"…adapt a large part of the institution to the Navy's special needs"[3]: The Navy Japanese Language School at the University of Colorado Boulder

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Abstract

The onset of World War II drove the American government to seek support from universities across the nation to educate officers in the service in the language and customs of Japan. The University of Colorado Boulder played a significant role in hosting the U.S. Navy Japanese Language School from 1942 to 1946, and in training officers in the Japanese language. Many of the school's graduates contributed significantly to the war efforts. This article explores the origins and evolution of the Japanese Language School at CU Boulder, providing a historical overview of the factors behind the school's formation and the actions of its organizer Commander Albert E. Hindmarsh. Rooted in primary and secondary sources, including those from the University of Colorado Boulder libraries archives, the article traces the school's establishment in the context of the strained relations between the U.S. and Japan, and discusses the invaluable role of its graduates to the war effort. In addition to teaching the Japanese language, the school and its teachers played a critical role in fostering positive relationships with the locals and addressing stereotypes. Graduates, both men and women, forged careers in diverse fields, becoming ambassadors for Japanese culture and language. The legacy of the Boulder school lives on in the various Japanese language programs existing across the country and in the personal transformations of those involved.

Keywords: Japanese language school, World War II, University of Colorado Bolder, navy officers

As soon as World War II erupted, the federal government of the United States turned to the nation's university campuses for assistance in the enormous

[3] The quote comes from Hindmarsh, n.d., p. 14.

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mobilization effort (Geiger, 2019). United under the American Council of Education (ACE), American institutions of higher learning committed themselves to aiding in the war efforts through "our faculties, our students, our administrative organizations, and our physical facilities" (Cardozier, 1993, p. 6). Colleges and universities across the United States pledged their physical and intellectual assets to the World War II mobilization effort providing campus training programs and advanced technological research. Between 1942 and 1946, the University of Colorado Boulder hosted the U.S. Navy Japanese Language School where U.S. Navy officers received training to become fluent in the Japanese language. The school included more than 160 mostly Japanese American teachers and trained more than 1,650 men and women many of whom provided invaluable aid to the war effort (Arntson, 2003; Breese, 2009; Hays, 2008). Tracing the emergence and development of the Japanese Language School at the University of Colorado Boulder, and the actions of its organizer, Commander Albert E. Hindmarsh, offers a unique glimpse into the diversity of war-time involvements of institutions of higher education as well as into the U.S.-Japanese tense relations prior to and during World War II. In this article, I provide a historical overview of the factors behind the formation of the U.S. Navy Japanese Language School in Boulder, the decisions behind its location and structure, and the actions of its organizers. The story is rooted in an array of primary and secondary sources. Several primary documents, available from the University of Colorado Boulder archives, provide the backbone of the story anchored by the Regents of the University of Colorado Boulder's minutes.

The decades preceding World War II witnessed growing tensions between the United States and Japan. Breese's (2009) historical overview documents the U.S.-Japanese strained relations in the pre-war time. Japan's success in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 altered the balance of power in East Asia, causing many around the world to begin seeing Japan as a world power. Attitudes toward Japan, especially those in the West, changed, seemingly, overnight. The United States started to see Japan as a rival, and suspicions of Japan's actions increased.

Slesnick and Carole (2006) traced historically the tense relations between America and Japan. They estimated that the Japanese started immigrating to the United States, settling mostly in Hawaii and California, around the 1920s. The increasing rates of Japanese immigration attracted rising discontent across

America. Seeking raw materials to further its growing industries, Japan invaded China in the 1930s. The U.S. criticized Japan's aggression and relations continued to decline as Japan's eagerness to gather more resources only intensified. The U.S. also imposed strict sanctions against Japan; the limitations on the sale of scrap iron and aviation fuel to Japan further worsened relations between the two countries. As Breese (2009) notes, because of the United States' economic interest in China, "Japan and the U.S. were becoming more enemies than friends" (p. 14).

The worsening relations between the two countries affected the American Japanese language schools in Japan, founded in the early 1900s. Historians (Hays, 2018; Slesnick & Carole, 2006) have documented the existence of these schools, which allowed the U.S. Navy, Army, and the State Department to train small numbers of officers. The Navy school in Tokyo, led by the chief sensei Naoe Naganuma, taught American students conversational and military Japanese over a three-year course of study. However, in an act of revenge to worsening relations with the U.S., Japan retracted diplomatic immunity for American officers studying Japanese at the Tokyo language school. Officially, the school was terminated in 1941, around the same time that the U.S. demanded that the Japanese withdraw from areas of China and Indochina and Japan began planning their attack on Pearl Harbor.

According to Breese's (2009) report, beyond the small number of trained officers, the U.S. military had limited abilities with which to communicate with individuals in Japan while visiting the country. They mainly relied on "missionaries and native interpreters to communicate" (p. 37), leaving them feeling vulnerable. Sensing the upcoming war between the two countries, the U.S. knew that success would depend on the intelligence and knowledge of both Japanese language and culture. As tensions rose between the two countries and talk of war became more prevalent, the U.S. military placed a major focus on educating officers in the Japanese language.

As Slesnick and Carole (2006) documented, by the time the attack on Pearl Harbor occurred in December of 1941, 99 officers were trained to speak Japanese. However, because the school had closed in the summer of 1941, those men were engaging in a variety of roles, some no longer even active in the navy or army, and were scattered across the entire world. Just after the war began, the navy and army combined had a total of 65 officers whom they could use to

gain intelligence on Japan. Training officers in the Japanese language became crucial, and the search for a replacement for the Tokyo school began. Although Naganuma knew that teaching officers Japanese may be used against Japan in the case of war, he believed that "full sharing of knowledge is the only course to world peace" (Slesnick & Carole, 2006, p. 29).

In its search for a new Japanese language school for military officers, the U.S. military looked across the United States. It was Navy Commander Albert E. Hindmarsh, a former law professor and graduate of the Tokyo Japanese Language School, who perceived the urgent need for officers who were fluent in Japanese (Kuhara, 2018). Commander Hindmarsh's role in the successful relocation and establishment of the Japanese Language School in the United States has been widely acknowledged. In January 1945, the President of the United States recognized Hindmarsh for his "vision, energy, organizing talent and executive ability" (Forrestal, n.d., para. 2) in the formation of the school and awarded him the Legion of Merit Award (Forrestal, n.d., para. 2).

In his report on the history of the University of Colorado Boulder Japanese Language School, held in the University of Colorado libraries archives, Hindmarsh stated that in December of 1940, he realized that "in the event of war...the number of naval officers competent in the Japanese language would be woefully inadequate to meet the needs of the Service" (Hindmarsh, n.d., p. 1). Hindmarsh also discovered "that there did not exist in the Navy Department in December 1940, any working file or list of civilians who were competent in Japanese" (Hindmarsh, n.d., p. 1), so he started thinking of solutions to anticipate the need for such trained individuals (Hindmarsh, n.d.). The idea for the establishment of a brand-new language school, located in the United States, formed as a result of his anticipatory mindset, the fact that so few graduates of the Tokyo Japanese Language School remained, and his determination that their current knowledge lacked in quality (Hindmarsh, n.d.).

In December of 1940, Hindmarsh shared his idea of establishing a Japanese language school in the U.S. with Captain A. H. McCollum, "Head of the Far Eastern Section, Office of Naval Intelligence" (Hindmarsh, n.d., p. 1). The original plan aimed to utilize current U.S. educational systems to help produce translators, but Hindmarsh found the teaching methods and techniques not to his standards (Hindmarsh, n.d.). He went as far as to describe them as functioning "in a state of unmitigated confusion" (Hindmarsh, n.d., p. 2) and

was disappointed in their lack of practical methods, teaching materials, and standards (Hindmarsh, n.d.). Additionally, universities were hesitant to comply without a guarantee from the U.S. Navy that graduates of the potential programs in the U.S. would have stable long-term employment (Hindmarsh, n.d.). The difficulties surrounding the discussions with existing institutions and language schools pushed Hindmarsh to create an "intensive course designed to produce competent translators and interpreters" (Hindmarsh, n.d., p. 2). The course plans involved a detailed year-long course structure, including materials and a curriculum. The proposed shorter length of the program, as compared to the 3-year-long language course of the older Tokyo school, was necessitated by the urgency of the situation. Hindmarsh shared his plans with the Naval administration, and in February 1941, he received the authority to institute and administer such training courses (Hindmarsh, n.d., p. 1).

Hindmarsh explored different settings for the location of his proposed school (Hindmarsh, n.d.). At that time, only eight institutions in the United States offered some sort of Japanese language course (Kuhara, 2018). Of the eight, Hindmarsh decided on two: Harvard University and the University of California Berkely (Hindmarsh, n.d.). Instruction began at both schools on October 1, 1941 (Hindmarsh, n.d.). However, Harvard's Japanese Language School dissolved in less than a year for two reasons. As Breese (2009) reported, one of the reasons for its dissolution was the tension over the teaching method used by the program at the time, which emphasized speech over writing. The second reason involved the heightened anti-Japanese sentiment across the country and due to the internment of Japanese Americans on the West Coast. The anti-Japanese sentiment followed the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, causing the nearly 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living in the US to be forced to leave their homes and live in camps during most of the war (The National WWII Museum, n.d.).

At the University of California Berkely, language instruction started in October of 1941 but just four months later, the Japanese Language School at the University of California Berkeley faced a major upheaval. As Arnston (2003) reported in her detailed account of the developments, on December 7, 1941, Japan attacked the U.S. Naval Base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii and triggered the United States' entrance into World War II. As a result of the attack, on February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 9066,

which required the removal of Japanese Americans from California. The order demanded the evacuation of "over a hundred thousand Japanese Americans from the West Coast" and meant "the end of the JLS [Japanese Language School] at Berkeley as nine out of its twelve instructors were of Japanese ancestry" (p. 30). Nearly all Japanese were banned from immigrating to the U.S. Many Japanese immigrants and Japanese-American citizens who already lived in the U.S. were forced to evacuate amid increasing suspicion of and racial prejudice against them. Because of the country's dire need for interpreters and translators, the language program at UC Berkeley had many supporters. In an attempt to save the program, the President of the University of California Berkeley "urged military authorities to exempt the JLS instructors from evacuation orders in order to keep the school up and running" (p. 33). This worked for a brief time as "the school was allowed to keep its instructors at Berkeley and classes continued as usual" (p. 34). However, relocation of the University of California Berkely Japanese Language School soon became inevitable.

In light of the challenges with both of the language schools that Hindmarsh initiated, a new destination had to be found quickly and Hindmarsh faced the challenge. He, in the words of Slesnick and Carole (2006), "was a smart and resourceful man" (p. 91) and had "kept in reserve" (Hindmarsh, n.d., p. 14) the University of Colorado Boulder as a possible location for the school. Colorado was "one of the few Western states and universities that did not bar Japanese residence or attendance" (Hayes, 2008) and "Governor Robert Carr had 'welcomed' Japanese to Colorado" (Hayes, 2008). With President Roosevelt's Executive Order in place, Colorado became one the few states available to host the Japanese Language School. In addition, the University of Colorado Boulder's President, Robert Stearns, "was looking for Navy Schools to offset both the draft and the enlistment drain from university enrollment" (Hayes, 2008, para. 3). In reality, President Stearns had already begun partnering with the navy on training facilities housed at the institution, making it an ideal place to host the Japanese Language School (Hindmarsh, n.d.).

Hindmarsh had anticipated President Roosevelt's order, so "when evacuation began on 24 March 1942, he had already begun negotiating with the University of Colorado at Boulder to host an expanded Japanese language school" (Slesnick & Carole, 2006, p. 91). In fact, the minutes from a Board of Regents meeting, held on March 20, 1942, reflected an understanding of the role

the university played in the future of the Japanese Language School. The meeting minutes read, "Due to the recent Federal order evacuating American born persons of Japanese ancestry…from west coastal regions, the Presidents of the west coast Universities are seeking the cooperation of other Universities in accepting students affected by the order" (University of Colorado Boulder Board of Regents, 1942, p. 32). The minutes also shared that after a discussion, "it was moved by Regent Campbell that a number (within the limits of our facilities) of such students be accepted" with certain limitations; such limitations included that students had to pay "non-resident tuition," have FBI clearance, and be "eligible to attend classes the subject matter of which is a confidential nature" (University of Colorado Boulder Board of Regents, 1942, p. 32). The minutes reported on a vote of five members in favor and one member, Regent Cole, opposed (University of Colorado Boulder Board of Regents, 1942). The meeting minutes concluded with "the President declared the motion carried" (University of Colorado Boulder Board of Regents, 1942, p. 32).

Executive Order No. 9066 was signed just one month prior to the March 20, 1942 Board of Regents meeting, illustrating Hindmarsh's desire to move quickly and his ability to do so. Additionally, notes from President Stearns' Collection in the CU Boulder archives contain an original draft of the history of naval activities written for the press. This document states that the program of the Japanese Language School at the University of Colorado Boulder was approved as a site on March 12, 1942, prior to the Board of Regents meeting, by the Chief of Bureau of Naval Personnel (History of Navy Activities on University of Colorado Campus, 1944). Hindmarsh's speed in gaining this approval indicates his prior knowledge of the University of Colorado Boulder's ideal location for the Japanese Language School. It also emphasizes another element in the establishment of the program: that the Navy considered the training of officers in the Japanese language to be that of a "secret weapon" in the war (Slesnick & Carole, 2006, p. 92). As Slesnick and Carole (2006) further documented, the move to Boulder was not public information until after the move was complete. Students were told what they could or could not say; press releases were shut down; and the Boulder community was not given any notice that Japanese teachers and their families would be living near the university. Once instruction began, President Stearns made an announcement on the goals of the school: "The purpose of the school is to give instruction in the Japanese language for

military purposes, so as to enable the Navy to function with the highest efficiency in all phases of its conduct of the war with Japan" (Stearns, 1942, as cited by Slesnick & Carole, 2006, p. 92).

On May 31, 1942, Hindmarsh met with President Robert Stearns of the University of Colorado Boulder, to sign a contract to bring the JLS to Boulder, Colorado (Hindmarsh, n.d.). The original contract, found in the Regents minutes from June 6, 1942, states that the Regents of the University of Colorado Boulder and the U.S. Navy would partner for "the organization and administration of an intensive course in the Japanese language for Navy students at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado beginning on or about June twenty-third, 1942" (University of Colorado Boulder Board of Regents, 1942, p. 64 Addendum 1). Regents minutes from June 6, 1942 indicate that President Stearns "asked for ratification…[in] making a contract with the U.S. Navy for the organization of an intensive course in the Japanese language for Navy students" (University of Colorado Boulder Board of Regents, 1942, p. 64) and "it was moved by Regent Campbell that the action of the officers of the board in signing the contract be ratified" (University of Colorado Boulder Board of Regents, 1942, p. 64).

The contract does not indicate that all was completed for the school's transition. Minutes from a Regents meeting held on July 10, 1942 share a proposed budget for the Japanese Language School (University of Colorado Boulder Board of Regents, 1942, p. 69). For one year, the budget assumed an income of $107,400 from tuition and expects teaching salaries to cost $70,360 (University of Colorado Boulder Board of Regents, 1942, p. 69). Interestingly, minutes from an August 21, 1942 Regents meeting reveal that President Stearns received a second contract from the U.S. Navy on July 1, 1942 (University of Colorado Boulder Board of

Figure 1
Students at the Naval Training School (Japanese Language) at the University of Colorado Boulder, 1943

Note: Shown are sailors in uniform on parade. Source: Boulder Public Library.

Regents, 1942, p. 83). This new contract asked for terms "resulting in a considerable decrease in the remuneration which the University will receive" (University of Colorado Boulder Board of Regents, 1942, p. 83), so President Stearns stated that the university "stand[s] upon the original contract" (University of Colorado Boulder Board of Regents, 1942, p. 83). No further discussion of contract changes appear following this date. Similar to Commander Hindmarsh, President Stearns thus emerged as an influential figure in the establishment of the Japanese Language School at the University of Colorado Boulder. From early talks in the beginning of March 1942 to the signing of the contract on May 31, 1942, Stearns acted as a leader in ensuring the school's swift review by the Board of Regents.

While the University of Colorado Boulder may have been the grounds for the school, decisions involving the organization and administration of the school did not fall under their purview. The selection of faculty and students, as well as the curricular decisions, all were controlled by the navy (Slesnick & Carole, 2006). Hindmarsh assumed direct responsibility for the security of the students, upholding their secrecy, and recruiting and investigating all students and teachers involved (Slesnick & Carole, 2006). Even with so much control falling on that of the navy, Hindmarsh (n.d) described university leadership as "completely cooperative… adapt[ing] a large part of the institution to the Navy's special needs" (Hindmarsh, n.d., p. 14). In terms of the selection of textbooks, teaching materials, and the recruitment of students, Hindmarsh oversaw this along with Glen Shaw, Chief Japanese Language Expert with the Office of Naval Intelligence, who assisted in thoroughly interviewing and screening students (Kuhara, 2018). Students were offered the status of ensign at the least and were paid a monthly stipend, along with coverage of their tuition, room, and board (Kuhara, 2018). By December 1942, 300 students were enrolled in the course at the University of Colorado Boulder (Hindmarsh, n.d.).

Following the U.S. Navy Women's Reserve Act, signed by President Roosevelt in 1942, Hindmarsh recruited women for the Japanese Language School in Boulder in much the same way as he had done with male students. The women reservists were known as Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES). Hindmarsh interviewed 600 women interested in taking language courses at a university (Slesnick & Carole, 2006). The 88 women chosen were expected to complete the program in the same amount of time as

Figure 2
WAVES Students at the Naval Training School (Japanese Language) at the University of Colorado Boulder, 1943

Note: Students shown are WAVES participants saluting to other women in uniform. Source: Boulder Public Library.

their male counterparts and, in 1944, a total of 68 graduated (Slesnick & Carole, 2006). The students' backgrounds varied. Some were born or raised in China or Japan (Breese, 2009); some worked for the federal government and saw a chance to contribute to the war effort; and others left their careers to join the Navy and help (University of Colorado Boulder University Libraries, 2018). Although the women were not legally allowed to serve overseas, they contributed greatly to the war efforts. For example, they were responsible for translating Japanese documents and interpreting broadcasts (Slesnick & Carole, 2006). Many entered Japan-centered careers after the war. Some worked as Japanese Language Officers and many became navy ensigns working in various areas within the navy such as the offices of Naval Intelligence and Naval Communications in the Office of Naval Operations (University of Colorado Boulder University Libraries, 2018).

Teachers came to Boulder less than a year after the attack on Pearl Harbor (Breese, 2008). As Irish (1952) documented, at that time, Boulder was a city with very few Japanese-Americans. While they generally lived in the community without segregation or limitations in finding housing, they also engaged in the community through volunteer war-efforts. Many of them also taught Japanese customs at local community centers and churches (Arnston, 2003). Irish (1952) reports that their efforts did much to enhance the relationship with the community and many residents found "considerable satisfaction" (p. 10) from the purpose of the school and the publicity accompanying it. Additionally, the students highly respected their instructors and cultivated personal friendships with them, which also aided in the overall support from residents of Boulder.

Hindmarsh (n.d.) found "the spirit of the university and the town" (Hindmarsh, n.d., p. 14) accommodating. According to Arnston (2003),

"Initially, opinions in Colorado were divided towards Japanese Americans" (p. 55), with many Coloradoans displaying the same sense of mistrust as most Americans; however, President Stearns and other university leaders sought to "sell the community on the idea…by appealing to residents' patriotism for the war effort" (p. 58). Hindmarsh's report contains a copy of the full-page advertisement published in the Daily Camera serving as evidence of their effort. The advertisement asked Boulder to help house the Japanese Language School instructors (Arnston, 2003) by declaring, "The United States Navy asks Boulder to meet the most important quota Boulder has ever been asked to meet…and immediately" (Hindmarsh, n.d., Appendix 9, p. 1). The advertisement concluded: "And now let's keep up that outstanding record and add houses and apartments for the U.S. Navy!" (Hindmarsh, n.d., Appendix 9, p. 1). The advertisement was approved by President Stearns, as well as the Mayor and other city officials, and demonstrated the initiatives that university and city leaders pursued to establish and legitimate the Japanese Language School in Boulder, Colorado (Hindmarsh, n.d.).

More so than its help with the war, the Japanese Language School served as a place of transformation. Irish (1952) found that the combination of a favorable community, along with highly selected groups of individuals, and the connections made from living physically near one another caused favorable changes in the attitudes of Boulder residents toward Japanese-Americans. Additionally, many graduates helped others establish a more welcoming mindset toward the Japanese. According to Breese (2009), some adopted Japanese children, orphaned during the way, and others helped set up student exchange programs. One of the most important outcomes for many graduates included the relationships they formed with their teachers. Students came to respect and value these individuals whom they had previously only known as a "hated enemy" (Breese, 2009, p. 70). This influenced many officers who entered the War to do so with a newfound appreciation and empathy for Japanese people (Breese, 2009), converting officers into those with a better understanding of the people of Japan.

While many were surprised that the program could train and graduate competent linguists in less than a year (Arnston, 2003), impressive was also the way in which the program changed the lives and career paths of so many of its graduates. Breese (2009) provided an account of graduates' post-war paths.

Many graduates of the Japanese Language School went on to have flourishing post-war careers. Many turned their experience as a student into a "lifetime career devoted to the study of Japan" (p. 80). Some even helped create other Japanese language studies programs and schools across the U.S., certainly impacting generations of students to come. In 1982, CU Boulder extended that same effort in the founding of the Department of Asian Languages and Civilizations offering students degrees in Chinese and Japanese, focusing on educating its students to be diverse voices that confront misconceptions of Asian culture (University of Colorado Boulder Asian Languages and Civilizations, n.d.).

With the end of the war, many veterans would be returning to Boulder, and the school would need to be relocated again to accommodate for their return; its new home was in Oklahoma (Breese, 2009). The Boulder school officially closed in 1946 (Pineau, n.d.), but the legacy of its efforts and outcomes lives on in the various Japanese language programs that now exist across the country and in the personal transformations of so many involved. The creation, execution, and presence the school left on the community and the university marks a collaborative and transformative moment within the history of the University of Colorado Boulder.

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The Methodist Theological School in Ohio and the "Easter Assault on Racial Barriers"[5]

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Abstract

This article traces the stories of four faculty members of the Methodist Theological School in Ohio (MTSO) who, alongside other individuals, were jailed for their integration activism in Jackson, Mississippi in March of 1964. The four faculty members included Van Bogard "Bogie" Dunn, Everett Tilson, Paul Minus, and Jeffrey Hooper. All four were outspoken supporters of racial equality before their arrest, and the persecution they and their fellow protestors faced did not prevent them from voicing their position. Their actions played a pivotal role in organizing for change across the Methodist church and its subsequent desegregation. This historical analysis discusses the events around the arrests in Jackson, Mississippi, and the consequences thereafter. The narrative is based on archival sources and available research on the period.

Keywords: Methodist Theological School in Ohio, civil rights protests, Jackson, Mississippi, theological professors, integration, activism

It was March 29, 1964, Easter Sunday in Jackson, Mississippi. The devout, arrayed in their finest clothes and eager to celebrate the Easter holiday, headed to their local congregation. Known for the Gothic Revival architecture that set it apart as a beautiful landmark, Capitol Street Methodist Church had been standing a dignified watch over the neighborhood for 50 years (Malvaney, 2011), though it has subsequently fallen into disrepair (Figure 1).

As parishioners ascended the front steps and greeted one another, they would have been welcomed in by friends and guided by ushers into the

[5] The phrase comes from "Seven ministers held in Jackson," 1964, p. 14.

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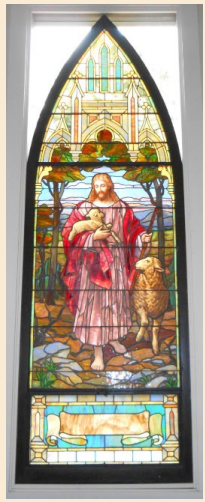
sanctuary. Once seated in the pews, they could enjoy the morning sun illuminating the details of the stained-glass windows. One of these windows remains intact today (Figure 2), albeit relocated to a neighboring congregation (Parkway Hills United Methodist Church, n.d.).

By March of 1964, across Mississippi churches, Sunday mornings had become established as the usual time for staging conflicts over race and racial discrimination (Lyon, 2011). It was on Sunday mornings when African-American students, along with their White allies, would peacefully stand in protest to demonstrate their resistance and ecclesial disobedience throughout the city (Elford, 2023). It was common to see those protests and 'Kneel-ins' outside of churches demonstrating church segregation practices. And it was no different on that March Easter Sunday. After having been barred from entry into the church, two African-American college students accompanied by seven professors from four Methodist seminaries, stood on the steps of Capitol Street Methodist Church under the disapproving glower of those who fought to keep their congregations and communities racially homogenous

Figure 1
The Capitol Street Methodist Church, Jackson, Mississippi

Note: This is the front entrance of the now-dilapidated church (Elmalvaney, 2011).

Figure 2
The Good Shepherd



Note: A stained-glass window originally adorning the Capitol Street Methodist Church in Jackson, Mississippi (Parkway Hills United Methodist Church, n.d.).

Figure 3
Tougaloo College Students and Northern Ministers Turned Away from Capitol Street Methodist Church, October 27, 1963.

Note: Photograph from Dupont, 2013.

(Figure 3; Dupont, 2013; Lyon, 2011).

On the following day, The New York Times recounted the events. In the journalist's account, the ministers from the North "attempted to attend the 11 A.M. services with two Jackson Negro youths"; however, at arrival, the usher stood in front of them preventing them from entering the church "ordering them to leave." The police soon joined, and the usher asked a policeman, "Officer will you take them away." And so the policeman did, arresting the protestors "on charges of disturbing public worship and trespassing on church property" ("Seven ministers held in Jackson," 1964, p. 14). The welcoming embrace of friends and helpfulness of the ushers extended only to White Christians; Black Christians, and their supporters, were greeted by the same individuals with exclusion and hostility.

Nine individuals were arrested for their integration activism on that day. Amongst their ranks were four faculty members from the Methodist Theological School in Ohio: Rev. Dr. Van Bogard "Bogie" Dunn (Dean), Rev. Dr. Everett Tilson (Professor of Old Testament), Rev. Dr. Jeffrey Hopper (Assistant Professor of Theology), and Rev. Dr. Paul M. Minus Jr. (Assistant Professor of Church History). A photograph of the four professors (Figure 4) accompanied one of the newspaper articles about their arrest ("Theological school quartet arrested in Jackson, Miss.," 1964). Three additional professors representing Union Theological Seminary, Drew University, and Garret Evangelical Theological Seminary were also in the group of the arrested. These seven professors were attempting to join the worship service in the company of Bobby

Talbert and David Walker, two African-American students at nearby Tougaloo College, precipitating the eruption of hostility and the arrests of the students and professors (Jones, 1964).

An article published two days after the arrest in The New York Times describes the trial and release of the imprisoned men ("Seven Methodist clerics assail their church," 1964). The presiding judge was not concerned with whether any physical altercation had erupted. Instead, the primary issue was "whether or not a congregation had the right to worship in their own manner…[T]he judge would conclude, the disturbance of public worship came by the mere presence of African Americans seeking to worship at an all-white church. The race of individuals, not their actions or words, constituted the disturbance" (Lyon, 2011, p. 110). All nine men were "found guilty in Municipal Court of disturbing public worship and were sentenced to six months in jail and a $500 fine. They were released under $500 bond pending an appeal to County Court" ("Seven Methodist clerics assail their church," 1964, p. 26). An additional newspaper account revealed the source for the bail: people "associated with the seminary [MTSO] raised $4,000 bail from personal funds, and sent it to Jackson" (Jones, 1964, p. 1). Nevertheless, it was not until approximately seven months later that the U.S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans "overturned the Jackson judge's verdict, and [they] no longer had

Figure 4
The Four Arrested Professors from the Methodist Theological School in Ohio

Note: Newspaper photograph of the four Methodist Theological School in Ohio professors arrested for their attempt to integrate Capitol Street Methodist Church in Jackson, Mississippi ("Theological school quartet arrested in Jackson, Miss.," 1964).

to face the prospect of spending six months in a Mississippi jail" (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 2014, p. 16).

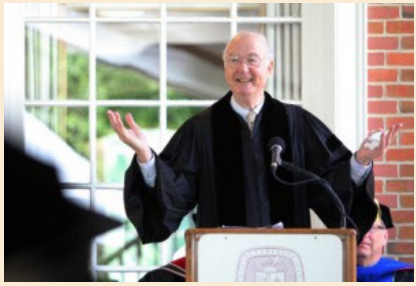
The two African American students from Tougaloo College, Talbert and Walker, did not figure prominently in the newspaper accounts. Most news relegated them to minor supporting roles. However, their movement played a pivotal role in organizing for change (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 2014). That their story has been almost forgotten in the detailed account of what happened to their allies, all of them well-educated White males, tells a story of its own. Indeed, most sources on the events of the day only mention that seven professors were arrested for their activities. Perhaps as an exception, one article from The Ohio State Lantern noted, however, that all nine individuals (the seven White ministers plus the two African-American Tougaloo College students) were placed under arrest (Jones, 1964). Even the personal archive of the late Dr. Everett Tilson (one of the jailed professors from the Methodist Theological School of Ohio) included news featuring only the ministers. There I found a photocopy of an article from The Delaware [Ohio] Gazette, which named the four professors from MTSO, along with their ages and the addresses of their places of residence, and mentions that "none of [their] wives…were available for comment" ("Theological school quartet arrested," 1964). I also found Tilson's hand-written note on the events: "I, 3 of my colleagues & 3 other meth. theological school professors were jailed on Easter Sunday (3-29-64) for trying to integrate the Capitol St. Meth. Church in Jackson, MS" (Tilson, 1999, p. 100). The article also noted that the men "carried the following written statement" (presumably written on handbills to be passed out):

> Jesus said, "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." [John 12:32] To exclude some of those whom Christ would draw unto Himself on Easter, the feast of His resurrection, because of color is a violation of human dignity; it is an affront to the Christian conscience; it is a denial of the faith, it is heresy. We are here, as Methodist Christians, to protest this denial of our Lord's resurrection. We call upon all Methodists to affirm the Lordship of the risen Christ by welcoming to His church all those whom He invites. ("Theological school quartet arrested," 1964)

Similar to other news describing their aims and commitments, both *The Delaware*

Gazette article and Tilson's notes did not give any indication that the details were an inaccurate representation of the events of that day. And so the story remained for the next five decades, until, in a series of pronouncements, the details of that arrest publicly emerged. In his Commencement Address at the Methodist Theological School of Ohio for Class 2014, the Rev. Dr. Paul Minus shared "…details of [this] act of civil disobedience, which drew national attention, and discussed how it helped shape MTSO" (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 2014).

Figure 5
Rev. Dr. Paul Minus Delivering Commencement Address to MTSO Graduates, 2014



Note: Commencement photo. Source: MTSO.

In his address, Minus recounted the events in vivid detail. When they reached the church steps on that morning in Jackson, Mississippi, ushers stopped them and informed them that "it was the congregation's official policy that whites could worship there but not blacks." One of the MTSO faculty, Bogie Dunn, requested to peaceful remain on the steps, "blacks and whites" together but the request was rejected and a threat followed: "if we did not leave," Minus reported, "they would ask the police to arrest us." And so it happened; Bogie Dunn announced that the group would not leave, and the ushers turned to the police to arrest them all. "This conversation," continued Minus, "lasted only two or three minutes. No one raised his voice. It was strangely civil – in fact, it was so low-keyed no one inside the church could know what was happening outside" (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 2014, p. 15).

In addition, an earlier, 2011 study of the event by Carter Dalton Lyon, published as "Easter in Jackson, Mississippi, 1964" in the Methodist History journal (2011), also offered different details. Lyon collected his insights through audio recordings with people present at the events as well as through later interviews with participants in the events. His findings noted:

> The integrated group…noticed as many as a dozen police officers around the church that began to converge behind the ushers when they sighted the

> group. As the team approached the front steps of the church, a set of ushers hastily ran down and one of them told the group to stop and not come any further. The ushers then formed a line across the stairs and Talbert, Walker, and the seven ministers reciprocated by spreading out along the sidewalk and the grass. After a member of the team appeared to try to walk around the line of ushers, James Cox, the spokesman for the ushers barked, "No end runs!" (p. 108)

With three lines of men, that is, a line of nine would-be worshippers seeking entrance, a line of ushers arrayed on the steps blocking them, and a line of police officers positioned beyond the ushers, this tense moment could easily have turned violent. Rev. Dr. Van Bogard Dunn, the Dean of Methodist Theological School in Ohio, pressed on:

> speaking for the group, [Dunn] announced, "We are Methodist Christians who would like to worship the Risen Lord with you in this church today." Cox responded, "You aren't going to integrate this church. The policy of the official board of this church is to deny admission to all Negroes. You can stand here all day, but you aren't coming in this church." Recognizing the opening, Dunn asked, "Do you mean we can stand here?" The usher clarified, saying, no, they must move on. When Dunn asked why they could not just stand there, Cox explained, "No questions and no answers. If you don't move on at once, I will ask the police to put you under arrest." Dunn restated the desires of the group to worship at the church. Cox then turned to one of the policemen behind him and gave him unambiguous instructions, saying, "Officer, take them away." (Lyon, 2011, p. 108)

The faculty members were outspoken for the cause of racial equality and integration before their arrest, and the persecution they faced for this cause in no way prevented them from further voicing their words and actions (Clark et al., 1964). Contemporary sources give us access to some of their statements immediately after their release. One such example comes in Everett Tilson's essay, where he openly claimed that the Methodist Church lacked concern for the "plight of the Negro in Mississippi and lacks the vision or the will to do anything about it" ("Seven Methodist clerics assail their church," 1964, p. 26).

Tilson went on to argue that the Church was inconsistent with its values, for it was "a strange contradiction that a church would send missionaries to Asia and Africa and not welcome people of African descent to their worship" ("Seven Methodist clerics assail their church," 1964, p. 26).

The Methodist Theological School of Ohio, Integration, and Civil Rights: "We Could not Remain on the Sidelines"[7]

While some civil rights activists were in pursuit of desegregation, their opponents thought the "race problem" was satisfactorily resolved through their de facto segregation practices. Within the Methodist Church, these were embodied in the "Central Jurisdiction," a 1939 ecclesial innovation permitting local congregations to exclude African-American Methodists by assigning them their own bishops, congregations, conferences, and denominational structures (Hahn, 2018). The Central Jurisdiction was the Methodist equivalent to the concept of "separate but equal" and resulted in the treatment of African-Americans as "sacrificial lambs of unity" (Hahn, 2022, p. 6). For this reason, "[a]lmost as soon as the Central Jurisdiction was established, attempts began to get rid of it" (Butler, n.d., p. 2). Increasingly, with the change of time, it was becoming harder to close eyes to injustices that aimed to protect the status quo. As Dr. Carolyn Renée Dupont, Associate Professor of History at Eastern Kentucky University, observed:

> Mississippi's once-placid religious communities transmogrified into civil rights battlegrounds. Many believers passed the civil rights years conflicted and confused, and debates over the meanings of spiritual commitments wracked local congregations. As local leaders feared that the centrifuge of racial turmoil would hurl their parishioners in a thousand directions, Mississippi religious life devolved into a tortured, splintered, and ravaged affair. (2013, p. 12)

The Methodist Church bore deep and longstanding scars over matters of

[7] Drawn from Paul Minus' 2014 Commencement Address: "We believed that the God of justice and mercy was somehow involved in this struggle, and we knew that we could not remain on the sidelines" (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 2014, p. 15).

race, as evidenced by the role race and racism played in its schisms and reunifications (Hahn, 2022), but there was a growing conviction that there could be no peaceful coexistence between the faithful proclamation of the Gospel message and systems of racial segregation and oppression. The conflict was increasing in intensity between national leaders in the Methodist Church who were supportive of desegregation efforts and laypeople who embraced the Central Jurisdiction as a means to perpetuate their exclusionary practices (Elford, 2023). The result was tension over "…equality, and constant haranguing against denominational leaders constituted a central feature of religious life during the civil rights years. Intense conflict between layfolk and national religious leaders revealed the strength of religious commitments to segregation and white supremacy…" (Dupont, 2013, p. 12). As social institutions sought to preserve the hallmarks of their segregated southern White culture, they fought to prevent integration from encroaching on their congregations (Lyon, 2017). They might not have liked that the military had been integrated, but could do nothing to stop it (Executive Order 9981, 1948). They might not have liked that public schools were being integrated, but they would do their best to discourage it from happening in their schools (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954) Places of worship had become the last bastion of their White identity, such that "many White churches in the South had informal policies that excluded Black worshippers" (Elford, 2023, p. 1).

What had compelled the professors from Delaware, Ohio, to Jackson, Mississippi to travel down there in the first place? Minus tells us they were simultaneously influenced by and influencers of societal developments in which they perceived God at work. The Methodist Theological School of Ohio professors themselves were united in the conviction that the world was:

> undergoing far-reaching change: Longstanding patterns of oppression and injustice were being overturned by powerful new forces affirming human dignity, freedom and equality. That, we believed, was the great, defining fact of our time. We believed that the God of justice and mercy was somehow involved in this struggle, and we knew that we could not remain on the sidelines. (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 2014, p. 15)

According to Minus, he and his colleagues were part of a broader social

movement inviting northern ministers to stand in solidarity against the perpetuation of racism in the South, as there was a "...tiny minority of Methodists in Mississippi [who] thought we might be helpful in their struggle to overcome segregation in the churches" (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 2014, p. 14). Minus tells us that the organization "leading the struggle against racial segregation in Mississippi Methodism was concentrated among leaders at Tougaloo College…[where] residents were accustomed to hearing about drive-by shootings into the homes of Tougaloo faculty and staff" (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 2014, p. 14). Bobby Talbert and David Walker, who had invited the MTSO faculty and others to help in their struggle, played a role in organizing the "ten-month-long church visitation campaign led by students and faculty at nearby Tougaloo College" (Lyon, 2011, p. 99). According to Lyon (2011), their goal was to:

> overcome the barriers of segregation by attempting to worship and engage in dialogue with white Christians at the city's all-white Protestant and Catholic congregations. Ushers at most of the churches routinely barred their entry, citing recent votes by their lay boards to maintain a racially-exclusive attendance policy. (p. 99)

For Methodist advocates of desegregation, their sit-ins, kneel-ins, and efforts to integrate congregations were part of the social movement to undermine the social structures that protected racial discrimination (Elford, 2023). Dupont (2013) noted that between October 1963 and the end of March 1964, Jackson police made more than 30 arrests of individuals seeking to enter segregated worship services, many of them at Capitol Street Methodist Church. Lyon (2011) wrote, "weekly showdowns in front of Methodist churches highlighted the problem of racial segregation in local congregations and within the structures of The Methodist Church itself, a reality that activists hoped would finally spur an end to the policy…" (p. 99). Minus provided further insight into the thinking of Methodist advocates of desegregation: "…first-hand experience of the Southerners' determination to preserve the old ways…[could make] leaders from elsewhere be effective allies in the effort at the Pittsburgh General Conference to turn our denomination more vigorously against racial segregation" (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 2014, p. 15). The attempts

to accompany African-American worshippers into segregated churches were sincere yet understood as a means to call attention to the problem and build a national consensus for the Methodist Church to change its ways (Lyon, 2017).

Legacy and Influence on the Methodist Theological School of Ohio: "The House of God Must be Open to the Whole Family of God"[8]

The Methodist Theological School in Ohio admitted its first students in the fall of 1960 and celebrated its first graduating class in 1963. The four faculty members, who played a central role in our story, Van Bogard "Bogie" Dunn, Everett Tilson, Paul Minus, and Jeffrey Hooper, were present at MTSO from early in its foundation. Each of these men had his unique individual history and professional trajectory; yet they were all united by a shared commitment to racial equality and social justice, animated by their understanding of their Methodist faith and of the Gospel proclaimed by Jesus Christ. The MTSO website refers to the school's ongoing commitment to social justice activism: "During its formative years in the turbulent 1960s, MTSO established a legacy of Christian concern for social-justice issues. Uncowed by the prospect of arrest and persecution, faculty and students protested racial discrimination, both in the South and closer to home" (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, n.d., para. 3). That MTSO has carried forward this legacy into the present day is evidenced by their statement of distinctiveness:

> MTSO is deeply committed to transformative, sustaining justice as an expansive theological vision consistent with the creative, renewing, resurrecting activity of God in the world. To this end, we create a new imagination for the church of the future through creative work in institutional programs, relationships and resources to promote equity, justice and integrity. We intentionally connect with social justice movements that attend to sustainable social change, transforming both church and world. (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, n.d.)

An editorial published April 15, 1964, in The Ohio State Lantern helps us better understand this commitment to social justice as being rooted in religious

8 Drawn from the handbill of the same title distributed at the 1964 Methodist General Conference (Clark, et al. 1964).

faith ("Public worship," 1964). The editor presented a contrast between the activist, living, incarnational faith advocated by professors Dunn, Tilson, Minus, and Hopper, and the others arrested in Jackson, and the faith advocated by one of their detractors, Otis Maxfield. A Columbus-area minister, Maxfield used his local television show to decry the activism of the MTSO professors as misguided; for him, "...people anywhere must solve their own problems. Whenever we invade other people's territory, no matter how good our motives are, we raise antagonisms, rather than solve them" ("Public worship," 1964, p. 2). The editor of The Ohio State Lantern took Maxfield to task for his statements, noting that the governing documents of the Methodist Church themselves contained statements incompatible with racial discrimination and segregation, concluding that the "racial problem…is not geographical, nor can it be sidestepped. Such problems, whether we like it or not, are everybody's problems" ("Public worship," 1964, p. 2).

Around the time of the events in this article, one contemporaneous account suggested that the Methodist Theological School in Ohio was not immediately aware of or supportive of the actions of the professors who traveled to Jackson. John Mount, the President of the MTSO Board of Trustees, stated: "The men went to Jackson as individuals over their vacation and acted as free, individual Christians. They were in no way acting for the seminary…so it is not a school issue" (Jones, 1964, p. 1). He noted that the school was "planning no aid to the four professors [and] the seminary trustees would make no comment and take no stand until they had heard the facts" (Jones, 1964, p. 1). Nevertheless, Paul Minus reflected that they traveled to Jackson knowing "we were expressing commitments that ran deep and wide in this school; we knew we had your support…the first message from the outside world we received in the Jackson jail was a telegram of support from Methesco students" (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 2014, p. 14).

Dr. Clyde Manschreek, another professor at MTSO, responding to a reporter's question as to whether his colleagues' faculty positions were in danger as a result of their actions, replied, "Endanger them? If it does anything it might enhance them" (Jones, 1964, p. 8). Indeed, it gave them leverage in rallying others to their cause, including at the Methodist General Conference in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania from April 25 to May 9, 1964, where "[a] plan to abolish the all-Negro Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church was debated

for nearly eight hours" ("Methodists debate ending segregation," 1964, p. 16). The debated proposal called for the voluntary re-integration of the Central Jurisdiction congregations into segregated regional conferences by 1967, or threatened a call for a general abolition of segregation at the 1968 Conference ("Methodists debate ending segregation," 1964).

Among the documents in the archive of Professor Everett Tilson, I found a one-page handbill titled "The House of God Must be Open to the Whole Family of God," authored by the seven professors involved in the 1964 Easter integration efforts in Jackson, Mississippi. This document argued that the practice of the Methodist Church "reflects flagrant disregard of the Gospel" and that the "full force of racial prejudice in The Methodist Church has been demonstrated in Jackson, Mississippi in recent months" (Clark et al., 1964, p. 1). Without making it explicit that the authors were among those persecuted, the seven professors maintained that bishops, ministers, and laypeople were "turned away, and, in some instances, arrested and persecuted at the request of the representatives of the churches" (Clark et al., 1964, p. 1). This document called to account not just the church ushers, but the pastors overseeing those local churches, the district superintendents overseeing those pastors, and the bishops overseeing the Methodist Church. The professors argued that because the "...denomination has acquiesced in patterns of segregation, all of Methodism is guilty" (Clark et al., 1964, p. 1).

It is very likely that the professors distributed this pamphlet as they took part in "a large, peaceful demonstration urging delegates to end racial segregation in the Methodist Church. As it turned out, some progress was made down that road, but we were disappointed that delegates did not go further" (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 2014, p. 16). While the proposal to integrate the denomination was "overwhelmingly approved," one contemporaneous account described a thousand protestors who staged a "singing, swaying kneel-in" decrying the proposals as not going far enough to reverse the racial divide ("Kneel-in scores Methodist stand," 1964, p. 78). As the account summarized, for the demonstrators outside carrying signs reading "Methodism + Segregation ≠ Christian Witness" (Figure 6) or "…placards bearing the words "The Central Jurisdiction Must Go,"…the conference should have settled for nothing short of the immediate abolition of the Negro division" ("Kneel-in scores Methodist Stand," 1964, p. 78).

Figure 6
Protestors during the 1964 General Conference of the Methodist Church

Note: The protestors are calling for an end to segregationist policies during the 1964 General Conference of the Methodist Church ("Kneel-in scores Methodist stand," 1964).

Dunn, Tilson, Minus, Hopper, and others who faced persecution, opposition, or oppression under the segregationist system tolerated by the Methodist Church charted a course of action for those who would follow. As revolutionaries, they saw congruency between the tenets of their Methodist faith and the movements for social and racial justice. As a result of the struggles of those activists, four years later, at the 1968 Methodist General Convention in Dallas, Texas, the Methodist Church embraced the understanding that racial segregation was inconsistent with biblical teachings and the Methodist doctrine, and that it was unjustifiable for a church that claimed to be open to all people; this claim officially signaled an end in the Methodist Church's toleration of segregation (Hahn, 2018). In his 2014 Commencement Address, Minus observed:

> Whatever impact our experience in Jackson might have had on Methodism in Mississippi, its impact on me and on others connected to our Easter Sunday witness was profound. It pointed us firmly in the direction of lifelong, active involvement in the struggle for racial justice and racial reconciliation. It solidified deeply held convictions about the Gospel, the church's mission and our own ministries. It gave us an abiding awareness that our lives can make a difference – and with that came a peace and joy that the world can neither give nor take away. (Methodist Theological School in Ohio, 2014, p. 16)

The stories of these professors, their allies and co-conspirators, the institutional development of the Methodist Theological School in Ohio, and the Methodist church overall are intertwined. These experiences were

transformative not merely for the individuals involved but for the MTSO community as a whole. Furthermore, their persecutions, proclamations, and publications shined a light on the incompatibility of segregation and systemic racism with Methodist doctrine, setting the stage for the subsequent desegregation of the Methodist Church. This crucial foundational narrative has helped the Methodist Theological School of Ohio to maintain its identity and trajectory as an institution deeply committed to social justice; it has inspired generations of faculty, staff, and students thereafter.

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