Beyond Parish Boundaries: Black Catholics and the Quest for Racial Justice

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In 1932, America's black Catholics confronted a dilemma that had festered for years. They had to decide if their most nationally prominent racial justice organization, the Federated Colored Catholics (FCC), would be controlled by black laymen, who lacked power within the church but could perhaps best articulate their specific demands, or by white Jesuits, who were active in the civil rights crusade but who worked for gradual, not immediate, change.[1] To many of the black laity in Chicago, the largest Catholic archdiocese in the United States and home to about eight thousand black Catholics, the choice was obvious: they overwhelmingly threw their weight behind the white priests.[2] Their decision, rooted in the broader strategy of building wide networks to promote racial justice, suggests a more complete picture for how we think about the relationship between Catholicism and race.

At first, Chicago's black Catholics' decision to support white control so staunchly over a vital civil rights organization might seem enigmatic. It becomes even stranger when one considers that the priests wanted to wrest control of the organization from the hands of the laypeople and that Chicago's black Catholics remained militant in demanding immediate, not gradual, change.[3] Why did a contingent of Chicago's black activists favor white clerical leadership at odds with their methods over black lay leadership that matched their concerns? The answer points to what was becoming a key practice of Catholic civil rights struggles in Chicago and beyond.

Black Catholics in Chicago were in the midst of learning that in order to build an effective coalition to change their church and city, they would have to move beyond their parish boundaries, beyond their parish priests, beyond the theology taught in the parish, and even beyond the confines of Catholicism. More often than not, black lay Catholics recognized that the best support for their cause would

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be through working priests in various orders, responsible not for the well-being of the parishioners of a particular geographical area, but for the entirety of the church.[4] Thus, their decision to stand with white priests rather than a black layman reflected their strong desire to plug into a national network that could exercise power in a church whose official leaders were all white men, but they did not stop with priests. To effect change in the Catholic church, they would have to forge allies at a city-wide and national level with Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Moving beyond parish boundaries would turn out to be a decisive move in creating a universal church in a segregated nation.

My purpose in this article is to demonstrate that parish boundaries did not constrain the northern black Catholics' experience of Catholicism, in contrast to the experience of most white Catholics in the urban north. Historian John McGreevy's foundational paradigm of "parish boundaries" rightly structures how we think about white Catholics' encounter with race in the urban north, but the story of how Chicago's black Catholics cultivated allies in their struggle for racial justice suggests that we need a fuller picture of how race and Catholicism interacted. White Catholics, who often traced their lineage to immigrant origins, experiences of American nativism, and the hard-scrabble creation of parishes they could call home, sought to defend their parish boundaries from perceived outsiders, none more viscerally fought against than African Americans. McGreevy locates northern racial tension in a particular place: the parish.[5] When we focus on the black laity, however, we see that black Catholics did not respond to racial tension by focusing inward, but rather by looking outside the parish as they sought to find allies for their cause and to leverage their faith on behalf of racial justice. To demonstrate how black Catholics moved beyond their parish boundaries in the years surrounding 1932, I look at how they interacted with white priests outside their parishes, built networks with non-Catholic African Americans, embodied a particular strand of Catholic theology for their project that theologians primarily outside their parish supported, and, finally, built relationships with white lay people through the Catholic Worker, which existed outside the parish.

In addition, the article speaks to two larger patterns in American culture. First, adding to other work on the intersection between race and religion in American history, it shows that understanding how race and Catholicism were intertwined in northern urban centers like Chicago is fundamental to understanding the history of race and the history of Catholicism—and, indeed, religion more generally.[6] Paying attention to race, which black Catholics did not have the luxury to ignore, demonstrates the myriad ways race and religion intersected

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with each other. We cannot understand one without the other. Race shaped the practice and beliefs, or the implicit theology, of Catholics in all facets of the church. Thus, while white supremacy was not inscribed in the explicit, formal theology of the church, we can consider it a component of much of the white hierarchy's and laity's implicit theology because it lived in their practice of the faith.[7] As was the case across the country, those who instituted discrimination and those who opposed it both drew from deep wells of religious faith and acted in complex ways.

Second, the story expands the cast of characters in African American and Catholic history, which has three main rewards. First, we can see how black Catholics, not just black Protestants and white Catholics, constructed the spiritual geographies of both the Black Metropolis, as well as the larger city.[8] Second, looking at local black Catholic leaders offers a bottom-up perspective of the FCC's trajectory. Most discussions of the conflict within the FCC and the origins of Catholic civil rights activism focus on the national level to determine responsibility for the conflict between Thomas Wyatt Turner, the black founder of the FCC, and Jesuits John LaFarge and William Markoe, the white priests who helped oust Turner from power.[9] In contrast, when we turn away from the national to the local level, the African Americans' varied strategies for racial advancement come into focus and we hear the voices of men and women like Margaret Cope, Maude Johnston, Cassius Foster, and Arthur Falls, whom the national debate usually drowns out. Falls, in particular, would become a catalyst for later interracial civil rights activism.[10] Listening to their voices offers a third benefit: it helps enlarge our understanding of the origins of Catholic interracialism, the dominant form of Catholic civil rights organizing from the mid-1930s through the 1960s, from white priests to local black leaders. Most narratives emphasize the role of the most famous leader at the time, John LaFarge, but in focusing on local African Americans, I offer a corrective to a civil rights and Catholic interracial narrative that overemphasizes the role of white people.[11] I also highlight the tensions that existed in interracial partnership.

Choosing White Priests over Black Laypeople

The FCC grew out of a tradition of black Catholic protest led by laypeople in the 1880s as Jim Crow took over the South.[12] During World War I, black layman Thomas Wyatt Turner founded an organization modeled on the NAACP to end racial discrimination in the Catholic church. In 1924, Turner and his colleagues changed the name

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of the organization to the FCC. By 1932, the FCC estimated membership around 100,000 members, no small feat given the fact that there were about 250,000 black Catholics nationally.[13] When LaFarge of New York and Markoe of St. Louis joined the organization, Turner welcomed their help but was determined to keep the black laity in control.[14]

Although dedicated to civil rights causes, LaFarge and Markoe approached white supremacy with a more long-suffering attitude than their black partners. LaFarge, the most prominent Catholic spokesperson on race, would spend almost five decades patiently working to change the Catholic church, believing that he could help bring about a gradual change. While Markoe was significantly more militant than LaFarge in his demands that white Catholics change, both men thought education—teaching white people that racism, discrimination, and segregation were morally wrong—would end those evils, but they thought racial equality would take time. As Markoe wrote in 1928, the Catholic church held a "dormant" power to slowly "crush and smooth out uneven and unfair conditions arising from the close juxtaposition of two great races."[15] While the church moved at this glacial pace, black Catholics would have to wait patiently. Black layman Thomas Wyatt Turner, however, worked for immediate change. Nonetheless, he and other black Catholics had to walk a careful line to cultivate white support while focusing the organization on black advancement.

A discussion over the FCC's name brought the conflict between the priests and Turner into the open. LaFarge and Markoe cast the debate as one to determine if the group would remain a black protest organization, which Markoe called a "Jim Crow Federation," or if it would become a true interracial assembly.[16] Would the group's name remain the Federated Colored Catholics, which sounded like the group was black and which Turner supported, or would it be changed to the National Catholic Federation for the Promotion of Better Race Relations, which emphasized its interracial focus and which the priests supported?

The majority of Chicago's activists favored the priests' position of interracialism throughout the simmering debate. They sent a recommendation supporting the name change, but still emphasized that the group's purpose should be the "advancement of colored Catholics in the Church and in the civic communities."[17] One Chicago FCC chapter reported that members were "particularly pleased" with the changes they had worked for "since the inception of the Chapter."[18] Reluctantly, Turner agreed to the name change but hoped that it would be cosmetic only and that black leaders would still maintain authority and work for black advancement.

The conflict between Turner and the two white priests continued to fester and led to Turner's removal from the Federation's leadership. Markoe, offered his parish magazine to the Federation as its periodical in 1929, changed the journal's name from the *Chronicle* to the *Interracial Review* to reflect the organization's new focus in 1932. Markoe argued that since his order owned the paper, he could do what he wanted and that the new name would make it easier to sell the paper since it suggested the content more clearly. Turner, however, viewed Markoe's decision as attacking black leadership within the organization. Turner declared that the *Interracial Review* was no longer the Federation's organ. In December 1932, members of the Federation's executive committee met in Chicago and voted to remove Turner from the presidency because of his "unwarranted assumption of authority" when he announced the separation of the Federation from the *Interracial Review*, "scandal" for publically attacking the priests, and "treason" for denying the interracialism adopted into the constitution at the previous convention.[19]

Once again, Chicago's black laity stood behind the white priests. A few months after Turner's ousting, Mrs. Alleen Vernon, who lived in Chicago and worked for the national organization, wrote, "The Chicago chapters also wish to reaffirm the deep and sincere appreciation of the personal effort, time, ability and sacrifice of those two splendid characters, Father Wm. Markoe and Father LaFarge."[20] Vernon and her colleagues appreciated LaFarge and Markoe in part because they believed in an interracial approach to racial justice. As black lay leader Dr. Arthur Falls, who would become a major player in Chicago's activist scene and, by 1933, the president of Chicago's Federation branch, remembered the situation, he and his colleagues worked hard to "designate the group as an interracial group, feeling that the designation of the group as a colored group helped to block some of our efforts." They believed that "colored and white people working side by side on problems of race-relations and also on problems of common concern without regard to race-relations makes possible a better understanding on the part of both groups."[21] Significantly, though, Chicago's activists needed Markoe and LaFarge because they had so few allies among the local hierarchy, a fact due, to a certain extent, to how Chicago's Catholic church was handling African Americans' migration from the South and the changing dynamics of race in the United States.

The Creation and Consequences of Peculiar Parish Boundaries

At the turn of the century, black Americans could count themselves one of many different races such as Negroes, Italians,

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Jews, Poles, or Irish. The non-Negro races were considered "white races." Though Negroes exercised less power than the white races, they could hope, in the North, for equality. From World War I through the 1960s, African Americans migrated north to escape Jim Crow, find freedom, and obtain jobs in what they saw as the Promised Land. Their expanding presence in northern cities combined with the Johnson Reed Act of 1924, which reduced the earlier flood of immigration to a trickle, to change race relations. Gradually, and nearly always in opposition to "the Negro race," the white races melted into one "white race."[22]

The Catholic church's white hierarchy and laity contributed to the development of this racial dyad by constructing peculiar parish boundaries for black Catholics. Their pattern mimicked a long-standing American tradition of racial hierarchy most obviously embodied in the "peculiar institution" of slavery. Within their peculiar parish boundaries, black Catholics negotiated a hierarchy that paired whiteness with religious authority and ultimately limited their opportunities to pursue racial justice. Specifically, peculiar parish boundaries created two major limitations to black Catholics' practice of their faith that led activists to look beyond their parish boundaries for allies: discrimination at other parishes and limited priestly support within their parish. Paying attention to black Catholics' experiences allows us to see how Catholicism reinforced the shifting racial hierarchies in the North and how black Catholics negotiated the ensuing racial geographies.

While Archbishop George Mundelein has a well-deserved reputation of being a liberal on many social issues, he actually set up a system that made it easy for his all-white priesthood and white laity to discriminate against black Catholics.[23] Chicago's Catholics celebrated Mundelein's installation as archbishop in 1916, just as the great migration was picking up steam. Because of increasing nativism, Mundelein instituted an Americanization campaign to bring more uniformity to his ethnic parishioners. Many white parishioners resisted Mundelein's policies vigorously, but they generally supported Mundelein's one exception to his universalizing program: how to treat black Catholics.[24]

Mundelein set black Catholics apart from the city's other Catholics as a unique population. The year after his installation, Mundelein determined that no more national parishes, which served specific ethnic groups rather than a certain territory, would be created in his archdiocese. Nevertheless, in his only public pronouncement on the city's black Catholics, Mundelein essentially created a national parish for black Catholics. Mundelein claimed he was not excluding

black Catholics from other parishes, just "excluding from St. Monica's all but the colored Catholics."[25] Because of the timing of his actions and the way white Catholics interpreted the pronouncement, Mundelein's actions separated black Catholics from the rest of the Catholic population. At the same moment that Mundelein encouraged English-speaking Catholics to participate in the geographic parish where they lived, he ignored the geographic parish model for African Americans and set apart St. Monica's for black parishioners.

Mundelein was not alone among bishops in his decision to create a separate black parish. Facing a rising black population, he instituted the practices of southern bishops who had brought Jim Crow to formerly integrated parishes in the preceding years. Southern bishops' precedent in part sought to care for black Catholics but ultimately bowed to white supremacy.[26] The 1884 Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, which took place as southern African Americans' Reconstruction gains receded, recommended the establishment of separate parishes and other Catholic institutions to prevent black Catholics from being neglected or discriminated against in integrated parishes. In the late nineteenth century, the dioceses of Charleston, Savannah, Baltimore, and New Orleans followed the recommendation and created separate churches for their black populations. The division in New Orleans, home to the greatest number of black Catholics, happened the latest when, in 1895, Archbishop Francis A. Janssens declared St. Katherine's the colored parish. While Jansenns had a deep pastoral concern for black parishioners, his move ultimately led to discrimination against black Catholics. By Archbishop James Hubert Blenk's tenure, from 1906 to 1917, white Catholics' expectations made it so black Catholics had no option but to attend the black parishes.[27] The situation in New Orleans reflected the broader patterns of the Catholic church's reinforcement of Jim Crow, a mold firmly set by the 1910s. Thus, when Mundelein created the black parish, he did so in a context of African Americans' involuntary segregation.

Mundelein also designated black Catholics as different by whom he selected to shepherd them, again following southern bishops' precedent. He removed St. Monica's diocesan priests and appointed the Society of the Divine Word (SVD) to serve the parish. At a moment when the upheavals of the Great Migration and the changing dynamics of race were separating African Americans from the body politic in Chicago, some black Catholics felt Mundelein's move suggested they did not belong fully to the Catholic church. Most SVD priests served abroad in missions, although they increasingly worked among black populations in America as missionaries.[28] On the one hand, Mundelein's actions made sense given the small percentage

of African American Catholics. Since most Catholics distinguished between "converted" and "unconverted," in theory, the missionary priests would be more effective in reaching out to non-Catholic African Americans.[29] The Society of the Divine Word, in fact, would be the first order to establish a seminary that, while segregated, was the main site for training black priests for several decades. Designating African Americans as a missionary population, however, made black Catholics even more different from other Catholics. As Falls, the lay activist, wryly summed it up, Mundelein's naming black people a "missionary problem" rather than "integral members of the church" meant that "diocesan priests felt little responsibility for the care of colored Catholics in Chicago but felt quite justified in turning them over to the missionaries."[30]

When Mundelein designated St. Monica's the colored parish in 1917, he made clear that black Catholics could attend any parish they wanted, but he wanted St. Monica's to be a sanctuary from Jim Crow. He said that black Catholics would feel "much more comfortable, far less inconvenienced and never at all embarrassed" in their own church and parish groups, and no more would they encounter white racism limiting where they could sit during the service or what parish organizations they could join.[31]

The only problem was that many African Americans protested the creation of a separate black parish, as had been the case for other Catholics when faced with their church's Jim Crowing.[32] Eighty-one black Catholics objected to Mundelein. They argued that his "policy of segregation in relation to the affairs of St. Monica's" placed them in an "anomalous position."[33] The black newspaper, the *Chicago Defender*, reported that "the order has been sent out to 'Jim Crow' St. Monica" and that "no matter what claim is being made to the contrary, Jim Crowism is worming its way into Catholic circles in this city."[34] To be sure, some African Americans praised Mundelein's decision. A Protestant editor in the *Pullman Porter's Review* commented, "Never in my life time have we heard or read of such a beautiful tribute as you pay the colored race."[35]

Mundelein's treatment of the complaints suggests a concern for the well-being of black Catholics laced with latent racism. Mundelein dismissed the petitioners, and his chancellor responded that the archbishop consulted priests and "more than one active and even prominent colored Catholics here and elsewhere" before making his decision. Furthermore, Mundelein maintained, "Nothing was further from [his] mind than to insist on or even suggest anything as segregation."[36] Later, however, when thanking another white ecclesiastic for his encouragement in the situation, Mundelein remarked that he

dealt with opposition from "some nearly-white colored folks, of whom there are always quite a number in a big city." Thus aware of race's fluidity and the racial hierarchy's instability, Mundelein nevertheless decided to reinforce both, making those "nearly-white colored folks" black.[37] In the end, no matter his intentions, Mundelein set what many white Catholic leaders saw as approval for discriminating against black Catholics.

In the coming decades and in conjunction with a national pattern, many of the archdiocese's white priests denied black Catholics the sacraments in "white" parishes, in effect sacralizing white supremacy. Sacraments were—and are—the means of God's grace in the Catholic church, so blacks' exclusion was no small matter; it suggested that union with God could only happen in segregated parishes. In 1927, for instance, William Prater, a Federation field agent, reported that when a Mr. Short's married daughter tried to have her daughter baptized at Corpus Christi Church, the pastor "flatly refused" saying "the order from the Bishop was the reason."[38]

White parish leadership also refused to admit black children to the territorial parish schools. Black Catholics did not perceive their segregation in the local parish school as just a matter of educational preference. In 1884, the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore declared that "all parents are bound to send their children to the parish school." Although the bishops' immediate concern was the teaching of Protestant theology in public school, their proclamation created a culture that assumed good Catholics would send their children to Catholic school. Therefore, the parish leadership's discrimination affected both the parents' ability to be faithful Catholics and their children's spiritual development.[39] Not all white nuns discriminated against black Catholics; at least three orders served black children, but in segregated schools.[40] Black Catholics looked beyond their archdiocese to protest school discrimination nationally at the 1930 national FCC convention in Detroit, foreshadowing Chicagoans' decision to stick with the white Jesuits a few years later.

Chicagoan Margaret Cope faced the delicate task of arguing for integration in Catholic schools while still honoring those who instituted segregation. She assumed a cordial tone, practicing a politics of civility and racial uplift.[41] Cope asserted, "We, as thinking colored Catholics," care about "our children, and their chance to enjoy the cherished opportunities offered [in] Catholic schools." Black Catholics, Cope said, "shall continue to work and pray, holding confidence in ourselves and in the friendly spiritual leaders who are stretching out hands of helpful, sympathetic understanding. In the face of hindrances, we are growing stronger, secure in the assurance

that good will not withhold itself from those who merit it."[42] Cope's solution to the problem put black Catholics in a position of active waiting, hoping that soon white Catholic priests and nuns would open up the school doors. Other black Chicagoans would not always remain so civil toward a hierarchy that segregated them and refused to acknowledge their complaints.

For the time being, activists navigated the challenge of cooperating with Father Joseph Eckert, SVD, the priest who served at their flagship parish, by maintaining their politics of civility.[43] Eckert was appointed to St. Monica's in 1921. St. Monica's merged with St. Elizabeth's in 1924, making St. Elizabeth's the main black parish in Chicago. An immigrant from Germany, Eckert baptized more than four thousand African Americans into the fold of the Catholic church throughout his career.[44] Eckert, however, disagreed with many of the black laity on the means, or even the necessity, of bringing about change. He tolerated the FCC chapter that Maude Johnston founded at St. Elizabeth's in 1929. Johnston worked as a national FCC field agent and lived in Chicago's St. Anselm's parish but participated at St. Elizabeth's.

Black Catholics' relationship with Eckert reflected the power dynamics that merged in the church's religious and racial hierarchy. Eckert held a position of authority over the black laity because he was white and because he was a priest who administered the sacraments, and thus access to God, to his parishioners. The parish structure led lay activists to cultivate Eckert's support for racial justice. If they alienated Eckert, they estranged the most powerful man in Chicago's black Catholic community.

Eckert did not favor black protest because he thought casting the Catholic church in unfavorable light hindered conversions. His feelings were obvious in 1925 when he met Markoe, the white Jesuit civil rights activist, for the first time. Eckert did not catch Markoe's name and complained to Markoe about "some fool Jesuit" making recruiting African American converts difficult because of his articles in the Catholic national periodical *America* criticizing the church's racism. Markoe meekly repeated his name and identified himself as the articles' author. It was, Markoe later recalled, "the first of many verbal battles" with Eckert, who "gave the impression he was satisfied with the status quo with respect to Negro civil rights."[45] Eckert's relationship with the members of his flock protesting Catholic discrimination, therefore, was contentious. Not only did their pursuit of racial justice upset him, but their lay activism troubled him as well. Falls attributed Eckert's behavior to the joining of racial and religious identities, reporting that Eckert "never thought of colored

people as the equals of white people nor did he ever think that lay people should have anything to say about what the Catholic Church did."[46]

Nonetheless, black Catholics praised Eckert as an uplift strategy; if his star rose, theirs would as well.[47] Chicago's FCC chapter news reports in the *Chronicle* advertised their respectability to other black Catholics around the country and, more important, suggested to white readers that Chicago's black Catholics had access to powerful leaders. Name-dropping filled the updates black Chicagoans wrote as they relayed, for instance, how Cardinal Mundelein (Pope Pius XI made him the first cardinal west of the Allegheny Mountains in 1924) "manifested his respect and interest" in a St. Elizabeth's couple renewing their vows by sending them an autographed picture or how Bishop Bernard Sheil hosted twenty women from St. Elizabeth's parish, including FCC members Margaret Cope and Bertina Davis, at a Council of Catholic Women luncheon.[48] They portrayed themselves as Catholics who were just as much a part of the broader happenings in the archdiocese as any other group. In addition, as in other parishes that celebrated their pastor, Father Eckert's respectability boosted their own because they had a pastor of whom they could be proud. When St. Elizabeth's building went up in flames on January 3, 1930, the parishioners proclaimed that despite the half-a-million-dollar loss, "With a pastor like ours a new and more beautiful St. Elizabeth's will arise."[49] They proudly noted that after a decade serving St. Elizabeth's, Eckert had received an astonishing 1,572 converts into the church, that the grammar school served nearly 1,000 pupils, and the high school taught 70 students. St. Elizabeth's, with its beloved, powerful priest, was a parish that mattered.[50]

Beyond Parish Boundaries: Cultivating White Priests

Chicago's activists knew they could not rely on St. Elizabeth's to carry their goal of racial justice forward. By the time of the 1932 FCC split, they were already moving beyond their parish boundaries in substantial ways. After the schism, activists continued on their trajectory. They went beyond their parish boundaries by continuing to network with one another, reaching out to white priests, adopting new theologies, allying with non-Catholics, and cultivating relationships with white laypeople.

As Chicago's Black Belt expanded, Mundelein increased the number of black parishes. Mundelein designated St. Anselm's the parish for black Catholics south of 58th Street in 1932, made Corpus Christi the parish for African Americans between 45th and 58th streets in 1933,

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and opened up St. Malachy's on the west side and St. Dominic's on the near north side to African Americans in 1935.[51] Thus he built up Catholicism along racial lines, allowing segregation to shape Catholicism's practice and Catholicism to reinforce developing racial boundaries. Some Catholics, like the Fallses, refused to attend one of the black parishes. Instead, as a protest, they went to the parish where they lived. Although these persistent protests against peculiar parish boundaries made clear that segregation was by no means complete, most white Chicagoans expected black Catholics to participate at the "negro parishes."

More generally, activists responded to segregation by cultivating relationships with priests outside their flagship parish, often before Mundelein designated a parish "colored," and by founding new FCC units. In 1929, before St. Anselm's became a black parish officially, Maude Johnston reported that Father Gilmartin, St. Anselm's founding pastor, was "interested and mindful of all the Catholics in the parish," not just the white ones. Johnston announced that Gilmartin allowed some of his black parishioners to organize a Scholarship Unit of the Federation.[52] In 1930, three years before Mundelein designated Corpus Christi African American, Father Hilary took a subscription to the *Chronicle*. At this time, Corpus Christi was located within the Black Belt but staffed by Franciscans as a retreat center once the white Irish parishioners had moved away.[53]

Racial justice advocates knew that in an institution that prioritized priestly leadership, they needed as many allies among the priesthood as they could find. At the 1931 national convention, for instance, Falls argued that priests could promote racial equality inside and outside the church. Speaking about black unemployment, Falls argued that the Catholic clergy must model Christian charity to end white people's prejudice against hiring African Americans. White parishioners might protest, saying that they did not hire black workers because of "fear of white opposition, and fear of intermarriage," but those were "two bugaboos" that should not prevent priests from imploring their parishioners to exercise justice.[54] Because segregation limited interactions between black and white laypeople, white priests wielding their influence for racial justice could affect white laypeople, which would, in turn, shape the broader society.

After a resolution at the 1930 FCC national convention, the local Chicago chapters began to act more in concert, to Eckert's dismay. The Chicago units organized a board to coordinate their efforts and met monthly. Within a year, Maude Johnston complained to Turner, the FCC's national president, that Eckert wanted the Chicago chapters to meet what she saw as absurd conditions,

"such as making St. Elizabeth's head of the Illinois chapters, not allowing chapters in other churches and insisting that all colored people come to St. Elizabeth, and stop agitating him by writing articles concerning the things other priests do for us."[55] When the Federation chapters began to address local instances of discrimination, Eckert protested further. Turner assured Eckert that local chapters would avoid "local issues," which local chapters were, indeed, very concerned about.[56] But Turner's private correspondence revealed the fine line black activists walked, practicing civility to foster support among white priests for their project. Turner encouraged Johnston to cooperate publically with Eckert and avoid controversy, but he reiterated that local pastors "will in no case dictate such policies as you mentioned."[57]

Significantly, black lay leaders also garnered the support of Chicago priests outside the African American parishes. They found allies in Father Joseph Reiner and Father Arnold J. Garvy, both Jesuits like Markoe and LaFarge. The priests worked far from the Black Belt at Loyola University on Chicago's north side.[58] Reiner served as a dean and Garvy as a professor of English, and both men worked on behalf of black Catholics. Garvy moderated a group of Loyola University black students and alums and, after 1933, ran St. Joseph's, a segregated school for black children in the Jesuit-run white Holy Family parish on the city's west side.[59]

Despite their budding partnerships, the black laypeople and white priests did not always see eye to eye on how to achieve racial justice. Black priests might have been better allies because they, too, knew the immediate sting of discrimination, but there were fewer than a handful of black priests actively serving in the United States and a black priest would not minister in Chicago until 1940, the year after Mundelein died.[60] Indeed, Falls commented that "until we had colored men in the priesthood in Chicago, we had little opportunity for the kind of spokesmen we needed."[61] Local white priests concerned for black Catholics, like LaFarge and Markoe, often were willing to wait for change. Falls, for instance, knew his partnership with Garvy was limited because Garvy was a gradualist. Garvy believed that with education, white Catholics would change their views and, as Falls put it, "become Christians."[62] Garvy also opposed "militant action," which Falls was quickly coming to support. The priest feared that if black Catholics moved beyond educating white Catholics to, say, criticizing the hierarchy for supporting discrimination, their project might slip into anticlericalism.

Despite the underlying variance with the priests, the partnerships mattered to black activists. Falls claimed that Garvy was one of

the first white priests he met who honestly discussed racial injustice within the Catholic church. Falls remembered that black Catholics thought Garvy was "just about the only priest in the whole archdiocese" who "sincerely was trying to follow the teachings of the church and who demonstrated an attitude of Brotherhood."[63] Falls was also eminently practical. With gradualists, Falls "assume[d] the position" of "accepting what they could contribute to better human relations but not counting on them to be up on the firing line."[64] Even as Chicago's black Catholics made incremental progress in obtaining local priests' support, they knew they needed outside help for justice to be exercised in their archdiocese.

The FCC's national interracial network seemed to provide that outside help. The potential power of the organizational partnership between white priests and black laity was mightily displayed at the national convention in 1931, which Markoe hosted in St. Louis. The more than forty priests, myriad nuns, and Catholics from across the nation, blessed by most of the hierarchy, must have been a tremendous sight of interracial solidarity and ecclesiastical power for Chicagoans struggling for every priestly ally. Before the mass at St. Francis Xavier's church on Grand Avenue and Lindell Boulevard, a parade of more than five hundred people assembled at St. Elizabeth's church, Markoe's home parish in St. Louis. They marched to St. Francis Xavier's, sacralizing the St. Louis streets for the cause of interracialism.[65] The boys' band of St. Elizabeth's led the parade and behind them marched uniformed Catholic Knights and Ladies of America, the Knights of Columbus Zouvaves, White Friends of Colored Catholics, acolytes in their vestments, and people and organizations from across the country, all carrying flags and waving papal colors. It must have been a sight to see. According to the FCC's journal, "The church was filled even to standing room and hundreds of persons lined the street, unable to enter the church, and could only hear the beautiful singing of the Mass by the choir." Josephite priest Reverend John T. Gillard preached the sermon, "The Catholic Church accepts the Negro's Challenge."[66] Truly, all things seemed possible; perhaps the church was might soon embody the black Catholics' goal of racial justice.

The broad displays of interracial unity Markoe facilitated at the national convention must have been a stark contrast to the careful dance Chicago's activists did to attract white priestly partners. Thus Chicagoans' lack of partners primed them to stay connected to a national network that included white priests when the conflict between the priests and the laity at the national level came to a head in 1932.

Beyond Parish Boundaries: Finding Non-Catholic Partners and Adopting Militancy

The only trouble with partnering with white priests was that it seemed to require the black laity to play by the rules of civility, simultaneously praising the church for its treatment of black Catholics and asking it to change. Chicago's Catholics had long walked this line as they sought to cultivate priests' support at home and nationally to work with Markoe and LaFarge. Arthur Falls, however, led his comrades in a new direction as he publically harangued the church for its racism as a strategy to force the hierarchy to act against discrimination. A young medical doctor married to Protestant social worker Lillian Proctor Falls and active in black Chicago's politics, Falls wanted his church to live out its universal values. As he became increasingly active in Federation circles, Falls pushed the local agenda toward a politics of protest and challenged the very priests whose partnership Falls and his colleagues had so vigorously sought.

Falls facilitated partnerships between Catholic activists and non-Catholic organizations, helping to move his fellow black Catholics beyond their parish boundaries religiously. This movement beyond not only parish boundaries but the boundaries of Catholicism was a part of a larger trend historians have called the rise of tri-faith America, interreligious organizing started by Jews and Catholics in the 1930s to force Protestant America to accept them as equal citizens. Previous scholarship on these efforts focuses on partnerships among whites and argues that religious activists only turned their attention to African Americans' civil rights in the 1960s. Looking to more marginalized sources suggests, however, that segments of tri-faith America came into being not around religious inclusion but around racial equality, starting in the 1930s.[67] Although this interreligious partnership may not have influenced Mundelein's policy, black Catholics viewed it as an important strategy for bringing about racial justice in the church and the broader society. Their precedent of interfaith organizing around civil rights would become the norm for Catholic civil rights activists as they joined Protestants and Jews in civil rights marches and protests.

Early on, Falls demonstrated civility toward the church by reporting positive movement toward racial justice. After the 1931 convention, Markoe asked Falls to be an editor for the *Chronicle*, giving Falls a national audience. Shortly after the convention, Falls asked his parish priest, Father Nealis, to sponsor a Federation chapter at Our Lady of Solace, a white parish that a small number of African Americans attended. Falls's family participated in their geographic parish

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in part as a protest against African Americans' peculiar parish boundaries. Nealis agreed, and two weeks later Falls's mother, Angelica Grand Pré Falls, hosted the first meeting. Falls's first report in the *Chronicle* of the new Our Lady of Solace chapter positively beamed. He wrote that "already the presence of the Chapter has shown results in stimulating interracial co-operation in the parish." Nealis supported the group's making extended announcements during the service and selling the Federation's periodical outside the church. Falls concluded, "The members of the Chapter feel that the hearty support of our parish will enable us to accomplish far more than would be the case otherwise."[68] Despite what Falls described as the parish's broad support, however, no white members of the congregation joined the Federation.[69] Falls's vision of interracialism among the laity at his home parish floundered.

Our Lady of Solace's Federation chapter began to take a harder line than previous Chicago Federation branches by demanding the hierarchy change the church's policies, but their approach still fell well within the bounds of middle-class respectability. The chapter elected Falls president, his mother vice president, Lois G. Hill secretary, and Harvey M. Roberson treasurer, and it formed a grievance committee to collect examples of discrimination. The committee's actions fulfilled one of Turner's original FCC purposes and followed the tradition of the Urban League, which used social science methods to collect data on discrimination.[70] The committee compiled notarized affidavits documenting the times parish priests did things such as asking black Catholics their race during confession at a non-black parish. Then, the grievance committee took the evidence in person to Mundelein's chancery office in a series of meetings. These meetings, however, disappointed the grievance committee. Falls remembered feeling snubbed. Even though doctors, lawyers, and other respectable people composed his committee, Mundelein's representative, the newly promoted auxiliary bishop, Bernard Sheil, never invited them to sit down.[71]

Sheil's actions reflected, once again, the challenge of working with white priests and reminded Falls of the importance of cultivating other allies. In white Catholic circles in 1932, Sheil would have been considered radical for his stance on integrating Negroes with whites, and later he did, indeed, become a strong advocate of civil rights activism. Sheil's Catholic Youth Organization (CYO), which he used to build his empire within Chicago, facilitated interracial sporting events.[72] Nonetheless, while Sheil created a new organization that allowed for interracial contact between youth, he did not satisfy the activists' demands. At the time of the meetings, Sheil was paying

some Holy Family Parish black students' carfares to attend school at St. Elizabeth's high school, about five miles away. Falls and the committee were not impressed. Falls wanted Sheil to advocate the integration of all Catholic schools rather than pay for black children to commute out of their community to attend a segregated school, to address not an individual instance of lack of opportunity but the very structure that created the problem. To all of the grievance committee's concerns about discrimination, Sheil counseled patience. Sheil's promise that things would get better, Falls reflected, meant nothing without action. Consequently, if Sheil refused to take any public action, Falls would take it himself.

In October, members of the Our Lady of Solace chapter announced in the *Chronicle* the first occurrence of discrimination within the parish since the chapter had formed eight months previously. Once again, the issue was black access to Catholic education. Although Falls's report likely made his white priestly partners cringe, Falls aired out the parish's dirty laundry hoping to shame his leaders into racial justice. The report stated that the head pastor and mother superior denied two of Mr. and Mrs. George Cary's children admission to the parish school because they were not white. Despite "extensive interviews" with the mother superior, the pastor, and the superintendent of the school board, the school refused to admit the black children. Falls pointed to the white leaders' hypocrisy, saying, "Each disclaimed any advocation [*sic*] of discrimination, but each refused to issue an order that these children be admitted." The chapter sent a written appeal to the hierarchy, but to no avail. Falls wryly observed that while a handful of other parishes admitted black children to their schools, overall, the parochial system seemed to "favor segregation, with authority left in the hands of the parish priest."[73] Whether parish priests did not support integration because of personal prejudice or pressure from parishioners trying to shore up parish boundaries, Falls knew black Catholics needed friends outside the church.

To find those allies, Falls turned to the Chicago Urban League and helped his fellow Catholics build bridges with non-Catholics. The Chicago Urban League was a branch of the National Urban League, a racial uplift organization working in housing, community development, job placement, vocational guidance, and union organizing to help black workers.[74] Falls joined the Urban League in 1928. By 1932, he sat on the League's executive board and chaired the Interracial Commission, which coordinated organizations working to improve interracial and interreligious relationships.[75] To build a broad coalition against white supremacy, Falls facilitated partnerships with existing

interracial organizations, including all fourteen of the Chicago branches of the Federation.[76] Johnston reported to Turner, still president of the Federation at the time, "Dr. Falls, thru [h]is Urban League Connections has been a very splendid help."[77]

The Urban League also gave Falls an opportunity to apply pressure on the church from non-Catholic circles. He used the commission's newsletters to broadcast the church's discrimination to a non-Catholic audience, the very people the missionary priests were trying to convert. The hierarchy's response was telling; concerned more with the church's image than with its deeds, Mundelein's chancery office, Falls later recalled, was "just fit to be tied." They were not upset because of the discrimination in the Catholic church, but because "we were exposing our dirty linen to non-Catholics. That was the complaint. That non-Catholics were reading it."[78]

Beyond Parish Boundaries: Embracing the Mystical Body of Christ

Chicago's black Catholics also used theology to justify their movement beyond parish boundaries, both for their interreligious partnerships and for their activism as laypeople. They articulated specific religious reasons why white Catholics must immediately embrace racial justice and drew on a long tradition of black theological protest in the Catholic church, of which Thomas Wyatt Turner, the man they voted against, was an important proponent. Their theology was grassroots, reinforced by papal encyclicals and hierarchical teachings, but usually not initiated by parish priests. It competed with the tradition of devotionalism, which emphasized one's personal acts of faithfulness through disciplines like attending mass, praying the rosary, practicing novenas, and participating in parish organizations like sodalities. Black Catholics emphasized the social implications of Catholicism, and, in doing so, they developed a competing orthodoxy that the hierarchy would sanction only during the classical era of the civil rights movement.[79]

First, black activists argued that white prejudice drove black Catholics out of the church and, by implication in a pre–Vatican II world, to hell. Falls blamed the black Catholics' peculiar parish boundaries. Black Catholics, Falls wrote, left the faith when they realized that the Catholic Church was, more and more, making an exception for black people to the practice "that every Catholic is obliged to support the parish in which he lives and to receive administration of services from his parish." Those remaining in the church harbored "disillusionment and bitterness and—yes, even hatred," in their hearts "toward the clergy and white laity."[80] Their argument contrasted with that of

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priests like Eckert who wanted to hush up the activists' critiques of the church's racism to make conversion more appealing to African Americans.

Second, activists argued that whites' racial discrimination was sinful, a position that countered common American Catholic thought.[81] Cassius Foster, president of Chicago's Corpus Christi Federation chapter, articulated this common theme when he relayed the ugly dilemma black Catholics faced when non-Catholics asked them "why Negro Catholics are often barred from Catholic parochial schools, colleges, and other institutions, especially in Northern States where there are no conflicting state laws." Foster lamented that black Catholics were "forced" through their "love of God and the Faith, to cover up a sin" they knew was "contrary to the doctrine and laws of the Catholic Church." Black Catholics wanted a faith "that can eliminate the curse of racial prejudice," Foster argued. He continued, "It must be a religion based upon fundamental principles and true doctrines of Christianity. It also must be a religion that is exemplified by its good deeds. A mere gesture of idle words will no longer suffice."[82] White priests' and bishops' admonition to black people to wait patiently for white Catholics to realize the true teachings of the church was not enough.

Furthermore, black activists claimed boldly that white Catholics who discriminated against black Catholics were not true Christians.[83] They made this argument using a third theological move: they expanded Catholicism's scope. When setting up the first black parish, Mundelein argued that the Catholic church's concerns did not extend to racial discrimination because discrimination was an economic, not a social, issue: "It is sufficient to say that it does exist and that I am convinced that *I am quite powerless to change it*, for I believe the underlying reasons to be more economic than social."[84] Black activists, in contrast, believed Catholicism at its very core supported racial justice. Falls argued that the "fallacy" of the belief that the "Catholic Church should confine herself to 'spiritual matters' and that the ordinary lives of individuals affected by prejudice are not her concern . . . lies in the conception of one's spiritual self as a separate compartment, entirely divorced from all other phases of life." Furthermore, Falls argued, "'Spiritual matters' comprise more than attending Mass on Sunday; they comprise all that enters into the *living* of our religion; and where is that better illustrated than race relations?" In addition, Falls claimed, while the clergy "are the direct representatives of Holy Mother Church to give us the word of God," they were only thus "*insofar as they give us the word of God*!" Therefore, Falls concluded, "When one combats evidence of discrimination in our Catholic institutions, he . . . is combating

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the sinful abuse of the position which the clergyman occupies. It is the priest or Sister who causes this discrimination who is guilty of 'fighting the church.'"[85]

The activists' arguments were by no means constructed on shaky ground. Rather, they were on the cutting edge of an ancient doctrine's resurgence: the Mystical Body of Christ, which started gaining popularity in Chicago in the mid-1930s and would, in the coming years, become the heart of Catholic civil rights activism. The doctrine proclaimed that Catholics were, in a mystical yet real way, Christ's body. Since God stood outside of time, one must view all people as part of the Mystical Body because no one could know who would be a part of it or not. As one priest put it, "Some there are who are without grace, yet will afterwards obtain it, and some have it already."[86] By 1943, activists could point to Pope Pius XII's *Mystici Corporis Christi* to strengthen their claims, but they used the doctrine for many years before the encyclical.

The Mystical Body of Christ doctrine allowed activists to do two things. First, they reminded white Catholics that all people, no matter their race or religion, were potential members of Christ's body and, therefore, deserved to be regarded with honor, as one would treat Jesus himself. Theologically, then, the activists were establishing themselves on the moral high ground. Second, the doctrine supported lay efforts to change the church because each person was Christ himself. The laity, in this new understanding, had as important a role to play in the ministering of God's plan as the hierarchy did in administering the sacraments. Thus, they could use Catholic theology to justify their activism against a white hierarchy that was supposed to lead them spiritually.

Few Catholics learned about the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ in their local parish. As Falls mused, "I often wondered whether the ordinary priest with whom I came in contact, ever read this material."[87] Nationally, the doctrine was linked to the pioneering work of Dom Virgil Michel, a Benedictine monk at St. John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota, who was at the forefront of the liturgical movement.[88] Falls could report by 1937 that he was gaining great "spiritual stimulation" through corresponding with people like Michel, reading publications like Michel's *Orate Fratres*, studying the encyclicals, and learning things "we had not been acquainted with in our ordinary parish activities."[89] One nun teaching Catholic Chicago youth about the Mystical Body through an interparish organization called CISCA complained to Michel that, for the youth, "the doctrine of the Mystical Body is like a heresy we are trying to promulgate in opposition to the good old-fashioned teachings of their pastor and

teachers."[90] The Mystical Body of Christ doctrine spread not only among black activists but also among a younger generation of white Catholic high school and college students. Connecting with these young laypeople proved to be a significant way the black laity reached beyond their parish boundaries to work for racial justice. The lay-led interracial partnership became particularly important as the Federation floundered at the national and local levels.

Beyond Parish Boundaries: Nurturing White Laypeople

By the mid-1930s, the Federation at the national and local levels had lost steam. Falls blamed the white clergy for the Federation's failure. Although he had worked hard to partner with them, he thought their power undermined the organization's effectiveness. As Falls later claimed, when the black laity suggested programs the white clergy disagreed with, those programs were "abbreviated."[91] Nationally, the Federation did not fare much better and eventually disappeared as LaFarge and Markoe, who had become so crucial to its success, shifted their focus away from the organization. LaFarge's interest dwindled after the 1932 controversy, and, in 1934, he turned his efforts to developing a new, local organization called the Catholic Interracial Council (CIC) of New York over which he had close control.[92] The same year, Markoe, previously free to devote his career to Federation work, was reassigned to full-time parish work in St. Louis, so his efforts in the Federation dropped off as well. Ironically, it appeared that the decision to embrace the interracial, lay-clerical partnership had led to the organization's demise.

By 1935, Falls had largely given up on the Federation and publicly worried about the lack of Catholic progress on racial justice. Writing as chair of the Urban League's Interracial Commission, he commented that "generally," the participation of Catholics in advancing interracial cooperation "has been nil." In comparison to Protestants, Falls wrote, Catholics were no different from "church members as a whole," who "deliberately shunned a practical application of their own tenets to the subject of race-relations."[93] Falls recounted that "with colored Catholics barred almost entirely from the parochial schools, high schools, academies, and some colleges; and with evidence of the worst type of discrimination existing widely in churches, there has been little opportunity for the development of a spirit of brotherhood among Catholics of different groups." The Federation, he reported, garnered support from only a "handful" of white Catholics and failed to inspire the black Catholics, "most of whom have assumed an attitude of definite despair as far as the improvement

in the situation locally is concerned." Falls acknowledged black Catholic fraternal groups' inclusion in wider society, as well as the interracial athletic events of Bishop Sheil's CYO, but argued that "none of these organizations have developed a truly fundamental unity of white and colored in its group nor have they concerned themselves with the serious problems with which colored Catholics are faced in Catholic institutions." Falls blamed the lack of unity between white and black people on Chicago's peculiar parish boundaries. In a shift away from his belief in the necessity of clerical leadership, Falls now argued that hope for the city's Catholics would be in a strong lay movement and in the youth.[94]

Despite Falls's lament, the Federation had not been a complete failure, nor had the Chicagoans' decision to support LaFarge and Markoe botched their efforts for interracial justice. The Federation developed an interracial network of people concerned, to varying extents, about racial justice. In private correspondence, Falls commented, "Practically all the clergy who now are interested were drawn to this field through the Federation."[95]

Despite the Federation's lack of traction on racial justice, Falls had learned a valuable lesson: he had to reach outside the Catholic church's parish structure to build racial justice coalitions. The Federation gave him a vision of the networking possibilities outside Eckert's St. Elizabeth's parish and outside Chicago. Outside the parish lived white allies like LaFarge and Markoe who, although they did not always agree on the form racial change should take, were closer in philosophy to black Catholics seeking racial justice than many local white priests. Outside the parish boundaries grew powerful theologies like the Mystical Body of Christ that could dismantle a local theology segregating black Catholics from the larger church. Outside the parish boundaries flourished partnerships with non-Catholics like those in the Urban League. Also outside the parish boundaries lay the possibility of a politics of militancy, of exposing the church's sins to non-Catholics, to call the church to live up to its universal claims. Black activists, especially Falls, refused to stop working for racial justice. After the stilted start of interracialism in the Federation, Falls turned to partnership not with white priests but with white laypeople. Many of those laypeople would, in turn, become priests who could exercise their authority in the church.

In 1933, Falls found the group that would become the vehicle to help him accomplish his goals: Dorothy Day's and Peter Maurin's Catholic Worker.[96] Three years later, the same year he lamented the Federation's impotency, Falls opened the first Catholic Worker house in Chicago and built interracial partnerships into its DNA. Because of

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Day's and Maurin's growing popularity, Falls could again circumvent parish boundaries and access a ready-made audience of young, white Catholic liberals. In the coming years, through his connections with the Catholic Worker, Falls would be able to influence a generation of white Catholic students who would become activist priests and laity, many of them militant. The new generation would be known for their confidence that they could bring social and racial justice to the world and their church. They would form national lay-led organizations working for civil rights and headquarter them in Chicago.[97]

Unlike the interracial Federation, Turner's black protest organization continued to limp along. After his 1932 ouster, Turner's supporters reclaimed the FCC's name and attempted to continue its work, but they never recovered from the split. The organization struggled until 1952, when it stopped its formal work and celebrated decades of activism.[98] A contingent of Chicago Catholics continued to affiliate with the FCC, but they did not have a strong presence in Chicago. In 1945, Chicago's FCC branch finally chose the interracialism path over black protest when it affiliated with Chicago's newly formed CIC. Daniel Cantwell, the young, white Chicago priest who founded the CIC and was a member of the generation influenced by the Mystical Body of Christ and Falls's Catholic Worker, based the Chicago CIC on LaFarge's model, but he prioritized lay leadership.[99]

Conclusion

In the 1930s, black Catholics who wanted to end discrimination in their church and advance racial justice in the city had a very different experience of Catholicism than their white counterparts, and they brought that experience to the next generation. Three decades later, Vatican II's reforms emphasizing the role of the laity in the work of the church would help fulfill their 1930s actions and values, brought forth by the way race and religion melded in particularly Catholic ways both to limit and enhance racial justice.[100] Their interreligious partnerships also foreshadowed the restructuring of American religion, which divided religious Americans along political more than denominational lines.[101]

In building these networks, grounded in their lived experience and theological beliefs, black activists joined others in what historians termed "the long civil rights movement" to fight against discrimination. These historians point to the 1930s and activists' concerns for equality in employment as the start of the civil rights movement, rather than the 1950s court cases and marches over segregation. They emphasize the role of the Communist Party in promoting

interracial labor organization as the catalyst for the start of the movement. Black Catholics' story suggests an additional, religious and middle-class, component to the long civil rights movement.[102]

Even more broadly, the story of black Catholics reminds us that we must account for the intersection of race and religion in American history. Paying attention to the experiences of black Catholics, for instance, points out the racism in the Catholic church and how black Catholics marshalled their faith to shape that same institution. They moved beyond their parish boundaries because the institutional Catholic church, whose ethos in the early twentieth century oriented parishioners internally toward their parish and a strong communal life there, contributed to white supremacy. The situation was more complicated because the hierarchy could claim good intentions, the care of black people's souls, in its segregation of African Americans and efforts to silence their protests over the church's discrimination. From the late 1940s on, bishops slowly began to desegregate their dioceses. Only in 1958 did the American hierarchy speak clearly and with one voice to proclaim, in agreement with what black Catholics argued for decades, that "the heart of the race question is moral and religious."[103] Despite the changes in the institutional church on race, problems of racial justice continued to plague the American church and American society.[104] Nonetheless, Chicago's black Catholics had helped propel the Catholic church's involvement in the civil rights movement and promote the ideal—if not the full realization—of a universal church overcoming the parish boundaries of a segregated city.

Notes

1. Marilyn Nickels and David Southern have produced the most extensive narratives of the conflict with the FCC. See Marilyn Nickels, *Black Catholic Protest and the Federated Colored Catholics, 1917–1933: Three Perspectives on Racial Justice* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988); Marilyn W. Nickels, "Thomas Wyatt Turner and the Federated Colored Catholics," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 7, (1988), 215–32; John Southern, *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism, 1911–1963* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996). See also Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1985), 368–69; Stephen Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests, 1871–1960* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 221–27.

2. In 1938, Chicago was home to about sixteen thousand black Catholics, and a report that year estimated that the population of black Catholics had doubled since 1930, mostly due to the draw of Catholic

schools. See James W. Sanders, *The Education of an Urban Minority: Catholics in Chicago, 1833–1965* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 215.

3. Southern, *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism*, 144.

4. The Jesuits, in particular, helped black Catholics' efforts for racial justice, or what came to be called interracial justice because it would benefit white and black Americans, although their support for civil rights varied. See R. Bentley Anderson, *Black, White, and Catholic: New Orleans Interracialism, 1947–1956* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005); Southern, *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism*.

5. John T. McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). On the Catholic encounter with race in the South, which was much more diffused and not centered on the parish, see Andrew Moore, *The South's Tolerable Alien* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007). For another conflict with McGreevy's paradigm that uses Bishop Bernard Sheil's Catholic Youth Organization as its basis to show the ways Catholics of all races and ethnicities crossed parish boundaries, see Timothy Neary, "Crossing Parochial Boundaries: African Americans and Interracial Catholic Social Action in Chicago, 1914–1954" (Ph.D. diss., Loyola University, 2004).

6. For the growing body of literature on the intersection of race and religion in American history nationally and outside the South in particular, see, for instance, James R. Barrett, *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City* (New York: Penguin, 2012); Edward Blum and Paul Harvey, *The Color of Christ: The Son of God and the Saga of Race in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); Curtis J. Evans, "White Evangelical Protestant Responses to the Civil Rights Movement," *Harvard Theological Review* 102, (2009): 245–73; J. Russell Hawkins and Philip Luke Sinitiere, *Christians and the Color Line: Race and Religion after Divided by Faith* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Patrick Jones, *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Mark Noll, *God and Race in American History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009).

7. Nancy Ammerman, Jackson Carroll, and Carl S. Dudley, *Studying Congregations: A New Handbook* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1988).

8. For a history of black Protestant migrant constructions of sacred space, see Wallace D. Best, *Passionately Human, No Less Divine: Religion and Culture in Black Chicago, 1915–1952* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005). For other work on black Catholics, see Dorothy Ann Blatnica, *"At the Altar of Their God": African American Catholics in Cleveland, 1922–1961* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995); Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (New York: Crossroad, 1990); Diana L. Hayes and Cyprian Davis, eds., *Taking Down Our Harps: Black Catholics in the United States* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis,1998); Morris J. MacGregor, *The Emergence of a Black Catholic Community: St. Augustine's in Washington* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1999); Gary Wray McDonough, *Black and Catholic in Savannah, Georgia* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1993); Eileen M. McMahon, *What Parish Are You From? A Chicago Irish Community and Race Relations* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995); Neary, "Crossing Parochial Boundaries,"; James M. O'Toole, *Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820–1920* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002); Richard M. Tristano, "Holy Family Parish: The Genesis of an African-American Catholic Community in Natchez, Mississippi," *Journal of Negro History* 83, (Autumn, 1998).

9. Nickels places the blame for the split on Markoe's shoulders, but Southern argues that LaFarge engineered the takeover in power. LaFarge, Southern argues, was not as concerned as Markoe about whether the organization would be a black organization or an integrated organization. LaFarge's concern was one of clerical versus lay control.

10. For more on Falls, see Lincoln Rice, "Confronting the Heresy of the 'Mythical Body of Christ': The Life of Dr. Arthur Falls," *American Catholic Studies* 123, (Summer 2012); Lincoln Rice, "Healing the Racial Divide: A Catholic Racial Justice Framework Inspired by Dr. Arthur A. Falls," (Eugene, O.R.: Wipf and Stock, 2014); Arthur Falls, Memoir Manuscript, Marquette University Archives, Milwaukee, Wis. (hereafter cited as MUA); Arthur Falls, Arthur Falls Unpublished Autobiography, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, New York. The page numbers I use for the MUA Falls Memoirs Manuscript are my own because of how they were organized at the MUA when I accessed them in 2011.

11. Southern, *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism*; Anderson, *Black, White, and Catholic*, 14, 62; McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 41–47.

12. The national Federation grew out of the black Catholic Congress movement, which Daniel Rudd initiated in 1888. See Davis,

The History of Black Catholics in the United States, 171–94; Gary B. Agee, *A Cry for Justice: Daniel Rudd and His life in Black Catholicism, Journalism, and Activism, 1854–1933* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2011); Bennett, *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow in New Orleans*, 179–90; Southern, *John Lafarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism*, 141.

13. Southern, *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism*, 133. Rev. John T. Gillard, a Josephite priest who did not like the Federation, accused the Federation of overestimating its membership. See Nickels, *Black Catholic Protest and the Federated Colored Catholic*, vi, 14. For more on the conflict between the Federation and the Josephites, see Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar*, 246–320.

14. For a brief biography of Markoe, see Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 221–25; Southern, *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism*, 109–13.

15. William M. Markoe, S.J., "The St. Elizabeth's Chronicle," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle*, March 1928.

16. William M. Markoe, S.J., "Our Jim Crow Federation," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle*, July 1930.

17. Federated Colored Catholics of Chicago, "Recommendations of the Federated Colored Catholics of Chicago. Changes in the Revised Constitution Submitted by the Committee on the Revision of the Constitution," n.d., in Thomas Wyatt Turner Papers, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Washington, D.C (hereafter cited as MSRC).

18. "Chicago Chapter News," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle*, October 1932.

19. Quoted in Nickels, *Black Catholic Protest and the Federated Colored Catholics*, 110. One Chicago leader, C. J. Foster, supported Turner and did not vote to remove him from office at the meeting. Southern, *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism*, 134–35.

20. "Chicago Chapter News," *Interracial Review* (May 1933).

21. Arthur Falls to Mr. Priest, April 23, 1936, General Correpondence, Incoming by Correspondent, 1933–, Dorothy Day Catholic Worker New York Catholic Worker Records, MUA.

22. Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, chap. 1. Allan Spear argues that prior to the Great Migration, there was a relatively fluid pattern of race relations in Chicago, but by 1890 or so, a separate

black Chicago began to develop. As the black population increased during the Great Migration, white Chicagoans forcibly contained black Chicagoans in a physical ghetto and black Chicagoans responded by creating their own institutional ghetto. The Great Migration ultimately reinforced patterns already in place. Allan H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967). For more on the Great Migration, see Davarian L. Baldwin, *Chicago's New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

23. For more on Mundelein, see Edward R. Kantowicz, *Corporation Sole: Cardinal Mundelein and Chicago Catholicism*, Notre Dame Studies in American Catholicism (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983).

24. See Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 83–94. Cohen emphasizes that although Mundelein tried to Americanize his parishioners, many, particularly the Italians and Poles, resisted. Mundelein's actions reflected the mood of the sons and daughters of new immigrants who were learning to discriminate against black people from old immigrants, like Chicago's Irish. See Barrett, *The Irish Way*, 47–50.

25. Archbishop George Mundelein to J.A. Burgmer, SVD, "Letter in Favor of the Negro Parish of St. Monica," in *Two Crowded Years: Being Selected Addresses, Pastorals, and Letters Issued during the First Twenty-Four Months of the Episcopate of the Most Rev. George William Mundelein, D.D., as Archbishop of Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago Extension Press, 1918).

26. Anderson, *Black, White, and Catholic*, 3–8; Bennett, *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow in New Orleans*, 162–228; Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 365–68; Delores Labbé, *Jim Crow Comes to Church* (New York: Arno Press, 1978).

27. Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 208–9; Anderson, *Black, White, and Catholic*, 4–7.; Bennett, *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow in New Orleans*, 162–228.

28. Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar*, 245–57; Ernest Brandewie, *In the Light of the Word: Divine Word Missionaries of North America* (New York: Orbis Books, 2000).

29. Suellen Hoy, *Good Hearts: Catholic Sisters in Chicago's Past* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 92.

30. Falls, Memoir Manuscript, 380. See also Bennett, *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow in New Orleans*, 200, on how the use of missionary orders to minister to black Catholics implied African Americans' lowliness.

31. Mundelein to Burgmer, "Letter in Favor of the Negro Parish of St. Monica, Chicago."

32. Bennett, *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow in New Orleans*, 179–93.

33. An Address to the Archbishop of Chicago Protesting Against the Policy of Segregation in the Administration of the Affairs of St. Monica, December 7, 1917, Madaj Collection, Archdiocese of Chicago's Joseph Cardinal Bernard in Archives and Record Center, Chicago, Ill. (hereafter cited as AAC). The letter should be in the archive, but it was lost so I was unable to read it while doing research. See Neary, "Crossing Parochial Boundaries," 38–39, for context.

34. "St. Monica's Church Again the Scene of Discrimination," *The Chicago Defender*, November 17, 1917.

35. Pullman Porters Review Editor to Mundelein, November 13, 1917, Madaj Collection, AAC.

36. Chancellor to Madden, December 11, 1917, Madaj Collection, AAC.

37. Mundelein to Rev. L. J. Welbers, February 11, 1918, Madaj Collection, AAC.

38. William Prater to Thomas Wyatt Turner, April 7, 1927, Thomas Wyatt Turner Papers, MSRC.

39. In 1930, 93 of Chicago's 253 parishes had schools. Sanders, *The Education of an Urban Minority*, 4, 14.

40. For more on the nuns serving black populations, see Hoy, *Good Hearts*, 71–102.

41. For politics of civility and politics of protest, see Beth Tompkins Bates, *Pullman Porters and the Rise of Protest Politics in Black America, 1925–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001). Bates looks at Chicago's black community's shift from civility to protest based on developments in the labor movement led by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

42. Margaret Cope, "Catholic Education for Our Youth," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle*, November 1930.

43. For more on Eckert, see Brandewie, *In the Light of the Word*, 196–203.

44. Neary, "Crossing Parochial Boundaries," chap. 2. Many of those conversions came as a result of the school the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament ran, as Eckert knew well. Eckert valued the sisters' work so much that he recruited them to St. Anselm's when he was transferred there. See Suellen Hoy, *Good Hearts,* 96. From 1922 to 1925, St. Elizabeth's parish operated a dual system of education, segregating the white from the black students. The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament taught black children while the Mercy sisters taught the white children. See Harry C. Koenig, *A History of the Parishes of the Archdiocese of Chicago* (Chicago: Archdiocese of Chicago, 1980), 245–52.

45. Quoted in Nickels, "Thomas Wyatt Turner and the Federated Colored Catholics," 166. For a discussion of Markoe's work in *America*, see Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar*, 305; Southern, *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism*, 111–12.

46. Falls, Memoir Manuscript, 384–85. Falls further commented that other black Catholics who did not attend St. Elizabeth's agreed with his assessment of Eckert, who is usually praised for his work among African Americans.

47. For more on racial uplift, see Kevin Kelly Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

48. "Chicago Chapter News," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle,* December 1929; "Chicago Chapter News," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle*, April 1931.

49. "St. Elizabeth's Church Destroyed by Fire," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle,* February 1930.

50. "Chicago Chapter News," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle,* June 1931.

51. Sanders, *The Education of an Urban Minority*, 214–15. See also the entries on these parishes in Koenig, *A History of the Parishes of the Archdiocese of Chicago*.

52. "Chicago Chapter News," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle*, December 1929.

53. Koenig, *A History of the Parishes of the Archdiocese of Chicago*; 72–75, 216–19.

54. Quoted in Hazel McDaniel Teaubeau, "Seventh Annual Convention of the Federated Colored Catholics Surpasses All Previous Meetings," *St. Elizabeth's Chronical*, October 1931, 606.

55. Maude Johnston to Thomas Wyatt Turner, July 24, 1931, Thomas Wyatt Turner Papers, MSRC.

56. Quoted in Nickels, "Thomas Wyatt Turner and the Federated Colored Catholics," 11.

57. Thomas Wyatt Turner to Maude Johnston, August 4, 1931, Thomas Wyatt Turner Papers, MSRC.

58. For more on Loyola University, see Ellen Skerrett, *Born in Chicago: A History of Chicago's Jesuit University* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 2008).

59. Koenig, *A History of the Parishes of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 367–82; "Our Contributors," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle,* April 1931; "Chicago Chapter News," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle,* August 1931; "Chicago Chapter News," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle,* March 1932. St. Joseph's school was closed from 1931 to 1933 to prevent black children from enrolling in it. St. Joseph's remained a separate place of worship within Holy Family parish for black Catholics until the late 1950s.

60. Southern, *John Lafarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism*, 72; Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar*, 318–19. The first black priest in the nation, who was recognized as black, was Augustus Tolton who served in Chicago from 1889 until his death in 1897 when he was only forty three years old. See Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 152–62. In 1932, there were only four black priests serving in the United States, but when Father Stephen L. Theobald of St. Paul, Minnesota, died in 1932 and Charles Randolph Uncles died in 1933, the number of active priests dropped to two. Theobald had been involved in the FCC. Only in the 1940s did the number of black priests ordained increase substantially. See Nickels, "Thomas Wyatt Turner and the Federated Colored Catholics," 13, 78, 94; Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar*, 318–19. In 1940, Vincent Smith came to Chicago to serve at St. Elizabeth's parish, breaking the moratorium. See Colleen McDannell, *Picturing Faith: Photography and the Great Depression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 254–55.

61. Falls, Memoir Manuscript, 391.

62. Ibid., 383.

63. Ibid., 384.

64. Ibid., 635.

65. For more on the functions of corporate public displays of faith, see Robert Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in Italian Harlem, 1880–1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

66. Teaubeau, "Seventh Annual Convention of the Federated Colored Catholics Surpasses All Previous Meetings," 605. Teaubeau's reference to the Knights of Columbus Zouvaves was likely the Knights' drill team. See Christopher J. Kauffman, *Faith and Fraternalism: The History of the Knights of Columbus* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 404. Although it was unofficial, the Knights of Columbus largely discriminated against African Americans through their blackballing policy, which allowed only five members of a local council to vote "no" on a candidate's membership. In the 1920s, though, they did counter nativism with a series of books trying to promote different races' contributions to the United States and included African Americans. W. E. B. DuBois wrote *The Gift of Black Folk* for the series and praised the Knights as contrasting the general thrust of Catholicism's segregation, particularly in schools. See Kauffman, *Faith and Fraternalism*, 285–86. In 1959, LaFarge critiqued the Knights of Columbus, and only in 1963, after an incident in Chicago in which a black candidate was refused admission to the Knights and six local officials quit in protest did the order change its admissions policy. See Kauffman, *Faith and Fraternalism*, 412–13, 416–17. Chicago's Catholic Interracial Council worked hard to integrate their local order because among Chicago's 48,000 Knights of Columbus members, none were known to be black. See Mathew Ahmann to Daniel Cantwell, n.d., Folder December 27–31, 1959, Box 33, Catholic Interracial Council Papers, Chicago History Museum, Chicago, Ill. (hereafter cited as CHM); Minutes of Board of Directors Meeting, May 15, 1957, Folder May 15–31, 1957, Box 17, Catholic Interracial Council Papers, CHM; Board of Directors Meeting Minutes, n.d., Folder September 18–30, 1957, Box 19, Catholic Interracial Council Papers, CHM. The White Friends of Colored Catholics formed in 1931 in St. Louis when a group of white Catholics asked Markoe, who pastored St. Elizabeth's Church for black Catholics, if they could integrate into St. Elizabeth's activities while remaining members of their home parishes. See Nickels, *Black Catholic Protest and the Federated Colored Catholics*, 77, 186. The Josephites and the FCC were at odds with one another throughout the FCC's history. Both LaFarge and Turner gave Gillard's 1930 *The Catholic Church and the American Negro* scathing reviews. See Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar*, 285–87, 299–304.

67. See Kevin Schultz, *Tri-Faith America: How Catholics and Jews Held Postwar America to Its Protestant Promise* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

68. "Chicago Chapter News," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle,* February, 1932.

69. Falls, Memoir Manuscript, 394.

70. See Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 218; Touré F. Reed, *Not Alms but Opportunity: The Urban League and the Politics of Racial Uplift, 1910–1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 5.

71. Arthur Falls, Oral History Interview, 1990, Interviewed by Rosalie Troester, MUA.

72. See Steven M. Avella, "The Rise and Fall of Bernard Sheil," in *Catholicism, Chicago Style*, ed. Edward R. Kantowicz, Ellen Skerrett, and Steven M. Avella (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1993); Lorene Hanley Duquinn, *They Called Her the Baroness: The Life of Catherine De Hueck Doherty* (Staten Island, N.Y.: Alba House, 2000), 200–204; Neary, "Crossing Parochial Boundaries."

73. "Chicago Chapter News," *St. Elizabeth Chronicle*, October 1932.

74. Reed, *Not Alms but Opportunity.*

75. For more on the Urban League's Interracial Commission, see Folders I-9 (1929) CUL Report, I-10 (1932) CUL report, I-11 (1933) CUL report, I-12 (1936) Two Decades of Service, I-13 (1938) CUL Report I, Box 1, Series 1, Chicago Urban League Papers, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

76. Black Catholics who did not participate in the colored parishes founded FCC branches in their local parishes, like Falls did at Our Lady of Solace.

77. Maude Johnston to Thomas Wyatt Turner, January 12, 1932, Thomas Wyatt Turner Papers, MSRC.

78. Falls, Oral History Interview, 4.

79. For more on the black theological tradition of protest, see Bennet, *Religion and the Rise of Jim Crow in New Orleans*, 5; Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 189.

80. Arthur Falls, "Colored Churches," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle* February, 1932, 26.

81. By the 1950s, Catholic theology books used in seminars and colleges addressed racism, but in the 1930s they did not. See Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar*, 222.

82. Cassius Foster, "A Distinct Need for Catholic Action," *St. Elizabeth's Chronicle*, July 1932, 135, 138.

83. In doing so, activists continued the tradition of African Americans from the nineteenth-century black caucuses who were developing what Cyprian Davis called an "incipient black Catholic theology of Church" in which the church "preserves the deposit of faith because it teaches the doctrine of the equality of all peoples before God" and must "denounce racism within the church because it goes contrary to authentic Catholic belief and morality." See Davis, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 189.

84. Mundelein to Burgmer, "Letter in Favor of the Negro Parish of St. Monica." Emphasis added.

85. Arthur Falls, "Honesty in Race Relations," *Interracial Review*, September 1933, 158–59. Italics in original.

86. Fulton Sheen, *The Mystical Body of Christ* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1935), 80.

87. Falls, Memoir Manuscript, 566–67.

88. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 388–417.

89. Falls, Memoir Manuscript, 566–67.

90. Sister Cecilia Himebaugh to Dom Virgil Michel, August 6, 1935, CISCA Papers, Loyola University Chicago Archives, Chicago, Ill.

91. Falls, Memoir Manuscript, 564–65.

92. For LaFarge's CIC, see Martin Zielinski, "Working for Interracial Justice: The Catholic Interracial Council of New York, 1934–1964," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, (1988). Of the national Federation, Southern says, "The organization simply evaporated in the late 1930s." Southern, *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism*, 146.

93. Arthur Falls, "Interracial Cooperation in Chicago," *Interracial Review*, June 1935.

94. Arthur Falls, "Interracial Cooperation in Chicago," *Interracial Review*, August 1935.

95. Arthur Falls to Mr. Priest, March 14, 1946, General Correpondence, Incoming by Correspondent, 1933–, Dorothy Day Catholic Worker New York Catholic Worker Records, MUA.

96. See Mel Piehl, *Breaking Bread: The Catholic Worker and the Origin of Catholic Radicalism in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press,

1982); Francis. J. Sicius, "The Chicago Catholic Worker," in *A Revolution of the Heart*, ed. Patrick G. Coy (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 337–62; Francis J. Sicius, *The Word Made Flesh: The Chicago Catholic Worker and the Emergence of Lay Activism in the Church* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990).

97. For more on Chicago's liberal Catholics, see Steven M. Avella, *This Confident Church: Catholic Leadership and Life in Chicago, 1940–1965* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992); Paul T. Murray, "From the Sidelines to the Frontlines: Mathew Ahmann Leads American Catholics into the Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (forthcoming); Elizabeth Louise Sharum, "A Strange Fire Burning: A History of the Friendship House Movement" (Ph.D. diss., Texas Tech University, 1977); Duquinn, *The Called Her the Baronness*; Karen Johnson, "The Universal Church in the Segregated City: Doing Catholic Interracialism in Chicago, 1915–1963" (Ph.D. diss., University of Ilinois at Chicago, 2013). Friendship House and the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice (NCCIJ), which united CICs across the nation, were the most prominent national organizations. See Friendship House Papers, CHM; Catholic Interracial Council Papers, CHM; Friendship House Papers, Madonna House Archives, Combermere, Ontario, Canada; National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice Papers, MUA.

98. Southern, *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism*, 143.

99. Cassius Foster to Edward Marciniak, January 16, 1945, Folder 1, Box 1, Catholic Interracial Council Papers, CHM. See also Daniel Cantwell Papers, CHM.

100. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 424–26.

101. Robert Wuthnow, *Restructuring American Religion: Society and Faith since World War II* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).

102. For the support for the long civil rights movement, see, for example, Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91, (2005): 1233–63; Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichtenson, Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American History* 75 (December 1988): 786–811. For refutations of the long civil rights movement idea, see, for example, Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang, "The 'Long Movement' as Vampire: Temporal and Spatial Fallacies in Recent Black Freedom Studies," *Journal of African American History* 92, (Spring 2007); Eric Arnesen, "Reconsidering the "Long Civil

Rights Movement," *Historically Speaking*, 10, (2009): 31–34. Scholars who have looked at religion in conjunction with civil rights outside the modern civil rights era include: Anderson, *Black, White and Catholic*; Paul Harvey, *Freedom's Coming* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*; Nancy Marie Robertson, *Christian Sisterhood, Race Relations, and the YWCA, 1906–46* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Southern, *John LaFarge and the Limits of Catholic Interracialism*; Thomas Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008).

103. Anderson, *Black, White, and Catholic*, xiii; Bryan Massingale, *Racial Justice and the Catholic Church* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2010), 50–55.

104. In 1968, for instance, fifty-eight black priests of the Black Clergy Caucus proclaimed the Catholic church to be a "white racist institution." See Davis, *History of Black Catholics in the United States*, 87; Ochs, *Desegregating the Altar*, 7; Katrina M. Sanders, "Black Catholic Clergy and the Struggle for Civil Rights: Winds of Change," in *Uncommon Faithfulness: The Black Catholic Experience*, ed. M. Shawn Copeland (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 2009), 78–93. For a sustained critique of the Catholic church from a black priest from this generation, see Lawrence Lucas, *Black Priest/White Church: Catholics and Racism* (New York: Random House, 1970).

ABSTRACT According to most historians, the majority of northern urban Catholics before Vatican II (1962–1965) were ensconced in their parish boundaries, viewing their existence through the lens of the parish and focusing the majority of their attention on matters within their particular geographic location. As African Americans moved north during the Great Migration (1910s–1960s) and the racial dynamics of cities changed, some black Catholics began to organize for what they called "interracial justice," a term that reflected their belief that black equality would benefit African Americans and whites. This article argues that the parish boundaries paradigm for understanding Catholicism prior to the reforms of Vatican II fails to account for the efforts of black Catholics working for interracial justice. This article considers four ways black Catholic interracialists moved beyond their parish boundaries: (a) the national networks they cultivated with white priests; (b) the theological doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ they used to support their work; (c) the local relationships they developed with non-Catholics; and (d) the connections they made with young white Catholics. By advancing this argument, this essay highlights the relationship between race and

religion—both how the institutional Catholic church reinforced racial hierarchies and how black Catholics leveraged their faith to tear them down. Finally, this article reorients the history of Catholic interracialism by focusing on black laypeople and connects two bodies of literature that rarely comment on one another: that of Catholicism and the long civil rights movement.

Keywords: Black Catholics, Interracial, Civil Rights Movement, Chicago, African American