Abbreviations

AMC Archives of the Mennonite Church USA, located on the campus of Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
CCM Central Conference Missions, a missions body of the Central Conference of the General Conference Mennonite Church
CESR Committee on Economic and Social Relations, a national committee of the (Old) Mennonite Church
CHM Commission on Home Ministries, the domestic service board of the General Conference Mennonite Church
CMC Community Mennonite Church, Markham, Illinois
CPSC Committee on Peace and Social Concerns, a committee of the (Old) Mennonite Church
EMBMC Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, the Lancaster Conference’s mission agency
EMM Eastern Mennonite Missions (www.emm.org), the mission agency of the Lancaster Conference of Mennonite Church USA, located in Salunga, Pennsylvania
EMU Eastern Mennonite University archives, located in Harrisonburg, Virginia
GC General Conference Mennonite Church denomination
LMHS Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, located in Lancaster, Pennsylvania
MB Mennonite Brethren denomination
MBM Mennonite Board of Missions, the former mission board of the (Old) Mennonite Church
MBMC Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, an older name of MBM
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Mennonite Church denomination; also known as the (Old) Mennonite Church</td>
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<td>MCA</td>
<td>Mennonite Church Archives</td>
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<td>MCC</td>
<td>Mennonite Central Committee, the relief and development organization of the Mennonite family of churches, located in Akron, Pennsylvania</td>
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<td>MDS</td>
<td>Mennonite Disaster Service, a disaster response organization of the Mennonite family of churches</td>
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<td>MHLVA</td>
<td>Mennonite Historical Library, located on the campus of Eastern Mennonite University, Harrisonburg, Virginia</td>
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<td>MLA</td>
<td>Mennonite Library and Archives of the Mennonite Church USA, located on the campus of Bethel College, Newton, Kansas</td>
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<td>NCC</td>
<td>National Council of Churches</td>
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<td>OMC</td>
<td>(Old) Mennonite Church denomination (also MC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSC</td>
<td>Peace and Social Concerns, a shortened form of CPSC</td>
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<td>SCCO</td>
<td>Study Commission on Church Organization, a committee tasked with examining (Old) Mennonite Church organizational issues in the early 1970s</td>
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<tr>
<td>VAMC</td>
<td>Virginia Mennonite Conference Archives, located on the campus of Eastern Mennonite University, Harrisonburg, VA</td>
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<td>VS</td>
<td>Voluntary Service</td>
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**Preface**


3. For a discussion of the need to reframe the study of the long civil rights movement to include its roots in the 1940s and ’50s and its continuation into the ’70s, see Biondi, *To Stand and Fight*; Hall, “Long Civil Rights Movement”; Joseph, introduction to *The Black Power Movement*.


6. See, for example, “The Way of the Cross in Race Relations” (statement presented at the meeting of the Committee on Economic and Social Relations of the Mennonite Church, Mennonite Community Association, Goshen, Indiana, April 22–24, 1955).

8. To unify home and sanctuary, I have for purposes of this study rejected philosopher Jürgen Habermas’s division between public and private spheres. For a more extended examination of Habermas’s theories see Habermas, Public Sphere.


11. For examples of those who have, in various degrees, glossed over intimate encounters across racial lines, see Collier-Thomas and Franklin, Sisters in the Struggle; Greene, Our Separate Ways; McGreevy, Parish Boundaries; Payne, I’ve Got the Light.

12. Stories from other racial and ethnic communities—especially the Latino/a, Native American, and Asian American Mennonite groups—also require retelling.

13. The designation “Old,” which I put in parenthesis throughout this text, refers to a mid-nineteenth-century schism over matters of church discipline and organization that led to the formation of the General Conference denomination. Hence the (Old) Mennonite Church was literally older than the General Conference Mennonite Church.


16. In the main, Mennonites have claimed credit for the Germantown antislavery statement of 1688, the first written antislavery statement drafted in North America. See MacMaster, Land, Piety, Peoplehood, 43; Smith, Story of the Mennonites, 540. The document was written, however, by practicing Quakers to a Quaker assembly, a fact duly noted by scholars outside the Mennonite community. See Cone, Black Theology, 77; Raboteau, Slave Religion, 111. Although Mennonites chose not to own slaves, scholarship suggests that, at least in southeastern Pennsylvania, where Mennonites were most highly concentrated during the colonial and antebellum periods, the use of slaves was more a matter of conspicuous consumption than economic necessity. See Tully, “Patterns of Slaveholding.” The claims of racial egalitarian status from the seventeenth century forward thus need to be held in tension with the historical situation of Mennonites who, in both the North and the South, generally did not need slaves to achieve economic sufficiency. See Longenecker, “Antislavery and Otherworldliness.”

17. “Mennonite Race Relations: Still at a Low Point,” news release, August 7, 1970, folder 77, Race—Articles/reports, box 6, MCA, I.Z.1, Peace and Social Concerns Committee of the General Conference Mennonite Church, MLA.


20. Throughout this study, *Mennonite church*—with a lowercase *c*—refers jointly to the (Old) Mennonite Church and the General Conference Mennonite denominations. Quotations that mention *Mennonite Church*—with an uppercase *C*—refer to the (Old) Mennonite Church denomination. Bechler, “Facts, Considerations, and Membership,” 1.


22. Authors of the 1955 (Old) Mennonite Church race relations statement connected nonconformity with racial exclusion when they confessed, “We have failed to see that acceptance of the social patterns of segregation and discrimination is a violation of the command to be ‘not conformed to this world.’” They continued their confession by noting that “attitudes of exclusiveness” had likewise blocked African Americans from joining the church. Throughout this book I note myriad ways in which the doctrine of nonconformity led directly to those attitudes of exclusion based on fears of contagion from the outside world. See Mennonite General Conference, “The Way of Christian Love in Race Relations,” (statement passed at Mennonite General Conference, Hesston, Kansas, August 24, 1955), 4.


24. Ibid., 26; Schlabach, *Gospel versus Gospel*, 42.


30. Andrew Schulze to Guy F. Hershberger, July 22 1955, St. Louis, Missouri, CESR papers I-3-7, box 6, folder 14, AMC; Grant M. Stoltzfus to Guy F. Hershberger, May 31, 1955, CESR papers, box 5, folder 99, AMC.


32. David Chidester explicates the negative effects of religious boundaries when he writes, “Since being a person also requires being in a place, religion entails discourses and practices for creating sacred space, as a zone of inclusion but also as a
boundary for excluding others. Accordingly, religion, in my definition, is the activity of being human in relation to superhuman transcendence and sacred inclusion, which inevitably involves dehumanization and exclusion. Religion, therefore, contains an inherent ambiguity.” See Chidester, Authentic Fakes, viii. See also Arthur, Religion, Dress and the Body; Gjerde, Minds of the West; Loewen, Family, Church, and Market; Tweed, Retelling U.S. Religious History.

33. Payne, I’ve Got the Light, 457.

34. I am indebted to the following scholars for their thoughtful commentary on the use of photographs as historical evidence: McDannell, Picturing Faith; Rose, Visual Methodologies; Schmeisser, “Camera at the Grassroots”; Williams, Framing the West.

35. The work of the following scholars has guided my interpretation of material cultural objects like the Mennonite prayer veil: Buckridge, The Language of Dress; Graybill, “Mennonite Women and Their Bishops”; Hawes, Schulz, and Hiner, “The United States”; Klassen, “Practicing Conflict.”

36. Historians of the American Mennonite experience have paid little attention to white Mennonites’ interaction with African Americans. Other than Le Roy Bechler’s statistically sound but interpretively thin history of the African-American Mennonite church and Theron Schlabach’s exploration of Mennonite missions and attitudes toward African Americans, the field remains relatively unexplored. In addition to presenting a new periodization of Mennonite engagement with African Americans in chapter 1, I argue throughout this work that white Mennonites were more aware of, engaged by, and focused on race relations than has been previously suggested by other scholars and that the particular history of relations with African Americans reveals a more unified approach to race relations by white Christians than what appears in the work of David Swartz and John McGreevy. See Bechler, Black Mennonite Church; McGreevy, Parish Boundaries; Schlabach, Gospel versus Gospel; Swartz, “Mista Mid-Nights”; Weaver, “The Mennonite Church.”

Chapter 1. A Separated History

1. Quoted in Guy F. Hershberger, “Report of the Chicago Race Relations Seminar,” memorandum, July 16, 1959, 8, CESR papers I-3-7, box 7, folder 58, AMC.
4. Bechler, Black Mennonite Church, 38.
5. Ibid., 39–41.
6. The periodization I offer here leans heavily on the work originally developed by J. Denny Weaver in his insightful treatment of Mennonite written materials on race. See Weaver, “The Mennonite Church.” Although I have renamed and ex-
panded the evidentiary base for each of the periods and made slight adjustments to
some of the beginning and ending dates, the basic framework comes from Weaver’s
work.
8. Bechler, Black Mennonite Church, 41.
senger, February 16, 1936, 11.
10. Shenk, By Faith They Went Out, 40.
11. Ibid.
14. Exact membership numbers are not available before 1950, but an estimate
of 150 or fewer is consistent with the statistical data included in Le Roy Bechler’s
foundational text. See Bechler, Black Mennonite Church, 172. Awareness of disparate
racial experience emerges from numerous oral histories conducted for this project.
See, in particular, Curry, interview.
17. Orie O. Miller, minutes of the Sixty-Third Quarterly Meeting of E.M.B. Of
M. & C. And Lancaster Conference Board of Bishops, January 2, 1943, LMHS.
18. Shenk, By Faith They Went Out, 76.
19. Ibid.
20. Bechler, Black Mennonite Church, 172.
21. Melvin Gingerich, “Negroes and the Mennonites,” The Mennonite, June 14,
1949, 4.
22. Haury, Quiet Demonstration, 22.
among Blacks,” memorandum, November 9, 1973, 2, VII.R GC Voluntary Service,
Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 6, folder 214, Reports, misc., MLA; Edna Moran,
interview with author, May 24, 2005; Sue Williams, interview with author, May
25, 2005.
24. The (Old) Mennonite Church consisted of regional governing bodies such
as the Lancaster and Virginia Conferences. The Lancaster Conference, the largest
of the conferences, did not officially join the (Old) Mennonite denomination un-
til 1971, although it did maintain a number of fraternal ties before that date. The
Lancaster Conference extended its reach up and down the East Coast from New
England to Florida. The vast majority of the Lancaster Conference congregations,
however, clustered in and around Lancaster County in southeastern Pennsylvania.
25. Guy F. Hershberger, “Race Prejudice in America Today,” memorandum,
March 8, 1944, CESR papers I-3-7, box 7, folder 55, AMC; Schlabach, “Race,
and Another Look,” 3.


29. On September 14, 1948, at the suggestion of the Colored Workers Committee, the Eastern Board decided to recommend to the joint board that “the care of our aged members in our several institutions be without race discrimination.” See minutes of the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities Executive Committee Meeting, September 14, 1948, 1, LMHS.

30. Minutes of Eastern Mennonite College Administration Committee, September 20, 1948, box II-B-4, John R. Mumaw Collection, box 27, EMU.


32. On this point, I disagree with J. Denny Weaver’s finding. He notes that during the period from 1945 to 1949, church press reports gave only low-profile attention to African-American missions. (Note slight difference in periodization. I begin this period in 1944, with the founding of Bethel Mennonite in Chicago.) See Weaver, “The Mennonite Church,” 23. Examination of regional press reports shows, however, that African-American Mennonites like James Lark were already receiving significant attention from church leaders and mission boards during these five years.


39. Curry, interview.

40. Hershberger, “Race Prejudice in America Today.”

42. Bechler, *Black Mennonite Church*, 172. The figure of 150 African-American church members did not include infants, children, youth not yet baptized, or regular participants who had not yet officially joined the church. Actual African-American participation was most probably in the neighborhood of a thousand on a given Sunday during this period.


44. On October 26, 1950, the Lancaster Conferences’ Eastern Board and Bishop Board discussed the executive committee’s “concern for counsel and advice on how to expand our witness and service in the work to the colored and for colored members” and referred the action to subcommittee. See Orie O. Miller, minutes of the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities and Lancaster Conference Bishop Board, October 26, 1950, 1, LMHS. On March 8, 1954, the Lancaster Conference’s Eastern Board established the Philadelphia home for the aged and declared that it was open to “male and female guests irrespective of race.” See minutes of the Eastern Mennonite Board Executive Committee, March 6, 1954, LMHS; Good, “Forty Years,” 21.


53. Ibid.
54. “Christian Race Relations” (proceedings of the Committee on Economic and Social Relations of the Mennonite Church, Mennonite Community Association, Goshen, Indiana, April 22–24, 1955).
57. Although the objections to moustaches in this era arose from a concern about the association of this grooming choice with the military, the bishops’ rigorous enforcement appears to have been racially triggered.
58. References to this instance at Newtown Gospel Chapel, Sarasota, Florida, appear in three separate oral history interviews with the author: Michael Shenk, March 19, 2003; Dave Weaver and Sue Weaver, May 26, 2005; Paul Zehr, March 1, 2003.
60. Ibid.
62. White converts also received instruction in the importance of wearing non-conformist dress. As the sources cited here demonstrate, however, white mission workers enforced those requirements for African-American converts with a relatively greater degree of intensity. Other examples of enforced dress and grooming requirements are cited in Curry, interview; Norman Derstine, “Dear Brothers and Sisters in the Lord,” memorandum, Trissels Mennonite Church, 1955, box I-MS-17, John L. Stauffer collection, General Files H–Z, box 6, folder Nonconformity, VAMC; William M. Weaver, e-mail messages to author, January 30, 2003.
65. D. W. B., “Do You Want Your Daughter to Marry a Negro?”
66. I am here indebted to the work of Ann Taves for her insightful exploration of

67. D’Emilio and Freedman, Intimate Matters, 14; Romano, “Race Mixing,” 5.

68. Thanks to Christina Traina, of Northwestern University, for adding this insight.

69. Annabelle Hughes and Gerald Hughes, interview with author, August 29, 2006; Gerald Hughes, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2007; Miller, “Building Anew in Cleveland,” 84.

70. Shenk, By Faith They Went Out, 78–81.


73. Weaver, “The Mennonite Church,” 33.


78. Vincent Harding, “The Christian and the Race Question” (address to Mennonite World Conference, August 6, 1962), 3, IX-7-12, no. 2, box 6, Race Relations 1955–70, AMC.


82. “Segregated geographically, socially and matrimonially, defining their boundaries [sic] and habitations, (surely he did not give all them that which he had taken away from them possibly none of them, for he gave some more talents than others, and never under heaven has he claimed that all are equal, he gave some one pigment of hair, skin etc. . . . and bade each to occupy what he had given them (knowing that that was the only way to keep them pure, Christ loves purity and Christ wants all his creatures to remain pure, for he loves all with the same pure love) until he comes.” See J. Gordon Simpson to Guy F. Hershberger, n.d., 1960, I-3-7 CESR 7/39, Martin Luther King—(Guy F. Hershberger’s evaluation of MLK), AMC.

83. Minutes of Summer Bible School, South Seventh Street Mennonite Church,

84. In 1963 the ratio of African American to white service recipients pictured in the Volunteer was 2 to 13. By 1965 it had switched to 9 to 5. In the following years, through 1969, the ratio stayed at or about four photos of African-American service recipients for every one photo of a white service recipient, and in 1966 the ratio reached its highest, at 6 to 1.

85. Eby, Fifty Years, Fifty Stories, 32–37; Shenk, By Faith They Went Out, 80–81.


88. Eli Hochstedler, “I Went to Jail,” The Mennonite, June 30, 1964, 433–34. Surprisingly, Hochstedler’s experience received only scant attention in the church press and was not referred to by church leaders in any of the meetings held that year or in subsequent years.


90. Schlabach, “Race, and Another Look,” 34.

91. “Seventh Avenue Mennonite Church: Self-Analysis of Congregation in Response to Questionnaire Titled ‘Some Questions to Ask When Describing a Church,’” memorandum, September 10, 1965, 10, Paul G. Landis, New York—Seventh Ave., LMHS.

92. Murray, Methodists and the Crucible, 212–14; Shattuck, Episcopalians and Race, 169–86.


96. Simon Gingerich and Lynford Hershey, “Minutes Counsel and Reference Committee for Minority Ministries Education,” memorandum, March 5, 1971, IV-21-4 box 1, MBM, Minority Ministries Council, Data Files 1, A–K, folder Cross Cultural Relations 1971–1972, Lyn Hershey, AMC.

97. Historian Felipe Hinojosa notes that, despite the organizational collapse of the Minority Ministries Council, the ethnic caucuses developed from the ashes of the multiethnic-multiracial organization went on to serve an important function in developing distinct group identities and organizing foundations for the Latino and African-American Mennonite communities. See Hinojosa, “Making Noise.”

98. Before codification of the nonconformity doctrine around the turn of the century, many Mennonite communities dressed like their neighbors. Plain, distinct dress was largely a twentieth- rather than a nineteenth-century phenomenon. See Hostetler, American Mennonites and Protestant Movements, 246.


Chapter 2. Prayer-Covered Protest

1. Brian Kelly and others have identified, for example, interracial collaboration in labor unions. See Kelly, Race, Class, and Power.


3. See, for instance, the history of women in the civil rights movement in the following texts: Collier-Thomas and Franklin, Sisters in the Struggle; Fosl, Subversive Southerner; Height, “We Wanted the Voice of a Woman to Be Heard”; Jones, Labor of Love; Kirk, “Daisy Bates”; Knotts, “Bound by the Spirit”; Ling and Monteith, “Gender and the Civil Rights Movement”; Robnett, “Women in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee”; Stanton, Journey toward Justice.

4. Paul Toews’s description of Mennonites and the civil rights movement, for example, foregrounds key male figures such as Vincent Harding, Guy Hershberger, and Martin Luther King Jr. but leaves out the witness and contributions of the women featured in this chapter. See Toews, Mennonites in American Society, 256–61. Similarly, Le Roy Bechler places far greater emphasis on James Lark than on Rowena. See Bechler, Black Mennonite Church, 49–54. One exception to this male-
dominated historiography is found in the work of Louise Stoltzfus. See Stoltzfus, *Quiet shouts*. She gives voice to the experience of women in the Lancaster Conference and highlights the contributions of African-American leaders such as Mattie Cooper Nikiema of Diamond Street Mennonite Church in Philadelphia.

5. This chapter’s focus on two women in an interracial relationship is not meant to negate men’s sustained and deeply felt relationships. Figures featured in later chapters, such as Curtis Burrell and Hubert Schwartzentruber (no relation to Fannie Swartzentruber), John Powell and Lynford Hershey, and Vincent Harding and Delton Franz, represent interracial relationships between men that were sustained over time and mutually supportive. Fannie Swartzentruber and Rowena Lark’s relationship is, however, representative of a depth of relationship and mutual appreciation that was atypical among men in the Mennonite church particularly during the late 1930s and through the 1940s.

6. This chapter about Lark and Swartzentruber centers on the (Old) Mennonite Church rather than the second largest Mennonite denomination in the United States, the General Conference Mennonite Church, because the first denomination was far more active in its evangelism of African Americans than was the second, especially during the 1930s and 1940s. General Conference race relations efforts figure more prominently in later chapters of this work.


11. Epp, “Carrying the Banner of Nonconformity,” 26; Gingerich, *Mennonite Attire*, 119, 130; Regier, “Revising the Plainness of Whiteness.” Marlene Epp’s paper was the 1991 winner of the James Horsch Memorial Mennonite Historical Contest.


16. On a related point, Pamela Klassen makes a convincing argument that nineteenth-century African-American women in the African Methodist Episcopal Church used dress standards nurtured in the church to establish their authority
and significance in the racist world outside the church. Although I pay attention to the manner in which African-American women used dress to establish their belonging inside the church, the underlying strategy remains the same. See Klassen, “Robes of Womanhood.”


18. Ernest L. Swartzentruber and Fannie Swartzentruber to the Gospel Fellowship, March 13, 1941, box I-MS-13, Harry A. Brunk Collection, Materials related to Virginia Menn. Conf., box 1, folder 8, Colored Work Broad Street Mennonite Church, VAMC.

19. Minutes of the executive committee of the Virginia Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, December 19, 1938, box I-D-1, box 1, Board/Executive Minutes 1904–1969 Restricted, folder Board/Executive Committee Minutes 1931–1949 complete, VAMC.


26. A primary exception to the pattern of integration followed by segregation occurred in the Welsh Mountain region, where Lancaster Conference leaders focused on African Americans from the beginning and kept that focus through most of their involvement there. See Ruth, The Earth Is the Lord’s, 722.

27. Erb, Studies in Mennonite City Missions, 44.


31. Ibid., 13.

32. Ernest L. Swartzentruber to Missionary Light, December 18, 1941, box I-MS-13, Harry A. Brunk Collection Materials related to Virginia Menn. Conf., box 1, folder 8, Colored Work Broad Street Mennonite Church, VAMC.

33. Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Virginia Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, August 1, 1939, 66, box I-D-1, box 1, Board/Executive Minutes 1904–1969 Restricted, folder Board/Executive Committee Minutes 1931–1949 complete, VAMC.
35. Virginia Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, “Policy Governing the Organization of a Mennonite Colored Organization,” memorandum, November 11, 1940, box I-D-1, box 1, Board/Executive Minutes 1904–1969 Restricted, folder Board / Executive Committee Minutes (retyped) 1931–1947, VAMC.
36. Ibid.
38. Virginia Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, “Policy Governing the Organization.”
41. Ernest L. Swartzentruber, “Harrisonburg Colored Mission,” memorandum, 1942, box I-MS-13, Harry A. Brunk Collection Materials related to Virginia Menn Conf box 1, folder 8, Colored Work Broad Street Mennonite Church, VAMC.
42. Regier, “Revising the Plainness.”
43. Many Mennonite groups at the time forbade the purchase of life insurance because it indicated a lack of reliance on God’s providence. In 1941, for example, leaders at Gay Street requested prayer for “one woman that she may be willing to give up her life insurance.” See Ernest L. Swartzentruber, “For Missionary Light Harrisonburg Colored Mission,” memorandum, 1941, box I-MS-13, Harry A. Brunk Collection Materials related to Virginia Menn Conf, box 1, folder 8, Colored Work Broad Street Mennonite Church, VAMC.
44. Fannie Swartzentruber to Sewing Circle, January 9, 1942, box I-MS-13, Harry A. Brunk Collection Materials related to Virginia Menn Conf, box 1, folder 8, Colored Work Broad Street Mennonite Church, VAMC.
45. Ernest L. Swartzentruber, “Harrisonburg Colored Mission,” memorandum, 1943, box I-MS-13, Harry A. Brunk Collection, Materials related to Virginia Menn Conf, box 1, folder 8, Colored Work Broad Street Mennonite Church, VAMC.
46. Minutes of the Virginia Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities Annual Meeting, June 8, 1943, box I-D-1, box 1, Board/Executive Minutes 1904–1969 Restricted, folder Board / Executive Committee Minutes 1931–1949 complete, VAMC; Roberta W. Webb to Rosalie Wyse, December 5, 1947, Papers of Va. Menn. Bd. of Missions and Charities, box Harold Huber’s Papers, Broad Street Mennonite Church Materials (History, etc.), folder Broad Street—General History, VAMC.
47. “Chicago Bethel Church Development 1944–1953: Housing Project in

48. One account indicates that Lark continued her involvement at the Harrisonburg vacation bible school program through 1950. See Mullet, “Broad Street Church in Review.” She makes few appearances in the mission’s reports or articles, however, past 1944.

49. John L. Stauffer to Milo Kauffman, April 16, 1945, box II-B3-2, John L. Stauffer Collection, Correspondence, folder College Corres., Miscell. 1943–1946, EMU.

50. Roberta Webb and Janet Eaton, “Personal Copy of Mrs. Roberta Webb’s Story,” memorandum, September 7–9, 1981, 26, H B W38n, MHLVA.


52. I have settled on 1944 as the date of Swartzentruber’s protest after discussions with her eldest son and the author of a 1971 paper that cites the date as 1941. The earlier date, based on notes of a conversation between Ernest Swartzentruber and an undergraduate at Eastern Mennonite College in 1971, does not concur with Fannie’s statement, “God, you’ve put these men in charge of us. We’re going to obey them until you show us otherwise.” See Homer Swartzentruber, interview, 2007. As is evident here, Fannie left the communion service only after several years of building frustration with the segregationist dictate, not immediately after the dictate, as the 1971 account suggests.

53. Huber and Huber, interview.

54. Klarman, From Jim Crow to Civil Rights, 288–89.


56. Huber and Huber, interview.


58. Ibid.


61. Virginia Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, “Policy Governing the Organization.”

62. White Protestant groups in the North generally did not go on record against

63. MacMaster and Jacobs, A Gentle Wind, 136, 60.
64. Hostetler, American Mennonites, 263–64.
65. Ibid., 265–66.
70. Lark, “The History of Bethel."
71. Minutes of the Lancaster Conference Bishop Board, June 16, 1948, LMHS.
72. The previous year, African-American student Willis Johnson was admitted on a part-time basis. See minutes of the Eastern Mennonite College administration committee, September 20, 1948, and January 26, 1949, 1, box II-B-4, John R. Mumaw Collection, box 27, EMU; Virginia Mennonite Conference, Minutes of the Virginia Mennonite Conference 1938, 303.
75. Bechler, Black Mennonite Church, 172; Melvin Gingerich, “Negroes and the Mennonites,” The Mennonite, June 14, 1949, 4.
76. Lark, “The History of Bethel.”
77. Ibid.
78. Ann Jennings Brunk to Guy F. Hershberger, June 10, 1952, Lombard, Illinois, I-3-7 CESR papers, 7/33 entitled “Race Relations Island of Sanity,” AMC.
80. Byrd and Tharps, Hair Story, 47; Rooks, Hair Raising, 75.
82. “Negro Membership in Mennonite Church,” memorandum, September 1, 1953, Hist. Mss. 1-566, James and Rowena Lark Collection, Negro Membership, Menn. Church, 1953, folder 1/5, AMC.
83. Wills, “An Enduring Distance,” 169.
84. Congregational record book, Broad Street Mennonite Church, 1954–1956, box Broad Street Mennonite Church (deposited by Harold and Vida Huber on April 4, 1998), box 2, VAMC; “Chicago Bethel Church Development 1944–1953.”
85. “Chicago Bethel Church Development 1944–1953”; photo, “Paul King in the Pulpit at Bethel Mennonite Community Church in West Side Chicago,” photo collection, folder Churches—Illinois, MLA; photo by Anna Rohrer, reproduced as figure 5.1 in this volume.
86. “Chicago Bethel Church Development 1944–1953.”
88. Minutes of the Colored Workers Committee 1953–1957, 104, file cabinets far wall, first cabinet, top drawer, drawer marked Home Missions Locations and Other General 1956–1964, four numbered notebooks, EMM record room.
90. Ira J. Buckwalter, minutes of the Colored Workers Committee Notes 1947–1953, 88, file cabinets far wall, first cabinet, top drawer, drawer marked Home Missions Locations and Other General 1956–1964, four numbered notebooks, EMM record room.
91. Colored Workers Committee Notes 1953–1957, 125, file cabinets far wall, first cabinet, top drawer, drawer marked Home Missions Locations and Other General 1956–1964, four numbered notebooks, EMM record room.
95. Shenk, By Faith They Went Out, 78–79.


104. Lark, “The History of Bethel.”
105. Minutes of the Colored Workers Committee, 1958–1963, 192, record room file cabinets, far wall, first cabinet, top drawer, drawer marked Home Missions Locations and Other General 1956–1964, four numbered notebooks, EMM.
106. Curry, interview; Stoltzfus, Quiet Shouts, 162.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
117. Ruth, The Earth Is the Lord’s, 1077.
118. Kraybill, “Mennonite Woman’s Veiling,” 301.
119. Strikingly, editors of the Gospel Messenger, a publication of the Church of the Brethren denomination, an Anabaptist group with strong pietist roots, had also airbrushed hair coverings on white women, three years earlier, in 1963. See Bowman, Brethren Society, 369.
122. Martin, “Countian Pulled Down.”
123. Gwinn, interview.
125. As other studies of the prayer veil have found, small, seemingly insignificant changes to the covering and how it is worn hold great significance to religious insiders. See Reynolds and Bronner, Plain Women, 76; Schmidt, “‘Sacred Farming’ or ‘Working Out?’” 86.
127. Huber and Huber, interview.


129. David Chappell shows how African-American churches in the South rallied around civil rights leaders with the urgency and passion of a religious revival. African Americans in white churches were cut off from that emotional support. See Chappell, *A Stone of Hope*, 87–96.


131. Byrd and Tharps, *Hair Story*, 57–59; Rooks, *Hair Raising*, 6. A parallel to Gwinn’s black covering can be found in the Kente cloth and other African-themed stoles worn by Roman Catholic and Episcopalian priests and some Protestant ministers. The stoles, however, appear only during formal worship services. Gwinn wore her covering inside and outside of church services.


135. This chapter’s focus on relationships and religious conviction as primary motivating forces for resistance to racial oppression adds to the rich documentation of other motivations for women’s resistance such as the importance of community, the desire to break free of gender hierarchy, concern for family, integration of the private and public, and political commitments. The following authors have contributed significantly to that documentation: Greene, *Our Separate Ways*; Hine, *Hine Sight*; Jones, *Labor of Love*; Kirk, “Daisy Bates”; Schultz, *Going South*; West, *Disruptive Christian Ethics*.


Chapter 3. Fresh Air Disruption


2. Extant records do not mention Jerry’s last name. For the sake of clarity and uniform reference, I have assigned him the last name of Smith.
3. Otto Voth and Marietta Voth to Orlo Kaufman, August 6, 1969, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 4, folder 130, Fresh Air, 1969, MLA.

4. I am in debt to the following authors for modeling how to write histories that treat children as agents of change rather than passive respondents to adult action: Gilfoyle, “Street-Rats and Gutter-Snipes”; Nasaw, Children of the City.


6. For evidence of other mutually shaping evangelical exchanges, see Veer, Imperial Encounters.

7. By coming to treat African-American Fresh Air participants as innocents, the white Mennonite hosts adapted a theological assumption long made about their own children. Mennonites traditionally promoted an ideal of “complex innocence” that recognized the presence of original sin in children that was nonetheless covered over by grace until the child reached the age of accountability in his or her early to late teens. See Miller, “Complex Innocence,” 194, 201–3. White Mennonites thus eventually came to see African-American Fresh Air children as holding the same sort of theological innocence as their own children, in addition to a racial innocence potent enough to counter racial strife.

8. The experience of the Fresh Air participants featured in this chapter suggests that children played a greater role in the civil rights movement than previously understood. Despite the excellent, children-centered work of Robert Coles and the work of Wilma King on children’s participation in the Birmingham crusade, few texts examine children’s participation in the civil rights movement. David Garrow’s work on Martin Luther King addresses children mostly in passing. Barbara Ransby’s biography of Ella Baker talks about Baker’s focus on older youth movements and the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Charles Payne and Aldon Morris also speak of the prominent role teenagers played in local struggles, as does Anne Moody’s autobiography. There is, however, no singular study of the role of preadolescent children in the movement. This chapter on Fresh Air children and their hosts picks up on these existing strands of thought and seriously considers the role of children and childhood in reconceptualizing the civil rights movement as a series of daily demonstrations. For further reading, see Coles, Children of Crisis, vii, 336–37; King, African American Childhoods; Moody, Coming of Age in Mississippi; Morris, The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement; Payne, I’ve Got the Light; Ransby, Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement.


12. Schlabach, Gospel versus Gospel, 73.


15. Despite the intentions of the Colored Workers Committee in 1949 to serve only African-American children, for the first three years of the Fresh Air program white children nearly equaled and in some cases actually outnumbered African-American and “Spanish” children in the program. See Paul N. Kraybill, “Report of Mennonite Mission Children Visitation Program,” memorandum, 1953, third cabinet of second set in on right side, bottom unmarked drawer, folder Committee Action, EMM record room. Within ten years, white participation dropped dramatically and then disappeared almost entirely owing to white flight from the inner city. I focus here on the African-American children participants because of the program’s original intent and the interracial environment created by their visits to white Mennonite homes.


17. Minutes of the joint meeting of the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities and the Bishop Board of the Lancaster Conference District, January 14, 1929, 2, LMHS.


21. My initial inquiry suggests that white Mennonites’ exposure to African-American children through Fresh Air programs was not unique. Although little scholarly work has been written about the Fresh Air programs, I surmise that a northern or midwestern white rural Protestant family in the 1950s, 1960s, or early 1970s was also far more likely to have come into close contact with an African American through a Fresh Air exchange program than through any social program,
government initiative, or church mission. I project that during the period of my study approximately 2 million host families and 2 million to 3 million guest children participated in Fresh Air programs.


23. Ibid.

24. Mennonites opposed the practice of slavery and cherished the memory of having done so, even though those who signed the document were at the time not Mennonite but rather Quaker. See Bechler, Black Mennonite Church, 37; Drake, Quakers and Slavery in America, 11; Irvin B. Horst, “Mennonites and the Race Question,” Gospel Herald, July 13, 1945, 284–85; Smith, “Mennonites in America,” 92; Smith, The Story of the Mennonites, 540.


27. E. G. Horst, memorandum, untitled collection of host testimonies, ca. 1951, third cabinet of second set in on right side, bottom unmarked drawer, folder Testimonies and misc., EMM record room.


30. “St. Ann’s Mennonite Church VSBS,” memorandum, 1952, box I.S. Pictures Home Ministries, found on cabinets on far left wall when entering room, folder Archives—Home Missions—1940s and 1950s, EMM record room.


32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.


35. Ibid.

36. S. L. Longenecker to Missionary Messenger, March 26, 1951, third cabinet of second set in on right side, bottom unmarked drawer, folder Testimonies and misc., EMM record room; “Whoso Shall Receive One Such Little Child.”

37. Middleton and Wenger, “Fresh Air Reminiscences.”

drawer, folder Committee Action, EMM record room. Often conducted in public, lice checks humiliated the children and enforced the administrators' power, a process replicated in many other parts of the country during this period. See, for example, Hunter, To Joy My Freedom, 212; Rivera, . . . And the Earth Did Not Devour Him, 92–93.


41. Middleton and Wenger, “Fresh Air Reminiscences.”

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid. Note also that Middleton and her friend Pat were separated from each other as girls who made different decisions about the covering. Boys did not experience this kind of gender-based trauma.

44. Mennonite General Conference, The Nurture and Evangelism of Children.

45. Haury, Quiet Demonstration, 16.

46. Ibid., 22–23, 26.


50. Delton Franz to Orlo Kaufman, February 1, 1960, VII.R GC Voluntary
Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 1, folder 4, Correspondence—General Conf 1960, MLA.


52. Elmer Voth and Linda Voth to Orlo Kaufman, September 5, 1961, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 4, folder 123, Fresh Air, 1961, MLA.

53. Haury, The Quiet Demonstration, 46.

54. Although girls were generally relegated to more domestic tasks like washing laundry and preparing meals, many still were taught how to drive a tractor.

55. Orlo Kaufman to Andrew Shelly, August 10, 1960, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 1, folder 4, Correspondence—General Conf. 1960, MLA.


57. Ibid.


59. Ibid.


61. “Host Parents Summary.”

62. Ibid.; Mrs. Dwight Stucky to Orlo Kaufman, August 14, 1961, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 4, folder 123, Fresh Air, 1961, MLA.

63. Stucky to Kaufman, August 14, 1961.

64. Ibid.

65. Mrs. Winton Stucky to Orlo Kaufman, August 12, 1961, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 4, folder 123, Fresh Air, 1961, MLA.


69. Rev. Arnold Nickel to Orlo Kaufman, February 27, 1961, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 2, folder 32, Correspondence—non-conf, 1961, MLA.
70. In 1961 at least one host couple was somewhat more forthcoming. They thought it would “be wise if the older boys could be placed in homes where there are no girls their age.” The fears Nickel refers to may have centered on discipline concerns or relational intimacy, but at least some of his local contemporaries feared the possibility of interracial sexual intimacy between African-American boys and white Mennonite girls. See George E. Kroecker and Mrs. George E. Kroecker to Orlo Kaufman, August 20, 1961, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 4, folder 123, Fresh Air, 1961, MLA.


74. Countryman, Up South, 2.

75. Marsh, God’s Long Summer, 8; Steinhorn and Diggs-Brown, By the Color of Our Skin, 116; Weisbrot, Freedom Bound, 222.


81. Available records from the Children Visitation program suggest a rise in host involvement from the mid-1960s forward. Author’s tabulation.


84. Older teens had stopped participating in many white-led city missions by the mid-1960s. See, for example, the ineffective efforts of South Christian Street mission workers in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to recruit teens to their services: Dale L. Weaver, “Annual Christian Worker Group Report,” memorandum, 1964, 3, box South Christian Street, Now Crossroads Cong, folder S. Christian Street, LMHS.


86. Shaub, “An Unfinished Story.”

92. Shenk, By Faith They Went Out, 81.
94. Note that Smith stayed with Marietta and Otto Voth in Newton. Albert Potts was hosted by Elmer and Linda Voth in Inman. Voth is a common Mennonite surname in eastern Kansas.

96. Ibid.
97. Haury, The Quiet Demonstration, 49.


106. Groves, “Gulfport at the Crossroads”; Harold Regier and Rosella Regier to Gary Stenson, April 11, 1963, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 2, folder 34, Correspondence—non-conf, Jan.–July 1963, MLA; Regier and Regier, interview.

107. Regier and Regier, interview.


117. Moran, Interracial Intimacy.
119. Although he uses the metaphor of an underlying stream bursting to the surface, Perry Bush captures a similar tension in his description of Mennonite separation and “missionary fervor” in the middle of the twentieth century. See Bush, Two Kingdoms, Two Loyalties, 11.
120. Matthew 25:45 quotes Jesus’s description of final judgment in which those who have served “one of the least of these” receive the reward of “eternal life.” White Mennonites, like many Christians, knew and frequently quoted the verse when speaking of all their mission efforts, including Fresh Air ventures. See, for example, Shaub, “An Unfinished Story.”
121. “Why Do White Folks Hate Us?”
122. Bechler, Black Mennonite Church, 177.
125. Although most of those in attendance at the 1963 Board of Christian Service meeting held General Conference membership, (Old) Mennonite leaders like Guy Hershberger also participated. Vincent Harding, then working for the inter-Mennonite organization Mennonite Central Committee, also participated and communicated regularly with both denominations.

Chapter 4. Vincent Harding’s Dual Demonstration

1. “Record of the Meeting of Church Leaders for a Discussion on Racial and Civil Rights Problems to Discover Which Course Should Be Followed by the Mennonite Church in This Time of Social Revolution,” memorandum, September 14, 1963, MCC Peace Section, Conjoint and Related Minutes, box I, file 1, Reports, 1952–68, AMC.
2. Ibid.


5. Historian Adam Fairclough resolves the debate by suggesting that organizations like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference influenced King as much as King influenced those organizations and the entire civil rights movement. See Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*.

6. A group of scholars have already done an excellent job of expanding civil rights movement scholarship into previously neglected fields. For a treatment of gender, see Collier-Thomas and Franklin, *Sisters in the Struggle*; Ling and Monteith, “Gender and the Civil Rights Movement.” For an exploration of Christian belief within the civil rights movement, see Marsh, *God’s Long Summer*; Marsh, *Beloved Community*. For a particularly engaging treatment of grassroots organizing, see Payne, *I’ve Got the Light*.

7. Harding’s story likewise challenges the argument that white Christian consensus splintered in the face of civil rights initiatives. In his influential treatment of Roman Catholic reaction to racial change in the urban north, John T. McGreevy argues that white racism takes multiple and contradictory forms that change over time. See McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*, 3–4. David Swartz makes a similar argument about varied responses to the civil rights movement among Mennonites in Mississippi. See Swartz, “Mista Mid-Nights.” Both McGreevy and Swartz offer convincing evidence for the particular stories they tell. Yet they miss how white church functionaries responded to civil rights leaders such as Harding with remarkably consistent terms of engagement. Harding met with many church leaders during his Mennonite sojourn, but he also engaged with local pastors, college students, voluntary service workers, and lay congregational members from across the country. Those diverse groups responded to Harding with a similar set of objections, questions, and unsettled emotion. Discrete Mennonite groups may have each engaged in particular ways with the civil rights movement, but their struggle to arrive at a response looked very similar in Goshen, Lancaster, and Gulfport. At the same time, I am particularly grateful for Swartz’s treatment of the varied and contested responses of Mennonites to the civil rights movement. He successfully argues for a reconsideration of Leo Driedger’s and Donald Kraybill’s thesis that Mennonites in North America became increasingly engaged in activist pursuits and left behind a more quietist withdrawal over the course of the twentieth century. While I agree with Swartz that Driedger, Kraybill, and to a degree Perry Bush focus on church leadership at the expense of highly contested and often turbulent congregation-level engagement with race relations questions, the story I tell in this
chapter demonstrates that an individual like Vincent Harding had far-reaching influence among various Mennonite communities and at multiple levels of church life. In short, Harding was influential in circles far wider than just the church intelligentsia and bureaucracy. His prolific writing, multiple meetings, and connection with even the most conservative Mennonite communities in Mississippi and elsewhere suggest that all groups, from the grass roots to the executive level, had to negotiate or respond to the critique raised by Harding.

8. Note in particular Toews’s description of Harding’s 1967 Mennonite World Conference speech as “riveting.” See Toews, Mennonites in American Society, 259–61. For evidence of other African-American males with charismatic presence, see Brown, “The Larks”; Vincent Harding et al., “Church and Race in 6 Cities,” The Mennonite, February 12, 1963, 98–101; “Record of the Meeting of Church Leaders.” Mennonite historian Perry Bush also notes the preeminent role that Harding played and writes of him, “Indeed, the leadership had begun to digest the not entirely comfortable knowledge that having inaugurated a prophet in their midst, they could not always contain the direction of his fire.” See Bush, Two Kingdoms, Two Loyalties, 215. Note that Bush describes Harding in terms of his charismatic capacity, expressed in prophetic pronouncement. While I reposition Harding in this chapter, Bush’s work stands in its own right as an excellent summary of the wide-ranging impact Harding had on white Mennonite orientation to the civil rights movement.

9. Writing as a student at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries in 1970, J. Denny Weaver offered a groundbreaking history, “The Mennonite Church and the American Negro” that positioned 1963 in a period during which Mennonites accepted past avoidance of race relations issues and increased their readiness to engage in action. Interestingly, he made no direct mention of Vincent Harding. See Weaver, “The Mennonite Church.” As an undergraduate at Goshen College in 1977, Jan Bender Shetler wrote a brilliant and exhaustive paper on Guy Hershberger and Vincent Harding. Although I focus on Harding’s earlier years in the church for an explanation of his readiness to leave the Mennonite community well before the advent of the black power movement, Shetler’s overarching examination of Harding’s failure to act as a conscience to the movement and Hershberger’s failure to draw the church into the civil rights movement bears significant attention. See Shetler, “A Prophetic Voice.”

10. Payne, I’ve Got the Light, 376.
11. Chapman, Christianity on Trial, 73.
Alongside Vincent Harding’s story, another tale remains largely untold in this chapter. For the first number of years of their Mennonite sojourn, Vincent and Rosemarie’s names often appeared together in print. From early 1963 forward, however, Rosemarie’s presence in official Mennonite church sources declined. The demands of caring for a newborn combined with the patriarchy and sexism of the Mennonite church turned attention away from Rosemarie and toward Vincent. Although she remained active in both Mennonite and civil rights groups for the period under study here, she received significantly less attention from church leaders than did her husband. Despite evident patriarchy and sexism among groups like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Congress of Racial Equality, Rosemarie found more ways to exercise leadership among civil rights groups than in the Mennonite community. Thus even though she had been a Mennonite far longer than her husband and rarely critiqued the church in as direct a manner, she became more identified with civil rights groups and less so with the Mennonite church. She thereby became less a border dweller and received little official church attention. In this chapter, Rosemarie appears as an early, but later absent, partner in Vincent’s story. In actuality, her voice remained strong and influential in non-Mennonite circles through the period of this study.


20. Paul and Lois King served with James and Rowena Lark at Bethel Mennonite in Chicago beginning in 1955, but (Old) Mennonite Church leaders drew relatively less attention to the integrated team ministry there than General Conference leaders did at the nearby Woodlawn congregation. See Bechler, Black Mennonite Church, 93–94.


22. Bechler, Black Mennonite Church, 44.

Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 2, folder 30, Correspondence—non-conf 1958, MLA.


27. "Aids for Southern Tour"; Harding, “To My Fellow Christians.”

28. I here suggest that, contrary to Paul Toews's position, Harding’s challenge to Hershberger emerged alongside rather than subsequent to J. Lawrence Burkholder’s articulation of a more socially engaged pacifism. Toews misses that Harding had been advocating for greater social involvement from 1958 through his 1967 Mennonite World Conference speech. See Toews, Mennonites in American Society, 261–63.


31. Harding, “To My Fellow Christians.”

32. Ibid.

33. “Seminar on Race Relations: Representation as of March 18, 1959,” memorandum, March 18, 1959, CESR papers I-3-7, box 7, folder 58, AMC.

34. Documents reporting on the event list the names of forty-nine participants, eleven of them African-American. See “Seminar on Race Relations Representation,” memorandum, April 17–19, 1959, IX-12-3, PS, folder Race Relations: Christ, the Mennonite Churches & Race, Seminar, AMC. Three other African Americans, Charles Flowers, Gerald Hughes, and Warner Jackson, were quoted in a report by Guy F. Hershberger as also having been present. See Guy F. Hershberger, “Report of the Chicago Race Relations Seminar,” memorandum, July 16, 1959, CESR papers I-3-7, box 7, folder 58, AMC.


40. Harding and Harding, “Pilgrimage to Albany.”
41. Ibid.
43. Harding and Harding, “An Experiment in Peace.”
47. Vincent Harding and Rosemarie Harding, “Reflections of a Visit to Virginia,” memorandum, 1962, CESR papers I-3-7, box 4, folder 1, AMC.
49. Haury, The Quiet Demonstration, 1.
51. Orlo Kaufman to Leo Driedger, January 13, 1960, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 1, folder 4, Correspondence—General Conf. 1960, MLA.
53. Ibid.
54. Orlo Kaufman to Oswald Klassen and T. B. Schmidt, March 14, 1960, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 2, folder 31, Correspondence—non-conf 1960, MLA; Orlo Kaufman to Orlando Waltner and Leo Driedger, November 12, 1959, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 1, folder 3, Correspondence—General Conf. 1959, MLA.
55. Harold Regier to Mel Flickenger, October 31, 1962, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 4, folder 125, Fresh Air, 1963, MLA.
58. Orlo Kaufman to Andrew Shelly, April 11, 1963, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 1, folder 7, Correspondence—General Conf. 1963, MLA.


62. Ibid.


64. Orlo Kaufman to Daniel Guice, June 27, 1963, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 2, folder 34, Correspondence—non-conf, Jan.–July 1963, MLA.


67. Harold Regier to Board of Christian Service, March 24, 1964, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 1, folder 8, Correspondence—General Conf. 1964, MLA.


69. Rosemarie Harding and Vincent Harding, “Mississippi Delta Trip March 6–11 (Confidential),” memorandum, April 25, 1963, 10, CESR papers I-3-7, box 7, folder 18, AMC.


71. Photo of Vincent and Rosemarie Harding at Broad Street, 1963, uncatalogued box named Broad Street 1936–1979 Richard & Virginia Weaver, VAMC.

72. “Night Services at Broad St. Church,” memorandum, 1963, box Broad Street 1936–1979 Richard & Virginia Weaver, VAMC.

73. Promotional flier, “Hear VINCENT HARDING, interracial leader from the Mennonite House, Atlanta, Georgia,” 1963, uncatalogued box Broad Street 1936–1979 Richard & Virginia Weaver, VAMC.

74. “Conference on the Christian and Race at Chicago Avenue Mennonite Church.”

75. Brunk et al., Conference on the Christian and Race.

77. Ibid.
78. Paul Peachey and Ellen Peachey, interview with author, April 1, 2005.
80. Ibid. The final agreement provided for desegregation of local businesses, hiring of African Americans in sales and clerical positions, releasing prisoners on reduced bail, and maintaining communication between African-American and white leaders. See Bains, “Birmingham, 1963,” 182.
81. Patterson, Grand Expectations, 481.
85. Height, “We Wanted the Voice of a Woman to Be Heard,” 84.
86. Edgar Metzler to Peace Section Members, June 28, 1963, CESR papers, I-3-7, box 7, file 7 1963, J–M, AMC.
88. Payne, I’ve Got the Light, 269.
90. Berger, “I’ve Known Rivers.”
92. C. Norman Kraus, “Report on Assignment in the South,” memorandum, July 16–August 4, 1963, IX-12-3, Mennonite Central Committee, Data Files, folder Race Relations I, AMC.
95. Nelson E. Kauffman to Guy F. Hershberger, August 26, 1963, CESR papers I-3-7, box 5, file 165, AMC.
96. Hershberger, “Mennonites and the Current Race Issue.”


102. “Meeting of Church Leaders for a Discussion of the Course Which Should Be Followed in This Time of Social Revolution,” memorandum, September 14, 1963, 2, CESR papers I-3-7, box 5, folder 165, AMC.

103. Although Rosemarie Harding’s name does not appear on the official meeting roster of the day, a later report quotes her observation about the need for reconciliation in the name of love such as that demonstrated by Clarence Jordan at Koinonia Farms. See Dyck, “Dialogue on Race”; “Record of the Meeting of Church Leaders.” A third report, in which the speakers’ identities were replaced by alphabetized labels, attributes her comment anonymously to “Brother V.” In the interest of anonymity, the editors erased Harding’s gender. See C. J. Dyck, “Pronouncements—Then What?” *Gospel Herald*, October 22, 1963, 939, 49.

104. “Record of the Meeting of Church Leaders,” 3.


106. Ibid.

107. “Record of the Meeting of Church Leaders,” 5.


110. Ibid.; “Regional Meeting on Race and Cultural Relations,” memorandum, September 21, 1963, CESR papers I-3-7, box 5, folder 165, AMC.

111. Items (that is, reports, feature articles, and editorials) referring to or written
by Harding appeared in the Gospel Herald on February 5, March 26, and August 6 (three times), in The Mennonite on January 22 (two times), February 12 and 26, March 5 and 26, June 25, July 9 (two times), and August 6 (two times), and once in Christian Living magazine in February. In general, the Gospel Herald focused more on Harding’s critique of the church and The Mennonite on Harding’s civil rights activities. Other than the Gospel Herald’s editor’s preference for writing about racism as a theological problem and The Mennonite’s editor’s focus on legislative response, the two publications’ coverage of race and civil rights is surprisingly similar given an expectation of greater interest in worldly affairs on the part of Mennonites from the General Conference. In the course of the year both magazines denounced those who used the Genesis passage known as the “curse of Ham” to support racial discrimination, argued for involvement with civil rights as a means to maintain integrity for overseas mission, included a similar number of items on race-related matters (approximately thirty-one for the Gospel Herald and thirty-four for The Mennonite), and featured articles by white pastors chastising Mennonites for their participation in racial discrimination. See “Birmingham Troubles Mennonite Conscience,” The Mennonite, October 8, 1963, 604–5; Hubert Schwartzentruher, “Where Do We Stand?” Gospel Herald, July 23, 1963, 631. In terms of their printed publications, the white Mennonite response again looked very similar across the community.

112. Edgar Metzler and Vincent Harding, “Race Relations Project,” memorandum, 1963, IX-7-12, no. 2, box 6, entitled Race Relations 1955–70, AMC.
113. Edgar Stoesz, “Vince Harding Visit to Akron,” memorandum, August 14, 1962, MCC Correspondence, IX-6-3, Inter-Office Peace Section, PS 1962, AMC. Oral history interviews also corroborate the informal criticism that had begun to mount about Harding. See, for example, Paul G. Landis, interview with author, April 28, 2005.
114. Metzler and Harding, “Race Relations Project.”
115. Ibid.
118. Metzler and Harding, “Race Relations Project.”
121. “From Words to Deeds in Race Relations (Tentative Draft).”
122. Metzler and Harding, “Race Relations Project.”
123. Ibid., 6.
125. A thorough search of Harding’s published addresses and articles from 1958 through 1963 reveals no previous references to his departure from the church.
127. Ibid., 21.
131. Edgar Metzler to Peace Section Members, April 6, 1965, CESR papers I-3-7, box 7, folder 12, AMC.
134. Metzler to Peace Section Members, 1965.
135. Ibid.
136. Harding, “The Christian and the Race Question,” 2. His commitment to integrity also explains why church leaders invited Harding to speak to the 1967 Mennonite World Conference even though he had cut official ties two years earlier.
141. Rachel J. Lapp and Sarah E. Phend, “God’s Table: A Precious Piece of Fur-


Chapter 5. The Wedding March

3. Hughes and Hughes, interview.
6. Between 1889 and 1971, not a single article written by a white Mennonite and published in any of the national Mennonite church publications took up the question of the legality or illegality of interracial marriage. For a complete listing of these publications see Shearer, “A Pure Fellowship,” 410–31. Sixteen states had laws against interracial marriage in 1967: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. See Cruz and Berson, “The American Melting Pot?” For a complete listing of Mennonite congregations in those states, see Zook, Mennonite Yearbook and Directory, vol. 59, 85–90.
7. William Y. Bell, “The Question of the Races,” Gospel Herald, January 7, 1926, 835–36. Here and throughout this chapter, I contend that the appearance or absence of published articles on interracial marriage reflected significant changes in Mennonite thought. Although official church statements and the experiences of couples like Gerald and Annabelle Hughes corroborate those shifts, the evidence from printed articles establishes official church positions. Mennonite editors printed only those articles that fell within accepted church doctrine.
9. See, for instance, the absence of attention to churches and ministers in Walter Wadlington’s study of the primary legal test case in Virginia, the Loving case, which eventually made state-based prohibitions against interracial marriage illegal. Wadlington, “The Loving Case.”

10. Romano, Race Mixing, 50.

11. Ibid., 176–77, 214.


14. Articles from the following publications provided background information for this study: Christian Living, Gospel Herald, Herald of Truth, The Mennonite, Mennonite Life, Mennonite Weekly Review, Missionary Messenger, Pastoral Messenger, and Volunteer. Also referenced are statements passed by Bethel College, Bluffton College, the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions, Eastern Mennonite College, the General Conference Mennonite Church, the Indiana-Michigan Conference, the Lancaster Conference, Menno Housing, the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities, the Mennonite Central Committee, the (Old) Mennonite Church, the Ohio Conference, the South Central Conference, the Southwest Pennsylvania Conference, the Urban Racial Council, and the Virginia Conference.


18. Grubb, editorial; “Improving Our Attitude toward the People of Other Races.”


23. Ministers and bishops recalled the differentiation in dress restrictions at Andrews Bridge and other African-American mission stations such as South Seventh Street in Reading. See Paul G. Landis, interview with author, April 28, 2005; William M. Weaver, e-mail message to author, January 30, 2003.
24. Ira J. Buckwalter, minutes of the Colored Workers Committee, 1947–1953, 8, file cabinets far wall, first cabinet, top drawer, drawer marked Home Missions Locations and Other General 1956–1964, four numbered notebooks, EMM record room.
28. Graybill, “The View of the Mennonite Church on Marriage.”
31. Hughes and Hughes, interview.
32. Loewen, “What Do You Want to Do?”
33. Guy F. Hershberger, memorandum, notes from 1951 Laurelville Conference on Race, July 24–27, 1951, CESR papers I-3-7, box 2, folder 35, AMC.
34. Toews, “Forgetting Our Own.”
38. Erb, “Interracial Marriage.”
41. Hughes and Hughes, interview.
42. Ibid.
43. Wallenstein, *Tell the Court I Love My Wife*, 204.
48. I arrive at the figure of fewer than one hundred interracial marriages in General Conference and (Old) Mennonite congregations based on evidence provided in oral history interviews, period reports, and local commentaries. Such weddings were notable enough that they left a clear, though nonsystematized, evidence trail.
50. “Christian Race Relations.”
51. Hughes and Hughes, interview.
53. “Group Discussion: ‘A Race Relations Program for the Mennonite Church’,” memorandum, ca. 1954, CESR papers I-3-7, box 6, folder 41, AMC.
54. Hughes and Hughes, interview.
55. Hartzler, “Race Problem Unnecessary.” Although the Hugheses entered the church’s public gaze as a couple, when opinions about interracial marriage shifted and Gerald accepted nationally prominent church positions with ever greater frequency, Annabelle received less and less attention. Although she established Gerald’s credentials through her union with him, she received no offers to sit on national boards and committees.
56. Christian Race Relations,” iii.
59. Although Guy Hershberger has received credit for writing the 1955 statement, “The Way of Christian Love in Race Relations,” and clearly had a definitive hand in its formation, oral history evidence points to Paul Peachey as the original drafter of the document.
62. For example, Episcopalians passed a statement against segregation in
1955 but made no mention of interracial marriage. See Shattuck, Episcopalians and Race, 68.

63. “Attitude of Bluffton College on Relationships between Races on the Campus,” memorandum, May 1955, III-25-8, box 3, Bethesda Mennonite Church, St. Louis, Missouri, H. Schwartzentruber Files—data files, folder Race Relations Data, AMC.


65. Gerald Hughes, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2007; Miller, “Building Anew in Cleveland,” 84.


69. Hughes and Hughes, interview.


71. Vincent Harding, “The Task of the Mennonite Church in Establishing Racial Unity,” memorandum, April 17–19, 1959, Hist. Mss. 1-48, box 60, John H. Yoder (1927–1997) Collection Race / Urban issues, file 60/1, AMC. Harding was most likely paraphrasing his friend and mentor Martin Luther King Jr., who the year before had written, “[The church] can point out that the Negro’s primary aim is to be the white man’s brother, not his brother-in-law.” See King, Stride toward Freedom, 206.


73. “A Christian Declaration on Race Relations,” memorandum, August 17, 1959, IX-7-12, file 2, box 6, Race Relations, 1955–70, AMC; Elmer Ediger to Guy Hershberger, May 13, 1955, CESR papers I-3-7, box 6, folder 16, AMC.

74. The General Conference leaders’ seven-year silence on interracial marriage ended in 1962. On April 24 of that year, Leo Driedger, the secretary of the denomination’s Peace and Social Concerns Committee, distributed a mass mailing in which he brought up the subject. Members of the Race Relations Committee requested that Driedger attend to the topic, though their study paper released the previous year studiously avoided any mention of interracial marriage. Rather than drafting a new position, Driedger included the section of the Mennonite Church statement dealing with interracial marriage along with the 1959 General Conference statement. Driedger concluded his discussion of marriage between racial groups by
noting, “Such words remind us that Christian brotherhood reaches into the very depths of our lives.” See Leo Driedger to Fellow Christians, April 24, 1962, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 6, folder 211, Race Relations, MLA; Vincent Harding et al., “The Christian in Race Relations.”


76. Hughes, “A Negro Mennonite Looks at Integration.”


78. Vern Miller to Guy F. Hershberger, October 29, 1961, I-3-7 CESR, 5/140, Correspondence with individuals, II Miller, Vern, 1961–62, AMC.

79. Guy F. Hershberger to Vernon L. Miller, January 25, 1962, I-3-7 CESR, 5/140, Correspondence with individuals, II Miller, Vern, 1961–62, AMC.


84. Ibid., 43–44.

85. From 1958 through 1962, eighty-six articles with identifiable racial themes appeared in the Gospel Herald, The Mennonite, Christian Living, and Mennonite Life. In 1953 thirty-two such articles appeared in the same four magazines in the course of one year. For a complete listing of these articles, see Shearer, “A Pure Fellowship.”


89. The Baptist community, for example, focused on civil rights involvement to the exclusion of other race relations issues. See Chrisman, “The Price of Moderation,” 161–62. Members of the Roman Catholic community did, however, use civil rights agitation to take a stand against antimiscegenation laws in 1963. See Wallenstein, Tell the Court I Love My Wife, 203.

91. Dyck, “Dialogue on Race.”

92. Cornelius J. Dyck to Ed Riddick et al., September 3, 1963, CESR papers I-3-7, box 5, folder 165, AMC; “Record of the Meeting of Church Leaders for a Discussion on Racial and Civil Rights Problems to Discover Which Course Should Be Followed by the Mennonite Church in This Time of Social Revolution,” memorandum, September 14, 1963, MCC Peace Section, Conjoint and Related Minutes, box I, file 1, Reports, 1952–68, AMC.


94. Minutes of the Mennonite General Conference, August 20–23, 1963, 87, IX-7-12, file 2, box 6, Race Relations, 1955–70, AMC.


98. The members were John Powell, Gerald Hughes, and Lee Roy Berry. See minutes of the Committee on Peace and Social Concerns, April 27–29, 1969, Paul G. Landis Coll., Mennonite General Conference Committee on Peace and Social Concerns, 1968–1971, LMHS.


103. Gingerich and Hershey, “Minutes Counsel and Reference Committee,” 1; Hershberger to Kreider, 1968; Hershey, “Report #3 to Counsel and Reference Committee.”


105. In response to the somewhat awkwardly worded statement, “There is nothing morally wrong with interracial marriage if both partners are Christian,” 49 percent of the respondents to Hershey’s survey agreed, 32 percent were uncertain, and the remaining 19 percent disagreed. Ibid.


110. Two other Mennonites offer examples of those who spoke in favor of interracial marriage out of their involvement with (Old) Mennonite Church African-

111. Hartzler, “Race Problem Unnecessary.”
112. Keeney, “Reborn Color-Blind.”
113. For example, a Canadian reader, responding to comments made by Vincent Harding in support of interracial marriage, wrote that Harding’s position had to have stemmed from “an unwarranted inferiority complex.” See “We Mennonites and the Race Problem,” memorandum, October 2, 1962, IX-7-12, file 2, box 6, Race Relations 1955–70, AMC.
114. Hughes and Hughes, interview.
115. Mennonites did nothing new here by associating young women’s chastity with sexual purity. As Paul Ricoeur notes, purity and virginity have long been linked together, and, conversely, sexuality has from the earliest of times been central to the exercise and description of defilement. See Ricoeur, The Symbolism of Evil, 28–29.
118. Ibid.

Chapter 6. Congregational Campaign

4. Franz, “Why Is Woodlawn Church in the Middle of Chicago’s Civil Rights?”
5. Franz, “King Comes to Woodlawn.”
7. Ibid. In comparison to Protestant denominations, the Catholic Church included a greater number of parishes with some degree of racial diversity during this period. See Evans, Forsyth, and Bernard, “One Church or Two?” 235. I have chosen
not to examine Catholic congregations in this chapter because of two factors. First, the parish system in the 1950s and ’60s designated specific congregations at which Catholics were expected to worship. Thus Catholic parishioners cannot be said to have chosen to worship in an integrated setting. I instead focus on two congregations at which both African-American and white congregants chose to worship, even though other options were available to them. Second, John T. McGreevy takes up the question of racial integration within Roman Catholicism in the United States at great length. See McGreevy, *Parish Boundaries*. Although McGreevy addresses the first question, about internal developments in integrated congregations, owing to the parish system he is less equipped to explore questions concerning sustainability. This chapter thus expands on McGreevy’s work into Protestantism and initiates new exploration of the sustainability of integrated congregations when other options are available.

8. A similar assumption of the inherent value of integration is clearly evident in a booklet published by the American Baptists in 1957 that enthusiastically encourages their congregations to become racially integrated in worship, service, and fellowship. See Cofer, *Racial Integration in the Church*. See also the near euphoria expressed by white Methodist clergy at a 1955 conference in Woodlawn as they related their experiences of welcoming African Americans to their congregations: United Methodist Church, “The Methodist Church and Changing Racial Patterns,” 34.


10. For example, in a 1964 survey of more than five thousand Presbyterian churches, a thousand pastors claimed “some minimal interracial quality.” See United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., *A Survey of Racial Integration in Local Congregations*, 3. As Michael Emerson suggests in his study of contemporary churches that purport to be integrated, however, those claims are often unsubstantiated. See Dart, “Hues in the Pews.” Overall, within American Protestantism during the late 1950s and 1960s, few white churches had more than a handful of African-American congregants, and rarely did the numbers approach 20 percent, the proportion considered by sociologists to represent authentic racial integration. See Christerson, Edwards, and Emerson, *Against All Odds*, 185.


13. One exception, Nancy Ammerman and Arthur Farnsley’s *Community and Congregation*, provides helpful insight into one community—Oak Park in Chicago—that successfully integrated and the congregations that continue to worship within it. Her otherwise comprehensive study, however, purposefully avoids examination of Oak Park congregations that dealt with white flight and studies Oak Park in the
latter two decades of the twentieth century rather than the earlier period taken up here. Ammerman asserts that much work has already been done on white churches dealing with white flight in their community. The studies she refers to, however, focused on sociological questions rather than historical ones and were written during the period of the greatest transition, thereby affording little historical distance or perspective.

14. Even otherwise exemplary work, such as Andrew Wiese’s *Places of Their Own*, treats African-American suburban homeowners as entirely nonreligious. He offers no explanation as to whether or where African-American suburbanites went to worship once they had relocated to white-dominated suburbs. For an example of a thorough interrogation of the assumptions behind racial integration in the public schools, see Watras, *Politics, Race, and Schools*.


18. Moriichi, “Woodlawn Mennonite,” 7. Both Community Mennonite and Woodlawn Mennonite were jointly sponsored by the General Conference and (Old) Mennonite denominations. The General Conference had its headquarters in Newton, Kansas, not far from where both Voth and Franz spent their childhoods.


20. Ibid.


24. A 1940 study of Mennonites in Chicago showed that 92 percent had come from other than Mennonite families. See Barrett, *The Vision and the Reality*, 110. Litwiler’s “Iglesia Evangelica Mennonita” shows that this proportion remained roughly constant through the following decade in most congregations in Chicago, except in the case of those students who clustered in the Woodlawn neighborhood to attend Mennonite Biblical Seminary or the University of Chicago.


27. The General Conference provided funding for the East Harlem Protestant Parish in New York City from 1950 through 1956. Efforts there focused on social services rather than evangelism and were not tied to a General Conference congregation. See Barrett, *The Vision and the Reality*, 244. The (Old) Mennonite Church denomination did support African-American missions during this period, as witnessed by the Bethel Mennonite Church that had been planted by James and Rowena Lark to evangelize an African-American neighborhood. That work continued in 1953 under the leadership of Paul King, while Lark raised funds for a new church building. See Levi C. Hartzler, “Bethel Mennonite Church,” *Mennonite Life*, April 1953, 60–61. Even at Bethel, however, King and Lark focused on developing an African-American church supported by white workers rather than an integrated congregation that evangelized both white and African-American members.


31. See photo of summer bible school, Woodlawn, Chicago, 1954, Photo collection, folder Voluntary Service—North America, MLA.


33. Guy F. Hershberger to John Oyer, October 9, 1953, Guy F. Hershberger Hist. Mss. 1-171, box 10, folder 8, AMC.


36. Franz, “The Mennonite Church on Trial.”


40. Pannabecker, Ventures of Faith, 53.
42. Barrett, The Vision and the Reality, 97; Pannabecker, Faith in Ferment, 279.
44. John T. Neufeld to Paul J. Saengert, July 9, 1956, second file cabinet, third drawer, marked Admin, folder Building, CMC, Tax, Deeds, Titles, etc., CMC pastor’s office.
45. John T. Neufeld to Chicago Title & Trust Co., September 24, 1956, second file cabinet, third drawer marked Admin, folder Building, CMC, Tax, Deeds, Titles, etc., CMC pastor’s office.
46. Gerald Mares and Dolores Mares, interview with author, September 17, 2006.
47. “Ledger with Handwritten Minutes from Early Church Board Meetings,” memorandum, 1956, black unmarked ledger book with red stripe top and bottom and green striping top and bottom, CMC pastor’s office.
49. Donald Burklow, Community Mennonite Church, ca. 1959, framed photo from CMC displayed at church.
50. Don Burklow and Grace Burklow, interview with author, April 15, 2005.
51. Krehbiel, interview.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
58. Marlene Suter, “Church History Notes,” memorandum, November 3, 2001, second file cabinet, third drawer, marked Admin, folder Church History, CMC pastor’s office; Jane Voth to author, December 2006. Although this chapter focuses
on Larry Voth as a key motivator and agent in maintaining and developing the prospects for racial integration at Community Mennonite, Jane Voth also served a critical role in nurturing relationships with many African-American women at Community. As of this writing, she continues to maintain those relationships through periodic visits to Markham from her home in Newton, Kansas.

59. Suter, “Church History Notes.”
60. Ibid.
67. Voth, “Markham and the Race Revolution.”
68. Mares and Mares, interview.
69. Voth, “Markham and the Race Revolution”; Mares and Mares, interview; Burklow and Burklow, interview.
70. Voth, “Markham and the Race Revolution.”
71. Suter, “Church History Notes.”
72. Voth, “Markham and the Race Revolution.”
73. Mares and Mares, interview.
77. Voth, “Markham and the Race Revolution.”
78. Burklow and Burklow, interview.
79. Ibid.
80. Mares and Mares, interview. The speaker here quoted the first part of a racially offensive children’s rhyme that ends with the phrase, “pick a Nigger by his toe.”
82. Note also that Larry and Jane Voth were close friends with Delton and Marian Franz. Jane and Marian roomed together in college, and the couples built on their friendship while both were in the Chicago area. See Voth to author, 2006.
84. Ediger, “Report on an Informal Meeting.” The predominance of white men at General Conference–level leadership meetings during this period is striking. White and African-American women exercised leadership at congregation-level gatherings at Community Mennonite, but rarely did men in leadership positions include women in official church gatherings.
85. Ling, “Gender and Generation,” 117.
87. Ibid.
88. Although oral history participants recalled this time period as full of a significant number of departures—as many as a third of the congregation by one account—church records indicate that both membership and offerings increased from 1962 through 1963 by 17 percent. See: “Community Mennonite Church Church Board Meeting,” 1964; Mares and Mares, interview; Suter, “Church History Notes.” The earlier mass departures after Vincent Harding’s visit may have become conflated in memory with this latter conflict.
90. Smith’s statement that African-American members did not want to marry across racial lines parallels other African-American responses to intermarriage during this period. African Americans recognized the danger of supporting such unions in white settings but accepted interracial couples in their own neighborhoods and communities. See Romano, *Race Mixing*, 83–84, 107–8.
91. “Community Mennonite Church Church Board Meeting.”
93. Margaret Carr, “Community Mennonite Church Board Meeting,” memo-


98. Jacoby, Someone Else’s House, 50.

99. Pannabecker, Faith in Ferment, 279; Marlene Suter, e-mail message to author, November 10, 2006. Teachers who relocated to Markham included Vicki Bryant, Lavonne Goessen, Jo Hinz, Winnifred Kauffman, Esther Preheim, Janel Preheim, David Regehr, Cheryl Steiner, Rudi Steiner, and Sandra (Raber) Wingert. See Suter, “Church History Notes.”

100. Suter to author, 2006.

101. Suter, “Church History Notes.”

102. Burklow and Burklow, interview; Suter to author, 2006; Mary Ann Woods, interview with author, April 29, 2005.

103. “Church Serves Coffee.”


105. Groves, “Chicago Volunteers.”

106. “Church Serves Coffee.”


108. Groves, “Chicago Volunteers.”


110. Delton Franz to Parents of Chicago Children and to the Host Parents, 1959, VII.R GC Voluntary Service, Series 11 Gulfport VS Unit, box 1, folder 4, Correspondence—General Conf. 1960, MLA.
111. See photo of Margaret Harder and Joyce Goertzen of Mountain Lake with eleven Chicago children from Woodlawn, 1964, Photo collection, folder Churches—Illinois, MLA.


115. Burklow and Burklow, interview; Suter, “Church History Notes.”

116. Burklow and Burklow, interview; Mares and Mares, interview; Odom, interview; Woods, interview.


122. “Jeremiah Appears in Chicago.”


135. Franz, “Why Is Woodlawn Church in the Middle of Chicago’s Civil Rights?”
139. Rensberger, “A Weekend in Chicago.”
144. Ibid.
146. Fish, Black Power/White Control, 118–19.
147. Black, Bridges of Memory, 418.
148. Ibid., 564; Fish, Black Power/White Control, 118.
149. Black, Bridges of Memory, 564; Fish, Black Power/White Control, 119.
152. Ibid., 34.
153. Fish, Black Power/White Control, 251.
154. Rensberger, “Woodlawn Pastor Heads $3,500,000 Plan.”
158. Ibid.
161. “Arsonists Set Fire to Woodlawn Church.”
163. Franz, “Senate Committee.”
165. In chapter 5 I develop the argument that by 1970 the Mennonite community had begun to accept the marriage of African-American men to white women.
166. Fairfield, “Curtis Burrell.”
167. Ibid.
172. Ibid., 1, 3.
177. Ibid.
178. Mares and Mares, interview.
179. Rensberger, “A Weekend in Chicago”; Voth, “The Story of the Markham Day Care Center.”
184. Odom, interview.
188. In addition to Franz, Toews lists the following as having come through the seminary in Woodlawn and gone on to hold influential church postings: Leo Driedger, Cornelius J. Dyck, Marian Franz, Leland and Bertha Fast Harder, J. Howard Kauffman, Robert Kreider, Elmer Neufeld, Betty Jean Pannabecker, Calvin Redekop, and Leola Schulz. See Toews, *Mennonites in American Society*, 259.
196. Franz, “Why Is Woodlawn Church in the Middle of Chicago’s Civil Rights?”
199. Payne, I’ve Got the Light, 389.
200. See, for example, Barrett, The Vision and the Reality, 245–46.
201. Voth, “Woodlawn Church.”
203. Bechler, Black Mennonite Church, 174–75.
204. Burrell’s purported joking about having two wives—a white one and an African-American one—could be raised as an example of his misjudgment in a morally conservative community. See Moriichi, “Woodlawn Mennonite,” 39. Chuck Neufeld, a member of the pastoral team at Community Mennonite in 2007, reported that Larry Voth once proposed that the church store cadavers in its walk-in freezer on Saturdays, when the facility remained empty. The congregation turned him down.

Chapter 7. The Manifesto Movement

1. Newman, Getting Right with God, 188.
2. On an official level, those conversations took place between African-American and white men. Oral histories completed for this study suggest that white women in the Mennonite Church were less concerned than white men about the prospect of takeovers.
3. Findlay, Church People in the Struggle, 201–2; Murray, Methodists and the Crucible, 212–14; Newman, Getting Right with God, 188; Shattuck, Episcopalians and Race, 195; Williams, “Christianity and Reparations.”
5. McGreevy, Parish Boundaries, 221; Murray, Methodists and the Crucible, 214; Shattuck, Episcopalians and Race, 191–92.
6. I am indebted to the work of Kenneth T. Andrews, Robin D. G. Kelley, and George Mariscal for modeling an approach to the civil rights and black power era that evaluates historical actors by what they offered and not by whether they succeeded or failed. See, for example, Andrews, Freedom Is a Constant Struggle, 17, 39; Kelley, Freedom Dreams; Mariscal, Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun.

7. The following authors—historians of religion and historians of the civil rights movement alike—refer to the Black Manifesto from within various permutations of a success or failure paradigm. Clayborne Carson claims that the impact of the Black Manifesto was short lived and not radical enough. See Carson, In Struggle, 294–95. He is joined in more recent works by Lawrence Williams and C. Eric Lincoln, who assert that the document was in general a failure and not historically significant. See Lincoln, Race, Religion, 115–16; Williams, “Christianity and Reparations,” 40. R. Laurence Moore, on the other hand, asserts that the manifesto successfully demonstrated the “phoniness of purported white beneficence.” See Moore, Religious Outsiders, 195. Robert Weisbrot joins Moore in evaluating a positive component of the manifesto when he notes that it freed up financial resources that had not been previously available. See Weisbrot, Freedom Bound, 284. Although Lincoln says that the document was not historically significant, he does note that it exposed to the world what African-American people in the United States had to “endure.” See Lincoln, Race, Religion, 116. Yet another analyst, Hugo Adam Bedau, offers a convincing argument that the manifesto was based on sound legal principle of unjust enrichment and therefore had successfully established a legal basis for its claims. See Bedau, “Compensatory Justice and the Black Manifesto.” Although he disagrees with Williams’s and Lincoln’s assessments of the historical significance of the Black Manifesto by noting that it was the “first systematic, fully elaborated plan for reparations to emerge from the black freedom movement,” Robin Kelley also falls into a success-failure paradigm in his discussion of the Black Manifesto when he notes, “If bringing the issue of reparations to a national audience was one of the goals of the ‘Black Manifesto,’ it proved to be a stunning success.” See Kelley, Freedom Dreams, 120–23.

8. The Black Manifesto goes unmentioned in each of these three significant volumes: Bechler, Black Mennonite Church; Bush, Two Kingdoms, Two Loyalties; Toews, Mennonites in American Society.


11. Landis traveled with pastors John Kraybill from New York City, William
Yovanovich from Steelton, Pennsylvania, and William Weaver from Reading, Pennsylvania—all of whom served at integrated mission posts—as well as Voluntary Service director John Eby and long-time bishop and missionary to Africa Elam Stauffer. See John Eby, interview with author, February 28, 2003; H. Howard Witmer to Simon Gingerich, February 19, 1965, fourth cabinet of row on far left wall upon entering room, third drawer unmarked, folder Urban Racial Council, EMM record room.


13. The delegates from the Lancaster Conference also heard from few women. The meeting thus began a male-dominated conversation. Although women like Fannie Swartzentruber and Rowena Lark had been holding frank conversations across racial lines for much of the previous three decades, men initiated, led, and controlled interracial public exchanges about the Black Manifesto. In this regard, the Youngstown meeting reflected the sexism present in the black power movement in particular and the civil rights movement more generally. Women did speak and express opinions about the problem of how best to respond to urban racial concerns, but the voices of men around them often squelched their contributions. In this regard, Paul Landis and his white male colleagues from the Lancaster Conference acted as would John Powell and other African-American leaders of the Minority Ministries Council.


15. Ibid.


27. Ibid.


33. Powell, “Minutes Minority Ministries Council Executive Committee.” Although I focus on the African-American leadership of the Minority Ministries Council in this chapter, John Ventura and other Latino leaders like Mac Bustos, Ted Chapa, Lupe DeLeón, Criselda Garza, Lupe Gonzales, Tito Guedea, and Sammy Santos served critical leadership roles as the Minority Ministries Council began to develop. Thanks to Felipe Hinojosa for historical insight on this point.

34. Annabelle Hughes and Gerald Hughes, interview with author, August 29, 2006. Note also, as discussed in chapter 5, that John Powell, Gerald Hughes, and Lee Roy Berry were all married to white Mennonite women.


37. Carson, In Struggle; Williams, “Christianity and Reparations,” 41–42.

38. Williams, “Christianity and Reparations,” 42.


40. Forman and those who followed him chose to focus on white mainline denominations far more than the Jewish groups originally named in the manifesto document. From the onset, the Jewish community, in the main, reacted more negatively to the Black Manifesto and experienced far fewer interruptions in their services than did the Christian community. Contemporary and historical accounts make no mention of synagogue services’ being interrupted by Forman or his associations. See Lecky and Wright, “Reparations Now?” 17.


43. “Blacks Defy Church to Read Demands.”
45. “8 Clergymen Arrested for Occupying Church”; “Forman Lauds Pastor after Rights Sermon”; “Protesters Arrested in Churches.”
46. “Typewriter Taken as Reparation.”
49. Lecky and Wright, “Reparations Now?” 3; Forman, Control, Conflict and Change.
52. Ibid., 41.

55. Landis’s letter includes three sentences identifying economic reparations as the Black Manifesto’s subject, five referring to race relations, and thirteen discussing nonviolent methods.


57. "Forman Lauds Pastor after Rights Sermon"; "Protesters Arrested in Churches."


60. Good and Landis to Conference Ministers, 1969.


64. Ibid.


66. Powell, “Minutes Minority Ministries Council Executive Committee.”


70. Paul Zehr, interview with author, March 1, 2003.

71. Leonard E. Schmucker to John Powell, September 11, 1969, IV-21-4, box 1, MBM Minority Ministries Council, Data File 1, A–K, folder General Correspondence 1969–72, AMC.

72. Shearer, “A Pure Fellowship.”

73. Mattie Cooper Nikiema et al., interview with John Sharp, July 17, 2004, AMC; Powell, interview.


75. Findlay, *Church People in the Struggle*, 212.

76. According to the 1970 *Mennonite Yearbook*, congregations were asked to forward about fifty dollars per member to church-wide agencies. The largest percent-
of that amount, thirty-three dollars per member, went to the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities that in 1969 received just over $2,200,000. Financial planners in the church thus anticipated receiving budget amounts from the equivalent of 80,000 of the church’s 114,000 members in 1969. At that rate, as promoters of the Urban Racial Council fund would soon note, $500,000 a year amounted to an asking of $6 per member if contributions came in at the same rate as they did for the rest of the Mennonite church agencies. See Zook, Mennonite Yearbook, vol. 61, 11–12, 44, 50.

78. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
94. A number of the ten men listed in Wenger’s August 24, 1970, letter to every pastor in the Lancaster Conference—Richard Pannell, Harold Davenport, George Richards, James Harris, Macon Gwinn, Raymond Jackson, Larry Crumbley, Artemio DeJesus, Jose Gonzalez, Jose Santiago—did go on to fulfill a variety of leadership posts in the Conference and throughout the church, but as of Wenger’s letter, none of these Lancaster Conference pastors of color had held formal leadership posts with the Minority Ministries Council.
100. Leon Stauffer to Lynford Hershey, July 14, 1971, IV-21-4, box 1, MBM Minority Ministries Council, Data File 1, A–K, folder Education Program 1970–72, Lynford Hershey, AMC.
101. John Powell to Vincent Harding, July 9, 1971, IV-21-4, box 1, MBM Minority Ministries Council, Data File 1, A–K, folder General Correspondence 1969–72, AMC.
102. Lynford Hershey to Leon Stauffer, July 18, 1971, IV-21-4, box 1, MBM
Minority Ministries Council, Data File 1, A–K, folder Education Program 1970–72, Lynford Hershey, AMC.


107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.


111. Although minutes of the October 30, 1972, Lancaster Conference Peace Committee make reference to plans to explore holding such an event, no follow-up activity appears in the minutes through 1975. See Ray Geigley, “Peace Committee,” memorandum, October 30, 1972, Peace Committee Minutes, 1962–1974, LMHS.


113. Ibid.


121. Powell, “Urban-Racial Concerns”; “Minority Statement to Mennonite Church.”


123. “Minority Statement to Mennonite Church.”

124. Christian Smith and Michael Emerson note that the history of race relations in evangelical communities has often been hampered by a focus on an individualistic “relationalism” in which interpersonal relationships hold primacy over all else and by an “anti-structuralism” in which members of that community refuse to focus on structural realities. Those tendencies were present at both the grassroots and leadership levels among the Lancaster Conference Mennonites. See Emerson and Smith, *Divided by Faith*, 76.


127. “A Historical Timeline of Minority and Urban Ministry.”

128. Ibid.

129. Historian Felipe Hinojosa correctly notes that the demise of interracial conversation between blacks and whites did not mean that important dialogue within the African-American and Latino communities disappeared. He traces how religious affiliation served an important role in forming multiethnic coalitions and racial and ethnic nationalisms through conversations that continued after Minority Ministries Council members had turned their attention away from talking with white Mennonites. Issues of gender also figure prominently in his exploration of council members’ identities. For more information, see Hinojosa, “Making Noise among the ‘Quiet in the Land.’”
NOTES TO PAGES 217–224


132. Ruth, The Earth Is the Lord’s, 1106–16.

133. Thomas and Stauffer, “Peace Committee,” 3.


136. Paul G. Landis, interview with author, April 28, 2005; Landis, interview, 2003; Nikiema et al., interview.


Chapter 8. A New Civil Rights Story


6. Emerson and Smith, Divided by Faith.


8. Barnett, “Invisible Southern Black Women”; Collier-Thomas and Franklin, Sisters in the Struggle; Fosl, Subversive Southerner; Harrison, “Women’s and Girls’ Ac-


11. Burns, Disturbing the Peace; Findlay, “Churches Join”; Gottlieb, Joining Hands; Marsh, Beloved Community.


13. Hubert Schwartzentruber and Mary Schwartzentruber, interview with Leonard Gross, August 2, 1986, 9, I-3-3.3 (see tape in Hist. Mss. 6-234), Historical Committee Mtg. with Hubert Swartzentruber, AMC.


20. “South Seventh St. Mennonite Church Annual Report,” memorandum, 1968, box South Seventh Street, Reading, Calendars, Clippings, articles, cor- respondence, historical notes, history, 50th anniv’y tapes, folder South Seventh Street, Reading—Annual Report, 1968, AMC.


22. Payne, I’ve Got the Light, 102.


24. Ibid.

25. Mattie Cooper Nikiema et al., interview with John Sharp, July 17, 2004, AMC.

26. Ann Jennings Brunk to Guy F. Hershberger, June 10, 1952, I-3-7, CESR 7/33, Race Relations Islands of Sanity, AMC.
29. Truman Brunk et al., *Conference on the Christian and Race*; “Mennonite Race Relations: Still at a Low Point,” memorandum, August 7, 1970. 4, I.Z.1, folder 77, Race—Articles/reports, box 6, MCA, Peace and Social Concerns Committee of the General Conference Mennonite Church, MLA.
30. Quoted in “Additional Personnel Requested for Atlanta Unit,” memorandum, June 7, 1963, IX-12-6 MCC, Reports 1961–1974, box 1, folder Atlanta Mennonite Central Committee, AMC.
40. Andrew Schulze to Guy F. Hershberger, July 22, 1955, CESR papers I-3-7, box 6, folder 14, AMC.
42. Lind and Scheuer, “Glad Tidings Mennonite Church.”
44. Hershberger, “Islands of Sanity.”
45. I base this claim on a close reading of more than 850 Mennonite church press articles on race. See Shearer, “A Pure Fellowship,” appendix 1.
46. Willis, *All According to God’s Plan*. 
49. Harry A. Brunk, “Harry A. Brunk 1944 Diary,” memorandum, July 24, 1944, box I-MS-13, Harry A. Brunk Collection Diaries—John Brunk, Joseph Heatwole, Lena Burkholder Brunk, Harry A. Brunk, box 4, VAMC.
51. Ibid.
52. Brunk, “1944 Diary.”
53. Harry A. Brunk, “Harry A. Brunk 1941 Diary,” memorandum, December 24, 1941, box I-MS-13, Harry A. Brunk Collection Diaries—John Brunk, Joseph Heatwole, Lena Burkholder Brunk, Harry A. Brunk, box 4, VAMC.
56. Ernest L. Swartzentruber and Fannie Swartzentruber to Gospel Fellowship, March 13, 1941, box I-MS-13, Harry A. Brunk Collection Materials related to Virginia Mennon. Conf., box 1, folder 8, Colored Work Broad Street Mennonite Church, VAMC.
61. Wallace Best makes a similar argument regarding changes brought about in Chicago by the migration of thousands of rural African Americans into the city. See Wallace D. Best, Passionately Human, 4, 6, 9, 72, 82–84, 95–97, 117, 184.
63. Bush, Two Kingdoms, Two Loyalties, 11–12.
65. Best, Passionately Human; Savage, Your Spirits Walk Beside Us.
66. Moore, Touchdown Jesus.
72. “Racism Statement by Anabaptists.”
73. Carmichael and Hamilton, Black Power, 4; Joseph, Waiting ‘Til the Midnight Hour, 199.
74. “Racism Statement by Anabaptists.”
75. Ibid.
77. “Racism Statement by Anabaptists.”
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
81. Kanagy, Road Signs for the Journey, 120; Nikiema et al., interview.