradition founded not long afterwards.⁸⁷⁵ The link between Rudd’s Colored Catholic Congress movement and the African American convention movement, established in this country in 1830, was made by Rudd himself. For example, In May 1889, Rudd discussed the historic character of the first gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress held a few months before in Washington, D.C. He said of the meeting, “It will stand as a buoy in the stream of progress, about which will cluster many pleasant profitable memories.” In this same article, Rudd recalled the first gathering of the African American convention movement which assembled in Philadelphia in September 1830. The editor of the *ACT* commented on the work accomplished by the delegates to this previous assembly. The work of the convention included recommendations for the emigration of blacks to Canada, as well as the convention’s passage of strong resolutions against the American Colonization Society.⁸⁷⁶

One source of inspiration for the Colored Catholic Congress movement appears to have been Thomas Fortune’s proposed Afro-American League. Evidence from the *ACT*

⁸⁷³ *ACT*, 22 June 1888, p.2.

⁸⁷⁴ *ACT*, 28 May 1892, p.2.

⁸⁷⁵ The date for the establishment of the African American convention movement was 1830. The convention movement was begun by northern blacks seeking to fight for their civil rights. See Franklin and Moss, 166-167; Meier, 4-10. European Congresses were being held as early as 1848. See “Shall We Have a Congress,” *Catholic World* VIII (November 1868): 225.

⁸⁷⁶ “Mosaics,” *ACT*, 4 May 1889, p.2.

reveals that Rudd may have viewed Fortune's proposed league as the most recent incarnation of the black convention movement. For example, in June 1887, Rudd, speaking of Fortune's proposed league wrote, "As we remarked in a former issue, the proposition was not a new one, It has been suggested time and time again by nearly every race paper in the land in one way or another." Rudd further speculated that the breach caused by Fortune's support of dividing the vote among the two major political parties might be repaired by the establishment of such a national organization capable of protecting the rights of blacks.⁸⁷⁷

A second source for the inspiration of the Colored Catholic Congress movement was the Catholic congress movement begun in Europe and carried on by various national groups in the United States including the German Catholics. As early as 1868, American Catholics including a contributor to the *Catholic World* began promoting the idea of holding congresses in the U.S. This same contributor, for example, detailed the positive influence of the Belgium congresses on education in that European nation. The contributor further proposed that Americans might model their congresses after the German Congress movement which had profitably convened in 1848, 1849 and 1850.⁸⁷⁸

In the German Catholic congresses, delegates had organized unity of action among the societies of St. Vincent de Paul, established schools and reading rooms in the interest of Catholic literature, and made provisions for German Catholics residing in Paris. A subsequent congress held in 1852 in Münster, discussed Christian education and the creation of a Catholic University. In 1856, a congress was held in Vienna; in it, the formation of a children's asylum was discussed. The Salzburg Congress of 1857, among

⁸⁷⁷ *ACT*, 17 June 1887, p.2.

⁸⁷⁸ "Shall We Have a Congress," 224-228.

other concerns, addressed the issue of the Catholic press. A congress held in Munich in 1861, founded the literary review known as *Letterarischer Handweiser*.⁸⁷⁹

Speaking at the first gathering of the lay Catholic congress held in Baltimore in 1889, John Gilmary Shea LL. D. claimed that the congresses of Europe had yielded positive results. He further claimed that the congresses were instrumental in “banishing apathy,” and “rousing a healthy Catholic public spirit.” One additional result of these same congresses, according to Shea, was the development of a “more perfect organization to secure their rights, prevent oppression and injustice, and carry out good works needed by the time and space.”⁸⁸⁰

Rudd’s exposure to an American manifestation of these nationalistic congresses came by way of his encounter with the German Central Verein.⁸⁸¹ Speaking before this assembly on one occasion, Rudd declared, “I have watched with intense interest the work of this great and broad-souled organization, because my race is about to engage in a work to help convert and educate those millions now in darkness.”⁸⁸² It is unclear whether Rudd was invited by the convention to speak, or if he himself petitioned the organizers to be allowed to address the delegates.

In June 1887, the *ACT* informed its readers that Fr. William Tappert of Covington, Kentucky, was in Chicago “arraying for the great national Convention of German Catholics of America.”⁸⁸³ In September 1887, Rudd traveled to Chicago in order

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁰ *Souvenir Volume of Three Great Events in the History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (Detroit, Michigan, 1889; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978), 26.

⁸⁸¹ The Verein was founded in 1855 in Baltimore. The Central-Verein was a national federation made up of local German benevolent societies. This same organization served as a “symbol” or “primary reference group” of German American Catholics. See Gleason, 9, 12.

⁸⁸² “Speech of Mr: Dan A. Rudd,” *ACT*, 14 September 1888, p.2.

⁸⁸³ Tappert was pastor of the Church of the Mother of God in Covington and Chairman of Arrangements for the 1887 Chicago meeting which Rudd attended. Rudd printed an exchange which sought to dispel the idea

to attend this gathering of German Catholics. The delegates to this meeting discussed a number of social issues including membership in the Knights of Labor, education, and the German press. These were some of the same types of issues delegates to the Colored Catholic Congresses subsequently addressed a little over a year later in Washington, D.C. When the Verein held a national meeting in Cincinnati in August 1888, Rudd enthusiastically welcomed the gathering. He wrote,

the offices of the American Catholic Tribune, 355 Central Avenue, will be open to visitors. The Tribune is deeply indebted to the Central Verein for it was in the National Convention at Toledo that this journal received its first National notice.⁸⁸⁴

An Emerging Idea

In May 1887, Rudd proposed the idea of organizing a congress to be held for all English speaking Catholics of all races. Rudd wrote, “let us have a great Congress of English-speaking Catholics. The Catholic Hierarchy of England, Ireland and America are deeply interested in this great movement; This will include all the races.”⁸⁸⁵ Though it is unclear why Rudd gave up on this particular idea, it is evident that by the spring 1887, the editor was weighing the merits and benefits of Catholic collective action.

Through June 1887, Rudd continued to trumpet the need for black collective action. On one occasion, for example, Rudd contrasted the relative strength of the unified German population residing in Cincinnati, with the oppressed condition of the divided African American community. Rudd appealed to African Americans to unite in collective action. He wrote,

that the purpose for the German Congress was to influence the “Episcopacy” with regard to appointments of German clergy and bishops. Instead, the article suggested that the Chicago Convention would follow the “programme [sic] of similar meetings in Europe.” Issues that would be addressed were to be “the labor question, parochial schools, the German Catholic press, societies, benevolent and otherwise...” See “The German Catholic Convention,” *ACT*, 12 August 1887, p.1.

⁸⁸⁴ “D.R.R.C.V.,” *ACT*, 31 August 1888, p.2.

⁸⁸⁵ *ACT*, 20 May 1887, p.2.

Let us unite, brethren, in the interest of the American Negro; let us bind ourselves together. [sic] to act as a unit; let us agree that no public man or measure shall receive our consideration or support, that fails to take the view that we too, are a factor that may help or hurt. And when we are feared we will be respected.⁸⁸⁶

In the above appeal, Rudd's faith in African American agency is once again articulated. In the June 17, 1887, edition of the *ACT*, Rudd argued that the Afro-American League proposed by Fortune should be "[promptly] effected [sic]." He further urged his readers,

Let us organize and convince parties that we, like other races are susceptible to the influences of which go to make them respected in a community because we may become dangerous in the wielding of that power which the Constitution of the United States has put into our hands."

Rudd continued,

Let us unite in the same way. Let us cultivate the same spirit of determined agitation and unrest until the proper wholesome recognition comes....For more than two hundred and fifty years we have suffered outrage and oppression from American law and prejudice [sic] and it is high time that we enter a protest. Let us come together then, form this league and ere many days we may be sure of an awakening among American politicians, statesmen and plain citizens.⁸⁸⁷

In July 1887, Rudd, bristling from an insult to blacks which had been printed in the *Commercial Gazette*, again chided his black readers for their lack of "race pride and cohesion." In Rudd's criticism of African American collective action, Rudd echoed the sentiments of Ida B. Wells who had earlier declared that blacks were a "disorganized, divided mass of power and intellect."⁸⁸⁸ Similarly, Rudd spoke out against the "plantation philosophy" which, according to the editor, kept African Americans divided. He wrote,

⁸⁸⁶ "Business and Business.," *ACT*, 10 June 1887, p.2.

⁸⁸⁷ "The Afro American League," *ACT*, 17 June 1887, p.2.

⁸⁸⁸ *American Baptist*; quoted in "Iola on Race Pride," *ACT*, 11 March 1887, p.1

“we are so difficult [sic] to convince of the power of union and combination.”⁸⁸⁹ Even as Rudd was urging African Americans to come together into Fortune’s proposed Afro-American League, the editor of the *ACT* was paying careful attention to the deliberations of the German Central Verein.

Through the summer of 1887, Rudd continued to proclaim the merits of black collective action. During this same period, Rudd attended the above mentioned German Catholic congress meeting held in Chicago in September 1887. Immediately following this gathering Rudd lamented, “The Germans are organized, the Irish are organized, the Americans all, are organized except the poor black men, and they are not only because they fear it would advance the race, or offend some pot-house politician. Shame! Shame!”⁸⁹⁰

The above quotation employed by Rudd gives insight into Rudd’s thinking as to how African Americans were impeding racial uplift. The term “pot house” can be defined as an ale house or tavern. It is a term the editor apparently used to disparage those unprincipled politicians the editor believed to be profiting from a divided African American constituency. It may also refer to the black politicians who Rudd believed were putting their own self interests ahead of those of the race.

Take Professor W.H. Parham as a case in point. For example, commenting on Fortune’s idea to found a national league in the summer 1887, the editor stated that blacks in Ohio had formed a state league in 1884; they were considering uniting in a national league. Rudd claimed that their efforts were thwarted, however, by Parham, who

⁸⁸⁹ *ACT*, 8 July 1887, p.2.

⁸⁹⁰ *ACT*, 9 September 1887, p.2.

was afraid that the league would strike at separate schools, placing his teaching job in jeopardy.⁸⁹¹

Rudd returned from the German Verein meeting in September 1887, convinced of the power of collective action. Following Rudd's return from Chicago, he published the description and constitution of Fortune's proposed Afro-American League. Moreover, the editor once again endorsed Fortune's proposed national organization. He wrote, "We commend the views of Mr. Fortune as they are evidently in the right direction."⁸⁹²

1888: A Watershed Year

As David Spalding has pointed out, 1888 was a watershed year with regard to the Catholic Church's efforts on behalf of African Americans. For example, this year witnessed the establishment of the *Colored Harvest*, the principal magazine of the Josephites. This same year, the Josephites also established a missionary seminary in Baltimore which was commissioned to train both blacks and whites for ministry among African Americans. In 1888, this same order also celebrated the opening of its third parish for African Americans living in the city of Baltimore. The annual collection for African Americans and Native Americans, mandated during Baltimore III, had been taken up for the first time the previous year, providing much needed resources to fund the church's work among blacks. Similarly, 1888 was a watershed year with regard to the African American apostolate because Peter Claver, a missionary to South American slaves, was canonized by the church. Further, Pope Leo XIII issued an encyclical celebrating the abolition of slavery in Brazil. He further condemned slavery and encouraged Cardinal Charles Lavig erie of Algiers to launch a campaign against the

⁸⁹¹ *ACT*, 24 June 1887, p.2.

⁸⁹² "Afro American League," *ACT*, 16 September 1887, p.1.

African slave trade. Considering the church's renewed efforts on behalf of the nation's blacks, and Rudd's keen sense of the times, it is no surprise that the editor took advantage of the prevailing mood in the church by proposing in the spring of 1888, the gathering of the first Colored Catholic Congress.⁸⁹³

The inspiration of the Catholic congress tradition embodied as it was in the German Verein, along with the influence of the black convention movement incarnate in Thomas Fortune's proposed Afro-American League, together served as catalysts for a hybridized organization, the Colored Catholic Congress movement. Rudd proposed the gathering of a congress of black Catholics in the May 4, 1888, edition of the *ACT*. He believed that black Catholics should strive to be the "leaven" of the race, raising the people "not only in the eye of God but before men."⁸⁹⁴

In Rudd's proposal, he also spoke of the merits of organization. "To personal worth, association greatly adds," Rudd claimed. The editor of the *ACT* further noted the potential force of collective action. He wrote, "what a trifle is a drop of rain! The terrible storms, however, which devastes [sic] towns, uproot the sturdy oaks, sweep away the growing crops, and deal destruction on all sides are but drops of rain united and pitted in the wild outburst of the elements..." Rudd further added that the leaders of the race should "gather together from every city in the Union in some suitable place, where under the blessing of Holy Mother, Church, they may get to know one another and take up the cause of the race." Rudd also speculated that such a meeting would involve addressing "questions directly affecting the race, irrespective of religion." He further presumed that

⁸⁹³ Spalding, 338-339; Graden, 199.

⁸⁹⁴ "Congress of Colored Catholics," *ACT*, 4 May 1888, p.2.

views would be exchanged and a united course of action be adopted with regard to these same issues.⁸⁹⁵

In the next issue of the *ACT*, May 11, 1888, Rudd urged his readers, both black and white, to express their opinions as to the merits of such a meeting.⁸⁹⁶ In the subsequent issue of the *ACT*, Rudd speculated that there were in the country at the time about 200,000 black Catholics. He also argued that one of the “most important works” of the proposed congress would be to “find the exact number, their avocations, their condition intellectually, morally and materially.” Having accomplished this goal, Rudd stated that the congress would next aim to “seek to better the condition” of these same individuals, thus bettering “all human conditions.”⁸⁹⁷ Despite the initial emphasis Rudd placed on the importance of accessing the size and condition of the nation’s black Catholic population, there is no evidence from the records of the proceedings of the first Colored Catholic Congress to support a claim that establishing the “exact” number of black Catholics in the country or their condition “intellectually,” “morally” and “materially,” remained a priority at the historic gathering.⁸⁹⁸

Rudd, in his early statements about the proposed Colored Catholic Congress, demonstrated a commitment to reading history through the hermeneutic of the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism. For example, Rudd claimed that the “Catholic Church like a

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁶ *ACT*, 11 May 1888, p.2.

⁸⁹⁷ *ACT*, 18 May 1888, p.2.

⁸⁹⁸ Slattery did deliver the committee on resolutions report citing the number of black churches, schools and orphanages. See “Reports of &committees,” [sic] *ACT*, 12 January 1889, pp. 1-4. Milton E. Smith lamented that of the seven million blacks living in the United States there were but a “few thousand Catholics.” See “Fourth Day’s Proceedings,” *ACT*, 12 January 1889, p. 4. Throughout the life of the newspaper, Rudd argued with those he believed were under reporting the number of black Catholics in the country. For example, in July 1889, he challenged a report given at the A.M.E. Sunday School convention in Cincinnati because it estimated that there were only fifty-thousand black Catholics in the U.S. Rudd replied, “50,000 is not one fourth of the number of Colored Catholics in the United States.” See *ACT*, 20 July 1889, p.2.

beacon light, points out the only sure way to a higher and perfect civilization...” He further claimed that African Americans “More than one- sixth of a vast population, each in law the equal of another, yet, in fact, debarred from common justice, stretch forth their hands to the Church asking that She teach mankind a decent respect for itself and for God.” In this same exchange, Rudd pleaded with Catholics to “drop...those feelings that would prevent the humblest of the creatures of Almighty God from coming into the fold...” With this plea, Rudd offered a warning to those who might “by word or act, in public or private, turn a soul from God’s true Church...” Rudd further urged his Catholic readers to make amends for the past by taking a “Colored non-Catholic by the hand” and leading him into the church. Concluding this same article, Rudd asked for the “prayers of the Catholic world” on behalf of the proposed meeting.⁸⁹⁹

In the May 25, 1888, edition of the *ACT*, Rudd printed an exchange from the *New Record*. The writer of this exchange challenged the proposed congress meeting based on his concern over instituting a “color line” in the church. Though Rudd was an integrationist, the proposed Colored Catholic Congress appeared to some of the *ACT*’s readers to violate the spirit of Catholic teachings. Though the *New Record* correspondent supported the discussion of matters pertaining to the race, he stated, “We do not favor the introduction of the color line into the Catholic Church, as there is of the Methodist, Baptist, and other sects.” This writer continued,

The church does not hold men as whites or as blacks, but as Catholics, Christians. While we favor the Colored people exerting themselves to exalt the Catholic faith and spread it among the their race, yet we do not see the propriety of a congress of Colored Catholics as a distinctly religious gathering...it were better that such a gathering were black nor white, but Catholic...⁹⁰⁰

⁸⁹⁹ *ACT*, 18 May 1888, p.2.

⁹⁰⁰ *New Record*; quoted in *ACT*, 25 May 1888, p.2.

Rudd probably printed this exchange because it expressed the editor's conviction that no color line existed in principle in the Catholic Church. He also must have appreciated the genuine interest the *New Record* seemed to demonstrate vis à vis the plight of African Americans. Rudd did not respond to the criticism the contributor offered, however. Rudd understood the value of blacks working to solve the "Negro Problem." Had Rudd chose to respond to the editor of the *New Record*, it is likely his commitment to racial uplift and the improvement of the plight of blacks would have been articulated. Though Rudd would have emphasized the vital role the church must play in the uplift of the race, he would have nonetheless insisted that African Americans were best positioned to understand what needed to be done on behalf of blacks. Rudd may have also added that the proposed gathering was not to be exclusively attended by African Americans.⁹⁰¹

In June 1888, Cincinnati hosted the Catholic Young Men's National Union meeting. At this gathering, Rudd discussed his idea of holding a Colored Catholic Congress. The group answered approvingly with applause. Further, John Mackey, rector of the Cathedral of St. Peter in Chains, offered the use of Springer Institute for the proposed meeting. Rudd concluded, "Once more the falsehood that the Church abets discrimination is nailed."⁹⁰²

In the June 8, 1888, issue of the *ACT*, Rudd penned an article entitled "The Proposed Congress of Colored Catholics: What Can It Do?" In this article, the editor of the *ACT* addressed the work that Catholics would need to take up at the proposed

⁹⁰¹ A number of white delegates and white Catholic leaders participated in the first congress, as well as in the subsequent Colored Catholic Congresses.

⁹⁰² *ACT*, 8 June 1888, p. 2.

meeting. Tellingly, this article speaks nothing of black Catholics getting to know one another, nor does it mention the delegates aiding members of the Catholic clergy in propagating the faith among African Americans. Rather, in it, Rudd emphasized what seems to be another major goal of the congress, bettering the condition of the race. In other words, the proposed congress was not merely concerned with sizing up the makeup of America's black Catholics, nor was it exclusively about converting blacks to Catholicism. Rather, it was also about justice, discovering the ways in which the impediments to equality and racial uplift could be removed. The above goal seems to embody a more direct aspect of Rudd's campaign against race injustice. In Rudd's June article on the congress, the editor began by declaring that African Americans, in fact, had "many grievances." He then explored a number of these existing injustices.⁹⁰³

Rudd, for example, lamented the fact that blacks in the North as well as in the South, were being barred from learning or practicing trades including, blacksmithing, wheel righting, carpentry and bricklaying. Secondly, Rudd argued that it was wrong for blacks to be excluded from factory work because of racial prejudice. Part of the dilemma for African Americans, according to Rudd, was the result of their being denied membership in trade unions. Rudd believed that the planned congress would serve as a venue in which a memorial on behalf of blacks could be addressed to Catholics in trade unions. He further proposed that a "carefully selected" delegation should be sent to the upcoming convention of the Knights of Labor to urge the memorial's adoption.⁹⁰⁴

Similarly, Rudd felt it unjust that foreign mechanics and factory workers were given preferential treatment over the country's African American population. This may

⁹⁰³ "The Proposed Congress of Colored Catholics: What Can It Do?," *ACT*, 8 June 1888, p.2.

⁹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

be one of the reasons why Rudd did not lift a “cry of justice” on behalf of Chinese workers facing discrimination in the U.S. Rudd went on to express his conviction that the congress’ work would capture the attention of Catholic bishops and priests who would in turn recognize “the injustice of robbing the Colored people of trades and factory work.” At the same time, Rudd believed that these same church officials would secure “every means in their power to destroy such a contemptible barrier.”⁹⁰⁵ The above citation again highlights Rudd’s convictions concerning the important role the Catholic Church would play in the African American’s quest for justice.

As noted by Cyprian Davis, another goal of the congress was to promote black pride. In the June 22, 1888, issue of the *ACT*, Rudd wrote,

We had watched for years the tendency on the part of some people to ignore the Negro as a man and citizen in the United States. We had noted the progress from other parts of the earth. We had seen that although our race had spent two and a half centuries here laboring without pay, when civilization had become civilized enough to let us walk about the country, our race had served so long, so faithfully, and received only kicks and robbery for reward, the robber spirit of caste discrimination, the crop-mortgage system, the prison labor lease system, the unequal tax system, all kindred evils, remnants of a barbarous past, still stood Gibraltar like to bar our advancement; we thought that if we would turn the attention of our people to the moral truths and the exact equality of the human family before God, as taught by Holy Mother Church Universal that spouse of Christ our Lord would lift us as she has the mighty Caucassian [sic] race...⁹⁰⁶

Rudd went on to emphasize the achievements of blacks including Augustus Tolton, Fredrick Douglas and the Oblate Sisters of Providence.⁹⁰⁷ The recognition of the achievements of prominent African Americans is consistent with Rudd’s commitment to justice and equality. In spite of claims to the contrary by critics of blacks, Rudd was able

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁷ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 172; *ACT*, 22 June 1888, p.2.

to highlight individuals who had demonstrated remarkable achievements and virtue. Rudd could point to blacks who found self actualization through the ministry of the Catholic Church, though the beneficiaries of the church's ministry of uplift in society were not only Catholic. Protestants also profited from the church's work in society.

In later part of June 1888, Rudd, probably at the behest of the Fr. Slattery, sent a copy of the proposed agenda for the first meeting of the congress to Archbishop Elder for the bishop's approval.⁹⁰⁸ After Rudd had submitted the resolutions to Elder, the editor of the *ACT* penned a letter to Slattery stating as much. Further, Rudd communicated the archbishop's demonstrated interest in the African American apostolate. Rudd confided in Slattery "with [Elder] enlisted on our side the Convention will accomplish a great deal more than we now suppose." In this same letter, Rudd asked Slattery to forward any "resolutions or suggestions" that Slattery may have had, promising to get the archbishop's written approval for these modifications.⁹⁰⁹

By late August 1888, Elder had approved the resolutions for the proposed congress. Rudd wrote Slattery, "I have received from the Archbishop the resolutions submitted for his consideration and counsel. I am now ready to go ahead with the work of the proposed Congress of Colored Catholics." In this same correspondence, Rudd surmised the best location for the meeting would be Washington, D.C. He asked Slattery to offer a date for the gathering.⁹¹⁰ On Rudd's part, he thought the month of October or

⁹⁰⁸ Spalding, 339.

⁹⁰⁹ Daniel Rudd, to John Slattery, 2 July 1888, transcript in the hand of Daniel Rudd, 9k10, Josephite Archives, Baltimore, Maryland.

⁹¹⁰ Rudd's initially seemed to prefer to hold the first gathering of the congress in Cincinnati. This may have been because of the support pledged by both Elder and Mackey. Rudd also knew that he could count on the help of his many influential non-Catholic friends from Cincinnati's African American citizenry. See *ACT*, 8 June 1888, p.3.

perhaps Christmas week would be best. Rudd did request that the meeting be held “at the earliest possible time.”⁹¹¹

In September 1888, Rudd discussed the Catholic Church’s mission efforts vis à vis blacks. In this article, however, Rudd once again emphasized the need for black Catholics to take up the work on their own behalf. Rudd wrote,

The proposed Congress is intended to to [sic] awaken the Negro Catholic to a sense of his duty. Important questions will be submitted and discussed. Steps should be taken to provide competent Catholic teachers to meet the growing needs of the Colored people in the South. We must work ourselves if we expect to accomplish anything. The Colored man is naturally religious. He believes; but “Faith without good works will not save us,” say the doctors of the Church. Let us be up and doing...⁹¹²

The above citation demonstrates the fact that with the creation of the Colored Catholic Congress movement, Rudd and other African American leaders were promoting a race justice agenda that placed a high premium on black Catholic agency.

The official call for the first meeting of the Colored Catholic Congress movement was issued in the October 6, 1888, edition of the *ACT*. In the extant copy of this edition of Rudd’s newspaper, an article on page one has been removed. It is presumed that this removed article was the official call for the congress.

In the October 13 issue of the *ACT*, Rudd again printed the official call for the Colored Catholic Congress. Each “Colored Catholic organization was entitled to one delegate for every five-hundred members or fraction thereof.” Further, the call urged the formation of organizations in locales where none existed in order that delegates might be elected to attend the congress. Parishes were also permitted to send one delegate.⁹¹³ Davis

⁹¹¹ Daniel Rudd, to John Slattery, 21, 22 August 1888, transcript in hand of Daniel Rudd, 9k11, Josephite Archives, Baltimore, Maryland.

⁹¹² *ACT*, 21 September 1888, p.2.

⁹¹³ “A Call,” *ACT*, 13 October 1888, p.1.

has observed that it is unclear whether such local elections were ever held.⁹¹⁴ Evidence from the *ACT*, however, indicates that a local delegate election was held in Rudd's home parish, St. Ann's.⁹¹⁵ The official call for the congress was signed by Rudd and by P.J. Augustine of Pennsylvania, Felix Pye, Henry L. Jones of Louisiana, Robert White and Robert L. Ruffin of Massachusetts, Charles H. Butler of Washington, D.C., Wm. E. Bl[a]ckstone of Ohio, Isaac Moten of Indiana, and Jno. Page.⁹¹⁶

In the official call for the congress, Rudd reasoned that "we have not as much information as we should have of the number, location and progress of the race in Catholicity." He further asked that black Catholics "do all in [their] power to aid in the conversion and education" of the race. The conversion and education of the race seems to introduce a somewhat modified agenda for the historic gathering. It is conceivable that Elder or Slattery desired to see this less controversial focus emphasized. It is also possible that Cardinal Gibbons may have expressed concern over the possibility that the gathering would agitate beyond the bounds of "wisdom, prudence, charity and discretion."⁹¹⁷

In Gibbon's opening sermon to the congress, he suggested to the assembly some topics for discussion, among them were Christian education, temperance, and the "practice of economy." He further urged the assembly to "resolve to unite with your pastors in promoting every good cause, and to aid them in every possible way in the great work in which they are engaged." The prelate voiced nothing of discussing the grievances

⁹¹⁴ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 172.

⁹¹⁵ "The Congress of Colored Catholics," *ACT*, 21 September 1888, p.1.

⁹¹⁶ "A Call," *ACT*, 13 October 1888, p.1.

⁹¹⁷ "Washington, D.C. Catholic Congress," *ACT*, 12 January 1889, p.1.

of the race. Nor did Rudd mention the need to address the grievances of African Americans in the editor's official call for the first Colored Catholic Congress.⁹¹⁸

It is plausible that the reason Gibbons did not mention the discussion of grievances as part of the purpose for the congress is that the prelate feared such discussion would present the Catholic Church in a negative light. It is also possible that Rudd avoided any suggestion that the congress would air the grievances of African Americans because the editor feared that to do so would have caused concern for church leaders who sanctioned the meeting. Whether or not such a sensitive agenda item was approved by Gibbons, Elder or Slattery is uncertain. What is clear is that delegates took the opportunity afforded them at the congress to lay out a social justice agenda which included the elimination of racial discrimination; this same resolution also called upon Catholics to lend their sympathy, fellowship and support to the cause of racial uplift.⁹¹⁹

In the October 13, 1888, issue of the *ACT*, the same issue in which Rudd printed the official call for the congress a second time, Rudd communicated the important role the church would play in the establishment of justice and equality for blacks. For Rudd the advancement of the African American was to be attributed to the Catholic Church. For example, the editor of the *ACT* argued,

the light of civilization of the present is so strong that no race can stand within its sun-like beams without improving in some particular. If we ask the cause of all this, the answer would be that it is one of the results of Christianity; appearing as she did at the crowning moment of ancient civilization, She began there and steered the bark of human advancement safely over the dark and troubled seas of the "Dark Ages." Like a star She smiled complacently amid the storms that raged over the earth for a thousand years and emerged, at last, the purest gem of all God's handiwork; and our race, like other races has come within its benign influence...

⁹¹⁸ Ibid.

⁹¹⁹ Spalding, 342.

Rudd continued,

We submit the proposition that Christianity, in the breadth of her doctrines, has taught mankind the brother love, the justice and the intelligence to recognize, as far as is done, the absolute equality of one man with another, no matter his race. But Christianity, pure and simple, is Catholicity; hence through the Catholic Church, which alone was commissioned to teach all nations, all this goodness has come.⁹²⁰

In the weeks following the call for the congress, Rudd seemed to busy himself with the arrangements of the historic gathering. Rudd informed his readers that he would not be able to visit subscribers until after the meeting of the congress. He further urged his readers to pay their subscriptions when they came due.⁹²¹

In the weeks immediately preceding the congress, Rudd published endorsement letters from a number of prominent church officials including Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Elder and Bishop A.A. Curtis (1831-1908), of Wilmington, Delaware. Rudd's purpose for publishing these letters of approval was to demonstrate to his readers that the church was "awake to the needs of the Colored race in America."⁹²² In November 1888, Rudd announced that Slattery had forwarded a contribution of twenty-five dollars to help with the expenses of the congress.⁹²³ This same month, Rudd informed his readers that the states of Missouri, Illinois, Arkansas, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina and Ohio had "taken the lead in the election of delegates."⁹²⁴

In November 1888, Rudd was forced to address an issue which seems to have taken him by surprise. In the weeks leading up to the congress, Rudd evidently received a number of letters enquiring as to whether female delegates would be permitted to be

⁹²⁰ *ACT*, 13 October 1888, p.2.

⁹²¹ *ACT*, 20 October 1888, p.2.

⁹²² "Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Elder," *ACT*, 29 December 1888, p.1.

⁹²³ *ACT*, 3 November 1888, p.2.

⁹²⁴ *ACT*, 17 November 1888, p.2.

seated at the congress. Rudd informed his readers that though there was no clause “prohibiting the attendance of female delegates,” “the signers” of the call did not believe that “it would be advisable to have women delegates at...the initial meeting.” Instead, they expected that female sodalities and societies would be represented by male “spiritual directors or by other of their gentlemen well-wishers.”⁹²⁵ Though there is no evidence to suggest that women served as delegates in this meeting, women did participate in the week’s activities. For example, women were part of the choral program during the opening service of the congress.⁹²⁶ On Thursday, in one of the afternoon sessions, Miss Hallie Q. Brown, from Wilberforce University was called on to give a recitation “which she did most acceptably,” after “prefacing her recitation by a few complimentary remarks.”⁹²⁷

The refusal to allow female delegates to be seated at the congress was not well received by all the delegates. For example, on the first day of the proceedings, Robert L. Ruffin, the *ACT*’s eastern agent, addressed the delegates. He declared, “There is no joy without its sorrows, no sweetness without its bitterness. I should have liked to have seen delegates from the females, for I recognize the work which women are doing in bringing men to a higher civilization.”⁹²⁸

The First Colored Catholic Congress (Washington, D.C., 1889)

The delegation from Washington, D.C. played an important role in the initial gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress. For example, W.H. Smith was made

⁹²⁵ *ACT*, 24 November 1888, p.2. It is unclear whether female representation was addressed in the planning of subsequent congresses. For more on Rudd’s discussion of women at the congress see chapter seven.

⁹²⁶ Rudd, *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*, 12.

⁹²⁷ “Evening Session,” *ACT*, 12 January 1889, p.2.

⁹²⁸ *ACT*, 24 November 1888, p.2. In this same account Rudd suggested one evening session would be open to men and women alike.

temporary chairperson of the assembly.⁹²⁹ Similarly, Charles Butler and W.S. Lofton were appointed temporary secretaries. Not all posts, however, were awarded to black Catholic delegates. For example, New York's John E. Burke, rector of St. Benedict the Moor, was appointed deacon, and Fr. A.B. Leeson was appointed deacon at the Cardinal's throne.⁹³⁰

On Monday, January 1, 1889, Colored Catholic Congress delegates began arriving at St. Augustine's Parish in Washington, D.C. Spalding has observed that eighty-five delegates attended the first meeting of the Colored Catholic Congress.⁹³¹ The last call for the congress was issued in the December 29, 1888, issue of the *ACT*. This call included a list of sixty-nine signatories.⁹³² When the doors were opened the crowds pressed in and filled every seat; those who could not find a seat filled the church's aisles. By the time the service began at 10:30 a.m., there was no remaining standing room.⁹³³

Augustus Tolton, at the time the country's only recognized African American priest, celebrated High Mass. Cardinal Gibbons gave the opening sermon. In his sermon Gibbons proclaimed the merits of Christian education. Though Gibbons intimated that it was not for him to select the subjects for consideration in the meeting, he did, however, suggest that the delegates might discuss Christian education, the merits of temperance, the practice of economy, as well as the importance of inculcating in African Americans a love for industry.⁹³⁴

⁹²⁹ Smith served a number of years as the Assistant Librarian to the U.S. House of Representatives. See *ACT*, 21 December 1889, p.2.

⁹³⁰ *ACT*, 29 December 1888, p.2.

⁹³¹ Spalding, 330. Davis has stated that the number of delegates was about one-hundred. See Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 163.

⁹³² "The Catholic Congresses," *ACT*, 29 December 1888, p.2.

⁹³³ "Washington D.C.," *ACT*, 12 January 1889, p.1.

⁹³⁴ *Ibid.*

In his sermon, Gibbons discussed the seamless character of the Catholic Church. Gibbons told the assembled body, the church “knows no North nor South.” Not even the Civil War could divide her, the cardinal boasted. Most importantly, Gibbons declared that the Catholic Church was a body which knew no “Jew, Greek, or barbarian.” He argued, “our Savior broke down the wall that divided men and made us one family; we know no race.” Gibbons further declared that there was in the church “no distinction on account of race or condition.”⁹³⁵ Evidence for the veracity of the cardinal’s claim was, at that moment, being witnessed by the assembled delegates, according to Gibbons. For during the meeting, Tolton, a black priest, had offered up the “holy sacrifice” assisted by two white Josephite priests.⁹³⁶

Following Gibbons sermon, W.H. Smith of Washington, D.C., stated that the purpose of the gathering was not to carry on “doctrinal or theological discussion.” These matters, Smith declared, would be taken up by duly appointed teachers of the church. Smith further stated that the delegates had come to discuss the needs of African Americans and by “conference and consultation to try and devise ways and means of bettering” the condition of blacks, “both religiously and socially.”⁹³⁷

The congress resumed its meetings on Wednesday morning at 10 a.m. On this second day, a committee of permanent organization was formed and Rudd was subsequently elected president of the congress. Following his election, Rudd spoke to the delegates. In his address, it is possible to discern both Rudd’s strong commitment to black agency, as well as his commitment to an ecclesiological-centered vision of justice. The equality presumed in Rudd’s language concerning the “Fatherhood of God

⁹³⁵ Ibid.

⁹³⁶ Ibid.

⁹³⁷ Ibid.

and Brotherhood of Man” lay at the core of Rudd’s vision of justice. Further, it was the Catholic Church which represented the “only genuine effort to prove the fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man...,” according to Rudd. Similarly, Rudd claimed that “the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are enunciated by the Catholic Church in no doubtful terms.”⁹³⁸

In Rudd’s comments before the delegates of the congress, he again communicated his espousal of the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism applying this same hermeneutic to the plight of African Americans.

It may not be out of place here to say that the Catholic Church, from the authorization by her divine Founder began the first universal crusade against human slavery... By cultivating a moral sentiment among all civilized nations—taking conditions as they were wherever she met them, gradually training men to master themselves, she lifted mankind to the proud position now occupied; and although the star of human progress has not yet reached its zenith her history is sublime; continuing along these lines the great Church of Christ is destined to lift humanity to its highest plane of perfection; and in the moral and mental elevation of mankind, she must of necessity lift the Colored race...⁹³⁹

As David Spalding has pointed out, papers and speeches delivered both by delegates and the members of the Catholic clergy made up the bulk of the proceedings at the first Colored Catholic Congress. In these speeches the contributions made by the Catholic Church on behalf of African Americans were highlighted.⁹⁴⁰ The proceedings were not without controversy, however. For example, on day three of the congress, a disagreement among delegates arose concerning the report of the committee on resolutions. This report had been delivered by Slattery.⁹⁴¹

⁹³⁸ Rudd, *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*, 24-25. It appears this speech was not initially published in the *ACT*.

⁹³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴⁰ Spalding, 341.

⁹⁴¹ “Washington D.C.,” *ACT*, 12 January 1889, pp.1, 4.

The substance of Slattery's report was made up largely of statistical data relative to the country's black Catholics. The report further proposed the establishment of schools for black youth, the establishment of catechism classes in churches and in private homes where no churches existed, it warned against membership in secret societies, and urged that wholesome literature be placed in the hands of black youth. The controversy seems to have been occasioned in large part by Slattery's expressed hope that blacks would be afforded the opportunity to become master mechanics. Though the resolution carried in the early session of the congress, in the afternoon session, a vote was conducted to reconsider its passage. Fr. Michael F. Walsh, rector of St. Augustine's Parish, and African American delegate, Willis J. Smith, perhaps the most radical of the delegates to attend the meeting, led the opposition against Slattery's resolution.⁹⁴² Walsh "strongly expressed his dissatisfaction" at Slattery's report stating that he "favored an address which would properly express the sentiments of the congress." In contrast to Slattery, Walsh voiced his hope that blacks would be encouraged to establish high schools.⁹⁴³ Both Smith and Walsh appear to have opposed Slattery's report, perhaps because of Slattery's paternalistic tone, or maybe because some black delegates objected to Slattery's less ambitious prescription for racial uplift.

Animosity between Walsh and Slattery which preceded the congress also likely fuelled the dispute. The problems between Slattery and Walsh had developed almost immediately after Walsh, a Josephite, was appointed rector at St. Augustine's Parish in 1881. Slattery's oversight of Walsh while the latter was at St. Augustine's Parish seems, at times, to have been overbearing and condescending. At the time of Walsh's

⁹⁴²Ibid. Smith would earn the title "Radical Smith" for his involvement in the second Colored Catholic Congress gathering held in Cincinnati in July 1890. See "Washington, D.C.," *ACT*, 2 August 1890, p.1.

⁹⁴³"Washington D.C.," *ACT*, 12 January 1889, pp.1, 4.

appointment, the congregation was financially strapped and Slattery expected Walsh to remedy the situation. Though much of the difficulty between the two seems to have stemmed from Slattery's overbearing management style, there also seems to have been some substantive differences in their respective approaches as to how the church should address the "Negro question."⁹⁴⁴

Walsh was given the honor of making the closing address at the congress. In this address, Walsh established a position on segregated churches which seems to further distinguish his views from those of Slattery. It will be recalled that Slattery sanctioned the establishment of separate parishes for black Catholics because he believed it would improve race relations. Slattery had further declared that the troublesome blacks who kept up the "bugbear of social rights afloat" and who demanded the "same churches and the same parlors" were Coloreds of mixed ancestry, "Quadroons" and "Mulattoes."⁹⁴⁵ Though never mentioning Slattery's comments directly in Walsh's final address before the congress, the rector of St. Augustine's told the delegates, "the present condition of your race, that calls for separate churches and schools, especially in country districts, is exceptional." Walsh further pointed out that canon law made no provision for race distinctions in the administration of the sacraments. In what might well have irked Slattery, the rector of St. Augustine told the assembly "you are free to go to church where you please because you are Catholics."⁹⁴⁶

The most important document produced at the first Colored Congress was the final resolution.⁹⁴⁷ This statement was subsequently disseminated across the country. This

⁹⁴⁴ MacGregor, 104-108.

⁹⁴⁵ "Why Are There Separate Catholic Churches for the Colored Race," *ACT*, 17 February 1888, p.1.

⁹⁴⁶ "Washington D.C.," *ACT*, 12 January 1889, pp.1, 4.

⁹⁴⁷ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 173; See also Spalding, 342.

resolution of the congress acknowledged the current state of injustice existing in society. The document read “the inalienable rights given to every man in the very dawn of creation, we must admit—only to lament it—the fact that the sacred rights of justice and of humanity are still sadly wounded...” Despite the present circumstances the document expressed the conviction that the Catholic Church would “by the innate forces of her truth, gradually dispel the prejudices unhappily prevailing amongst so many of our misguided people...” The document further committed the delegates to work for the establishment of Catholic schools for the African American population. The document called for the establishment of literary societies to foster “social and intellectual improvement.” African Americans were furthered urged to practice the “self—sacrificing virtue of temperance.”⁹⁴⁸

In this same resolution blacks sought redress for the many injustices forced upon them because of race discrimination. For example, an appeal was made to labor organizations and trade unions to admit African Americans. Businesses were also encouraged to hire blacks. Similarly, the practice of renting poorly lighted, inadequately ventilated, and poorly constructed tenements to blacks was condemned. This same resolution recognized the merits of industrial schools. It further recognized the vital community role fulfilled by orphanages, hospitals and asylums. The document also praised the work of “various religious orders of the Catholic Church” relative to the “African race.” Finally, the resolution pledged a commitment to carry out the pertinent mandates of Baltimore III.⁹⁴⁹

⁹⁴⁸ Rudd, *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*, 70-72.

⁹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 70-72.

Response to the Congress

In Rudd's mind, the meeting of the first Colored Catholic Congress was a watershed moment in the life of African Americans. Further, he believed the meeting evidenced the sincerity of the church's efforts on the part of the country's black population. Rudd remained convinced that a genuine "brother love" in society could only be attained through the efforts of the church. Justice would be established only when all groups of America's "heterogeneous population" were afforded the right to "move in the same plane" illumining the "many parts of a homogenous [sic] whole." Rudd observed that the Catholic Church presented a "common family" speaking a "common language." He further believed that in this same family no "distinction on account of race or color" would be made.⁹⁵⁰

That other Catholic and African American newspapers viewed the first Colored Catholic Congress meeting as important is evidenced by their coverage of the gathering. For example, the *Standard* of Philadelphia observed that the meeting might teach "politicians" and humanitarian philanthropists that there was a way by which the "race problem" could be solved. The race issue might be solved, according to the publication, when the white race began to treat blacks as "'dear brothers in the Lord.'"⁹⁵¹ The *Catholic Standard* (presumably the same publication as cited above) informed its readers that most of the two-hundred delegates to the first Colored Catholic Congress held in Washington, D.C. hailed from the South, but the North and West provided the

⁹⁵⁰ *ACT*, 26 January 1889, p.2.

⁹⁵¹ *Standard*; quoted in "The Congress of Colored Catholics," *ACT*, 26 January 1889, p.1. The *Standard* appears to be a white Catholic publication, perhaps the *Catholic Standard* of Philadelphia.

spokespersons for the gathering. The newspaper also claimed that “much good” would result from the gathering.⁹⁵²

After the congress, the Chicago *Conservator*, a black publication, reported that the Catholic Church was “determined to make a spirited struggle for converts to its faith.” This same publication reasoned that this initiative would be successful because, though other denominations were guilty of maintaining the color line, the Catholic Church was not.⁹⁵³ Following the congress, black Protestant newspapers also reported on the historic meeting. On one occasion, Rudd printed an exchange from the *Star of Zion*. The contributor to this publication contrasted the Protestant Church’s treatment of blacks, with that of the relatively progressive Catholic Church. The former fostered a “spirit of caste,” the latter, “as a rule,” showed “little race prejudice,” the paper declared. This same publication further noted that whites and blacks worshipped together in the Catholic Church without the “slightest apparent friction.”⁹⁵⁴

Evidence from the *ACT* suggests that the idea for the lay Catholic congress movement, which held its first meeting in November 1889, in Baltimore, can be traced to Rudd and the first gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress. For example, a resolution was passed by the executive committee of the congress to send a delegation to the German Verein in order to explore the possibility of holding a “general Catholic Congress.” This resolution appears to have set in motion a meeting which culminated in the assembly of the first lay Catholic congress. Following the gathering of the first lay congress in November 1889, The Philadelphia *Tribune* offered the following,

⁹⁵² *Standard*; quoted in *ACT*, 26 January 1889, p.2. Most delegates for the meeting appeared to come from Maryland and the Washington, D.C. area. Only a handful of delegates attended the congress from the other southern States including, Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia, South Carolina, Missouri and Louisiana.

⁹⁵³ “The Catholic Church,” *ACT*, 26 January 1889, p.1.

⁹⁵⁴ *ACT*, 2 February 1889, p.2.

It must surely be gratifying to the colored people of all denominations to notice the reception accorded to the representatives of their race by the members of both lay and Clerical of the late Congress held at Baltimore. One of the three gentlemen who deserve the credit of having started and organized the Congress was a colored man, Mr. Daniel A. Rudd, of Cincinnati. O...[Rudd] was nominally tendered a vote of thanks for the important share he had in the successful issue of this first Centennial Congress.⁹⁵⁵

In conclusion, Rudd's attempt to bring together black Catholics from around the country to further the cause of justice led to the first meeting of the Colored Catholic Congress movement in January 1889. In this chapter I have traced this movement through its first historic meeting. In the next chapter, I will explore subsequent gatherings of this same body.

⁹⁵⁵ "For Two Christians," *ACT*, 21 December 1889, p.2. This same exchange credits William J. Onahan and Henry J. Spaunhorst as the other two founders of the movement. The official call for the congress lists these same three men as the sole members of the Committee on Organization. See "Call for a General Congress," Onahan Call for Archbishops and Bishops, Archives at Notre Dame University, South Bend Indiana, CONA IX 1A. John R. Rudd, the *ACT*'s business manager and Daniel's nephew, also served as a delegate to the first lay Catholic congress. See *Souvenir Volume of Three Great Events in the History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (Detroit, Michigan, 1889; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978) delegate photographs.

Chapter IX

The Congress Movement from 1889-1895

An overview

Davis has identified one of the important results of the first congress. Through Rudd's efforts, the editor of the *ACT* discovered a population of black Catholics never before "contacted" or "consulted."⁹⁵⁶ Moreover, this same group of delegates was mobilized and energized as a result of the gathering in Washington, D.C. Given the success of the first gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress movement, Rudd and its leaders decided to continue the work of the assembly. Four additional congresses were held, though it appears that Rudd took an active leadership role only in the second congress held in 1890 in Cincinnati, and in the third congress held in 1892 in Philadelphia. This chapter will detail the work of Rudd and the congress movement after the initial watershed meeting held in 1889 in Washington, D.C.

Davis has observed that subsequent meetings of the Colored Catholic Congresses were more significant in that they began addressing more "substantive issues." He further points out that following the first congress, delegates began thinking in terms of cohesive action and permanent organization. Davis also has discerned a "certain radicalization" of the movement even as new congressional leaders began to emerge. More importantly, as black Catholic leaders worked collectively to address the concerns of their constituents, Davis has identified the emergence of a "black Catholic theological consciousness."⁹⁵⁷

⁹⁵⁶ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 172.

⁹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 175.

The Second Colored Catholic Congress (Cincinnati, 1890)

Following the first Colored Catholic Congress held in Washington, D. C in 1889, a committee was assembled to select a city to host the second congress. One delegate suggested St. Louis, another, most probably Rudd, suggested Cincinnati. It will be recalled that John Mackey had offered to host the gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress when Rudd first began promoting the idea in June 1888.⁹⁵⁸ In the course of the deliberations over where to hold the second congress, however, Fr. Patrick Fahey (1857-1917), convinced the group to name Richmond, Virginia, as the host city. It is unclear exactly why Cincinnati was subsequently selected to host the second Colored Catholic Congress.⁹⁵⁹ It may be that the appointment of a new bishop in Richmond in July 1889, Augustine Van De Vyver (1844-1911), occasioned the change in venues. Van De Vyver replaced Americanist Bishop John J. Keane.

The delegates to the second Colored Catholic Congress gathered for the celebration of the Solemn High Mass at the Cathedral of St. Peter in Chains in Cincinnati at 9 a.m. on July 9, 1890. Slattery subsequently reported that 125 delegates attended the second congress.⁹⁶⁰ Cyprian Davis, relying on a Cleveland *Gazette* report, however, has estimated that only about forty-eight attended.⁹⁶¹

⁹⁵⁸ "Catholic Young Mens [sic] National Union," *ACT*, 8 June 1888, p. 1.

⁹⁵⁹ "Adjourned to Meet at Richmond," *ACT*, 12 January 1889, p.4. Fahey was a Josephite. Upon taking the "Negro vow" in 1884, he came to the United States from Ireland by way of Mill Hill to work among African Americans. Fahey ministered for two years at St. Patrick's in Baltimore, Maryland, and then moved to St. Joseph's in Richmond, Virginia. Though it is uncertain as to why the meeting was moved from Richmond to Cincinnati, a decision was reached sometime after the first congress to change venues. It is likely that Daniel Rudd himself was a key player in the decision to move the meeting to his hometown and the base of his publishing enterprise.

⁹⁶⁰ John Slattery, "The Congress of Negro Catholics," *Donahoe's Monthly Magazine* 24 (1890): 269.

⁹⁶¹ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 175.

Given the absence of Archbishop Elder, Mackey delivered the opening sermon.⁹⁶² Mackey was the associate editor of the *ACT* at the time of this historic meeting. He had assumed this same position in May 1889. Mackey was, no doubt, viewed as an advocate for African Americans. The Cathedral of St. Peter in Chains boasted more African American members than any other parish in the city.⁹⁶³ Further, Mackey took special interest in the Cathedral's black membership. For example, he himself conducted a class in the sacraments for blacks desiring to become members of the Catholic Church.⁹⁶⁴

In Mackey's sermon delivered to the delegates of the second Colored Catholic Congress, the priest voiced his opposition to "amalgamation." A careful reading of the *ACT* suggests that Mackey's odd reference was made in response to Archbishop Ireland's May 4 speech delivered at St. Augustine's Parish in Washington, D.C. only two months earlier. Though in his opening address Mackey made no direct reference to Ireland's speech, it is evident the Cincinnati priest opposed the Archbishop of St. Paul's call for the recognition of the full social equality of blacks.⁹⁶⁵

Whereas Ireland's solution to the "Negro Problem" was to "obliterate absolutely" the color line, Mackey wanted to retain the color line, at least with regard to interracial marriages.⁹⁶⁶ In the opening lines of the "welcome sermon" Mackey declared, "the

⁹⁶² Slattery, 269.

⁹⁶³ *ACT*, 20 August 1889, p.2.

⁹⁶⁴ *ACT*, 20 July 1889, p.2.

⁹⁶⁵ For Archbishop Ireland's sermon see "There is no Color Line," *The Catholic Mirror*, 10 May 1890, p.5. Also review chapter four of this dissertation, pages 142-143. Ireland was almost certainly invited to attend the congress but his commitment to speak before the National Education Association's annual convention on July 10 would have precluded it. Ireland's speech in St. Paul was also a controversial speech which proposed a partnership between public schools and parochial schools. See O'Connell, 296.

⁹⁶⁶ "Colored Catholics in St. Paul. Speeches and Interviews. The Congress," *ACT*, 19 April 1890, p.2.

individual of either race who disregards this line of demarcation drawn apparently by nature herself is no credit to either race.”⁹⁶⁷

This is not to say that Mackey did not employ the theologically rich language concerning the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man” so critical to Rudd’s vision of justice. For example, Mackey in his opening sermon declared “the races will go down the stream of time to the end on parallel lines as they have reached us, equal in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.” Mackey further proposed that the precondition for the church’s work on behalf of African Americans would be an understanding that the Negro race would perpetuate itself and would express no “need” or “desire” for “amalgamation with other races.”⁹⁶⁸

Given the above “point of departure,” Mackey assured the delegates that the Catholic Church would champion the cause of blacks by defending their rights, including their right to learn and practice all trades, to sit at the table of gentlemen in public hostelrys, to be permitted to attend Catholic parish schools, as well as the right to be accepted into Catholic charitable confraternities and benevolent societies. Given Mackey’s relatively progressive stand on school integration, the integration of blacks and whites in the work place and in public eateries, the associate editor of the *ACT* appears to have objected to Ireland’s call for absolute social equality primarily because of Mackey’s aversion to interracial unions.⁹⁶⁹

The delegates, no doubt euphoric over Ireland’s previously published remarks on social equality for blacks, must have been taken aback by Mackey’s opening address. Though there had been a small revolt occasioned by Slattery’s objectionable comments in

⁹⁶⁷ “The Congress Proceedings,” *ACT*, 19 July 1890, p.1.

⁹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

the first gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress, it is reasonable to assume that a direct rebuttal of Mackey's offensive comments would have been ill advised.

Subsequently, however, congress delegates including Charles Butler and William S. Lofton would counter Mackey's more flattering portrayal of the church's relationship to its black members. Particularly, Butler and Lofton challenged Mackey's claims regarding black access to Catholic schools.⁹⁷⁰ There is no indication in the *ACT* that delegates expressed a direct rebuttal to Mackey's comments regarding "amalgamation." There is evidence, however, to suggest that Mackey was forced to retreat from his previously outlined, more circumscribed platform of social equality. This event will be discussed in more detail below.

In the opening service of the congress, the choir from St. Ann's Parish sang. A group of African American acolytes from this predominantly black parish served at Mass.⁹⁷¹ Following the opening service, the delegates were dismissed to the cathedral hall. There, Rudd welcomed the delegates. The editor of the *ACT* recalled the work of the first congress, the resolution which called for the establishment of industrial schools for blacks, the importance of practicing temperance, the role trade unions might play in the elevation of the race. Rudd further informed the delegates that they had assembled to "continue the work" and to recognize Cardinal Lavigerie's efforts to abolish the African slave trade. Rudd also reminded the assembly about what had transpired since the last congress held one and one half years earlier in Washington, D. C. In this same address, Rudd mentioned the first lay Catholic congress which had met in November 1889, in

⁹⁷⁰ See "Mr. Bulter's Address," *ACT*, 26 July 1890, p.2. "Dr. Lofton's Address," *ACT*, 26 July 1890, p.1.

⁹⁷¹ "First Day's Proceedings," *ACT*, 19 July 1890, p.1.

Baltimore. Rudd also briefly recalled his visit to Switzerland where he met with Lavigérie.⁹⁷²

Speeches were made in the afternoon session by Slattery, Fr. Patrick McDermott, Fr. John Griffin and Brother Albert St. Vincent.⁹⁷³ Washington Parker was elected permanent chairperson of the second Colored Catholic Congress, and D.S. Mahoney permanent treasurer, D.L. McCloud, C.H. Butler, J.E. Talbert, S.S. Gainer and H.L. Jones were appointed as vice presidents.⁹⁷⁴ W.S. Lofton, D.S. Mahoney, John R. Rudd, Thomas W. Short and S. F. Hardy were also elected to serve as officers. It is important to note, the emergence of this gifted cadre of black Catholic leaders some of whom would serve in leadership roles in succeeding congresses.⁹⁷⁵

On the second day of the meeting, Archbishop Elder offered encouraging words to the delegates assembled “not as a race but as equals.”⁹⁷⁶ Bishop John Ambrose Watterson (1844-1899), of Columbus, Ohio, and Bishop Camillus Paul Maes (1846-1915), of Covington, Kentucky, also addressed the assembly on the second day.⁹⁷⁷ Though Slattery, in an article penned for *Donahoe’s Magazine*, subsequently detailed the speeches given by Elder, Watterson and Maes, he did not record the remarks of African American speakers including Rudd, Lofton or Butler.⁹⁷⁸ This omission leaves one with the impression that Slattery may not have held these three black congressional leaders in high regard. Or perhaps the Josephite’s refusal to publish their speeches was because Lofton and Butler’s remarks were more critical of church’s efforts on behalf of blacks.

⁹⁷²Rudd, *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*, 91-92. Rudd did not record his own address in the *ACT*.

⁹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; Slattery, 269.

⁹⁷⁵ Slattery, 269.

⁹⁷⁶ Rudd, *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*, 94.

⁹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷⁸ Slattery, 270-271.

On the second day of the meeting of the Colored Catholic Congress, William S. Lofton, a Howard trained dentist from Washington D.C., spoke. In his address, Lofton declared that blacks would “hail the dawn of the day, when justice [would] hold the field a conquerer [sic].” Lofton further named a number of allies who had joined the African American campaign for justice. Not surprisingly, first on his list of names, was Archbishop Ireland.⁹⁷⁹

In this same address, Lofton placed great importance on education. He stated that it was second only to a person’s need to know God. Lofton acknowledged that some Catholic missionaries were prejudiced against blacks. He told the assembled delegates that “the Catholic layman or missionary who refuses to do what is in his power for the conversion of the Negro, simply to humor a petty prejudice, [should] blush with shame before God and man...” Later in this same address, Lofton illumined the need to make available industrial education for blacks. Lofton also contradicted, at least to some degree, Mackey’s generous portrayal of the Catholic Church’s record concerning its treatment of African Americans. For example, he argued that Catholics had given little attention to the issue of black education. He informed the delegates,

we value our religion and Catholic training : we marvel that the Divines of the Church do not support their teaching by having colleges and schools, open their doors to at least those of our Colored children who are well behaved and able to pay.

This Lofton urged “under the auspices of our loving and generous Mother the Catholic Church.”⁹⁸⁰

Charles H. Butler of Washington, D.C., a clerk in the U.S. Treasury Department’s Division of Appointments, also read a paper at the congress. He prefaced his remarks

⁹⁷⁹ “Dr. Lofton’s Address,” *ACT*, 26 July 1890, p.1.

⁹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

with praise for the work of Archbishop Ireland. Such a statement must have been perceived as a measured but unmistakable retort to Mackey's convictions concerning the limits of social equality. Butler spoke to the fact that a large number of blacks were being lost to the church every year due to the small number of Catholic schools willing to admit black students. This same speaker called for the establishment of a "Catholic National High Industrial School" in Washington, D.C., a gesture which Butler believed would "remedy a great injustice and secure to our Holy Mother many of her Children."⁹⁸¹ As Davis has previously noted, Butler was a strong advocate of vocational training.⁹⁸² In Butler's speech before the congress he observed, "Industrial Education is the great need for our boys it will give them the most complete control of their faculties will make them alert, accurate, ready physically as well as mentally for the performance of the duties of life."⁹⁸³ Butler further observed that the prejudice suffered by blacks might be attributed to the race's inability to secure more prestigious jobs.⁹⁸⁴

Tellingly, the most rousing speech delivered at the gathering of the second Colored Catholic Congress was offered by Fr. Harrison, rector of the cathedral located in St. Paul, Minnesota.⁹⁸⁵ In his speech, Harrison spoke of the "absolute religious equality" existing in the church. He told the assembled delegates that "morrally [sic] speaking...there are no such persons as Colored Catholics." He contended, "In matters of race the Church is color-blind." Harrison's position seems to parallel Ireland's more "radical" version of social equality. The applause which greeted Harrison following his

⁹⁸¹"Mr. Butler's Address," *ACT*, 26 July 1890, p.2.

⁹⁸² Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 176.

⁹⁸³ Rudd, *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*, 108.

⁹⁸⁴"Mr. Butler's Address," *ACT*, 26 July 1890, p.2.

⁹⁸⁵ Presumably this is John T. Harrison mentioned in chapter four of this dissertation. Rudd may have invited Harrison because Archbishop Ireland was unable to attend.

address lasted several minutes.⁹⁸⁶ Harrison's speech on the "problem of social equality" almost certainly placed Mackey in a rather uncomfortable position.

On the final day of the meeting, a set of resolutions drafted throughout the previous sessions was read to the delegates. These resolutions embodied practical steps which, if applied, would have allowed blacks to more fully experience the equality implied in Rudd's vision of justice. In these resolutions a commitment was made to provide African Americans with religious education, even if that commitment required the establishment of night schools. Also delegates were asked to commit to advising governing authorities as to the protection of the civil rights of all citizens. Further, trade unions were asked to admit blacks, and storekeepers were encouraged to hire African American clerks. A resolution condemning the African slave trade was read. Finally, a resolution promising "filial obedience to the church" was offered along with a commitment to recruit men and women to fill the ranks of the clergy. These resolutions were approved prior to the adjournment of the meeting. Philadelphia was announced as the site of third Colored Catholic Congress which was to be held in January 1892.⁹⁸⁷

After the adjournment of the second Colored Catholic Congress, Mackey hosted a banquet for the delegates. By this time, Mackey seems to have more clearly understood the prevailing mood of the assembly. Simply put, the assembly seemed to prefer Ireland's more complete version of social equality which the archbishop had two months earlier articulated in Washington, D.C. and which had been again reiterated at the congress by Harrison. At the banquet, Rudd reported that Mackey had stated in "forcible language the attitude of the Church toward the races." He further reported that Mackey concluded his

⁹⁸⁶ Rudd, *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*, 112. Rudd did not publish Harrison's sermon in the *ACT*.

⁹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 124-126.

comments by placing himself “squarely on the same platform with Archbishop Ireland.”⁹⁸⁸

Though he did not record the speech in the *ACT*, Rudd subsequently editorialized on Harrison’s speech. Rudd’s vision of justice was supported by a version of social equality akin to what Harrison and Ireland had promulgated. It is also plausible that Harrison’s comments best expressed the sentiments of the whole congress with regard to the issue of full equality for blacks. Rudd wrote, “Father Harrison made a speech that will ring in the ears of the foolishly prejudiced for many a day. He could fill any hall in this city with Colored people any time he might find it convenient to pay us a visit.”⁹⁸⁹ Slattery also commented on Harrison’s rousing speech. He said of him “in his speech, he out-Irelanded Archbishop Ireland himself.”⁹⁹⁰

One detail included in Slattery’s account of the congress which Rudd failed to include either in the *ACT* or in his book about the congresses, concerned the delegates’ alleged dissatisfaction with the quality of Rudd’s newspaper. Slattery reported that the *Tribune* was the object of much discussion in which the assembled delegates severely criticized the *ACT*’s “make- up, matter,” and “poor paper.” Slattery further noted that Rudd had promised to improve the paper. Slattery hoped this improvement would be accomplished when Rudd moved the paper to Philadelphia. In its new location, Slattery hoped, the “talent and energy” of Fr. Patrick McDermott, would ensure that the *ACT* would “become a source of incalculable good to the negro race.”⁹⁹¹

⁹⁸⁸ “Delegates to the Congress Banqueted....,” *ACT*, 19 July 1890, p.3.

⁹⁸⁹ *ACT*, 26 July 1890, p.2.

⁹⁹⁰ Slattery, 270.

⁹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 271. Rudd’s paper was praised by delegates in the first congress. Following the gathering of the third congress, a rival black newspaper was established the *Journal* perhaps because of dissatisfaction with the *ACT*. The *Journal* does not appear to have eclipsed the *ACT* in any way. In short, Slattery’s criticism of the *ACT* appears to miss the mark.

Slattery's criticism of the *ACT* is puzzling, if only because there are no prior indicators that the newspaper was not meeting the expectations of its subscribers. Lackner argues that Slattery's displeasure with the *ACT* may have had more to do with the fact that the Josephite exercised no control over it. Moreover, Rudd's newspaper offered competition to the two Josephite publications, the *St. Joseph Advocate* and the *Colored Harvest*.⁹⁹² Lackner's case is convincing.

Following the second congress, Rudd was confined to his bed for several days because of illness.⁹⁹³ It is unclear as to the nature of the illness. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the stress of organizing and hosting such a gathering, combined with the criticism he was reported to have received concerning the quality of the *ACT*, were contributing factors.

The official resolution of the second Colored Catholic Congress was not published by Rudd until August 30, 1890, about six weeks after the adjournment of the gathering. Rudd observed that in "Keeping with the solemn declaration of the general lay congress held in Baltimore in 1889, the second congress had put forward their "simple, straightforward" and "respectful" demands, claiming as they did the "rights of simple but complete justice whether in Church or State." Catholics were addressed directly in the document. The document read, "We ask more particularly of our Catholic brethren that the teachings of the Church, Who, in her expansive charity embraces equally and to the fullest extent all the sons of Adam whether collectively or individually, be cheerfully and thoroughly practiced."⁹⁹⁴

⁹⁹² Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune and the Puzzle of Its Finances," 34.

⁹⁹³ "City and Vicinity," *ACT*, 26 July 1890, p.3.

⁹⁹⁴ "Resolutions," *ACT*, 30 August 1890, p.1.

The resolution adopted by the second congress in many ways resembles the justice priorities expressed in the resolutions passed in the first congress. For example, there was in the resolution adopted in Cincinnati an appeal to open schools for African Americans. There was also an appeal to open trade unions, as well as a plea for white business owners to hire black laborers. The document also established a committee to look into the establishment of agricultural and industrial schools. The resolution recognized the work of Cardinal Lavigerie, and called for a plan to be immediately prepared to aid the prelate in his efforts to abolish the slave trade. Further, the resolution adopted at the second Colored Catholic Congress urged Catholics to uphold in “every way” the work of the colored sisters, especially with regard to the “preservation and education” of black orphans. The document endorsed the virtue of temperance. Also, working men were encouraged to join approved industrial leagues and workingmen’s clubs. Young men were encouraged to form conferences of “St. Vincent of Paul.” Tellingly, the resolution expressed its “deep and lasting appreciation” for the “kind words” spoken on behalf of the race by the “most sincere champion of the race”, Archbishop Ireland.⁹⁹⁵

The Aftermath of the Second Congress

In August 1890, Rudd urged his readers to begin organizing the next meeting of the Colored Catholic Congress which was to be hosted by Fr. Patrick McDermott in Philadelphia, in January 1892. The details of the congress held in Cincinnati become clearer in the subsequent issues of the *ACT*. For example, W.J. Smith of Washington, D.C. had earned himself the title of “Radical Smith” because of his comments during the meeting. Reflecting on his contribution to the gathering, Smith recalled that he had told

⁹⁹⁵ Ibid.

the assembled delegates that he was there “as a Catholic and a Colored man, a Catholic in every sense of the word.” He further recalled that he had informed the delegates that, “The Catholic Church had able defenders and needed no defense at his hand.” He had come to Cincinnati to “speak for his race” which was being “discriminated against.” For Smith’s part, he was following the advice of Archbishop Ireland who had prior to the second congress urged blacks to contend for their rights until every right had been secured him “as a Catholic and a man.”⁹⁹⁶

Neither Rudd nor Slattery mentioned any action on the part of the delegates to the second congress which one might construe as radical, or unduly critical of the Catholic Church. There is evidence to suggest, however, that members of the second congress, emboldened by Archbishop Ireland’s public comments on social equality and the rights of African Americans, did in fact, more freely voice their grievances against the Catholic Church. Evidence of the radicalization of the congress movement can be discerned, for example, in an article by C.H. Butler. In this same article, Butler defended the “manly manner” in which the delegates to the second congress in Cincinnati “demanded equal and impartial justice from the hands of their white fellow Catholic laymen at Cincinnati.”⁹⁹⁷ Butler’s comments appear to have been given to assure dissatisfied black Catholics residing in Washington, D.C., that the delegates sent to Cincinnati did, in fact, express the black Catholic community’s frustration over the church’s discriminatory practices.

⁹⁹⁶ “Washington D.C.,” *ACT*, 2 August 1890, p.2.

⁹⁹⁷ “Washington D.C.,” *ACT*, 23 August 1890, p.1.

Plans for a Third Congress

In the spring of 1891, Rudd traveled to Philadelphia to attend a meeting of the executive committee of the Colored Catholic Congress. Though Rudd had taken a major role in the organization of the first two congresses, he does not seem to have been a major force in the planning of the third. In a biographical sketch of Rudd published in the *Milwaukee Journal*, however, it states that Rudd was the president of the first congress, temporary chairman of the second, and “an important factor in the third.”⁹⁹⁸ Despite the above citation, it appears that Rudd played a diminishing role in each successive congress.

By the third meeting of the Colored Catholic Congress, a gifted cadre of black Catholic leaders was involved in their planning. Pennsylvania’s congressional delegation, led by P.J. Augustine, was up to the challenge of making the necessary arrangements for the gathering. Rudd appears to have served only in an advisory capacity. It may have been that Rudd chose to work in the background because of the friction between the editor and the Pennsylvania delegation. It will be recalled that the first edition of the *Journal*, Philadelphia’s rival black Catholic paper, was published only weeks after the conclusion of the third congress. Rudd must have known for some time prior to the planned congress that Catholic leaders in Philadelphia were planning a rival black Catholic newspaper. To Rudd’s credit, he continued to cooperate with these same delegates despite the knowledge that a number of them were busy planning to establish a publication that would put the *ACT* in jeopardy.⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹⁸ “The Catholic Church and the Negro,” *ACT*, 24 September 1892, p.4.

⁹⁹⁹ Editor’s of the *Journal* include such important individuals as congress members Martin J. Lehman and Arthur Arnott of Pennsylvania’s delegation to the third congress. See Spalding, 355.

The executive committee met at St. Peter Claver House on May 23, 1891. In this meeting, the group decided to address a letter to Archbishop Ryan requesting that the congress be allowed to meet within his archdiocese. A week later, P.J. Augustine, a member of the executive committee and a resident of Philadelphia, had Ryan's approval in hand. Archbishop Ryan agreed to host the third gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress after being assured that the meeting would be "conducted on the lines and the spirit of the two former meetings."¹⁰⁰⁰ In June 1891, Rudd announced that the third Colored Catholic Congress would likely be held in the city of Philadelphia. In this same article, Rudd explained that "steps were being taken to have the largest delegation present."¹⁰⁰¹

In the executive committee meeting, W.S. Lofton proposed that Archbishop Ireland, Archbishop Elder, Archbishop Ryan, Fr. Corrigan, Cardinal Gibbons and Bishop John J. Keane of Catholic University be asked to address the third congress.¹⁰⁰² It was also recommended that the following African American delegates would be asked to deliver papers before the assembly, James A. Spencer of South Carolina, Robert Ruffin of Boston, Daniel A. Rudd, George A. Wibecan of New York, D.L. McLeod of Missouri, Fredrick McGhee of Minnesota, Charles Nelson of Illinois, and M. J. Harson of Rhode Island. It was further decided that it would be desirable to have a speaker address the assembly from New Orleans.¹⁰⁰³

¹⁰⁰⁰ "Colored Catholic Congress," *ACT*, 20 June 1890, p.2.

¹⁰⁰¹ *ACT*, 20 June 1891, p.2.

¹⁰⁰² One might reasonably assume that these selected church leaders were perceived by the delegates to have been the African American's strongest advocates among American churchmen.

¹⁰⁰³ "Colored Catholic Congress," *ACT*, 20 June 1891, p.2.

Rudd was asked by the executive committee to recruit delegates for the upcoming congress from the West and South.¹⁰⁰⁴ In July 1891, Rudd bemoaned the fact that in the two previous congresses, New Orleans, Mobile, Florida and the Far Western states had but small delegations and some regions, no representation at all. Rudd further explained that he would soon be visiting principal southern points for recruiting purposes.¹⁰⁰⁵ Rudd was particularly concerned that the region of New Orleans, which reportedly boasted 75,000 black Catholics, be represented in Philadelphia. Rudd departed for New Orleans on August 9.¹⁰⁰⁶

On Thursday evening, August 13, in New Orleans' St. Alphonsus Hall, Rudd addressed a small crowd on the "necessity of being represented at the coming congress." He urged his hearers to "grasp the opportunity that presented itself to better [their] condition," an opportunity Rudd believed was held out by the Catholic Church. The *ACT* subsequently reported that on this occasion, Rudd spoke concerning "Catholicity and its benign influence on the Negro." Rudd urged his audience to compare the "work of the other churches to that of the one Catholic and Apostolic church." The editor of the *ACT* further boasted that the church "knew no color, no race, no nationality."¹⁰⁰⁷

Taking into account that Rudd himself reported the event in the *ACT*, it nonetheless appears that he was well received by his audience. The *ACT* subsequently reported that the editor's address was frequently interrupted by applause.¹⁰⁰⁸ Rudd's visit to New Orleans was, however, cut short by "important business." Rudd failed to disclose

¹⁰⁰⁴ *ACT*, 8 August 1891, p.2.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *ACT*, 25 July 1891, p.2.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *ACT*, 8 August 1891, p.2.

¹⁰⁰⁷ "Mr. Rudd in New Orleans," *ACT*, 15 August 1891, p.2.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

the nature of the business that necessitated his return to Cincinnati, though he promised to return to New Orleans after a few days.¹⁰⁰⁹

There is no evidence in subsequent issues of the *ACT* that would lead one to believe that Rudd ever returned to New Orleans. Further, there is no record to suggest that Rudd made additional recruiting forays into the South. Rudd was, at least, partially successful in his delegated duties. For example, W. Edgar Easton, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Republican Party in Texas and a Colored Catholic Congressional delegate from Galveston, revealed that Rudd had invited him via a letter to “attend the Congress...in the interest of the race in the Southland.”¹⁰¹⁰

In the months leading up to the third Colored Catholic Congress, Rudd took notice of an emerging cadre of talented black Catholic leaders. For example, in an editorial from the October 31, 1891, edition of the *ACT*, Rudd praised a speech delivered by Charles H. Butler to a gathering of the Young Men’s Catholic Union in Washington, D.C. The editor of the *ACT* further recognized in this editorial the many young, capable black leaders working in the congress movement. He informed his readers that he would be surprised if the third congress did not “bring to the surface many able and earnest young men who like Mr. Butler, will be heard in every future meeting of Catholics.” He further argued that the congress, “should see to it tha[t] Catholic ability among young men be placed in its proper light.”¹⁰¹¹

The official call for the third Colored Catholic Congress was issued November 24, 1891. Delegates were expected to bring the following information with them:

¹⁰⁰⁹ *ACT*, 22 August 1891, p.2.

¹⁰¹⁰ “From Galveston, Texas, to Cincinnati, O.” *ACT*, 2 January 1892, p.1.

¹⁰¹¹ *ACT*, 31 October 1891, p.2.

1. *What is the estimated Colored population of your city or county?*
2. *What is the estimated Colored Catholic population?*
3. *How many children attending Sunday School or Catechism classes?*
4. *How many Catholic schools in your city?*
5. *How many children attending Parochial School?*
6. *What faculties are there for the education of boys over twelve years?*¹⁰¹²

In December 1891, Rudd looked forward to the gathering of the third Colored Catholic Congress. Rudd listed a number of reasons for calling this gathering. Among these reasons was the need for black Catholics to “become better acquainted with each other.” Also, Rudd reasoned that it would be proper, in the upcoming gathering, to “give the causes that find us, keep us and make us Catholics.” Rudd again stressed the importance of black Catholic agency. He wrote, “whatever friends may do for [us] whatever may be the desire of the Church for our development, little or nothing can be accomplished unless we ourselves take a hand in the work.”¹⁰¹³

Rudd also expressed his desire to see the congress “extend somewhat” the power of the executive committee. Further, he outlined his ideas for the agenda by highlighting the need to discuss the establishment of schools, the work of the “Colored clergy and Colored Sisters,” “uniformed and benevolent societies,” as well as the need to establish industrial schools. Rudd also argued that the “duty” of the congress moved beyond the spiritual welfare of black Catholics. He stated that the congress should “see that avenues now barred against...be thrown open.” Rudd concluded this editorial by informing his readers that “zeal, prudence, humility, energy, courage and determination should characterize every word and act” of the delegates.¹⁰¹⁴

¹⁰¹² “Colored Catholic Congress United States Headquarters Executive Committee,” *ACT*, 28 November 1891, p.1.

¹⁰¹³ *ACT*, 19 December 1891, p.2.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Two weeks before the congress was to convene, Charles H. Butler expressed his disappointment because Slattery decided not to send a delegation from Baltimore to the congress in Philadelphia. Spalding has speculated that Slattery's decision may have been occasioned by the "internal problems" facing the Josephites.¹⁰¹⁵ In December of this same year, Rudd traveled to Washington, D.C. perhaps to meet with Lofton to work out details for the upcoming congress. Rudd met Lofton in the latter's Washington, D.C. office. As it turned out, Rudd appears to have been quite impressed with Lofton's work with regard to the upcoming congress. Rudd wrote, "if the Congress is not a success, he must not be blamed, for he has written personal letters to every dignitary in the land, [he] also has sent 12 copies of the case to each member of the executive committee." In this same article Rudd commented on the "young gentlemen of push and energy...deeply interested in the Congress."¹⁰¹⁶

Upon Rudd's arrival in Washington, D.C., he was surprised to find that Archbishop Ireland was also visiting the city. Ireland, who had strongly opposed the establishment of a color line in the church, may have been invited to St. Augustine's to be a part of the celebration of the parish's fair. The archbishop, nonetheless, took the opportunity during this visit to advise the delegates who were preparing to attend the upcoming congress in Philadelphia.¹⁰¹⁷

As it happened, Rudd was in attendance on the very Sunday Archbishop Ireland delivered a sermon to the expectant crowd at St. Augustine's Church. Ireland no doubt repeated his controversial position on race justice, social equality and the color line. Rudd

¹⁰¹⁵ Spalding, 345. About this same time Slattery was pushing to gain independence from the American Josephite's parent mission, the English Mill Hill Fathers. This separation was subsequently affected creating St. Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart. See Ochs, 83-84.

¹⁰¹⁶ "Washington D.C.," *ACT*, 19 December 1891, p.2.

¹⁰¹⁷ *Ibid.*

subsequently stated that he would have recorded this sermon had he known the archbishop was going to speak. As it turns out, Rudd did give an overview of the archbishop's homily in the *ACT*. For example, Rudd informed his readers that the archbishop had told the assembly, "If you are tillers of the soil and have rights, proclaim them. In the same strain, if your color is dark and you have rights pertaining to the soil, proclaim them. For all men are equal before God."¹⁰¹⁸

Archbishop Ireland also addressed a Tuesday evening gathering of the Knights of St. Augustine, Commandery no.2. In this meeting, the archbishop was introduced to a rousing ovation which lasted about five minutes. After the captain general of the commandery succeeded in gaining order, Ireland told the energized gathering to continue on in the "direction you have started..." He further encouraged his audience,

It will only be a short while until you have overcome and as I said Sunday proclaim your rights, Catholic Knight; you are worthy of recognition from all Catholics, and when you go to the Congress at Phila. Tell the Catholic world what you want, and demand it, continue as you are and all shall be right.

Following the gathering, Walsh, pastor of the parish, called for three cheers for the visiting prelate.¹⁰¹⁹

If Archbishop Ireland was urging black Catholics from St. Augustine's Parish to go to Philadelphia to demand their rights as Catholics and citizens, other authorities in the Catholic Church were urging caution. For example, the usually sympathetic *Church News* of Washington, D.C. thought the cause of black Catholics would be damaged if delegates to the congress were to agitate on behalf of their civil rights. The *Church News* read, "The congress may be tempted to deal with the question of civil rights. However much

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid.

the members may feel aggrieved, they will run a great risk of injuring their cause if they do not practice the greatest prudence.”¹⁰²⁰

The Third Congress (Philadelphia, 1892)

Augustus Tolton was the celebrant of the Solemn High Mass held at St. Peter Claver’s Church on the first day of the congress. This same church had previously served as a Presbyterian Church but had recently been purchased by two wealthy benefactors for the use of black Catholics. Archbishop Ryan had blessed this same facility only two days prior to the gathering of the congress.¹⁰²¹

Archbishop Ryan gave the opening address before the delegates gathered for the third Colored Catholic Congress. The archbishop appears to have attempted to discourage any demands on the part of delegates for full social equality.¹⁰²² Ryan emphasized the slow progress made by the church in its liberation of its slaves. He further emphasized the church’s slow progress in exalting its former slaves and advocating for their “equality to other men.” In this same address, the archbishop explained that the assembled delegates had, in fact, achieved political equality. He further stated that “other equalities” must be worked out “in God’s own time.” He told the assembled delegates not to expect too much to be “performed at once.” “A betterment of your condition, to be permanent, must come gradually,” he continued. The gradualist tone of the speech seemed to run contrary to the spirit of Ireland’s call for the immediate elimination of the color line and the granting of full social equality to blacks. Further, Ryan’s address did nothing to encourage the delegates in their quest for the attainment of their civil rights. If Rudd’s earlier claim that

¹⁰²⁰ *Church News*; quoted in Spalding, 346.

¹⁰²¹ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 178.

¹⁰²² It will be recalled that Ryan believed that Ireland may have gone too far in his proposals with regard to recognizing the full equality of African Americans.

Ireland's position on full social equality was an expression of justice, the editor must have certainly believed that Ryan's speech forestalled the justice and equality that blacks had longed to see come to fruition.¹⁰²³

In the first day's afternoon session, James A. Spencer of South Carolina was elected president of the congress. Fredrick L. McGhee of Minnesota was elected vice president. W.S. Lofton was elected as secretary and T.W. Short was elected as Lofton's assistant, both were from Washington, D.C. Frank Dorsey was elected to serve as treasurer of the third congress. Robert Simon of New York was elected sergeant-at-arms. Daniel Rudd was unanimously elected as national lecturer.¹⁰²⁴

Ryan's opening address may have been drafted with the hopes of discouraging the delegates from voicing their criticisms of the Catholic Church. The criticisms came, nonetheless. For example, Charles H. Butler's resolution, which was adopted by the assembly, revealed the church's discriminatory behavior vis à vis its African American members. Whereas Baltimore III had prescribed religious training for Catholic children, Butler highlighted the fact that blacks had been "deprived" of educational opportunities due to the "unjust discrimination made against Colored Children."¹⁰²⁵

The normally diplomatic Rudd delivered a critical paper condemning the practice of denying blacks admittance into Catholic secondary schools. The effected youth, Rudd claimed, too often "become lukewarm or drift away from the safe guidance of the church" because they are forced into public schools to finish their training. Further, Rudd urged trade unions to open their ranks to blacks.¹⁰²⁶

¹⁰²³ "The Third Congress," *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.1.

¹⁰²⁴ "Afternoon Session," *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.1.

¹⁰²⁵ "Resolutions Adopted," *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.1.

¹⁰²⁶ *Ibid.*

Following the first day's events, Tolton delivered an evening address at the Musical Fund Hall. In this address, entitled "The Catholic Church Is the Only True Liberator of Mankind," the priest related his positive experience in a church which "recognized no color."¹⁰²⁷ The next morning, Tolton opened the meeting with prayer.¹⁰²⁸

Cyprian Davis has observed that the two main issues addressed in the third congress were the establishment of a permanent congressional organization, and the establishment of "industrial or vocational schools."¹⁰²⁹ Fredrick McGhee of Minnesota, the first black to be admitted to the bar in the Upper Midwest, played an important role in the Colored Catholic Congress movement beginning with the meeting in Philadelphia.¹⁰³⁰

Davis has noted that McGhee's most important contribution to the congress was his proposal to establish a permanent congressional organization. This body was to be a source of ongoing implementation of the designs set forth in the congress. It would serve as an umbrella organization covering the activities of the various parish societies that had sent delegates to the meeting. McGhee wanted an executive board to be formed which in turn would choose an executive council. Each society was to pay a tax into the executive council based on the society's membership. McGhee also wanted to establish a building and loan association to aid in the construction of black institutions and churches.¹⁰³¹ A resolution for the establishment of a permanent congressional organization was approved at the third meeting of the Colored Catholic Congress.¹⁰³²

¹⁰²⁷ "At Music Fund Hall," *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.1.

¹⁰²⁸ "Second Day's Session," *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.1.

¹⁰²⁹ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 178.

¹⁰³⁰ *Ibid.*, 180. For more on McGhee see Davis. Also see a biographical sketch of McGhee in "Candidate for Delegate Honors," *ACT*, 7 May 1892, p.1.

¹⁰³¹ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 180-181; "Second Day's Session," *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.1.

¹⁰³² "Third Day's Session," *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.1.

A request to establish a fund to help in the building of churches and institutions for the benefit of black Catholics was read by Lincoln Vallé who had previously been engaged in a campaign to raise funds for Tolton. This motion apparently was approved as well. President Spencer offered a resolution to have the delegates share the expense of a publication detailing “present and proceeding” congresses. The congress movement turned to Rudd to carry out this task. Consequently, in 1893, Rudd published his first book, *Three Afro-American Congresses*.¹⁰³³

Delegate Robert Wood read a paper which declared that blacks were “sadly lacking in race pride.” He further stated that members of the race were culpable because they were marrying before they had earned enough money to allow their wives the leisure of not working. His paper evoked opposition on the part of some delegates. On this same afternoon, a communication was read from John H. Smith which, among other items, praised the “generosity and devoted labors” of Katherine Drexel.¹⁰³⁴

Delegate Robert L. Ruffin offered a paper in defense of the church’s record concerning the race. He informed the delegates, “It can not be denied that from the very beginning the attitude of the Church toward the man with dark skin, was always one of love.” The same delegate contrasted the Catholic record with that of Protestants who Ruffin argued discriminated against African Americans. Ruffin’s reliance on the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism is evident. For example, Ruffin argued that “When the church had gained a sufficiently strong foothold in the world,” then the church plainly declared that “no man has a right to hold another as a slave...” Following Ruffin’s paper,

¹⁰³³ “Proposed Permanent Organization and Building Fund,” *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.1.

¹⁰³⁴ “Committees [sic] Appointed,” *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.1.

delegates moved to approve a resolution requesting the United States to take early “cognizance” of the anti-slavery treaty of the Brussels Congress. The motion carried.¹⁰³⁵

On the third day of the congress, a letter was received from Archbishop Ireland detailing the attitude of the Catholic Church to the race question. It appears the delegates who requested this letter were concerned about a particular issue of justice-- the right of black students to attend Catholic schools. Ireland’s letter was read to the assembly and incorporated into an address issued by the congress for the people of the United States. Ireland’s correspondence read,

I have been asked to state what my ideas are as to the opening of Parish schools to colored Catholic children. So far as the Diocese of St. Paul is concerned my ideas are very decided that no distinction should be made as to color of pupils in parish schools...I am not well informed as to the practice in this regard through other dioceses, but if admission into parish schools is refused to colored children, I do not see on what principle the act can be justified, and I believe that if a respectful remonstrance against it goes out from the convention there shall be no repetition of it.

Ireland further wrote,

Things often occur from force of tradition which cease so soon as attention is drawn to them. Wherever there are not separate schools fully equipped for the instruction of colored children, these are admitted on equal terms with the white children, into all public schools. and [sic] surely it shall not be said that the State goes farther than the Holy Church in the application of the great Christian principles of the brotherhood of men and the common fatherhood of God. The Church is Catholic—instituted for all and all must feel equally her motherhood.¹⁰³⁶

Delegate Robert N. Wood of New York challenged Ruffin’s more rosy assessment of the Catholic Church’s treatment of blacks. This he did by proposing that a committee be established to investigate discrimination against black children by Catholic schools and institutions. The proposal was approved. William Easton of Texas also

¹⁰³⁵ “The Third Congress,” *ACT*, 16 January 1892,p.1 ; “An Ex-Minister to Hayti [sic],” *ACT*, 16 January 1892,p.1.

¹⁰³⁶ “Archbishop Ireland’s Leettr [sic],” *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.3.

emphasized the need of establishing schools for African Americans. He went so far as to propose that the building of churches for black Catholics could be temporarily halted in order that the “energies of the people could be devoted solely to this great project.”¹⁰³⁷

Similarly, President James A. Spencer (1849-1911), who had previously served in the Reconstruction legislature in his home state of South Carolina,¹⁰³⁸ encouraged the delegates to be “contented with the present number of churches” established for “special use” of black Catholics, urging them instead to push for the building of schools to benefit the race. He declared that the request of the race was that they be “placed on an equal footing with all other classes of American citizens,” a practice Spencer argued was the way in which the church always treated the “races of men.” This same speaker highlighted the need to establish the “most sacred unity of Christian brotherhood among her children.” He further anticipated the day when the,

sacred mission of the Church would be realized, practiced as preached, and her children made to feel that brothers we are, whatever our color or nationality...united in the bond of one common religion, having one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father over all who is above all and through all and in us all.¹⁰³⁹

Delegate Fredrick McGhee lashed out against the segregated school system in his paper read before the assembly. He stated that the “common equality of man” was like the “enchanted palace” told of in fairy tales. The segregated school system fostered the “irreligious, ignorant, blind, unjust prejudice” held by the majority of whites irrespective of “politics...geographic or sectional lines,” McGhee claimed. The delegate from St. Paul was concerned with the public sentiment which had espoused the inferiority of blacks. In

¹⁰³⁷ “The Third Congress,” *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.1.

¹⁰³⁸ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 185. Davis doesn’t mention Spencer’s involvement in the third congress.

¹⁰³⁹ Rudd, *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*, 148-153.

defense of African Americans, he called on the words of one of the “foremost champions of the Negro cause,” Archbishop Ireland, who had earlier declared the difference between the races, was “the merest accident of color.”¹⁰⁴⁰ The third congress adjourned on January 7, 1892, naming Pittsburgh as the site for the fourth congress to be held in September 1893.¹⁰⁴¹

The *Journal*: A rival to the *ACT*

Immediately following the third congress, a number of prominent delegates from Philadelphia began publishing a rival black Catholic newspaper, the *Journal*. The first issue of this newspaper, published by Thomas Swann and Sam B. Hart, appears to have been issued February 14, 1892, only a month after the adjournment of the third congress. A number of prominent black Catholics who took part in the congresses contributed to the publication of the *Journal*, including Arthur Arnott, Martin J. Lehman, Stephen Davis of Philadelphia, and Charles H. Butler of Washington, D.C. It is possible that the establishment of the *Journal* strained relations between Rudd and his congressional counterparts. If this is indeed the case, there may be a link between the publication of the *Journal* and Rudd’s decreased role in subsequent congresses.¹⁰⁴²

Cincinnati’s All Race Convention

Though Rudd’s involvement in the Colored Catholic Congress movement appears to have been diminished following the Philadelphia meeting, the editor subsequently took the lead in organizing a national race convention to promote his justice agenda. In 1892, Rudd’s sense of justice for the race was most aggrieved by the practice of lynching. He

¹⁰⁴⁰ “Third Colored Congress,” *ACT*, 16 January 1892, p.3.

¹⁰⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴² The last extant issue of the *Journal* is dated September 24, 1892. This appears to have been the final copy of the publication.

believed that a national meeting to address the topic might raise opposition to the barbarous practice. He further believed that fair minded whites would be sympathetic to the cause. The race convention met in Cincinnati in July 1892, and was open to blacks of all faiths.

As detailed in an earlier chapter, Rudd's concern over the issue of lynching seems to have taken on a new urgency following the March 9, 1892, lynchings of three black citizens of Memphis. On this date, Calvin McDowell, Will Stewart and Thomas Moss were taken from their cells at 3 a.m. and subsequently murdered by a mob of white vigilantes. This crime reverberated through the African American community. Black citizens throughout the country were incensed, in part, because those killed were upstanding citizens without prior criminal records.¹⁰⁴³

Early in April 1892, Rudd addressed a mass meeting to condemn the Memphis murders and to express solidarity with the grieving victims. When the white papers of Cincinnati refused to publish the resolutions of this same citizen body, Rudd promised to publish "sentiments" of the meeting and to send five-hundred free copies to whomever the group specified. Further, Rudd, along with S.J. Hunter and W.M. Porter, were commissioned by this same body to call together another meeting of Cincinnati's black citizens.¹⁰⁴⁴

On April 19, 1892, a call was issued for a national convention to be held in Cincinnati from July 4- 6 for the "purpose of taking effective steps to enlist the sympathy of all civilization in behalf of justice." A month after the call was issued for the convention, Rudd reminded his readers that the "government exists on the specious plea

¹⁰⁴³ McMurray, 133.

¹⁰⁴⁴ "Think, Consolidate, Agitate!," *ACT*, 9 April 1892, p.2.

of equality of all men before the law.” Rudd warned of impending “disolution,” [sic] “anarchy” and “desolation” if the situation was not remedied.¹⁰⁴⁵

Rudd continued to agitate for justice in the months leading up to the gathering of the Cincinnati convention. Though Rudd would work ecumenically on behalf of justice, he continued to emphasize for the benefit of his readers the merits of the Catholic Church. For example, in the same issue in which he announced the all Race convention, Rudd published an exchange from the *Western Appeal* which read, “The Catholic Church is the only church where distinction is unknown and where the poor unfortunate and persecuted race can find a safe retreat from pretended friends and outside foes.”¹⁰⁴⁶

Rudd was appointed to the committee of resolutions in a memorial meeting held by Cincinnati’s black citizens in late spring of 1892. The resolutions approved by this same body condemned the lynching of black citizens; these same declarations also condemned the legislation being passed by certain states which “unjustly discriminate[d]” against blacks.” This same document also demanded “equal laws and the equal execution thereof for all the citizens of the Republic.” The approved resolution further pleaded that white fellow citizens give African Americans “a living chance in the race of life.”¹⁰⁴⁷

Cincinnati’s Zion Baptist Church hosted Rudd’s race convention. Just before the commencement of the meeting, the gathering was changed from a delegate meeting to a mass meeting. This may have been due to the lack of approved delegates. Despite this fact, the meeting boasted a “fair attendance.”¹⁰⁴⁸ In characteristic fashion, Rudd told the crowd “we need no dynamite. We are willing to trust to an enlightened common sense

¹⁰⁴⁵ “Danger Ahead,” *ACT*, 14 May 1892, p.2.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *ACT*, 23 April 1892, p.2.

¹⁰⁴⁷ “Memorial Meeting,” *ACT*, 4 June 1892, p.3.

¹⁰⁴⁸ The *ACT* does not report the precise number of attendees.

and to the judgment of men who must admit the justice of our demands.” Rudd stated that he believed the resolutions called for in this meeting were moderate.¹⁰⁴⁹

The approved resolution read,

We ask for nothing of you in behalf of colored, [sic] people except the right to eat the bread our own hands have earned, to dwell safely in our own homes, to pursue our vocations in peace, to be granted a fair and equal opportunity in the race of life to be protected under the law and to be judged according to law.

This same resolution went on to condemn a list of injustices being suffered by blacks including “murder, violence, robbery,” “extortion,” “hasty and cruel judgments” and “mob rule.” It further urged blacks to “win the reputation of desirable neighbors and good citizens” by practicing “economy,” “sobriety” and by being “respectful, orderly, law-abiding and honest.” The document also proposed a military academy be opened for blacks where they might acquire a “thorough tactical [sic] and engineering education.”¹⁰⁵⁰

Rudd after the Third Congress

Following the third Colored Catholic Congress, Rudd put his efforts into completing his book on the first three meetings of this body. The bulk of the material for the book had been previously published in the pages of the *ACT*. Rudd, however, did include some additional speeches and notes on the meeting not initially published in newspaper.

On June 1, 1892, James A. Spencer, acting president of the congress movement, chided the delegates for their “slow” and “indifferent” response in forwarding their financial pledges for the project. On January 21, 1893, Spencer informed the delegates

¹⁰⁴⁹ “Colored National Convention,” *ACT*, 9 July 1892, p.2.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Ibid.* The term lynching is not used in the resolution. Rather, it appears the framers of the document attempted to make plain the violent and unjust nature of lynching by employing the above language.

that the book was at the press and would be available about February 1.¹⁰⁵¹ In this same issue, Rudd printed a large advertisement offering the publication for one dollar per copy; the paper version was listed at seventy-five cents per copy.¹⁰⁵² In late February, Rudd announced a delay in the production of the book. He stated, however, that it would be delivered March 1.¹⁰⁵³

Subsequent to the third congress, a decision was made to move the site of the fourth congress to Chicago. The Colored Catholic Congress along with the lay Catholic congress was to meet during the Columbian Exposition held in 1893, in the same city. In a letter to influential Catholic layman and leader of the lay Catholic congress movement, W.P. Onahan, Slattery agreed that Rudd and Tolton would not be suitable choices for addressing the lay congress on behalf of the race.¹⁰⁵⁴ There is no indication, however, that other black Catholics shared Slattery's low opinion of the two black Catholic leaders. It appears Rudd took a less active role in the leadership of each successive gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress movement. Rudd does not appear to have assumed an active leadership role in the fourth gathering, and may not even have attended the fifth gathering of this body.

Despite Rudd's diminishing influence on the congress movement, the editor was one of eight men who had a hand in drafting what Davis has called the "most important document" of the fourth congress. For this reason, an examination of the proceedings of this gathering is appropriate. Though it is unclear whether or not Rudd attended the fifth

¹⁰⁵¹ "Colored Catholic Congress," *ACT*, 28 January 1893, p.1.

¹⁰⁵² *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁵³ *ACT*, 25 February 1893, p.2.

¹⁰⁵⁴ W.P. Onahan to John R. Slattery, 30 March 1893, 8 P-17; Slattery to W. P. Onahan, Easter Sunday [1893], LPB-1-111, both in the Josephite Archives, Baltimore, Maryland; See also Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune No Other Like It," 17.

and final gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress movement, members appear to have addressed many of the same justice questions discussed in earlier congress meetings.

These same justice issues were also addressed in the pages of Rudd's *ACT*. A discussion of the fifth gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress movement is helpful because it reveals both continuity vis à vis Rudd's "cry for justice" as well as an increasing militancy which may have led Rudd to abandon the organization he founded in 1889.

The Fourth Colored Catholic Congress (Chicago, 1893)

Rudd published an announcement of the upcoming meeting of the fourth Colored Catholic Congress which the editor stated would be held in Columbus Hall in Chicago, September 4-8.¹⁰⁵⁵ Further, Rudd viewed the upcoming meeting as an unprecedented opportunity for black Catholics. He further hoped that the proceedings would be as "dignified as those of the past." He proposed that "prudence" should be the motto. Rudd reiterated his conviction that for blacks, the church was the "safest guide, our only hope."¹⁰⁵⁶ In the August 19, 1893, issue of the *ACT*, Rudd speculated that the congress of colored Catholics would be "the largest and most harmonious of the series."¹⁰⁵⁷

Davis has asserted that Butler and the delegates to the fourth congress were not appeasers with regard to the issue of race discrimination. For example, in a joint meeting of the lay and Colored Catholic Congresses, Butler challenged his fellow Catholics to "strike down that hybrid monster, color prejudice." Though Butler expressed his loyalty to the church, he also pointed out that there were within its ranks prejudiced members failing to live up to the doctrines of the Catholic faith.¹⁰⁵⁸

¹⁰⁵⁵ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 182.

¹⁰⁵⁶ "The Catholic Congress," *ACT*, 12 August 1893, p.2.

¹⁰⁵⁷ "To Our Subscribers," *ACT*, 12 August 1893, p.2.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 184.

At the same time, however, it is possible to discern in Butler's address a movement away from Ireland's earlier, bold proposals concerning social equality and the obliteration of the color line. This is not surprising, given the fact that by 1893, a number of southern states had already established state laws sanctioning racial segregation; these same states were making interracial marriage illegal as well. Moreover, by December 1892, the Louisiana State Supreme Court had ruled against Homer Plessey and the opponents of Louisiana's separate coach law in *Plessey v. Ferguson*. This same case would be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896. Moreover, the high court's decision in the *Plessey v. Ferguson* case provided the legal basis for race segregation in the United States.¹⁰⁵⁹

Butler, who had earlier praised Ireland's 1890 St. Augustine speech, seems to have staked out a new position by 1893. For example, in his congressional address, Butler distinguished between the term "civil equality" and "social equality." He reasoned that full social equality was "as distasteful to the negro as to the white."¹⁰⁶⁰ In his address, Butler's primary goal seems to have been to insure that blacks would not suffer discrimination in public facilities, and would have an equal chance to secure jobs and other opportunities.¹⁰⁶¹

Cyprian Davis has compared Butler's position on social equality, expressed as it was at the fourth congress, to that of Booker T. Washington. Some in the black Catholic community, no doubt, objected to the prospect of interracial marriages made real by Ireland's proposal for the recognition of the full social equality of blacks. It may also be true that Mackey's 1890 challenge to Ireland's position on full social equality, could have

¹⁰⁵⁹ Fireside, 139.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid., 183.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ibid., 182-184.

been variously received by black Catholics. Almost certainly, some would have been upset with Mackey's position on equality; others, perhaps Butler, for example, found Mackey's circumscribed version of social equality acceptable. Surprisingly, a few weeks after the second congress held in Cincinnati, Butler expressed his desire to place copies of Mackey's speech in the hands of African Americans.¹⁰⁶²

W.S. Lofton and James A. Spencer also addressed the fourth gathering of the Colored Catholic Congress. Lofton urged employers to give the black man the chance to "earn the bread by the sweat of his brow." Spencer gave an apology for the establishment of black churches, though he again reiterated the fact that the establishment of black schools might be a more pressing priority.¹⁰⁶³

Davis has pointed out that the most important document produced at the fourth congress was the final address issued to fellow Catholics. Rudd was one of the eight black Catholic committee members who signed this document. An important feature of the document, according to Davis, was the balance between expressions of loyalty to the Catholic Church and the rejection of the racism prevalent in many of the members of this same faith.¹⁰⁶⁴ In the final address, reference was made to the findings of the committee on grievances which had been established during the gathering of the third congress in Philadelphia in 1892. By way of internal critique, hope for the conversion of wayward Catholics was expressed on behalf those who had "departed from the teaching of the Church" and had "yielded to the popular prejudice..."¹⁰⁶⁵

¹⁰⁶² "Washington," *ACT*, 2 August 1890, p.1.

¹⁰⁶³ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 185-187.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 187-188.

¹⁰⁶⁵ "The Colored Catholic Memorial: The Eloquent Expression of Their Fourth Congress," *Boston Pilot*, 23 September 1893, Papers of William J. Onahan Box IX-1-0, Notre Dame University Archives, South Bend, Indiana; quoted in Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 187-188.

Contributions of the Colored Congress Movement

In the address of the fourth congress specifically, and in the pronouncements of the congress movement more generally, Davis has identified a number of important and innovative insights bequeathed to the Catholic Church by the Colored Catholic Congress movement. In the statement of the fourth congress Davis has correctly distinguished what he labels an “incipient black Catholic theology of church.” The congressional statement publicized by the members of the fourth congress reveals the conviction that the Catholic Church preserves the deposit of faith precisely because it teaches the equality of all peoples before God. Further, the concern communicated in the document vis à vis the “civil rights” of blacks anticipated the ideal of present-day “human rights.”¹⁰⁶⁶ A careful reading of the *ACT* reveals the fact that the ideal of the equality of the human family, communicated in the documents and speeches produced in the fourth congress is consistent with the *ACT*'s own campaign of race justice and equality.

Davis has further observed that the document produced by the Colored Catholic Congress movement meeting in Chicago in 1893 made the social implications of Catholicism one of the most important features of the Catholic Church, this at a time when such an approach was unconventional in American Catholicism. In this respect the work of the congress mirrors Rudd's own editorial agenda. Rudd's attempt in the *ACT* to promote the “Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man” also foregrounds the social aspect of Catholicism.¹⁰⁶⁷

Davis has also noted that the statement produced by the fourth congress may communicate a commitment to the “priesthood of the faithful” and by implication, the

¹⁰⁶⁶ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 189.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ibid.

essential character of the work of the laity in the church. This same theological tenet, according to Davis, was not widely promoted at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁶⁸ The congress' sentiments on lay activity in the church are similar to those of the founder of the *ACT*. Rudd's commitment to lay action is made obvious through his promotion of both the Colored Catholic Congress movement and the lay Catholic congress movement. His leadership in each of these important movements further reveals the editor's convictions as to the vital role he believed the laity ought to play in the work of the Catholic Church.

Finally, Davis has observed that in the documents and speeches produced in the Colored Catholic Congresses, delegates forged a link to their Catholic ancestors from Africa in much the same way other ethnic groups looked to Europe for their religious identity. In so doing, black Catholics established a rootedness in Christian history unavailable to black Protestants in America. Through this same appropriation, Catholics seized the opportunity for acquiring a sense of pride.¹⁰⁶⁹

The Fifth Colored Catholic Congress (Baltimore, 1894)

The fifth Colored Catholic Congress met in Baltimore, October 8-11, 1894. In the last extant issue of the *ACT*, Rudd printed an announcement for the upcoming meeting of the fifth Colored Catholic Congress which was to be held at St. Claver's Catholic Union. W.S. Lofton was the acting president of the assembly. The Mass was said by Fr. Charles Uncles at St. Francis Xavier's Church, the oldest black parish in the country. The fact that Uncles was invited to say Mass may be an indication of Slattery's influence on the

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibid., 189-190.

meeting.¹⁰⁷⁰ It will be remembered that Slattery had little confidence in Tolton, the nation's first openly recognized black priest. Slattery's opening address reveals his paternalistic tendencies, according to Davis.¹⁰⁷¹ Slattery claimed that "the colored man needs encouragement to well-doing, to ambition, to rise above the degrading circumstances."¹⁰⁷² Slattery further noted that African Americans were not on the same moral footing of independence as whites, a statement which suggested that blacks were in greater need of the influence of religion.¹⁰⁷³ On the other hand, Slattery also attacked whites for their "ostrich like" attitude toward blacks. Further, he praised African Americans for the "great deal of quiet push" he detected in the race.¹⁰⁷⁴

In this same speech, Slattery warned the black delegates against too much activism. "Time and Silence," according to Slattery, were "two powerful factors" working in favor of the race. He told the delegates that "they had everything to gain by patient forbearance, [sic] and much to lose by hurry and temper." Cardinal Gibbons also addressed the assembly with a few brief remarks.¹⁰⁷⁵

President Lofton also addressed the delegates of the fifth congress. Given the teachings of the Catholic Church, Lofton intimated that he expected to see caste distinction banished. Concerned with limited economic opportunities for blacks, he further hoped to see a cessation of the encouragement of immigrant labor.¹⁰⁷⁶ The fifth

¹⁰⁷⁰ Uncles failed to meet Slattery's expectation as to the kind of work the former would do after his ordination. Slattery wanted Uncles to go on speaking tours throughout the North and Midwest in order to raise awareness of the mission. Uncles did not want to play the role of "show priest," a role he was convinced Tolton played before him. See Ochs, 90.

¹⁰⁷¹ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 192.

¹⁰⁷² *Church News*, 13 October 1894, quoted in Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 192.

¹⁰⁷³ *Catholic Mirror*; quoted in Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 192.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Spalding, 352.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ibid.

congress again addressed the need for the establishment of an industrial school. A follow-up committee was to look into the purchase of 250 acres of land for the purpose of building a university with an attached industrial school. A speech by Fr. John De Ruyter, a Josephite, decried the discriminatory practices of labor unions. The priest intimated that it would take the power of the Catholic Church to overcome the union's hostility toward blacks.¹⁰⁷⁷

The findings of the grievance committee which had been established during the third congress to investigate discrimination in the church were also the subject of considerable discussion in Baltimore. Generally speaking, the bishops had reported that blacks were not discriminated against by any rule of the diocese. If discrimination had occurred, it was at the parish level and was unsanctioned by the bishop.¹⁰⁷⁸ In the end, a delegation was authorized to lay these grievances before the bishops meeting in Philadelphia, though no record of a response exists. The fifth congress adjourned on October 11, 1894.

Both Davis and Spalding have observed a number of factors which may have contributed to the collapse of the congress movement. It is reasonable to assume that the growing militancy of the movement combined with the church's increasing mistrust of lay initiatives led to the collapse of the Colored Catholic Congress movement.¹⁰⁷⁹ Perhaps racial bias and apathy for the plight of African Americans contributed to the movement's demise. It may have been that some delegates saw the futility of their efforts and lost interest.¹⁰⁸⁰ Though members of the movement attempted to hold subsequent

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Ibid, 353-354; Spalding, 355.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Spalding, 355.

congresses, the Colored Catholic Congress movement did not hold another meeting until its reemergence in 1987.¹⁰⁸¹

The Success of the Congresses

After the fifth Congress adjourned in October 1894, black Catholic leaders were unable to persuade church officials to sanction another meeting of this body.¹⁰⁸² This does not mean that they were a failure. Davis has pointed out a number of the ways in which the congresses were successful. First, they demonstrated that a black Catholic community existed, and that despite the lack of black priests, this same community contained within its ranks a cadre of authentic Catholic leaders. Similarly, the congresses created a movement that was intellectual as well as social. Key ideas were promoted through the rhetoric of congressional leaders including the idea of the mass conversion of blacks and the idea of the power of the church to overcome racism in the United States. Moreover, the congress laid the groundwork for black Catholic movements including those of recent times. Finally, as previously noted, the Colored Catholic Congresses were more of a sign of lay involvement in the work of the American church than any other lay initiative in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸³

Rudd and the Congress Movement

Evidence from the *ACT* gives no indication as to why Rudd took a decidedly less active role in the congress movement following the third congress held in Philadelphia in 1892. A number of possibilities present themselves. First, it is possible that Rudd grew

¹⁰⁸¹ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 193.

¹⁰⁸² In 1900, McGhee and Lofton wrote Slattery in the hopes of discussing the gathering of another Colored Catholic Congress. There is no record of a reply. Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 193.

¹⁰⁸³ *Ibid.*, 193-194.

uncomfortable with the increasingly militant tone of the congresses. It will be recalled that Rudd repeatedly urged on the delegates' cool-headedness and moderation.

On the other hand, it may be that with each successive congress, the movement became increasingly beholden to white church leaders including Slattery who had little confidence in Rudd or Tolton. Slattery, it appears, exerted more control over the fourth and fifth congress than the head of the Josephites exerted over the first three. It will be recalled that Slattery expressed his lack of confidence in Rudd and Tolton in a letter the Josephite penned to Mr. W.P. Onahan in 1893, prior to the meeting of the fourth congress. It will also be recalled that Rudd helped orchestrate the first three congresses, and Tolton participated in the first and third congress. Given the limited involvement of Rudd after the third congress, it is plausible that Slattery and other white church leaders made their dissatisfaction of Rudd and Tolton known to other black congressional leaders. It is possible that this same sentiment forced Rudd and Tolton out of the movement.

Slattery lacked confidence in the abilities of Rudd and Tolton. No evidence can be found, however, to substantiate Slattery's lack of faith in these two black Catholic leaders.¹⁰⁸⁴ It is possible that Slattery's inability to manage these two individuals aggravated his paternalistic sensibilities. Evidence reveals the fact that Rudd butted heads with Slattery on a number of occasions. For example, it will be recalled that in an article in "*Donahoe's Magazine*" published in September, 1890, Slattery reported that delegates to the second congress were dissatisfied with the *ACT*. Slattery further declared that Rudd would soon move the newspaper to Philadelphia where he would receive the aid of the

¹⁰⁸⁴ W.J. Onahan to John R. Slattery, 30 March 1893, 8 P-17; Slattery to W. P. Onahan, Easter Sunday [1893], LPB-1-111, both in the Josephite Archives, Baltimore, Maryland; See also Lackner, "The American Catholic Tribune No Other Like It," 17.

Fr. Patrick McDermott.¹⁰⁸⁵ Rudd strongly denied even any consideration of such a move. Rudd's refusal to follow Slattery's advice may have been a significant factor in the former's alienation from the congress movement.

A third compelling reason presents itself as to why Rudd did not involve himself more deeply in either the fourth or the fifth congress. It is reasonable to assume that although Rudd did wish the *Journal* a successful life, its establishment caused a rift between Rudd and certain members of the congress movement.¹⁰⁸⁶ It is also plausible that the negative impact the *Journal* had on the *ACT* forced Rudd to devote more energy and time to keeping his businesses solvent. It will be recalled that in February 1892, the same month the *Journal* began publishing, Rudd made his most aggressive push to establish a printing school for African Americans in Cincinnati. This effort was most likely done to diversify his business in anticipation of the projected drop in subscriptions occasioned by the founding of the *Journal*.

Given Rudd's concern for his ailing newspaper, and the strain on his relationship vis à vis key congressional members involved in the publishing of the *Journal*, Rudd may have opted to allow a new generation of black Catholic leaders to carry on the work of the congress movement that he had founded.

A New Generation of Congress Leaders

Regardless of the reason for Rudd's departure from the congress movement, the editor of the *ACT* retained faith in the movement's leadership. Between 1889 and 1892, an impressive cadre of black Catholic leaders, capable and willing to assume leadership roles in the Colored Catholic Congress movement emerged. Whereas prior to 1889,

¹⁰⁸⁵ Slattery, 271.

¹⁰⁸⁶ *ACT*, 6 February 1892, p.2.

Tolton and Daniel Rudd were likely the only two black Catholics in the country with national name recognition, the first three congresses served to elevate a number of capable and talented black Catholic leaders, including Lofton, McGhee and Butler.¹⁰⁸⁷

As noted before, Rudd unselfishly recognized the talent of these same young leaders. For example, Rudd's trip to Washington, D.C. in December 1891, gave the editor a first hand look at the talent and ability of Lofton who Rudd held in high esteem. This same month, Rudd published a biographical feature on Lofton.¹⁰⁸⁸ Evidence from the *ACT* reveals that Rudd did not feel pressed to retain a leadership role in the movement; this because of the editor's confidence in Lofton and other promising congressional leaders.

After his departure from the Colored Catholic Congress movement, Rudd continued his campaign for race justice in American society, influenced as it was by the editor's views with regard to the important role the Catholic Church would necessarily play in its realization. For example, in December 1892, Rudd wrote,

Anyone who has read history and given ear to the inevitable conclusions that grow out of its teachings can see at a glance that in the Catholic Church alone is the only permanent advancement to be made. She alone advances steadily, and in her upward flight, carries with her all the races of mankind on an equal footing. There is no hope for us outside her portals even in a temporal sense. All other friendships are ephemeral and must vanish.¹⁰⁸⁹

Despite Rudd's efforts either with the *ACT* or with the Colored Catholic Congress movement, justice, and the full equality it implied, would remain for African Americans in the late nineteenth century, an object of hope.

¹⁰⁸⁷ See *ACT*, 7 November 1887, p.1.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *ACT*, 19 December 1891, p.1.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *ACT*, 17 December 1892, p.2.

Conclusion

In the previous nine chapters, Rudd's ecclesiological-centered vision of justice promoted both in the *ACT* and in the congresses has been explored. Rudd's cry for justice on behalf of African Americans continued in the years following the publication of the *ACT*. After Rudd moved from Detroit he made his way by 1910 to Bolivar County, Mississippi. Rudd's move to the Deep South where the Catholic Church was less established and where the separation of the races was more entrenched, led the editor to adopt a somewhat conflicted economic self-help prescription for the race akin to that promoted by Booker T. Washington. Evidence for the development in Rudd's thinking as to how justice and equality might be attained for blacks is found in the pages of his biography of Scott Bond published in 1917. In the epilogue of this dissertation, I will track Rudd's move to Mississippi and then to Arkansas. I will also examine Rudd's embrace of a new, less church-centered approach to the pursuit of justice and equality.

Epilogue

The Move South: Rudd after the *ACT* (1900-1933)

The *ACT* was published by Rudd in Detroit until 1897.¹⁰⁹⁰ The details of the editor's life following the demise of the paper are sketchy at best. Sometime before 1910, perhaps as early as 1898, Rudd moved to Boyle Town, Mississippi, (currently known as Boyle) just south of the town of Cleveland, in Bolivar County. It may have been that Rudd followed the thousands of other Midwestern laborers who traveled to the Mississippi/Yazoo Delta region to work seasonally in the region's lumber mills.¹⁰⁹¹

It is also possible that Rudd was attracted to Bolivar County, Mississippi because of Booker T. Washington's infatuation with the Yazoo Delta region of the state. For example, in 1910, Washington wrote of this area "There, if anywhere, I believe, the black man is going to finally get on his feet, or finally perish."¹⁰⁹² Moreover, Washington had endorsed the philosophy behind the establishment of the all black community of Mound Bayou, a center of black culture at the turn of the century, located only about ten or twelve miles north of Boyle Town. Biographer Louis R. Harlan wrote of Washington, "Mound Bayou, Mississippi...captured his heart. He was devoted to this small town in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta that seemed to embody the values, methods of self help, and priorities of his own social philosophy."¹⁰⁹³ As early as 1904, Tuskegee had purchased

¹⁰⁹⁰ Some sources including James M. Woods suggest the *ACT* was published until 1899. See James M. Woods, *Mission and Memory-A History of the Catholic Church in Arkansas* (Little Rock: Diocese, 1963), 196.

¹⁰⁹¹ John C. Willis, *Forgotten Time: The Yazoo-Mississippi Delta after the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 155.

¹⁰⁹² Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 220.

¹⁰⁹³ *Ibid.*, 218.

stock in the Mound Bayou Bank. Further, Washington had arranged for the town to receive a Carnegie library agent and a General Education Board farm demonstration agent.¹⁰⁹⁴

Though not likely, it is also possible that Rudd was attracted to this area via his acquaintance with Bolivar County's wealthy black entrepreneur, Isaiah T. Montgomery, who founded Mound Bayou in 1887. The editor of the *ACT* would have certainly known of Montgomery; he did, after all, print an exchange commenting on Montgomery's controversial 1890, vote cast at the Mississippi Constitutional Convention.¹⁰⁹⁵ It will be recalled that Montgomery, who was the only African American in the 1890 Mississippi Constitutional Convention, voted with the white majority to institute restrictions on voting. These restrictions included educational requirements and a two dollar poll tax. Although Montgomery expressed concern over the results of the voting restrictions, his vote resulted in the disenfranchisement of over 100,000 of the state's African American voters.¹⁰⁹⁶ Despite this vote, Montgomery remained a respected African American southern leader.

The Mississippi Delta at the turn of the century was a frontier region with booming towns full of people seeking to make good on the American dream. The Louisville, New Orleans, Texas Rail Road, which transverses the community, had been completed in 1884.¹⁰⁹⁷ After the Civil War, this area of the Deep South attracted land

¹⁰⁹⁴ Ibid., 219.

¹⁰⁹⁵ "Mississippi," *ACT*, 25 October 1890, p.1.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Thompson, 18; Franklin and Moss, 259.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Sillers, 64.

speculators, farmers seeking cheap land to plant cotton, and entrepreneurs who recognized that money could be made logging the region's first growth timber.¹⁰⁹⁸

While residing in Bolivar County, Rudd boarded with the Smith family, Aaron and Katie. This African American family appears to have been one of the region's many black families who owned farms during this era.¹⁰⁹⁹ At the time of the 1910 census, Aaron was sixty and worked as a farm employee. It is not clear from the census record whether Rudd worked on the Smith farm. The census records do indicate, however, that Rudd was employed as a lumber mill manager.¹¹⁰⁰

In 1894, Mr. Cavin erected a spoke mill near Boyle. By 1900, the area boasted a number of lumber mills. In 1908, the Peavine Cooperage Company, a subsidiary of the Ozark Mills Co. headquartered in St. Louis, moved to the area and opened three mills with the capacity for loading sixty train cars per day. Given the fact that the Peavine Cooperage Company was the largest lumber mill in operation in the area, it is plausible that Rudd worked for this firm.¹¹⁰¹

The Move to Arkansas

Rudd's post-*ACT* years in the South bring to light an accomplished man whose genius and talents seemed to have been only partially revealed during the years he published the *ACT*. In 1912, Rudd and a Mr. Stewart, perhaps one of Rudd's fellow employees, were recruited by Scott Bond, a wealthy African American farmer and entrepreneur, to come to Madison, Arkansas, in order to establish a saw mill. A devastating flood had inundated Bond's farms near Madison, and the community was

¹⁰⁹⁸ Dr. Luther Brown, Director of the Delta Center for Culture and Learning, of Boyle, Mississippi, phone interview by the author, 21 May 2007, Boyle, Mississippi.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁰ See Census for Bolivar County Mississippi, 1910.

¹¹⁰¹ Sillers, 280.

depressed economically.¹¹⁰² Bond, who owned vast quantities of timber reserves on the St. Francis River, wanted experienced hands to handle his new venture. Rudd must have been a rather desirable catch for Bond, demonstrated by the fact he committed to bring both he and Mr. Stewart in from Mississippi.¹¹⁰³

It is unclear how Rudd met Bond. It may be that the two met through Booker T. Washington. Scott Bond was a member of the National Business League (NNBL) founded by Washington in 1900. Bond traveled to New York in 1902 in order to attend the annual meeting of this body. While in New York, Bond gained a pledge from Washington to visit Arkansas' St. Francis County. In 1903, Washington held its annual NNBL meeting in Little Rock. Following the meeting, Bond played host to Washington in his Madison home. Again in 1911, Washington visited Madison; thousands came to Madison to hear the "Wizard of Tuskegee" speak. At the time, Rudd resided in Boyle Town, Mississippi, about one hundred mile southeast of Madison. It may have been that Rudd traveled to Madison to hear Washington lecture. Rudd might well have met Bond at this time. Given the fact that Rudd was recruited to join Bond's enterprises in 1912, this last scenario seems plausible.¹¹⁰⁴

Despite the amazing business success of Scott Bond, Arkansas was a dangerous place for African Americans at the turn of the century. For example, near Elaine, Arkansas, in southern Phillips County, over two hundred blacks were killed in a series of racial disturbances in 1919.¹¹⁰⁵ It is also true that though the conflicts between Bond and his white neighbors at times were drastically played down in the Bond biography,

¹¹⁰²Rudd, This same flood also affected the Mississippi Delta region near Boyle. Many of the laborers in this region were forced out by the rising waters and were unable to return. See Sillers, 297.

¹¹⁰³ Rudd and Bond, *From Slavery to Wealth: The Life of Scott Bond*, 324.

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 345-351.

¹¹⁰⁵ Woods, 195.

evidence from this same text reveals that Bond was sometimes harassed by whites jealous of his business success.¹¹⁰⁶

After Rudd's move to Madison, Arkansas, he boarded with Scott Bond's son and daughter-in-law, Theophilus and Viola. Rudd, who was about fifty-six in 1912, wore several hats for his employer. For example, the former editor worked as an accountant for the Bond family.¹¹⁰⁷ He also worked as a superintendent for a number of his employer's businesses, in Bond's gravel operation and lumber mill.

While Rudd was supervising Bond's gravel operation, the former *ACT* editor approached Bond with a rough sketch of a loading device that Rudd believed would make the loading of gravel onto rail cars faster and more efficient. This same loader was to be made of cables and blocks.¹¹⁰⁸ Subsequently, Rudd was involved in the negotiations for the erection of a plant similar to the former editor's design. Because the timber specifications could not be met by local mills, Rudd was called on to locate and to supervise the cutting of the required oversized boards. After the plant was completed, the machinery boasted the capacity to load a railroad car with gravel in only seven minutes; further, the plant had the capability of loading eight-hundred cubic yards of gravel per day. During this same period, Bond signed a contract with the railroad company to supply it with twenty-thousand dollars worth of gravel.¹¹⁰⁹

Rudd also served the Bond family as something of a business advisor while in Madison. Rudd and Stewart had been with Bond for about a year when in 1913, a flood

¹¹⁰⁶ Rudd and Bond, *From Slavery to Wealth: The Life of Scott Bond*, 327. When, for example, Bond decided to build a saw mill in 1912, he found himself opposed by three fourths of the white men residing in Madison.

¹¹⁰⁷ Woods, 196.

¹¹⁰⁸ A photo of this loading device can be found on page 277 of Rudd's biography of Bond.

¹¹⁰⁹ Rudd and Bond, *From Slavery to Wealth, the Life of Scott Bond*, 284-289.

again inundated the area destroying the Bond farm's newly planted crops. At the time, Rudd and Stewart were overseeing Bond's sawmill. Bond decided to replant, but became demoralized when he discovered that his fields were infested with cut worms. Confiding in Rudd and Stewart he declared, "I am practically at a loss what to do." Rudd responded, "Let's shut the mill down the logs won't rot in the river. Let's take the hands and go and make a crop. The farm is the foundation of the saw mill, the store and everything else." Despite Bond's initial objections, Rudd prevailed, and the fields were planted a third time. The heat slowed the progress of the cut worms, and it looked as if the fields would produce a large crop. An early frost, however, hurt the yield. As it turned out, a meager harvest was gathered, "very little corn" and only 250 bales of cotton.¹¹¹⁰

From Slavery to Wealth...Rudd's Biography of Bond (1917)

While residing in Madison, Rudd put his journalistic skills to work. The former editor of the *ACT* partnered with his subject's son, Theophilus, in the writing of the biography of Scott Bond. The title of this biography is *From Slavery to Wealth: The Life of Scott Bond: The Rewards of Honesty, Industry, Economy, and Perseverance* (1917). Published two years after Washington's death, Rudd's book offered its readers an individualistic,¹¹¹¹ economic, self help prescription for racial uplift very similar to that found in Washington's own, autobiography, *Up from Slavery*.

Given Rudd's journalistic experience and the fact that Rudd is listed as primary author, as well as the fact that rather detailed accounts of Rudd's advice to Bond are included, it appears that the former editor of the *ACT* was the major contributor to the biography. Theophilus, who had more formal education than Rudd, likely served as

¹¹¹⁰ Ibid., 332.

¹¹¹¹ By individualistic I mean the onus for remedying the injustice of race prejudice lies primarily with the individual.

something of an advisor. To get the information for the book, Rudd interviewed his subject sometimes allowing Bond to tell his story in the first person.¹¹¹²

The biography of Scott Bond recounts the eventful life of a young man who had been born a slave in Livingston, Mississippi, near Canton in 1852. He subsequently rose to wealth and prominence. Though Bond had remained in the house of his father, and former master until 1875, by 1915, he had acquired over five-thousand acres of farm ground, five cotton gin plants, a saw mill, and a gravel pit.

It is unclear from the text whose idea it was to publish Bond's story. It is plausible that Washington, who had invited Bond to speak at certain Business League functions, urged Bond to recount his inspiring story. It was, for example, Washington's habit to invite successful farmers to address and otherwise encourage the poorer farmers who attended his workshops. Bond's inspiring "rags to riches" story would have fit Washington's purposes well.¹¹¹³

It is also possible that Rudd talked Bond into publishing the biography. Rudd had obviously maintained a strong interest in promoting race pride. For example, Rudd claimed in the text that the biography would fail its purpose if it did not demonstrate the "steady improvement of the condition of the Negro as represented by the achievements of Scott Bond."¹¹¹⁴ He further observed that the "duty" of the "Negro chronicler" was to do his best to call attention to the "achievements" of the men of his race including "Douglass, Dunbar, Washington" and "Bond." Rudd would have recognized an

¹¹¹² Ibid., 141. It is unclear if Rudd knew Bond prior to going to work for him in 1912. Rudd, however, claimed on one occasion that he had known Scott Bond "quite intimately for a number of years." Ibid., 260.

¹¹¹³ Harlan, 206.

¹¹¹⁴ Rudd and Bond, *From Slavery to Wealth, the Life of Scott Bond*, 375-376.

opportunity to feature Bond as a fit example for ambitious African Americans seeking to achieve success in America.¹¹¹⁵

Rudd: A Consistent Advocate for Race Justice and Equality

From the time of the publication of the last extant copies of the *ACT* through 1917, when Rudd published the biography of Scott Bond, there is no reason to believe that Rudd desired anything less than the recognition of the full equality of African Americans. Moreover, in his biography, Rudd continued to touch on themes he had addressed years earlier in the *ACT*.

In the August 25, 1886 edition of the *ACT*, Rudd condemned the “invidious discrimination and caste prejudice” he claimed was “ever bobbing up to thwart the Negro in his manly efforts to make himself an honest and upright citizen.”¹¹¹⁶ Three decades later, in his biography of Scott Bond, Rudd again spoke out against race prejudice. He noted race prejudice’s negative impact on the economy of the nation. Rudd estimated that the “loss to progress thus caused averaged not less than \$100 per capita per annum of the total Negro population, financially and an equal amount in the morale of that part of the citizenship of the United States.” Rudd, in the above quote, appears to have been making the argument that prejudice had hurt the U.S. economy by barring blacks from fully participating in the production of goods and services, a measurable loss in real dollars.¹¹¹⁷

As he had done in the *ACT*, in the biography of Scott Bond, Rudd decried the practice of denying blacks membership in labor unions. Rudd also echoed the *ACT*’s earlier “cry for justice” when in 1917, he spoke out against the injustices associated with

¹¹¹⁵ Ibid, 358.

¹¹¹⁶ *ACT*, 9 March 1888, p.2.

¹¹¹⁷ Ibid., 373-375.

the crop mortgage system and the practice of race segregation. Further, in the Bond biography the former editor of the *ACT* seems to have recaptured some of his directness. For example, Rudd reasoned that if the blacks continued to progress through “efficiency” “thrift” and “continuity,” African Americans in the future would be able to “demand” rather than “plead” “for a “place in the sun.”¹¹¹⁸

As is evident from Rudd’s biography of Scott Bond, the former editor’s promotion of race pride did not end with the collapse of the *ACT*. For example, he pointed out that the race was often unfairly judged by whites who had only brief encounters with blacks who were unfit to represent the race. Rudd argued that these misguided impressions of blacks were unfair and inaccurate. He supported his apology for African Americans by pointing out that in the community, in which he then lived, Madison, Arkansas, blacks and whites were generally “hard working” and “industrious.” In 1917, he informed his readers that in the surrounding region there were places where one could travel for miles on joining farms owned by blacks. Rudd further argued that African Americans in the United States owned 500,000,000 dollars worth of real estate, an amount he claimed was increasing each year. Rudd concluded, “Little more than fifty years ago the Negro was a slave. Now he is a citizen, counting his wealth in millions and has representatives in the Alumni of the best colleges and universities in the world.”¹¹¹⁹

Rudd’s previous campaign to open the doors of opportunity to blacks seeking to improve their station by securing gainful employment also continued beyond the *ACT*. For example, in the pages of Rudd’s biography of Scott Bond the former editor of the *ACT* pointed out that blacks would have been of far more service to the country had

¹¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹¹⁹ Rudd and Bond, *From Slavery to Wealth: The Life of Scott Bond*, 374-375.

whites not constructed a “wall of prejudice” barring entrance into the “fields of skilled labor.” Rudd further decried the fact that labor unions operated on the premise “no nigger need apply.” Moreover, Rudd’s desire to see blacks create their own opportunities through hard work, and the virtues of “honesty,” “industry,” “economy” and “perseverance” reveal in the post-*ACT* years the editor’s seeming embrace of a more practical, economic self help program much like the one promoted by Booker T. Washington.¹¹²⁰

As is apparent from the examples cited above, a good deal of continuity exists between the issues of justice previously raised by Rudd in the *ACT*, and those addressed in the biography of Scott Bond. There is in the work of the later Rudd, however, apparent development in perspective with regard to the most promising method for achieving race justice and equality in society. What is noticeably absent from the Bond biography, for example, is any reference to the Catholic Church’s role in the realization of a casteless society. It will be recalled that this ecclesiologically-centered approach to achieving justice had been a critical part of Rudd’s “cry for justice” during the years of the *ACT*’s publication. Specifically, absent from the Bond biography is any evidence that conversion to the Catholic Church would usher blacks into a universal, divinely sanctioned institution free from the observance of the color line. Nor can one find in the Bond biography any reference to the pedagogical mission of the church and the divinely sanctioned role it would necessarily play in elimination of race prejudice from society. Moreover, Rudd, in the biography of Scott Bond, fails to ground his arguments for equality in theological terms.

¹¹²⁰ Rudd and Bond, *From Slavery to Wealth: The Life of Scott Bond*, 372.

Though Rudd's desire for full racial equality had remained consistent throughout his journalistic career, the socio-political context in America had changed since the collapse of the *ACT*. Conditions for blacks in the United States had gotten much worse. Similarly, the Catholics which Rudd encountered in the South would not have held the same commitment to race justice expressed by progressive church officials decades earlier. Given these exigencies, evidence from the Bond biography seems to suggest that Rudd, by 1917, had become convinced that the best way forward for blacks, the best way to secure equality and race justice, was by following the example of successful African Americans like Scott Bond who had earned, through financial success, some measure of respect from whites. Speaking of the beliefs of African Americans, Rudd wrote,

He knows every child of every citizen of this great democracy has a right to aspire to every position that is open to the child of any other American citizen and he knows that aspiration is crushed beneath a wall of prejudice that he cannot scale; certainly not at present. Hence he thinks he is not being fairly dealt with. He also thinks that if like Scott Bond, he can show a clean character and a good bank account, backed by large holdings of real property he many then look forward to those things guaranteed by the laws of his country. It is in this spirit this book is written. Let us look conditions full in the face, accept them as they are and strive with might and main to better them.¹¹²¹

Rudd and Booker T. Washington's Self Help Philosophy

Booker T. Washington was the most influential African American leader of his generation. He was catapulted into national prominence as a result of his 1895 speech which subsequently became known as the "Atlanta Compromise Address."¹¹²² Washington sought to help blacks living in a hostile racial climate marred by strong anti-African American sentiments. In this racially charged climate, the "Wizard of Tuskegee" attempted to win for blacks whatever gains could be won. Whenever possible,

¹¹²¹ Ibid., 368.

¹¹²² Harlan, vii, viii.

Washington curried favor with whites in positions of power if he believed they could help him further his racial agenda.¹¹²³ Instead of placing the blame for the plight of African Americans on white racism, Washington urged blacks to take responsibility for their destiny, and to seek progress through education and economic prosperity. Whereas Douglass and Wells had used their prophetic voices to condemn the unjust prejudice of whites, Washington chose to address his “Jeremiadic” warnings to wayward blacks who he believed were failing in their duties of “Christian Citizenship.” By this he hoped to spur members of his race to walk the road to economic success, a road he was convinced would lead to respectability and eventually equality.¹¹²⁴

Washington advocated a concrete program for black advancement which included industrial education and the promotion of business. In short, the pragmatic Washington was willing to trade black acquiescence in disenfranchisement and some measure of segregation, in return for a white promise of a chance to share in the economic prosperity that northern investment would bring. Though Washington privately worked to combat lynching, disenfranchisement, peonage, educational discrimination, and segregation, his critics have observed that his public statements on civil rights vitiated his purposes.¹¹²⁵

As Lackner has pointed out, Rudd’s campaign for civil rights in the *ACT* bears little resemblance to Washington’s accommodationist approach.¹¹²⁶ To be fair to Washington, however, Rudd published his newspaper in the relatively safe cities of Cincinnati and Detroit while Washington resided in the heart of the Deep South where direct and aggressive race advocacy would have been impracticable and dangerous.

¹¹²³ Ibid, 239.

¹¹²⁴ Pitney, 69.

¹¹²⁵ Harlan, vi-viii.

¹¹²⁶ Lackner, “Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati,” 272.

Further, Washington came to national prominence in 1895. By the time Washington came to the public stage, the nation was well on its way to enacting Jim Crow legislation.

In the Bond biography, Rudd's praise of Washington's plan seems conflicted at times. This may have been because Bond was more committed to Washingtonian philosophy than his biographer. It is likely, nonetheless, that Rudd did gravitate to aspects of Washington's self help program after the collapse of the *ACT*. Rudd had always been a strong believer in black agency. Washington's self help program placed the responsibility for success and progress on the individual. Also, Rudd would have been supportive of Washington's plan because of the equality of economic opportunity upon which it was grounded. Rudd had always believed that had African Americans been given a level playing field, they would advance and win the respect of whites. Evidence for Rudd's embrace of Washington's self help policy is found in Rudd's biography of Bond. In its pages, Rudd detailed the story of Bond, an enterprising man who had proved Washington's contention that industrious, honest and thrifty blacks could, in fact, rise in the world and gain the respect of their white peers.

Rudd's portrayal of Scott Bond made the wealthy Arkansas farmer/merchant a model of Washington's self help program. In a section at the end of the biography entitled "A Look into the Future," Rudd claimed that the race would not "retrograde." The former editor of the *ACT* offered Bond as proof of this fact. Rudd's account of Bond's rise from slavery mirrored the former *ACT* editor's own upward journey from slavery to prominence. For like Bond, Rudd had been born a slave, like Bond, Rudd had energetically pursued a business enterprise, and like Bond, against considerable odds, Rudd had been remarkably successful.

Rudd's Bond was very much the quintessential Washington disciple. Bond, like Washington, urged blacks to remain in the South. The wealthy Arkansas farmer and merchant insisted on one occasion that the South, especially Arkansas, was the best place in the world for the poor, hence for the "Negro."¹¹²⁷ He further claimed that hard work "overcomes all." Bond urged a positive approach to the problems facing African Americans.¹¹²⁸

Though Bond acknowledged that blacks were sometimes the victims of race prejudice, he claimed that it was largely the poorer class of whites that were to blame. For example, after a conflict with local whites who attempted to keep Bond from erecting a lumber mill, he noted, "I would be glad to have the reader note here that the sentiment of the class of white people who oppose me, was not the sentiment of cultured refined white people of the South."¹¹²⁹ Despite the opposition of some whites, Bond placed the responsibility for success on the individual, not publicly combating any systemic force which may have unfairly handicapped blacks.¹¹³⁰

Rudd portrayed Bond as a man convinced that one could succeed in business regardless of skin color. Bond like, Washington, believed that racial equality held sway in the field of economics. Bond pointed out, for example,

I was wonderfully surprised after I had entered the mercantile business to learn how broad the commercial world was. The basis of fairness to all mankind that could furnish the intellect and the ability, including the financial part of it. When these things were at hand I found that it was left to the individual to succeed or fail. The poor white man's chances and opportunity along these lines are just as great as the rich white man and the Negro's chances and opportunities are the same as other men's. The commercial world knows no color and has no pets. The great earth, mother

¹¹²⁷ Rudd and Bond, *From Slavery to Wealth, the Life of Scott Bond*, 133.

¹¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 358-359.

¹¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 330.

¹¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 359.

of all people, is acquainted with all her children; she neither knows them by color nor sex....¹¹³¹

Washington, Bond and apparently Rudd as well, found in the era of Jim Crow that in the business world, a vehicle existed which could potentially lift African Americans to their ultimate goal, full racial equality. Over time, Rudd became convinced that the earth as the foundation of this economic system was color blind and had “no pets.” The language in the quote above suggests the unity of the human family, but the mother of all races of people in this new formulation was mother earth, rather than the Catholic Church.

As observed previously, by 1917, Rudd apparently embraced the idea that “clean character, a good bank account, backed by large holdings of real property” would ensure blacks could “look forward to those things guaranteed by the laws of this country.”¹¹³² Nowhere in Rudd’s biography of Bond did the writer push direct political or judicial activism, as a means by which justice could be furthered. Noticeably absent from the Bond biography is any reference to the role Christianity generally and the Catholic Church particularly might play in the emergence of race justice and equality in society. Rather, for the later Rudd, black self help through success in the accumulation of wealth was the path toward racial uplift and equality. For the rest, Rudd believed that blacks would have to “depend on God and the saving common sense of the American people for his reward in years to come.”

Incompatibilities

It is unclear the extent to which Rudd embraced Washington’s self help prescription for blacks. This is true because Rudd’s positions in the Bond biography are

¹¹³¹ Ibid.

¹¹³² Ibid., 368.

fraught with a number of inconsistencies. For example, in the biography of Scott Bond, Rudd recognized the staggering economic cost incurred by the nation as a result of race prejudice. This position appears consistent with the Rudd of the *ACT* era. In this same biography, however, Rudd labeled the segregation of the Jim Crow era a “blessing in disguise.” The former editor of the *ACT* reasoned that race segregation taught the black man to “take an introspective view of himself to see whatever heights he may aspire...” By thus “flocking by himself” he would recognize “the force” necessary to attain these heights must “come from within.” The systemic character of race injustice railed against by the early Rudd is minimized if not completely unacknowledged in the biography’s recipe for black self help.

Development in Rudd’s Thinking

The Biography of Bond also illustrates the extent to which Rudd seems to have moved away from earlier positions on key justice questions. For example, early in Rudd’s journalistic career he remained convinced of the power of black suffrage.¹¹³³ During the period in which he published the *ACT*, Rudd expressed his conviction that the “elective franchise” should be protected by the federal government.¹¹³⁴ In the Bond biography, Rudd acknowledged the fact that the right to vote was seized from blacks by “violence as well as legal subterfuge.” At the same time, however, he reasoned that following the Civil War, those who sought give the blacks voting rights “did not take into consideration the fact that the ex-slave was not fully prepared for that advanced step. They expected too much in so short a time.” Further, Rudd seems to have internalized the Washingtonian program for self help when he declared that following the disenfranchisement of blacks

¹¹³³ *ACT*, 7 June 1890, p.2.

¹¹³⁴ *ACT*, 17 November 1888, p.2.

an enlightened Washington instituted a “New era” for blacks, that provided a proper foundation for advancement. This school of men, Rudd observed, taught that “efficiency and thrift would be the proper foundation upon which to build; that ownership of some of this world’s goods would go a long way towards removing the stumbling blocks from the pathway up.”¹¹³⁵

NAACP and Rudd

Rudd’s affiliation with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the years following the writing of his biography of Bond also makes it difficult to determine Rudd’s level of commitment to Washington’s self help program. The NAACP had been founded in 1909 in response to dissatisfaction with the accommodationist approach promulgated by Washington. With the twin convictions that the basic rights of citizenship were being denied to blacks, and that agitation was required to win them, the NAACP set to work to halt the stripping away of human rights, a practice accelerated since the end of Reconstruction.¹¹³⁶ The NAACP brought together a number of groups in common cause, including the remnants of the Niagara Movement, the settlement house workers, muckrakers, labor progressives, and “race scientists.” Among other goals, this organization set out to improve conditions for blacks including the abolishment of forced segregation, equality in educational opportunities, as well as the promotion of full franchisement.¹¹³⁷

The NAACP was successful in winning the hearts and minds of blacks dissatisfied with Washington’s willingness to lay the responsibility for the racial climate on blacks. By 1915, when the racist film, *The Birth of a Nation*, was premiered, the

¹¹³⁵ Ibid., 376-377.

¹¹³⁶ Dray, 177.

¹¹³⁷ Franklin and Moss, 319; Dray, 172.

NAACP, which opposed the negative portrayal of blacks in the widely popular film, was the chief beneficiary of a renewed race consciousness and militancy among blacks.¹¹³⁸ Following the takeover of John Shillady, a social worker and specialist in the administration and fiscal management of social service organizations, the NAACP experienced remarkable growth. In the six months after Shillady's takeover which took place in January 1918, the organization grew from seven-thousand to 36,000 members. Shillady also presided over the organization's first book publication, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States 1889-1918*. Over the next year, membership in the NAACP soared to ninety-thousand as a result of a number of factors including the Sharecropper's War, race riots in the cities of Chicago, Omaha, Tulsa, Charleston and Knoxville and the increase in the number of lynchings. It is plausible, given Rudd's interest in the organization, that the former editor of the *ACT* may have also been counted among the ranks of the organization's new members.¹¹³⁹

Cleveland Meeting

In May 1919, Rudd wrote to Bishop John B. Morris (1866-1946), Bishop of Little Rock, requesting that the former editor be appointed a diocesan representative to the upcoming national convention of the NAACP. The meeting was held in Cleveland, Ohio. The Cleveland convention was better attended and lasted longer than former gatherings. Thirty-four states were represented in this convention by the organization's dramatically expanded membership. Absent from this same meeting was the organization's white leaders.¹¹⁴⁰

¹¹³⁸ Dray, 205.

¹¹³⁹ Ibid., 245, 257.

¹¹⁴⁰ Charles Flint Kellogg, *NAACP A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Volume 1 1909-1920* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1967), 236.

Bishop John Hurst set the tone for the convention in his address to the delegates. Hurst explained that they had been lulled to sleep under the delusion that if they quit vociferously advocating for their rights and kept on working, justice would eventually be meted out to them. But the author pointed out that the South had renewed its assaults on the black man with every step forward. Moreover, Hurst urged delegates to die if need be in the fight for their rights.¹¹⁴¹

It appears that organizers of the Cleveland NAACP meeting invited Rudd to address delegates. It is possible that Rudd's affiliation with Scott Bond gave him name recognition among many blacks. It is also reasonable to assume the former editor's recent completion of the biography of Bond made him an attractive presenter. Though Morris refused Rudd's request to be allowed to represent the diocese, the bishop forwarded sixty dollars to Rudd in order to help with traveling expenses. In a letter to Rudd, Morris also reminded the former editor of the *ACT* that he had "great personal confidence" in him.¹¹⁴²

On the third day of the gathering, Rudd was among the presenters called on to discuss "The Negro in Labor and Industry" and the "Rural Conditions on Labor." Neither in the *Cleveland Gazette* nor in the NAACP's publication, *The Crisis*, is any record given of the nature of Rudd's talk. Sentiments expressed at the Cleveland meeting, however, run counter to some of the tenets of Washingtonian philosophy found in Rudd's biography of Bond. For example, though Rudd's Bond espoused Washington's ideas regarding blacks seeking their fortunes in the South, this was not the majority opinion among delegates at the NAACP gathering in Cleveland.¹¹⁴³ Professor George A. Towns

¹¹⁴¹ Mary White Ovington, *The Walls came Tumbling Down* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1947), 167-168, 171; Kellogg, 236.

¹¹⁴² Woods, 196; Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 213-214.

¹¹⁴³ Rudd and Bond, *From Slavery to Wealth: The Life of Scott Bond*, 248.

of Atlanta, speaking on the evening after Rudd's talk posed the question, "Shall we stop this migration north, with the shameful waste it leaves in its wake?" The resounding answer from his audience of delegates was, "No!" Moreover, Towns detailed the discrimination routinely practiced against blacks in the South. He declared, "If you're as wise as Socrates and as good as Jesus, you can find ten chances a week for being lynched in Georgia."¹¹⁴⁴

On the same day Rudd addressed the assembly, delegates passed a resolution requesting that as a prerequisite to affiliation, the American Federation of Labor demand that the brotherhoods of railway engineers, trainmen and firemen, stop barring blacks. Another speaker proposed a "constructive program" which included a call for "decent housing," "fair wages....," "decent school provisions for colored children," and "Justice in every court." At this same meeting, delegates called for the end of Jim Crow legislation on the nation's buses and trains.¹¹⁴⁵

The resolutions called for in the Cleveland meeting of the NAACP are consistent with Rudd's direct activism a quarter century earlier. It remains unclear, however, whether Rudd's earlier commitment to activism was intentionally muffled in Bond's biography, or if Rudd's commitment to activism underwent something of a rebirth in light of the continued violence toward blacks in the months leading up to "Red Summer."¹¹⁴⁶

¹¹⁴⁴ "Fought for the Right to Fight....," *Cleveland Gazette*, 28 June 1919, p.1.

¹¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*; Dray, 248.

¹¹⁴⁶ A term coined by James Weldon Johnson used to describe the period of racial rioting and violence that took place from June to the end of this same year. See Franklin and Moss, 349-350.

A New Employer

There are no details which give hints as to the reason why Rudd left Bond's employ. Sometime prior to 1920, Rudd went to work for another successful black farmer-merchant, John Gammon, who lived in Marion, Arkansas. John Gammon Jr., remembered Rudd as being "highly intelligent," "adept at handling machinery," "handsome," and "fluent in several languages."¹¹⁴⁷

Rudd and Bishop John B. Morris

The former editor of the *ACT*'s relationship to the Catholic Church remained steady throughout the last years of his life.¹¹⁴⁸ In Bishop Morris' reply to Rudd's request to represent the diocese at the Cleveland meeting of the NAACP cited above, Morris communicated his confidence in Rudd. Subsequently, Rudd petitioned Morris in the hopes that he would be sent to represent the diocese at the black Catholic laymen's convention held in Washington, D.C. in 1920. Morris informed Rudd, however, that the diocese had less than five-hundred black Catholics and so was not qualified to send a delegate. Six years later, Morris appointed Rudd to represent the black Catholics of Arkansas at the Eucharistic Congress which was to be held in Chicago. The late appointment, however, precluded Rudd's attendance.¹¹⁴⁹

Bishop Morris was active in evangelizing African Americans in his diocese. He did not, however, favor the ordination of black priests. For example, while serving as vicar general of the diocese of Nashville, the prelate refused to attend a post-ordination dinner for Fr. John Henry Dorsey, an event hosted by Nashville's Bishop Thomas S.

¹¹⁴⁷ Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 311.

¹¹⁴⁸ Davis has suggested that Rudd's relationship with Morris was more cordial than the bishop's relationship with John Dorsey S.S.J., the black priest who Morris banished from the diocese. See Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 312.

¹¹⁴⁹ Woods, 197.

Byrne (1841-1923).¹¹⁵⁰ Upon becoming coadjutor of the Little Rock diocese in 1906, Morris campaigned against Dorsey, an African American Josephite priest serving St. Peter's Church in Pine Bluff. Morris apparently believed it prudent, considering the social conditions in the South, to ordain only white priests. He further believed that the church should restore the role of the permanent diaconate, allowing black leaders to preach, baptize, distribute the sacrament, and yet retain the right to be married. This latter provision would free blacks from the burden of celibacy, a regulation that many whites, including Morris, believed African Americans incapable of keeping. Morris was eventually successful in removing Dorsey from his Pine Bluff Parish.¹¹⁵¹

Thomas B. Donovan, head of the Josephites, informed Morris that he would replace Dorsey with the volatile Josephite priest, Joseph Anciaux. Upon hearing that Morris would not approve of his placement, Anciaux wrote him a vicious letter. He called Morris a "Son of an Irish immigrant." He accused the bishop of "heresy" for objecting to holy orders for black men. He claimed that the bishop cared more about "southern customs" than he did about the priesthood. He further warned that Morris and other southern bishops would answer at the Last Judgment for the loss of millions of black souls due to neglect.¹¹⁵²

Rudd's Death in 1933

Rudd continued to live in eastern Arkansas until 1932, at which time the former editor of the *ACT* suffered a debilitating stroke. Rudd subsequently returned to Bardstown where he resided in the home of the Crow family.¹¹⁵³ On December 3, 1933,

¹¹⁵⁰ Ochs, 150.

¹¹⁵¹ Ibid., 150-159.

¹¹⁵² Ibid., 159.

¹¹⁵³ *Daniel Rudd: Founder of the Black Catholic Congresses*: (Sparkill, New York: Hallel Videos, 1999).

the editor died in relative obscurity.¹¹⁵⁴ He was seventy-nine years of age at the time of his death.

Conclusion

Daniel A. Rudd lived during a period described by Rayford Logan as the nadir in American race relations.¹¹⁵⁵ At a time when the rights of blacks were being taken away and their assaulted, Rudd rose to lift a prophetic and clarion protest in the name of justice. Though Rudd's aim for full equality for blacks remained constant throughout his life, his understanding as to the best method for achieving race justice seems to have progressed through three discernable stages roughly corresponding to the three time periods discussed below.

During the Springfield Period, from 1881-1886, Rudd vigorously campaigned for the rights of African Americans. His willingness to directly confront racial injustice locates Rudd in the company of likeminded activists including Fredrick Douglass and Ida B. Wells. Rudd's aggressive and direct political and judicial activism was evidenced both by the editor's active engagement with the Republican Party as well as his willingness to bring suit against violators of black civil rights. It is reasonable to contend that throughout the Springfield period of Rudd's life, the editor remained convinced that through aggressive judicial and political activism blacks could hope to make progress toward the goal of full equality.¹¹⁵⁶

¹¹⁵⁴ Woods, 196-197.

¹¹⁵⁵ Logan, 52-53.

¹¹⁵⁶ Though Fredrick Douglass also promoted black self help, He believed it part of his sacred duty to protest every manifestation of race prejudice, to work for equal rights and equal opportunity in every sphere of life most especially the civil-political. Ida B. Wells and W.E.B. Dubois also demonstrated a similar approach to race injustice. Washington, on the other hand, counseled black accommodation to racism in public life in the short term, so blacks could achieve self-advancement in the private economy. See, Pitney, 72.

Rudd's commitment to an "unwavering campaign for civil rights" remained an important trajectory of the editor's work in the *ACT*.¹¹⁵⁷ Rudd, like the most influential black leader of his era, Fredrick Douglass, and the well known anti-lynching activist, Ida B. Wells, vociferously opposed Jim Crow laws. All three of these race advocates attempted to secure a level playing field for beleaguered African Americans living at the close of the nineteenth century. Even after the establishment of the *ACT* in 1886, Rudd continued his frontal assault against what he deemed to be race injustice. For example, he worked for the desegregation of the schools, and initiated a civil suit against an eatery who denied him service.¹¹⁵⁸

As early as 1887, however, Rudd began to express skepticism as to whether direct political activism could deliver racial justice for blacks. During the Cincinnati/ Detroit Period of Rudd's life, 1887-1897, evidence from the *ACT* demonstrates that the editor gradually adopted an ecclesiologically-centered vision of justice. In other words, he came to identify the Catholic Church as the only competent moral force, able to deliver for society a racially just social order free from the color line. The Catholic Church would deliver race justice to blacks first by providing those converting to Catholicism a ready sanctuary from the prejudice so prevalent in American society. Secondly, Rudd espoused the Romantic apologetic for Catholicism. In Rudd's mind, the Catholic Church was the mother of Western Civilization and the impetus behind any true progress in society. He believed that through the mission and teaching ministry of the Catholic Church the race prejudice in American society would one day be overcome. Rudd's use of theologically laden language concerning the "Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man"

¹¹⁵⁷ Lackner, "Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," 272.

¹¹⁵⁸ For more on Rudd's suit against the P.C. Butler Delicatessen located in Cincinnati see chapter six.

demonstrated the editor's commitment to the unity of the human family and the fundamental equality of all people regardless of race.

It should not be surprising that Rudd found ample proof to support his ecclesiologically-centered vision of justice during the years of the *ACT*'s publication. In northern cities where Rudd and his agents actively marketed the newspaper, the editor found strong Catholic communities willing to support him in his evangelistic endeavors. In some of these same communities, blacks and whites attended Mass together. Similarly, Rudd found in his church a number of high ranking Catholics who were relatively progressive and seemed eager to welcome blacks into the Catholic fold. Among these were American Josephite leader, John Slattery, James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Minnesota, Archbishop Patrick Ryan of Philadelphia, Archbishop Janssens of New Orleans and Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati.

Though technically beyond the scope of this study, one is struck by the degree to which Rudd's ideas on matters of race justice seem to have changed after 1900, during the Southern Period. It is possible that these views changed because of Rudd's perception of the worsening race climate in America at the turn of the century, as well as his experiences in the Deep South.

It is true that by the time Rudd began recording Bond's life, he had lived in the South for at least seven years, perhaps as many as nineteen. Upon moving South, Rudd experienced a more rigid, racially segregated society, he also found in the communities in which he lived relatively small numbers of Catholics. Moreover, key bell weather issues like the ordination of black priests and the establishment of black parishes indicate that

over time, relatively progressive views on race held by some church leaders had been gradually giving way to state sanctioned segregation programs.

Catholics in the rural southern communities of Mississippi and Arkansas where Rudd resided were few and far between. Had some farsighted Catholic retained a commitment to the equality of blacks, any challenge to the norms of racial segregation would have proved impossible, if not life threatening. It stands to reason, that Rudd's experience of the Catholic Church in Bolivar County, Mississippi, and in Arkansas may have led him to adopt what he believed would be a more promising and pragmatic method for achieving equality and justice for blacks. As is apparent from the Bond biography of 1917, Booker T. Washington's self help program seemed a promising solution, in part because it was congruent with Rudd's strong convictions about black agency.

Rudd lived a remarkable and inspirational life. The editor's life offered a compelling challenge to those who believed in the inferiority of the race. Rudd's accomplishments extend across a wide number of fields including among others, politics, business, journalism and church work. Though he was born a slave, he made the most of each opportunity afforded him. He managed to get an education, learn a trade; he built a successful printing business, employing along the way several African American printers. Since he, like Booker T. Washington was a believer in vocational training, Rudd established his own printing school in each of the facilities he managed.

Even more impressive was the editor's ability to build a successful, nationally circulated newspaper, the *ACT*, with a national sales team and a readership of as many as ten-thousand. It would be this same newspaper that would be the instrument by which

Rudd would raise an ecclesiologically-centered “cry for justice,” and this cry was raised in order to defend the dignity and the civil rights of African Americans. Rudd’s journalistic abilities were not limited to his newspaper editorials; he also published two books previously cited.

Rudd’s significance as a political operative in Republican politics during his early years in Springfield is apparent. Similarly, in the pages of the *ACT*, Rudd was named among the leading black citizens and civil rights leaders in Cincinnati. As is evident from the *ACT*, Rudd’s campaign for justice was ecumenical, despite his loyalty to the Catholic Church. While living in Cincinnati, Rudd’s contributions to the Catholic Church were most strongly felt. During this seven year period, the editor of the *ACT* organized the Colored Catholic Congress movement, an organization which served as an example for twentieth century black Catholic groups seeking to advance the cause of black church members. Similarly, it appears Rudd was the primary impetus in the creation of the lay Catholic congress.

After Rudd’s move South, sometime after 1897, he demonstrated his business acumen and his creative ability. He was, after all, so much more than a journalist and printer. While working for Scott Bond he invented a gravel loading machine that appears to have made Bond tens of thousands of dollars. Yet despite all of these accomplishments, perhaps the most inspiring was Rudd’s prophetic and timely “cry for justice.” It was a cry that he courageously raised during a time when the injustice of race prejudice seemed to be carrying the Catholic Church away from its cardinal claim, “The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.”

Appendices

Appendix 1

The *American Catholic Tribune* Source Notes

Extant Copies of the *ACT*

The extant copies of the *American Catholic Tribune* (*ACT*) are housed at the American Catholic Historical Archives in Philadelphia. This single collection was used by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) when the organization microfilmed the *ACT*. *The Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States (1966)* compiled by Eugene Willging and Herta Hatzfeld report that the Detroit Public Library also had extant copies from the years 1894 and 1895. Though it is true the *ACT* continued to be listed in their collection catalogue until 1996, it does not presently have copies of the newspaper, nor does it have any information as to what became of them.

A World Cat search conducted with the help of Heidi Gauder of the University of Dayton, located nine libraries which reported having copies of the *ACT* including the University of Dayton. These all appear to be microfilmed copies produced by ATLA.

Microfilm Reel One

Reel one includes *ACT* issues from February 18, 1887- December 27, 1890. There are 184 extant issues on this reel. Missing from the collection are the following editions: March 25, 1887 vol. III no. 18; May 6, 1887 vol. III no. 24; August 26, 1887 vol. III no. 41; January 6, 1888 vol. III no. 8; March 2, 1888 vol. III no. 16; August 17, 1888 vol. III no. 39; September 28, 1888 vol. III no. 45; Dec. 1, 1888 vol. III no. 52; December 22, 1888 vol. IV no. 3; January 6, 1889 vol. IV no. 5; August 3, 1889 vol. IV no. 32. It appears that Rudd occasionally failed to produce an issue of the *ACT*. On one occasion, he acknowledged as much stating that the failure was due to the installation of machinery. (See *ACT*, 17 November 1888, p. 2) The following is a list of dates when Rudd's weekly publication was not printed: July 27, 1888; January 19, 1889; March 16, 1889; March 15, 1890; July 12, 1890. It is impossible to determine if Rudd printed an issue on November 10, 1888. It should be further noted, that a number of these editions are numbered incorrectly. For example, the June 3, 1887 edition is numbered 28, while the June 10, 1887 edition is numbered 30. Both the March 16 and March 23 editions of 1888 are numbered 18, while the March 30 edition of the same year is numbered 20.

Microfilm Reel Two

On the second reel there are a total of 101 issues, making 285 total extant editions. The first edition of the paper on this reel is dated Jan 3, 1891 vol. V no. 51, the last is September 8, 1894 vol. IX no. 18. Some uncertainty remains around which copies are

missing and which dates Rudd did not publish issues of the *ACT*. This uncertainty is due to the sporadic and inconsistent numbering of the editions. The following papers appear to be missing from the ACHS Archive collection: March 28, 1891 vol. VI no. 8; October 3, 1891 vol. VI no. 33; February 20, 1892 vol. VI no. 51; April 30, 1892 vol. VII no. 8; August 13, 1892 vol. VII no. 22; August 27, 1892 vol. VII no. 24.

Missing Editions

Rudd did not produce an edition of *ACT* on the following dates: February 14, 21, 28, 1891; (During this period Rudd moved from his office at 355 Central Avenue to 486 Central Avenue.) July 4, 1891; July 11, 1891; (See *ACT*, 18 July 1891, p. 2) August 29, 1891; (Pressing important business brought Rudd home from New Orleans. (See *ACT*, 12 September 1891, p.2) December 5, 1891; December 12, 1891; January 9, 1892, January 23, 1892; March 19, 1892; July 2, 1892; September 17, 1892; October 29, 1892; Nov. 12, 1892; November 26, 1892; Dec. 14, 1892; December 31, 1892; March 11, 1893; March 18, 1893; April 8, 1893; April 15, 1893; April 22, 1893; May 6, 1893; May 13, 1893; August 19, 1893; September 2, 1893-December 9, 1893;

It is impossible to determine whether editions were published on December 26, 1891; October 8, 1892; October 15, 1892; December 31, 1892- January 21, 1893; February 11, 1893; February 18, 1893; May 27, 1893-August 5, 1893; December 23, 1893-January 24, 1894; March 15, 1894; March 22, 1894; March 29, 1894; April 5, 1894; April 12, 1894; April 19, 1894; June 2, 1894; June 9, 1894; June 30, 1894-August 11, 1894; September 1, 1894.

Appendix 2

Cities Canvassed On Behalf of the *ACT*

1887

<u>Date</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Representative</u>
02/25/87	Springfield, OH	Daniel Rudd
02/25/87	New Orleans, LA	St. Louis correspondent
02/25/87	Chicago, IL	James Whitson
04/01/87	Ft. Wayne, IN	D. Rudd
05/13/87	Delaware, OH	J. Whitson
05/20/87	Lexington, KY	D. Rudd
05/27/87	Tiffin, OH	J. Whitson
06/03/87	Boston, MD	Robert L. Ruffin
06/17/87	Eastern OH	J. Whitson
06/24/87	Canton, OH	D. Rudd
07/01/87	Xenia, OH	D. Rudd
07/01/87	Wheeling, WV	D. Rudd
08/12/87	Louisville, KY	D. Rudd
08/19/87	Mckeesport, PA	J. Whitson
09/09/87	Chicago, IL	D. Rudd
09/09/87	Buffalo, NY	J. Whitson
09/09/87	Jefferson, IN	D. Rudd
09/09/87	Rochester, NY	J. Whitson
09/16/87	Anderson, IN	Rudd
10/07/87	Portsmouth, OH	H.L. Jones
10/07/87	Washington, D.C.	D. Rudd
10/21/87	Lexington, KY	D. Rudd
10/21/87	Columbus, OH	D. Rudd
10/21/87	Springfield, OH	D. Rudd
10/21/87	Detroit, MI	D. Rudd
10/28/87	Albany, NY	J. Whitson
10/28/87	Washington, D.C.	D. Rudd
10/28/87	Baltimore MD	D. Rudd
10/28/87	Philadelphia, PA	D. Rudd
10/28/87	Wilmington, DE	D. Rudd
11/28/87	Gallipolis, OH	H.L. Jones
12/16/87	New York (city?)	J. Whitson
12/16/87	Cleveland, OH	H.L. Jones

1888

<u>Date</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Representative</u>
01/13/88	Columbus, OH	D. Rudd
02/17/88	East	D. Rudd
02/17/88	Logansport, IN	H.L. Jones
02/24/88	Norwich, CT	J. Whitson
02/24/88	Providence, RI	
02/24/88	Washington, C.H., OH	D. Rudd
02/24/88	Youngstown, OH	D. Rudd
03/09/88	Newcastle, PA	D. Rudd
03/09/88	Pittsburgh, PA	D. Rudd
03/09/88	Altoona, PA	D. Rudd
03/09/88	Pawtucket, RI	D. Rudd
03/30/88	Boston, MA	H.L. Jones
03/30/88	Indiana, OH	I. Moten
04/27/88	Fall River, MA	D. Rudd
04/27/88	Salem, MA	D. Rudd
04/27/88	Cambridge, MA	D. Rudd
06/01/88	Wilmington, DE	D. Rudd?
06/01/88	Altoona, PA	D. Rudd
06/22/88	Gallitzin, PA	D. Rudd;/ J. Whitson
06/29/88	Johnstown, ?	J. Whitson
07/06/88	New Albany, IN	I. Moten
07/20/88	Lexington, KY	I. Moten
08/03/88	Dayton, OH	D. Rudd
08/03/88	Springfield, OH	D. Rudd
08/03/88	Upper Sandusky, OH	D. Rudd
08/03/88	Tiffin, OH	D. Rudd
08/03/88	Sandusky, OH	D. Rudd
08/03/88	Cedar Point, OH	D. Rudd
08/10/88	Fostoria, OH (?)	D. Rudd
09/07/88	Brooklyn, NY	H.L.Jones; D. Rudd
09/07/88	Albany, NY	J. Rudd
10/06/88	Troy, NY	
10/13/88	Oswego, NY	J. Rudd
10/13/88	St. Louis, MO	D. Rudd
10/20/88	Watertown, NY	J. Rudd
11/24/88	Syracuse, NY	

1889

<u>Date</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Representative</u>
02/23/89	Norwich, CT	Lincoln Vallé
02/23/89	Pawtucket, RI	L. Vallé
02/23/89	Woonsocket, RI	D. Rudd
03/02/89	New York, NY	D. Rudd
03/09/89	Taunton, MA	L. Vallé
03/09/89	Boston, MA	D. Rudd
03/23/89	Quincy, MA	L. Vallé
03/23/89	Hyde Park, MA	L. Vallé ?
03/30/89	Beverly, MA	William Gauntt
04/13/89	Washington, D.C.	D. Rudd
04/27/89	Connersville, IN	D. Rudd
04/27/89	Indiana	William Ervin
05/04/89	Circleville, OH	W. Ervin
05/04/89	Lawrence, MA	L. Vallé
05/04/89	Lowell, MA	H.L. Jones
05/11/89	Portland, ME	L. Vallé
05/25/89	Touring Ohio	W. Erwin
06/01/89	Marlboro, MA	L. Vallé
06/15/89	Altoona, PA	H.L. Jones
06/22/89	Fremont, OH	D. Rudd
06/29/89	Framingham, MA	L. Vallé
07/06/89	Ft. Wayne, IN;	H.L. Jones
07/13/89	Lucrene, Switzerland	D. Rudd
07/27/89	Middletown, Miamisburg, Dayton, OH ?	I. Moten
08/10/89	Franklin, OH; Detroit, MI; Kentucky	W. Ervin
08/10/89	Chicago, IL	H.L. Jones
08/24/89	Springfield, MA	W. Gauntt
08/24/89	Buffalo, NY	L. Vallé
08/31/89	Pittsburgh, PA	L. Vallé
09/14/89	Holyoke, MA	W. Gauntt
09/14/89	Cleveland, OH (East)	J. Rudd
09/28/89	Wheeling, WV	L. Vallé
09/28/89	East; NY	L. Vallé
10/05/89	(Western Tour to begin)	I. Moten
10/12/89	St. Louis, MO	D. Rudd
10/26/89	Covington, KY	D. Rudd
11/09/89	Springfield, Decaur, Peoria, IL	I. Moten
11/23/89	St. Paul, MN	H.L. Jones
11/30/89	Philadelphia, PA; Binghamton, NY (?)	W. Erwin; J. Rudd
11/30/89	Springfield, OH	L. Vallé

1890

Date	City	Representative
01/04/90	Harrisburg, York, PA	L. Vallé
01/04/90	Wilkesbarre, PA	J. Rudd
01/18/90	Baltimore, MD	D. Rudd
01/25/90	Bridgeport, CT	L. Vallé
02/01/90	Washington, D.C.	H. L. Jones
02/15/90	New Haven, CT	“Tribune Man”
02/15/90	Hartford, CT	J. Rudd
02/15/90	Indianapolis, IN	D. Rudd
03/01/90	Philadelphia, NY	D. Rudd
03/01/90	(To canvass Indiana)	I. Moten
03/01/90	Washington, D.C.	D. Rudd
03/08/90	Norwich, Middletown, CT	L. Vallé
04/12/90	Pawtucket, RI	L. Vallé
04/19/90	Boston, MA	J. Rudd
05/24/90	Back from extended Eastern Tour	J. Rudd
05/24/90	Lawrence, MA	L. Vallé
05/31/90	Ohio	F.W. Burch (sp.?)
06/07/90	Richmond, IN	F.W. Burch
06/07/90	Dover, NH	L. Vallé
07/05/90	Pittsburgh, PA	L. Vallé
07/05/90	“Ten months Tour, East”	W. Ervin
07/05/90	New York City, NY; Philadelphia, PA	W. Ervin
07/05/90	Boston, MA	W. Ervin
07/05/90	Extended tour of New England	L. Vallé
08/09/90	Freemont, OH; Detroit, MI	L. Vallé
08/09/90	Erie, PA	W. Ervin
09/13/90	Fremont, OH	Rudd
09/20/90	Grand Rapids, MI	L. Vallé
09/27/90	Springfield, OH	D. Rudd
09/27/90	Hamilton, OH	D. Rudd
10/25/90	Indianapolis, IN	D. Rudd
11/01/90	Tisdale in East	W. Tisdale
11/15/90	Covington, KY	D. Rudd
11/22/90	East	D. Rudd
11/29/90	Chicago, IL	L. Vallé (Chicago office)
12/6/90	Springfield, IL	D. Rudd
12/20/90	East	D. Rudd
12/20/90	Philadelphia, PA; Boston, MA	D. Rudd (with Tolton)

1891

<u>Date</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Representative</u>
01/03/91	Chicago, IL	J. Rudd
01/17/91	Milwaukee, WI	John A. Smith
03/07/91	St. Paul, MN	J. Rudd
03/11/91	Nashville, TN	D. Rudd
04/18/91	Lynn, MA	W. Tisdale
01/17/91	Milwaukee, WI	J. A. Smith
03/07/91	St. Paul, MN	J. Rudd
03/11/91	Nashville, TN	D. Rudd
04/18/91	Lynn, MA	W. Tisdale
04/18/91	Boston, MA	W. Ervin
05/16/91	Hoboken, NJ	D. Rudd
05/16/91	Jersey City, NJ	D. Rudd
05/23/91	Patterson, NJ	D. Rudd
05/23/91	Michigan City, IN	I. Moten
05/30/91	Jackson, MS	Edward Reed
06/06/91	New York City, NY; East	L. Vallé
06/06/91	Natchez, MS	E. Reed
06/20/91	Altoona, PA	L. Vallé
06/20/91	Ft. Wayne, IN	I. Moten
06/20/91	Springfield, OH	D.Rudd; J. Rudd
06/20/91	Philadelphia, PA	D. Rudd
06/20/91	Rankin, Braddock, PA	L.Vallé
06/27/91	Johnstown, Abbey St. Vincent, PA	W. Ervin
06/27/91	McKeesport, PA	
07/13/91	Nashville, TN; Water Valley, MS;	
07/13/91	Canton, Jackson, Vicksburg, Natchez, MS	E. Reed
07/25/91	New Orleans, LA	E. Reed
07/25/91	(D. Rudd to visit principle southern points congress)	
08/01/91	Buffalo, NY	W. Tisdale
08/01/91	Erie, PA	W. Ervin
08/08/91	New Orleans, LA (for Congress)	D. Rudd
09/05/91	St. Louis, Mo; "other Western cities"	L. Vallé
09/05/91	Toledo, OH	W.H. Anderson
09/12/91	Springfield, OH	D. Rudd
09/12/91	Michigan, MI	W.H. Anderson
10/17/91	Mobile, AL	E. Reed
10/24/91	Northwest	W.H. Anderson
10/31/91	Kankakee IL	W.H. Anderson
10/31/91	Freeport, IL	W.H. Anderson
11/07/91	Harvard IL	W.H. Anderson
11/07/91	Parkersburg, W.V; Marietta, OH	W.H. Anderson

11/07/91	Washington, D.C.	W.H. Anderson
11/07/91	Chicago, IL	W.H. Anderson
11/14/91	Sydney, OH	I. Moten
11/28/91	Northwest	J. Rudd
11/28/91	St. Louis, MO	L. Vallé (with A. Tolton)
11/28/91	Washington, D.C.	W.H. Anderson
11/28/91	Ripley, OH	W. Tisdale (part-time)
11/28/91	Clarksburg WV	W.H. Anderson
12/19/91	Newark, NJ	W. Ervin
12/19/91	Trenton, NJ (also visited in 1889)	W. Ervin
12/19/91	Washington, D.C.	D. Rudd

1892

<u>Date</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Representative</u>
01/02/92	Philadelphia, PA	D. Rudd (Congress)
02/06/92	Bridgeport, CT	L. Vallé
03/05/92	Ft. Madison, IA	I. Moten
03/12/92	Waterford, Hartford, CT likely Philadelphia	L. Vallé
04/09/92	Chicago, IL	J. Fossett
04/16/92	Chillicothe, OH	D. Rudd
04/23/92	Fall River, MA	L. Vallé
04/23/92	Belville ?	I. Moten
05/7/92	Akron, OH	J. Rudd
05/14/92	East	J. Rudd
05/21/92	Boston, MA	L. Vallé
06/11/92	Wheeling ,MA	J. Rudd
06/11/92	Logansport, IN	I. Moten
07/23/92	Madison, IN	J. Fossett
08/6/92	Boston, MA	L. Vallé
09/10/92	Toledo, OH	D. Rudd
09/24/92	Milwaukee, WI	D. Rudd
10/1/92	Philadelphia, PA	D. Rudd
11/19/92	Binghamton, NY	W. Ervin

1893

<u>Date</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Representative</u>
03/25/93	Norwich, CT	J. Rudd

1894

<u>Date</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>Representative</u>
03/01/94	Syracuse, NY	D. Rudd
06/16/94	Ft. Wayne, IN	I. Moten
08/18/94	Richmond, VA	D. Rudd (press meeting)
08/25/94	Buffalo, NY	Alfonzo Smith

Appendix 3

***ACT* Employees and Contributors Identified in the Newspaper**

1887

J.T. Whitson, *ACT* co- founder
G. J.H. Lowen, marketed the *ACT*, Cincinnati
J. A. Spinney, marketed the *ACT*, Cincinnati
Cora Turner, female *ACT* employee
J. L. Cunningham
Mrs. L. Gray, marketed the *ACT*, Louisville
John C. Keelan, *ACT* foreman, subsequently with Toledo *Eagle*
Henrietta Cook, Baltimore
R.L. Ruffin, Boston
Isaac Moten, city editor and agent
Colonel Read, Rome correspondent ?
Lincoln Vallé
H. L. Jones
John R. Rudd, Daniel's Nephew, city editor, business manager

1888

William Ecton, canvassing for the *ACT* in Washington, Court House, Ohio
Henry W. Forte
Pres. Henderson, Delaware, Ohio
Mr. Parker, Cedar Point, Ohio
Peter Hopkins, Syracuse correspondent
Ave, Loretta, Pennsylvania, correspondent

1889

W.C., from Chicago
Jack, Springfield, Ohio
Wm. Gauntt
Wm. Ervin "Billy"
Anthony Nickens, *ACT* foreman and inventor
Arthur Arnott, Philadelphia, *ACT* correspondent, later edited the *Journal*
Helen Cook, Norwich, Connecticut

1890

Mary L. Wallace, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
Charles Butler, Washington, D.C., contributor
F.W. Burch, worked a few weeks, took job with post office
L.M.I., Baltimore
W.S. Tisdale, later worked part time partner in coal dealership, perhaps replaced H.L. Jones
Mary Meline, contributor and *Catholic Telegraph* employee
Edward Reed, foreman who left *ACT* for Nashville, and was Rudd's agent in the South

1891

John A. Smith
Edward Reed
William F. Anderson
P.H. Davis, contributor from Canton, Mississippi
Alma Bell, *ACT* mail clerk in for two years
Hubbard, replaced by W.F. Anderson? Poor job performance

1892

E.Easton, contributor from Galveston, attended CCC.
John Fossett

1893

James D. Gardner, problematic employee who Rudd suggested didn't follow instructions

1894

Jul. F. Hoeffel, Detroit associate city editor
Alfonzo Smith

Bibliography

Agee, Gary. "The Reverend John M. Mackey and Daniel A. Rudd in the Second Colored Catholic Congress." Research Paper submitted for a course at the University of Dayton, 2003. 6-8.

Ahlstrom, Sydney. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.

Allbeck, Willard, D. *Springfield in the 1870's* [sic]. Springfield, Ohio: Clark County Historical Society, 1977.

"American Catholic Women," in *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*.

Angell, Stephen W., and Anthony B. Pinn, ed. *Social Protest Thought in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1862-1939*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000.

Appleby, R. Scott. Patricia Byrne, and William Portier. ed. *Creative Fidelity: American Catholic Intellectual Traditions*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2004.

Balmes, James. *Protestantism and Catholicity Compared in Their Effects on the Civilization of Europe*. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1851.

Becker, Penny Edgell. "Rational Amusement and Sound Instruction": Constructing the True Catholic Woman in the Ave Maria, 1865-1889." *Religion and American Culture* 8, no. 1 (Winter 1998):55-90.

Bennett, James B. *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow in New Orleans*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Bercovitch, Sacvan. *The American Jeremiad*. Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1978.

Billingsley, Andrew. *Mighty Like a River: The Black Church and Social Reform*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Boles, John B. and Fredrick A. Bode. ed. *Autobiographical Reflections on Southern Religious History*. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2001.

Brown, Joseph A. *To Stand On the Rock: Meditations on Black Catholic Identity*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1998.

- Buenker, John D., and Edward R. Kantowicz. ed., *Historical Dictionary of the Progressive Era, 1890-1920*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988.
- Cantwell, William P. "Woman in Early Christianity and During the Middle Ages." *Catholic World* (September 1887):818.
- Carey, Patrick W. ed. *American Catholic Religious Thought: The Shaping of a Theological and Social Tradition*. New York: Paulist Press, 1987.
- Carroll, Charles. *The Negro a Beast*. Salem, New Hampshire: Ayer Company, Publishers Inc., 1900. Reprint, 1991.
- _____. "Lay Catholic Leadership in the United States." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 9 (1990): 223-247.
- Craig, J.M. "Women's Suffrage Movement," *Dictionary of Christianity in America*, ed. Daniel G. Reid. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1990
- Dabney, Wendell Phillips. *Cincinnati's Colored Citizens, Historical, Sociological and Biographical*. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1970.
- Davis, Cyprian. "Black Catholic History: Roots and Wings of a People." *Tell It Like It Is*. Oakland, California: National Black Sisters Conference. 1983.
- _____. "Black Catholics in the Nineteenth Century." *U.S. Catholic Historian*. 15 (1986): 1-17.
- _____. "Daniel A. Rudd, The American Catholic Tribune, and the Plight of Black Catholics, 1884-1899." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, April 16, 1983. Louisville: Kentucky.
- _____. "The Holy See and American Black Catholics. A Forgotten Chapter in the History of the American Church." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 7 (Spring/Summer 1988): 157-179.
- Davis, Cyprian. *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*. New York: Crossroads Publication Co., 1991.
- _____. "The Second Congress and Daniel Rudd of Cincinnati." Symposium October, 6, 1990. Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Davis, Cyprian, and Jamie Phelps. *"Stamped with the image of God": African Americans as God's Image in Black*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2003.

Dolan, J.P. *The American Catholic Experience. A history from colonial times to the present.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1985.

_____. *In Search of American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Douglas, Davison M. *Jim Crow Moves North: The Battle over Northern School Segregation, 1865-1954.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Dray, Philip. *At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America.* New York: The Modern Library, 2002.

DuBois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk.* Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Company, 1903.

Dulles, Avery. *Models of the Church.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday Image Books, 1987.

Dunnam, Maxie. *This is Christianity.* Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994.

Ellis, John, Tracy. *American Catholicism.* 2nd ed. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1969.

Evans, James H. Jr. *We Have Been Believers: An African Systematic Theology.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992.

Finkelman, Paul, ed. *The Age of Jim Crow: Segregation from the End of Reconstruction to the Great Depression.* vol. 4, New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1992.

Fireside, Harvey. *Separate and Unequal: Homer Plessey and the Supreme Court Decision that Legalized Racism.* New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2004.

Fogarty, Gerald P. *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy From 1870 to 1965.* Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier Inc., 1982.

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877.* New York: Harper and Row, 1888.

Fortin, Roger. *Faith in Action: A History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002.

Franklin, John Hope, and Alfred A. Moss Jr. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans,* 7th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1994.

_____. *Three Negro Classics: up from slavery. the souls of black folk. the autobiography of an ex-colored man.* New York: Avon Books, 1965.

Gerber, David A. *Black Ohio and the Color Line, 1860-1915.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976.

German Roman Catholic Central Verein of North America Available from:
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03534a.htm> Accessed 2 February 2006.

Gibbons, James Cardinal. *Our Christian Heritage.* Baltimore: John Murphy and Company, 1889.

Giffin, William, W. *African Americans and the Color Line in Ohio, 1915-1930.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005.

Gleason, Phillip. *The Conservative Reformers: German American Catholics and the Social Order.* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968.

Gorman, S.B. "Ireland Again Under Coercion." *Catholic World* (August 1887): 664-671.

Graden, Dale Torston. *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil Bahia, 1835-1900.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

Guizot, Francois Pierre Guillaume. *The History of Civilization in Europe.* Translated by William Hazlitt. New York: A.L. Burt, 1887.

Harding, Vincent. *There is a River: The Black Struggle For Freedom in America.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981.

Harlan, Louis R. *Booker T. Washington. The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.

_____. *Booker T. Washington. The Making of a Black Leader, 1901-1915.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Harris, Jacqueline L. *History and Achievement of the NAACP.* New York: Franklin Watts, 1992.

Hayes, Diane L. and Cyprian Davis. ed. *Taking Down Our Harps: Black Catholics in the United States.* Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1998.

_____. "The Black Congress Movement," in *What's Left? Liberal American Catholics.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999.

The Heart of Springfield 1873 -1974. A booklet with a time-line of significant events in the history of the city, Fisher Family Library and Archives, Clark County Historical Society, Springfield, Ohio.

Hecker, Isaac. *The Church and the Age*. New York: H.J. Hewitt, 1887.

Hennesey, James. *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Higginbotham, Evelyn. *Righteous Discontent: The Woman's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Highlights of the NAACP History 1909-1974. New York: NAACP, 1975.

Hopkins, Dwight N. *Shoes That Fit Our Feet: Sources of Constructive Black Theology*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1993.

Hoxie, Fredrick E. *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Hussey, Edward M. *1999 Sequential Directory St. Raphael Catholic Church*. Springfield, Ohio: 1999.

Johnston, John W. "Judge Lynch." *The Catholic World* XLV (August 1887): 593-604.

Joseph, Satish C. C.Ss. R., "Long Live the Republic; Father Edward Purcell and the Slavery Controversy: 1861-1865." *American Catholic Studies Journal of the Catholic Historical Society* 116, no.4 (Winter 2005): 25-54.

Kehoe, Laurence ed. *The Complete Works of the Most Rev. John Hughes D.D. Archbishop of New York*. New York: The American News Company, 1864.

Kellogg, Charles Flint. *NAACP: a History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Volume 1 1909-1920*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1967. Reprint Ann Arbor, Michigan: by U.M.I. Out of Print Books on Demand, 1992.

Kenneally, James J. *The History of American Catholic Women*. New York: Crossroad, 1990.

Kester, Howard. *Revolt Among the Sharecroppers*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997.

Koehler, Lyle. *Cincinnati's Black Peoples: A Chronology and Bibliography, 1787-1982*. Cincinnati: 1986.

- Labbé, Dolores Egger. *Jim Crow Comes to Church*. New York: Arno Press, 1978.
- Lackner, Joseph H. "Daniel Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune From Bardstown to Cincinnati." *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (April 1994): 258-81.
- _____. "The American Catholic Tribune and the Puzzle of Its Finances." *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*. (Spring/Summer 1995): 25-38.
- _____. "The American Catholic Tribune: No Other Like It." Paper Delivered at the American Catholic Historical Association Meeting at University of Dayton, Dayton: Ohio, April 23, 2005.
- _____. "The Foundation of St. Ann's Parish, 1866-1870: The African American Experience in Cincinnati." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 7, no. 2 and 3. (Spring/Summer 1988):17.
- Leckie, Robert. *American and Catholic*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1970.
- Lewis, David Levering. *W.E.B. Dubois Biography of A Race 1868-1919*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993.
- Lincoln, C. Eric and Lawrence Mamiya. *The Black Church in African Experience*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1990.
- _____. *Race, Religion and the Continuing Dilemma*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1984.
- Litwack, Leon, F. *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979.
- Lofgren, Charles A. *The Plessey Case: A Legal-Historical Interpretation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Logan, Rayford W. *The Betrayal of the Negro from Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson*. London: Collier Books, 1954.
- Luker, Ralph. *The Social Gospel in Black and White*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- MacGregor, Morris J. *The Emergence of a Black Catholic Community: St. Augustine's in Washington*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 1999.
- Manley, D. "The Catholic Church and the Indians." *Catholic World* LV (July 1892): 328.
- Manufacturers and Merchants of Ohio*. New York: International Publishing Co. Publishers, 1886.

Marty, Martin, *A Short history of American Catholicism*. Allen, Texas: Thomas More, 1995.

Marty, Martin O.S.B. "The Indian Problem and the Catholic Church." *Catholic World* XLVIII (February 1889): 579.

McGreevy, John T. *Catholicism and American Freedom*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003.

_____. *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic encounter with race in the twentieth-century urban North*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

McMurray, Linda O. *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Meier, August. *Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1966.

Mize, Sandra Yocum, and William Portier, ed. *American Catholic Traditions: Resources for Renewal*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996.

_____. "The Papacy in Mid-Nineteenth Century American Catholic Imagination." Ph. D. diss., Marquette University, 1987.

Morris, David, ed. *Announcing the Christian Recorder's Centennial Celebration, 1848-1948*. Philadelphia: 1948.

Morrow, Diane Batts. *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1828-1860*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Moynihan, James H. *The Life of Archbishop John Ireland*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953.

Nolan, Hugh J. *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick Third Bishop of Philadelphia 1830-1851*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1948.

O'Brien, Conor Cruise. *Parnell and His Party 1880-1890*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.

O'Connell, Marvin, R. *John Ireland and the American Catholic Church*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988.

Ochs, Stephen. *Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests 1871-1960*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.

O'Day, Alan. *The English Face of Irish Nationalism*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ltd., 1977.

One Hundred Seventy Five Years of Struggle: A History of Black People in Springfield, Ohio. Springfield, Ohio: n.d.

Oshinsky, David M. *"Worse Than Slavery": Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice*. New York: The Free Press, 1996.

O'Toole, James M. *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920*. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

Ovington, Mary White. *The Walls came Tumbling Down*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1947.

Panzer, Joel S., *The Popes and Slavery*. New York: Alba House, 1996.

Phelps, Jamie, *Black and Catholic, The Challenge and Gift of Black Folk*. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1998.

Pitney, David Howard. *The African American Jeremiad: Appeals for Justice in America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005.

Portier, William L. "Catholic Theology in the United States, 1860-1907: Recovering a Forgotten Tradition." *Horizons* 10 (February 1883): 323-331.

_____. "Inculturation as Transformation: The Case for Americanism Revisited." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 11 (Summer 1993): 107-124.

_____. "John R. Slattery's Vision for the Evangelization of American Blacks" *U.S. Catholic Historian* 5 (1986): 19-44.

_____. "Missionary as Philanthropist: A Social and Economic Portrait of John Slattery (1851-1926)." Paper delivered at the annual convention of the College Theology Society, Salve Regina College, Newport, Rhode Island, June 2, 1985.

_____. "Vatican-U.S. Catholic Church Relations." *Dictionary of Christianity in America* ed. Daniel G. Reid. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1990.

Pride, Armistead S. and Clint C. Wilson II. *A History of the Black Press*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1997.

Quillin, Frank. *The Color Line in Ohio: A History of Race Prejudice in a Typical Northern State*. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969.

- Rabotaeau, Albert J. *Slave Religion: the "invisible institution" in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Rockel, William M. *20th Century History of Springfield and Clark Co. Ohio and Representative Citizens*. Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1908.
- Rudd, Daniel A. and Theo Bond. *From Slavery to Wealth: The Life of Scott Bond: The Rewards of Honesty, Industry, Economy and Perseverance*. Madison, Arkansas: Journal Printing Company, 1917.
- Rudd, Daniel. *Three Catholic Afro-American Congresses*. Cincinnati, Ohio: American Catholic Tribune, 1893. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978.
- Seraile, William. *Fire In His Heart: Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner and the A.M.E Church*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1998.
- Sernett, Milton ed. *African American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999.
- _____. *Bound For the Promised Land: African American Religion and the Great Migration*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Sharrow, Walter G. "John Hughes and a Catholic Response to Slavery in Antebellum America." *Journal of Negro History* 57 (1972): 257-258.
- Sheedy, Morgan M. "The School Question: A Plea For Justice." *The Catholic World* XLIX (August 1889): 647-655.
- Sillers, Florence, Warfield. *History of Bolivar County, Mississippi*. Jackson, Mississippi: Herderman Brothers, 1948.
- Simmons, Charles A. *The African American Press: With Special Reference to Four Newspapers, 1827-1865*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc., 1998.
- Slattery, John R. "The Congress of Negro Catholics." *Donahoe's Monthly Magazine* 24 (1890): 271.
- Smith, H. Shelton. *In His Image but... Racism in Southern religion 1780-1910*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1972.
- Souvenir Volume of Three Great Events in the History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. Detroit: 1889. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1978.

Spalding, David, C.F.X. "The Negro Catholic Congresses 1889-1894." *The Catholic Historical Review* 3 (October 1969): 337-357.

Stampf, Kenneth M. and Leon F. Litwack ed. *Reconstruction an Anthology of Revisionists Writing*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969.

Statistical Abstract of the United States. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915, 52.

Suggs, Henry Lewis ed. *The Black Press and the Middle West, 1865-1985*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996.

_____. *The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1983.

Tentler, Leslie Woodcock. *Seasons of Grace: A History of the Archdiocese of Detroit*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990.

Theological Studies. Dec. 2000, vol. 61, no. 4; issue devoted to "The Catholic Reception of Black Theology."

Thompson, Julius. *Lynchings in Mississippi, A History 1865-1965*. London: McFarland & Company Inc., 2001.

Thornbrough, Emma Lou. *T. Thomas Fortune; Militant Journalist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Tilley, Terrence. Review of *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, by Cyprian Davis. *Books and Religion* 18 (Summer 1991): 26.

Wangler, Thomas E. "John Ireland's Emergence as a Liberal Catholic and Americanist: 1875-1887." *Records of the American Historical Society of Philadelphia* 81 (June 1970): 67-82.

Ward, Mary A. *A Mission for Justice: The History of the First African American Catholic Church in Newark, New Jersey*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002.

Washington, James W. *Frustrated Fellowship: The Black Quest for Social Power*. Macon Georgia: Mercer, 1986.

Weisenfeld, Judith. *African American Women and Christian Activism: New York's Black YWCA, 1905-1945*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Weiss, Robert P., ed. *Social History of Crime, Policing and Punishment*. Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1999.

Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860." *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2, part 1 (Summer 1966): 151-174.

Weston, Rubin F., ed. *Blacks in Ohio History: A Conference to Commemorate the Bicentennial of the American Revolution*. Ohio Historical Society, 1976.

Williams, Gilbert Anthony. *The Christian Recorder, Newspaper of the African Methodist Episcopal Church: history of a forum of ideas, 1854, 1902*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company Inc., 1996.

Willing, Eugene P, and Herta Hatzfeld. *Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States: A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 1964.

_____. *Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States: A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List, Second Series, Part Twelve: I, Kentucky, and II, Ohio*. Washington, D.C.: 1966.

_____. *Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States: A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List, Part Fifteen*. Washington, D.C.: 1968.

_____. *Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States Part XV: A Statistical Analysis of the First Series, Parts 1+2 and of the Second Series, Part I-XIV (1+2)*. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University Press, 1968.

Wilmore, Gayraud. *Black Religion and Black Radicalism: An Interpretation of the Religious History of African Americans*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1983.

Willis, John C. *Forgotten Time: The Yazoo-Mississippi Delta after the Civil War*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000.

Woods, James. *Mission and Memory-A History of the Catholic Church in Arkansas*. Little Rock: Diocese, 1963.

Directories

Springfield City Directory (Springfield, Ohio, Swartz and Co., 1876), 209.

Springfield City Directory (Springfield, Ohio: Swartz and Co., 1876), 209;

Springfield City Directory (Springfield, Ohio: T.H. Edwards & Company, 1877-1878), 16.

Correspondence

Onahan, W.P., to John R. Slattery, 30 March 1893, 8 P-17, Josephite Archives, Baltimore.

Rudd, Daniel, to Archbishop Henry Elder, 3 May 1888. Transcript in the hand of Daniel Rudd. Archdiocese of Cincinnati Historical Archives of the Chancery, Cincinnati.

_____. to John Slattery, 2 July 1888. Transcript in the hand of Daniel Rudd, 9k10, Josephite Archives, Baltimore.

Ruffin, Robert, to John Slattery, 18 February 1892. Transcript in the hand of Robert Ruffin, 9-H-26, Josephite Archives, Baltimore, Maryland.

Ryan, Patrick J., to Michael Augustine Corrigan, 20 May 1890. Special collection AANY C-17, Catholic Archives of New York, New York.

Torrensedale, M, to Fr. Hudson, 11 January 1887. Transcript in the hand of M. Torrensedale. Hudson Papers, CHUD X-3 d, Notre Dame University Archives, South Bend, Indiana.

John Slattery, to John A. DeRuyter, 14 September 1892, P. LPB-1-5, Josephite Archives, Baltimore.

_____. W. P. Onahan, Easter Sunday [1893], LPB-1-111, Josephite Archives, Baltimore.

Phone Interviews

Brown, Luther, Director of the Delta Center for Culture and Learning, phone interview by author, 21 May 2007, Boyle, Mississippi.

Clifford, Bridgett, Archivist of the Sisters of Nazareth Archives, phone interview by the author, Nazareth, Kentucky, April, 2007.

Gollar, Walker, Professor in the Theology Department, Xavier University, phone interview by the author, Kentucky, May, 2007.

Louie, Barbara. Archivist at the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, phone interview by the author, 12 April 2007, Detroit.

Film

Daniel Rudd: Founder of Black Catholic National Congresses: Hallel Videos, (Sparkill, New York), 1999, Videocassette.

Newspapers

Josephite News Letter, (Nov.-Dec. 1966 and 1967).

“There is no Color Line,” *Catholic Mirror*, 10 May 1890.

The AME Church Review (1887-1894) July 1890.

The Christian Recorder (Philadelphia) April and May 1890.

The Cleveland Gazette (1887-1894) June 1919.

The Crisis, June 1919.

The Journal (Philadelphia) February-September 1892.