Changing Conceptualizations of Peace: Goshen College 1894-2010

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1. Introduction

Through one hundred and sixteen years of existence, the Goshen College community has held onto an identity of peace, using the concept to define its Christian nature, sustain relationships among its members, inspire its social action, and formulate its future aspirations. Yet the College's conception of peace is never quite the same from one period to another; indeed, the only consistent thread in Goshen's peace history is that the word is always present, at times as an ideology, at other times as a practice, and always as a goal only partially realized. This peace identity has been passed from generation to generation, found in students eagerly reading the letters of Indian missionaries and dreaming of bringing the Prince of Peace to exotic peoples, and then handed to conscientious objectors in World War II struggling to remain "nonresistant" in Civilian Public Service camps before it erupted among Vietnam draft resisters and Civil Rights activists while simultaneously being flung to the far corners of the globe, carried by the first participants in the Study Service Term. It has found a more personal manifestation in feminist movements, broadened into environmental awareness, influenced attempts to speak to governments from inside the political realm, and taken up its most recent residence under the banner of multiculturalism and new perceptions of sexual orientation. At its best, a continuously expanding understanding of peace and the responsibility it engenders acts as an innate quality of Goshen College's spirit. To this day, Goshen students cultivate their own unique vision of what peace looks like, while still following in the footsteps of past generations.

Even within the set boundaries of a college campus, peace is a slippery concept. The definition of peace certainly goes beyond the absence of violence and war as it is often conceived. Peace may refer to a private sensation in an individual, to the reconciliation of parties in conflict, to the society in which every member's material needs are provided, and to harmony with the natural world. It extends into both foreign and interpersonal relations on earth but finds its true reflection in the all-encompassing love, calm, and sense of well-being first created in the human-divine relationship. Because of its capability to encompass just about every feasible solution to every identifiable problem in society, as well as a future reality not yet imagined, "peace" should be defined in the most holistic manner possible.

For the purposes of this study, though, the range of peace is constrained by one college's faithful attempts to embody it in its relationships, programs, and actions. The themes examined here, including the relationship between Goshen College and the Mennonite Church, foreign missions, the World Wars, the Civil Rights Movement, international study and women's issues are each infused with a developing, yet stable, peace commitment. At the same time, each theme is necessarily shaped by the unique nature of the college campus. The college community is in a constant state of flux, as its members attempt to both prepare for the future and

explore multiple directions of thought. The college is therefore something of an enclosed, idealized society, yet it still taps into the pulse of current events and is responsive to a wider socio-political context. Because it is first and foremost a realm of ideas and potentiality, the college population has the capability to act in visionary ways. Whether Goshen College has succeeded in its chosen role as a peace leader is a complex question, open to interpretation. What is certain is that the College has never given up on the concept of peace, nor failed to take it into account when faced with critical decisions.

II. Church-College Relations

This study is built upon the relationship between Goshen College and the Mennonite Church[1] which runs through each of the following peace-related themes. In its peace action, the College has never been beyond the influence of the Church's living peace theology, defined by Mennonite theologian J. Lawrence Burkholder as "church theology concerned with all traditional doctrines within which peace is a controlling and pervasive idea."[2] The College and Church are so closely knit in matters of peace that it is often difficult to say from where an idea first came – is it Goshen that "leads" the Church, or the Church that directs Goshen? In the end, the question hardly matters, for the two need each other to push and pull, playing different roles at different times, so that the peace commitment of both may continue to be as relevant and faithful as possible in changing times. So, in Mennonites' ongoing journey from the sectarian nonresistance associated with a separate and passive community, to social responsibility, reform, and nonviolent resistance, the Church and the College stay in dialogue, reflect each other, lean on each other, and at times, denounce each other in their mutual quest to seek out the most faithful-yet-effective means of realizing shalom in every aspect of life on earth. Their relationship constitutes the most persistent of themes in the College's peace history, and the reader should keep its presence in mind. Goshen College is, first and foremost, a "peace-full" institution because it is a Mennonite institution.

The interdependence of Goshen College and the Mennonite Church necessitates a brief examination of their relationship. The story begins with the foundation of the Elkhart Institute, a modest enterprise with an initial enrollment of only four students[3] which would grow rapidly over the next twenty years. Historian Susan Fisher Miller describes how most members of the Church, suspicious of any attempt at higher education, were persuaded to lay aside their fears for a time by envisioning the institution as "a type of rescue mission, a place where the church's own restless and potentially wayward youth could avoid the snare of other denominations or of outright worldliness."[4] The Institute's founders made much of the real and perceived loss of young Mennonites who chose to pursue vocational and college degrees at public institutions, only to leave the Church. While it would be several years before the Institute began to forge long-lasting ties with Mennonite churches, conferences, and organizations, it assumed a mostly unspoken Mennonite affiliation.

By 1900, the debate over the Mennonite Church's role in college life had gained a large audience.

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1 The term "Mennonite Church" is used in this paper to connote the full body of those in the Mennonite faith and is not limited by regional or doctrinal boundaries unless otherwise stated.

2 J. Lawrence Burkholder, "How Do We Do Peace Theology?" in *Essays on Peace Theology and Witness,* ed. Willard M. Swartley, (Elkhart: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1988), 12.

3 Susan Fisher Miller, *Culture for Service: A History of Goshen College 1894-1994*, (Goshen: Goshen College, 1994), 11.

4 Ibid., 57.

Although the Institute had not formally requested that the Mennonite Church provide support and resources on a regular basis, it was recruiting students, professors, and staff almost exclusively among Mennonites. Concerned parents were inquiring as to the nature of the Church-College relationship. The Institute's Board of Directors were aware that they needed the blessing of Church leadership if they were to continue to grow according to founder J. S. Coffman's original vision. There was a need for an official statement from Church leadership concerning where they stood on the matter of education, but many pastors and lay leaders needed more reassurance as to the Institute's values and goals before they would promote it. At a conference for Mennonite ministers in Indiana, J. S. Hartzler, then secretary of the Mennonite General Conference as well as a Bible instructor at the Institute, approached the matter diplomatically by saying,

> **In the sight of the law, the Elkhart Institute is not a church institution…it is not the intention to push the school onto the church, so that the church will be obliged to own it and support it, and thereby assume all responsibilities…but on the other hand, in the sense that the Elkhart Institute is a school owned and conducted exclusively by Mennonites, taught by Mennonite teachers, and for the benefit of Mennonite young people, in that sense it is a Mennonite school.**[5]

Eventually, the Church would hesitantly accept responsibility for the goings-on at Elkhart and then Goshen College. The ties between the two were strengthened when College Mennonite Church formed on campus in 1903 under the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite and Amish Mennonite Conferences.[6] In the coming years, the Church would be largely supportive of Goshen's educational experiment, noting the potential for alumni to become strong leaders in their local congregations and allowing professors some leniency regarding chosen subjects and teaching methods. The Institute received written affirmation from the General Conference of the Mennonite Church in 1900. Yet seventeen years later another J. Hartzler (John Ellsworth), as president of Goshen College, was still trying to convince the wider Mennonite Church that Goshen's form of education was a blessing, not a curse. "The particular mission of Goshen College," he declared,

> **is in the field of vital religion to reach men and women who will not go to other colleges or who will go to other colleges and run the chance of not remaining with the church…and to combine in proper proportions religion and education, and in the third place to serve as a strong arm of the church in developing the resources of the church in making the largest possible contribution to the establishment of His kingdom.**[7]

5 J. S, Hartzler, *Institute Monthly* II, no. 11-12 (July-Aug 1900): 164.

6 H.S. Bender, "Goshen College Mennonite Church (Goshen, Indiana, USA)," *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, http://www.gameo.org/encyclopedia/contents/goshen_college_mennonite_church _goshen_indiana_usa (accessed April 18, 2010).

7 J. E. Hartzler, "The Mission of Goshen College," *Goshen College Record* 19, no. 6-7 (July-August 1917): 2.

However, the College would do a less than satisfactory job of "safeguarding" students for the Church, if that meant preventing students from critically examining official, or traditional, Church doctrine. Rather, Goshen students and faculty showed a tendency to test boundaries, whether regarding which textbooks could be utilized, what type of dress students should wear, or how much secular culture could be admitted on campus. Goshen College would continue to defend both its educational methods and its place in the Church until 1923, when a combination of Church disapproval and administrative difficulties closed the College for one year.

Better relations between the two were evident after Goshen's reopening, yet its Mennonite support system would continue to question whether students were being taught the "right" values, causing Goshen faculty and students to repeatedly assure its constituency that it fell in line with every Church belief:

> **Goshen College is thoroughly and soundly conservative. It believes and teaches without reserve the whole gospel. The spirit and atmosphere of the school fosters such faith in the student body. Its aim is to have every student a thorough-going consistent evangelical Christian…The social life at GC is held to a high Christian Standard, pure, wholesome, consistent. Worldly amusements, dress, habits are not tolerated. Free, happy democratic spirit is fostered…The College considers itself an Exponent of our Historic Mennonite Faith and Life, loyal to the Church and her teachings.**[8]

Despite Goshen's reassurances, the two institutions maintained an uneasy relationship which was frequently tested, such as when Civilian Public Service programs during World War II significantly widened student workers' view of the world and their sense of responsibility toward its well-being. Under the guidance of Professors H. S. Bender and Guy F. Hershberger, College and Church alike reexamined their nonresistant stance during and after the war, with Bender's *Anabaptist Vision* playing an important role not only in allowing the Church to move forward somewhat encouraged and reunified but also in keeping the College and Church from splitting further apart. During this time, the Young People's Christian Association (YPCA), one of the largest and most active student groups on campus, also took the initiative in seeking greater mutual understanding with students' home congregations by establishing a Church and School Relations Committee, which sent representatives to attend various church conference meetings.[9] And, just as they had done following the 1923 closing, students, faculty, and administration alike offered multiple public statements concerning the College's faithfulness, although they also tried to be honest about their position, as shown in D.P. Miller's 1947 *Record* article:

8 Goshen College faculty, "Position on the Fundamentals of the Christian Faith," *Goshen College Record* 26, no. 10 (July-August1925): 1.

9 *Goshen College Record* 48, no. 4 (October 1946): 1.

> **Even though Goshen College is a conservative Christian institution it moves forward. Goshen College is conservative and yet progressive. I believe that the honest intention of the college administration is to maintain those conservative principles which do contribute either spiritually or sociologically to Mennonite living and at the same time to be progressive and to move forward in educational advancement and general culture.**[10]

When international Study-Service programs and Civil Rights activism emerged in the 1960s, the College-Church relationship faced a new set of challenges. Many constituency members worried that the drive for diversity and "global citizenship" on campus was taking primacy over the college's Mennonitism. At the same time, minority student enrollment was hitting the highest numbers of the College's history, and the administration was brainstorming strategies for how to increase campus diversity even more. Church members were also taken aback by the level of political involvement students seemed willing to accept in terms of draft resistance and protests during the Vietnam War. Many of the same concerns lasted into the 1970s and '80s, including debate over the benefits and dangers of increasing non-Mennonite enrollment. Now, though, attempts by Church representatives to curb Goshen's recruitment policies and political interests were met by a new level of animosity among students, especially directed toward Church authorities and influential financial donors. Apparently some minor resentment had been brewing among students for some time, if Professor Daniel Kauffman's remembrances are taken into account:

> **The word [constituency] came into my vocabulary 30 years ago when I was a student. Even in those days we had opinions about that undefined group "out there." We didn't know who it was. We thought it was a large mass of people who were unconcerned about the things we wanted. We saw them as a deterrent to our goals.**[11]

Even so, Kauffman reminded students, "Really, the constituency is you." Kauffman's remark was insightful and was echoed by many students who argued for the value of Mennonite heritage, which continued to provide Goshen with a sense of community, "a mission of servanthood, conviction regarding peace, and a sense of simplicity."[12] Interestingly, students also recognized a direct connection between their college's Mennonite heritage and the existence of the Peace Society and peace co-major. They called for the expansion of the Peace Studies department as a way to maintain Goshen's unique identity and forge stronger ties with the Church's peace tradition. Yet a more vocal percentage of students were not as eager to align themselves with the older generation. Students who had not grown up in the Mennonite tradition were tired of its influence in so many aspects of campus life, including class discussion, musical selections, and chapel services. Denise Pike and

10 D. P. Miller, "This Cosmopolitan Campus," *Goshen College Record* 48, no. 16 (June 1947): 5.
11 Daniel Kauffman, "The Foe, Our Friend," *Goshen College Record* 81, no. 17 (January 1972): 2.
12 Nathan Stoltzfus, "Values Must Remain Strong," *Goshen College Record* 86, no. 10 (November 1976): 2.

Charlene Rule were two non-Mennonite students who refused to attend required chapels because they felt they were being ignored:

> **How often do I hear the phrase "we as Mennonites…" mentioned in chapel and convocation? I think it is a mistake on the part of speakers to assume that all the "listeners," and I use the term loosely, are actually Mennonites…Why not orient chapel and convocation to include all people?…I thought "community" meant non-discriminating body. Guess I was wrong.**[13]

Meanwhile, the 75% or so of students who were part of the Mennonite tradition were either tired of talking about the issue, frustrated with the amount of power financial donors seemed to have over college decisions, or in some cases, even angry that the constituency ever doubted Goshen's Mennonite identity, as expressed by one anonymous student writer in 1972:

> **My inclination is to conclude that the constituency believes the students, given freedom, will effectively destroy the Mennonite Christian atmosphere here. Each time I hear this unfounded claim I immediately recall the old proverb: "Bring up a child in the way that he should go and he will not soon depart from it." In most cases, the system has allotted at least eighteen years to do exactly that. It is not probable that within the four years at Goshen their teachings will all be swept away.**[14]

Whatever students felt, the word "constituency" had become an unofficial bad word on campus by the end of 1972. Grievances were aired over the Church's constriction of many issues including feminism, sexuality, and social justice. The *Record* even reviewed the history of the College's 1923 closing by Mennonite officials as an example of their continuing rigidity and unreasonableness.[15] The issue came to a head in 1976 when radical anti-war activists Philip and Elizabeth Berrigan were not permitted to visit the campus despite strong student support. The *Record* reported there was concern among administrators that the Berrigans' visit would cause a minimum of $60,000 to be withheld from constituency donors, instigating a stream of student opinion articles demanding, "How dependent are we, an institute of higher education and culture, on the biases of persons outside the institution itself for the quality of campus environment?"[16] Meanwhile Tom Marquis, then director of community relations, was asked for his view of Church-College relations and admitted "the existence for years of an "invisible wall" between the two, stemming from resentment of resident COs during the Second World War," some of whom had disagreed with the Church's stance of complete cooperation with the government.[17] The issue affected people strongly enough that a committee was formed consisting of about 30 students, faculty,

13 *Goshen College Record* 82, no. 1 (September 1972): 2.
14 "Campus Apathy, Part 2," *Goshen College Record* 82, no. 3 (October 1972): 2.
15 Mark Ramseyer, "Board Closes GC to Gain Control," *Goshen College Record* 83, no. 17 (February 1974): 6.
16 Beth Johnson, "Berrigan's Visit Blocked," *Goshen College Record* 85, no. 15 (January 1976): 3.
17 Ibid.

and community members to draft a letter to the college administration as well as some home congregations. In the letter, the group requested that the decision be reversed and argued,

> **If having the Berrigans here threatened a monetary loss then we ask you to let the people who are affected by this loss be involved in your decision. Being raised here are important issues about our basic values on peace. We believe that these values should not be compromised by the dollar sign. To what extent can the constituency dictate the policy of Goshen College? We feel that they should not be able to stifle the free exchange of ideas and beliefs within this institution.**[18]

Though the administration's decision was not rescinded, two months later the Berrigans were allowed to speak to the campus as part of a symposium which also included William R. Durland, a pacifist and lawyer with a more conventional stance on peace activism which the administration hoped would balance the Berrigans' views and protect the College from some negative constituent reaction.[19]

Church-College relations stabilized somewhat after the anti-establishment, anti-constituent spirit of the 1970s, which never returned to the same height. It was perhaps unavoidable that some students, faculty and administrators would remain uncomfortable with the influential Mennonite constituency, and that some other-than-Mennonite members would chafe at the pervasive Mennonite culture on campus, yet in 1985 student Sheldon Beachy struck a hopeful note by writing to the *Record* that the "Big C," or constituency, was "not a huge monetary machine…I have talked to this machine and have found it to be human."[20] In the coming years, the Church and College would both struggle to communicate effectively with the other, especially as Goshen students continued their pattern of attempting to apply newly-developed progressive or "liberal" learnings in their home communities. However, the two institutions had remained tied together, if not always contentedly, through disagreements over war relief work, draft resistance, global awareness, race relations, financial coercion, women's rights, and nonviolent activism. There was hope, then, that they would find ways to dialogue and cooperate when struggling with the approaching issues of economic stewardship, environmentalism, and homosexuality. Church-College tension was, by the 21st century, a well established and respected tradition in its own right, presenting both institutions with a steady stream of opportunities to reexamine and redefine their commitments to peace.

The context for Church-College relations is important because the College's peace ethos has always been impacted by Mennonite theology and experience. When the College was first established, the majority of

18 Peter W. Miller, "Berrigan Decision Moves Group to Action," *Goshen College Record* 85, no. 16 (January 1976): 1-2.

19 Marilyn Stahl, "Durland to Balance Berrigans at GC," *Goshen College Record* 85, no. 18 (February 1976): 1.

20 "Big C is human," *Goshen College Record* 94, no. 17 (February 1985): 5.

Mennonite communities in the United States were still struggling to maintain their autonomy and separation from the "world." Mistrust of upper education, continued use of the German language, and resistance to many forms of "denominational organizing" including the establishment of relief committees, mission agencies, and publishing houses were all ways of maintaining separation which were being challenged between 1890 and 1930.[21] For Goshen College to gain the support of a Mennonite constituency, it had to respond to the deep-seated fears of a changing identity. This included a shifting peace theology, for as parts of the Church increased their worldly participation, the scope of its peace commitment widened.

21 James C. Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine, War*, (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1989), 27-30.

III. Missions

One of the areas reached by the expanding definition of Mennonites' peace commitment was foreign missions. Almost from the time of Goshen's conception, the school was viewed by many as a training ground for Mennonite missionaries, due partly to location.[22] The Mennonite Evangelizing and Benevolent Board (MEBB), which would later become the Mennonite Board of Missions, was founded in 1896 in Elkhart. The Elkhart Institute's founder, J. S. Coffman, was among the early mission leaders and board members.[23] When the MEBB began mission work in India in 1899, the College had a front row seat. Missions study classes began in the same year, quickly followed by student missions clubs. The Young People's Christian Association (YPCA) incorporated a Missions Study Committee into its usual activities for the purpose of hosting mission-oriented seminars and inviting prominent missionaries, such as J. A. Ressler, to speak on campus. When the MEBB established the Chicago Home Mission project, students were among the first volunteers, taking weekend trips into the city. Soon, the College was hosting annual Missionary Conferences, the first of which occurred in June of 1900.[24] Notably, the first five Mennonite missionaries sent to India all came from Elkhart, at least three of whom were recent alumni.[25] Goshen students would continue to be highly active in missions preparation, education, and support through the 1920s and 1930s, during which time they began to focus more on home missions "among the miners, lumbermen, sailors, and rural communities" as well as "Indians, Eskimos, and Negroes."[26] Campus interest in foreign and home missions only began to lag in the 1940s, when it was largely replaced by various types of international relief work.

From the Church's point of view in the early 20th century – at least those Church constituents who were willing to take the plunge into the "progressive" pursuits of mission and education – mission work was practically synonymous with the cause of peace, and thoroughly compatible with the Christian commission. It was expected to unify disparate peoples under the same message of faith and reconciliation. Mission was also anticipated to revitalize the Church after the fashion of the early Jewish Christians, whose message spread "across cultural and geographical boundaries."[27] However, for the Mennonites mission programs did not usually have the intended effect, given that they were conducted in the style of the wider Protestant effort toward global evangelization rather than that of the sixteenth-century Anabaptists. As Mennonite historian

22 Susan Fisher Miller, 25-28.
23 Levi C. Hartzler, "Mennonite Board of Missions," *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*, http://www.gameo.org/encyclopedia/contents/M463734.html (accessed April 18, 2010).
24 *Institute Monthly* II, no. 9 (May 1900).
25 Susan Fisher Miller, 26.
26 Christian Worker's Band, *Goshen College Record* 27, no. 4 (January 1926): 6.
27 James C. Juhnke, 141.

James C. Juhnke puts it, when the Church entered the mission field "their traditional church-world dualism eroded," and "distinctive Mennonite doctrines such as nonresistance and nonconformity were obscured."[28] Far from strengthening the Church's pacifist tradition, missions programs often resulted in concessions to worldly influence including the use of "pacifist-militant rhetoric" among missionaries who were not always certain that nationalistic expansion was not the path to global peace.[29]

However, the filtered form of missions enthusiasm which found its way onto Goshen's campus worked in almost the opposite manner, stimulating interest in global peace and awareness and strengthening students' belief in nonresistance. That is not to say that student groups were immune to the nationalistic tendencies of Protestant missions programs. One early opinion article from the on-campus publication *Institute Monthly*, for example, is almost indistinguishable from the views of other evangelist groups in its low opinion of missionaries' targets: "The ignorance, superstition, and prejudice, which prevails in heathen countries, are barriers which the evangelical missionary finds very difficult to overcome."[30] As the growth of missions programs progressed, however, it seems that the college campus absorbed the best of missionary ideology in the form of concern for the marginalized, a willingness to sacrifice the self in service to others, deep personal spirituality, and most notably a foundational version of what would later become one of the College's core values: global citizenship.

It is notable, for instance, that some of the earliest remarks about race relations in campus publications came in the context of student missions committee meetings. An article on student delegates' experiences during the 1928 Student Volunteer Convention for Foreign Missions noted that students felt a "deepening of missionary conviction *and a feeling that race prejudice and the American superiority complex were not Christian and should be broken down*."[31] Despite the often negative effects of white missionary outreach to black communities, students' limited experiences hearing stories from home missionaries and taking brief volunteer trips into inner-city segregated neighborhoods effectively provided a window into the tangible consequences of race discrimination, laying the groundwork for future activism. Meanwhile, mission classes and seminars were broadening Goshen students' knowledge of U.S. diversity as well as foreign cultures. A 1917 article devoted itself to an explanation of how mission study was an excellent way to prevent students from becoming "too idealistic" and to bring them "into touch with the world at large."[32] A similar address by senior D. C. D. Esch

28 Ibid., 142.
29 Ibid., 144.
30 *Institute Monthly* II, no. 1 (September 1899): 4.
31 *Goshen College Record* 29, no. 4 (January 1928) italics added.
32 *Goshen College Record* 19, no. 6 (March 1917): 16.

three years later identified missions as "a factor in the development of an international mind."[33] Through letters, guest speakers, and seminars hosted by the YPCA's Missions Study Committee, students became fascinated with unfamiliar cultures and gained knowledge and respect for socio-political differences between the U.S. and other countries. This new missions awareness tended to cause students to reject the idea of remaking other cultures in the U.S. Christian image. Students' newfound value of the "international mind" would persist, finding its way into reconstruction and relief work following World Wars I and II and then into the Study Service Terms of the late 1960s.

Ironically, Goshen students in the 1910s and 1920s would increasingly identify a new area most in need of missions outreach: the Mennonite Church itself, in the form of students' home congregations and the more conservative Mennonite conferences. A stream of newly educated young men and women returned home to rural communities and, more often than not, assumed leadership roles in their church communities, whose members were not always happy with the changes they introduced. College alumni proposed amendments to Church policies concerning biblical criticism, dress, missions policies, relief work, and other areas, and their influence among congregations became one more source of tension contributing to Goshen's afore-mentioned 1923 closing.

Mission programs may have laid the groundwork for international awareness, but it did not have the same positive effect on U.S. Mennonites' ability to engage their own country. Still maintaining a great number of sectarian agricultural communities in the early 1900s, most Mennonites were not practiced in defending their peace position to wider society, and they certainly did not have a concrete plan for doing so in case of war. Goshen College was in the same boat, mirroring the reality of the Church, not anticipating the need to support its students' pacifist beliefs in a world war, and also struggling to grow as a young institution.

33 D. C. D. Esch, *Goshen College Record* 23, no. 1 (October 1920): 6-7.

VI. Pre/Post-World War I

At the outbreak of the first World War in August of 1914, Goshen College was hardly in a position to take major antiwar action whether it wanted to or not. Having opened its doors only eleven years earlier, the college was necessarily more concerned with increasing its enrollment, funding, and course offerings than a war in distant Europe. Besides facing severe financial difficulties, the college community was entering a period of heightened tension and conflict with various conferences and congregations of the Mennonite Church who were becoming increasingly dubious about some of the more "liberal" of college policies. These and other concerns meant that Goshen had a lot on its plate besides responding to the outbreak of war. That is not to say that an awareness of international events did not pervade the campus community. College publications consistently printed news and opinion columns covering events such as the Hague Tribunal and the 1904 Russian-Japanese War, as well as frequent coverage of U.S. government policies.[34] Still, the college was either unable or unwilling to speak publicly concerning its pacifist convictions, even when the United States declared war on Germany in April of 1917. Although there is no way to tell exactly what the mood of the campus was during this time, the relative silence of the *Goshen College Record* on war-related news and opinions, as compared to the sudden spate of relief and reconstruction initiatives among students directly after the war, seems to suggest that there were more influences at work than the simple difficulties of a new, growing campus.

It is likely, for example, that a college with multiple ties to Germany through religious and cultural heritage, and even language in some cases, would attempt to avoid some of the social stigma that came with wartime anti-German propaganda. More than that, though, Goshen as a Mennonite institution was subject to beliefs and practices prevalent in the Mennonite Church at the time. The Church's policies concerning pacifism and separateness, as well as the Church's uncertainty as to how far these policies should be carried in relation to political witness, strongly influenced the College's student body both in terms of the type of actions they felt justified in taking and more generally in how much interest they took in the war, or for that matter any other government pastimes. Lest it seems that a "backward," rural Church was holding students' pacifist inclinations back, it is important to note that World War I took the Mennonites by surprise. Church and College alike were uncertain as to right action and policy and were very much aware of external pressure to support their country's military action. Their irresolution on the issue is well expressed by an anonymous written response to the 1905 Intercollegiate Peace Conference which stated:

34 *Goshen College Record* 6, no. 6 (February 1904): 274 & *Goshen College Record* 6, no. 7 (March 1904): 292.

> **Our schools should continue to foster the spirit of patriotism…We need new ideals of national honor and new methods of attaining them. As a Nation we wish to develop the highest type of life rather than to cultivate the war spirit and military power.**[35]

At any rate, the Church's relative lack of any real structure for supporting actions such as draft avoidance or conscientious objection also helps to explain why faculty and students did not take a stronger antiwar stance, even while a number of students suddenly found themselves in army camps.[36] Then, after the war had ended, the majority of student involvement in various reconstruction initiatives occurred overseas. This meant that any criticism from the Church on the radical ideas students brought back with them, as with returning relief workers' promotion of increased social awareness and participation, was delayed although it would contribute to the church-college tension building to a climax in the early 1920s.

There is another possible explanation for the shortage of peace-related action among students during World War I. When it came to the meaning of peace, the faculty, students, and wider Mennonite Church of the time all functioned at some level under the assumption that "peace," in its biblical and social applications, referred to an essentially spiritual, inner or private peace, which fit well with a sectarian peace theology. An early edition of the *Institute Monthly*, for example, describes peace as a "personal gift from Christ," and the opposite of strife or unrest.[37] When the Elkhart Institute became Goshen College, the *Record* publication continued to speak of peace in similar terms, describing peace as a sense of duty and inner calm, and especially of faith in God's plan of reconciliation for the Church and the world. If military action was mentioned in college publications, it was in conjunction with Bible studies and opinion pieces which referred to Christ as the "captain" and Christians as soldiers, usually fighting to spread Jesus' message throughout the world.[38] The language of "nonresistance" also made its presence known and was often accompanied by explicit or implied analogies to the sacrifices of the Anabaptist martyrs. While the meaning of the term "nonresistance" continued to be debated through the 1970s and is still at play in some circles today, in the early 20th century nonresistance almost always connoted as little participation outside the Mennonite community as possible.

So, like most Mennonite centers, Goshen College was content to remain largely separate from political activity, especially that of war. Instead, the college population devoted its energies to domestic and foreign evangelism, peace education focusing on biblical teachings and some discussion of world events, and prayer for

35 *Goshen College Record* 7, no. 10-11 (June-July 1905): 1.
36 When the War ended, there were at least ten Goshen students in army camps in the U.S., consisting of six at Camp Taylor, Kentucky, two at Fort Hamilton, New York, and two at Camp Sherman, Ohio. *Goshen College Record* 20, no. 8 (May 1918): 15.
37 *Institute Monthly* III, no. 8 (April 1901): 126.
38 "Warfare," *Goshen College Record* 5, no. 11 (June-July 1903): 171.

the realization of Christ's peace. They also expressed their hopes that the end of the War would signal the end of all violent conflict and the beginning of lasting global peace and democracy. Before the onset of war, there was some evidence of a widespread belief in an amorphous, but growing, global peace or great "Peace Movement." In 1903, for example, the *Record* writers expressed their conviction that, "the sweet notes of universal harmony, though still encountered with the dreadful shriek of war, are still gaining in volume and will be the theme for the coming generations."[39] Student and faculty organizations echoed the thought by looking for ways to join the Movement, most notably by establishing annual peace oratorical contests and the Intercollegiate Peace Association in 1905. For the time being, however, Goshen's involvement with the spread of global peace would stay in the realm of classroom education and Christian faith, even while some voices on campus began to advocate for more assertiveness in the peace message:

> **If there is any truth in history in the teaching of the Christian religion the time when war shall be no more is sure to come. It is only a question of time…It behooves those who believe in nonresistance to counteract the growth of this martial spirit, not only by passively living up to their faith, but by becoming a positive and aggressive force in the dissemination of the principles of peace.**[40]

While this "dissemination" would be attempted primarily through missions and material aid, the idea would gradually expand to include direct anti-war action and public objections during World War II.

World War I was an obvious setback in the progress of world peace, whether or not the global Peace Movement had ever become more than hopeful perception. Still, the idea that global peace was approaching, and soon, continued at least into the early 1920s. The only change was in the anticipated method for how peace would be brought about. The spread of democracy and use of arbitration were two popular models. In fact, many members of the Church were quite proud of the United States' participation in arbitration models, according to S. E. Zook who stated, "we are glad to know that in no aspect of our international relations has our country been more distinguished than in its attitude on this subject."[41] Goshen College members continued to predict the end of all wars, as evidenced by 1917 peace oratorical contest winner W. A. Stoltzfus, who declared "[This War] means peace is now marshalling its forces in a final gigantic drive against the last defense of militarism," which he identified as the effects of national honor and interests.[42] A similar widespread view made itself known through Bible studies, chapel addresses, devotional hours and discussions from the Young People's Christian Association (YPCA), expressed in the words of one *Record* writer who argued, "This war is preparing

39 *Goshen College Record* 5, no. 11 (June-July 1903): 151.
40 *Goshen College Record* 6, no. 7 (March 1904): 292. Emphasis added.
41 *Goshen College Record* 7, no. 8 (April 1905): 509.
42 *Goshen College Record* 19, no. 8 (May 1917): 6.

the world for the gospel of Jesus Christ."[43] Such an opinion is an astounding statement for a Mennonite campus, especially coming from specifically faith-based student groups. Given that the connotation that warfare could be considered a potential tool for spreading the Christian message would be highly unorthodox, it is far more likely that the writer, and those who shared the writer's opinion, were sometimes a bit careless in expressing the underlying belief that evangelism could be the pathway to peace, a much more common and accepted view than the notion that war could establish peaceful international relations. Misinterpretations of similar statements in college publications would greatly contribute to the afore-mentioned tension existing between the College and the Church.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that outspoken peace sentiments on campus were kept to a minimum during the war, Goshen became very active in relief and reconstruction work almost the moment the war ended in November of 1918. About a year before armistice, President Hartzler gave an address describing the "particular mission" of Goshen College, which among other tasks included,

> **making the largest possible contribution to the establishment of His kingdom and in the reconstruction which is certain to follow the present world destruction. This must be done by the preservation of the true, the vital, the fundamental in the Christian religion.**[44]

Students and faculty took Hartzler's directive to heart and found a variety of ways to contribute to reconstruction work. The first students to travel to Europe went to France and joined the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization, in their reconstruction initiatives as early as March of 1918.[45] By the next year a total of 31 Goshen students had joined their efforts in France, and even more went to Austria, Russia, and Germany, among other places, in 1920. Those students who remained on campus gave up meals and held relief drives to raise money which was sent to both the AFSC and the War Relief Fund.[46]

Relief and reconstruction work were looked upon as a way to erase the effects of the war. By rebuilding what had been destroyed, Mennonites were reconnecting with the country of their heritage (Germany) and removing the visible signs of warfare in the hope it could be forgotten rather than supply an incentive for future wars. For the students who traveled to Europe during this time, reconstruction was a Christian duty and a way to express their faith along with their pacifist beliefs. The more they saw of the effects of war, the more responsibility they felt to care for its victims and guard against any future tacit acceptance of their country's

43 *Goshen College Record* 19, no. 10-11 (July-August 1917): 8.
44 J. E. Hartzler, "The Mission of Goshen College," *Goshen College Record* 19, no. 6-7 (July-August 1917): 2.
45 *Goshen College Record* 20, no. 6 (1918): 14.
46 *Goshen College Record* 19, no. 6 (March 1917): 13-14 & *Goshen College Record* 21, no. 1-2 (October-November 1918): 13.

military actions. Their service experiences instigated a shift in focus from mission work as the highest possible Christian calling and method of obtaining world peace to service work, including physical labor and providing material aid and resources. The importance of service and missions were both recognized in the post-war years, but students would not explicitly assign precedence to service until after World War II, when John Yoder wrote to the *Goshen College Record* to remind students that

> **Christians who are truly committed to the same great truths and consecrated to the same ideals can have no arguments which are not really just misunderstandings…One such question concerns the place of relief and similar social services in the church program. Those who call evangelism more important are right in their conclusion, but harm can result from their having reached it by the wrong path…We can see…that relief is more than a means to an end…it refers to an indispensable phase of Christian activity, one which Jesus carried on as ceaselessly as he preached, the one in which the greatest number of people are able to witness through service.**[47]

Throughout the 1930s, Goshen students would work toward just such a conclusion, exploring new areas of community service through the "extension programs" of the YPCA, donating labor and raising funds for the College during the Great Depression, and continuing to work with the American Friends Service Committee around the world, including relief work in Spain in 1937.[48]

Historian Perry Bush has described World War I as a highly traumatic experience for American Mennonites[49] and by extension their academic institutions. War was certainly a shock great enough to jumpstart debate over the true meaning of nonresistance, as well as the need for draft alternatives. Though alternative service programs were not immediately established, experience gained by reconstruction workers would inform the structure they took. Discussion and planning for civilian service of many kinds increased through the 1930s, especially as tension in Europe increased. Goshen students were also aware that war was likely and wondered what to expect. In 1938, Howard R. Blosser expressed prevailing campus opinion as editor of the *Record* when he said,

> **I do not believe one of us has not shivered a little when we considered all that might happen if the incident should grow instead of diminishing in size…It is apparent that a war now would not be confined to the two or three nations who would first take up arms. Europe is an armed camp, waiting to see who will make the first move. We cannot ignore the fact that if trouble starts it will probably spread to all parts of the world.**[50]

47 John Yoder, *Goshen College Record* 47, no. 16 (May 1946): 10.
48 *Goshen College Record* 29, no. 8 (May 1928): 1; & Susan Fisher Miller, 142; & *Goshen College Record* 40, no. 2 (October 1938): 1.
49 Perry Bush, *Two Kingdoms, Two Loyalties: Mennonite Pacifism in Modern America*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 27.
50 Howard R. Blosser, "Rumblings of Something in Europe," *Goshen College Record* 40, no. 1 (September 1938): 2.

Well aware of the situation overseas and determined to provide its younger members with more support in any and all future conflicts, the Mennonites joined other pacifist denominations in seeking government-recognized conscientious objector status and in establishing alternative service options. Despite, or perhaps because of, this new level of preparation, the second World War would put Mennonite leaders in greater contact with government officials than ever before, and the Goshen College community would follow, moving more deeply into the political realm to ensure the moral integrity of its young conscientious objectors.

VII. WWII/ Cilivian Public Service

From the late 1930s to the early 1950s, any "peace" talk overheard on campus would more than likely revolve around the second World War, draft resistance, and the newly formed Civilian Public Service option. In August of 1937, the Mennonite General Conference in Turner, Oregon adopted "A Statement of the Position of the Mennonite Church on Peace, War, and Military Service," which implicitly affirmed the Church's support for conscientious objection as a moral response to warfare. Later that year, the Goshen College Peace Society took a "peace poll" and found that out of 178 students, 132 would refuse "every form of military service combatant or noncombatant" in case of war, while an overwhelming majority expressed their willingness "to engage in relief work to aid suffering war victims even at the risk of my own life."[51] As the United States prepared to enter the war, Mennonite leaders were also hard at work constructing a proposal for concrete forms of alternative service. With several faculty on the National Service Board for Religious Objectors – including Dean H. S. Bender, who was also the acting advisor for the Peace Society – and with an increasing number of students being called up for the draft, achieving government-sanctioned conscientious objector status demanded most of the college's concern and energy. Fortunately, it was an effort that all parties involved were willing to give. The Church knew the importance of providing young people with an alternative to military service that allowed them to fulfill the demands of their nonresistant beliefs and yet did not invite the hostility of U.S. citizens who held up the sacrifice of soldiers as the highest form of patriotic duty. Goshen College was just as willing to support its students in C.P.S. camps, and even the students themselves accepted a stronger sense of responsibility for witnessing to nonviolence and peace in the public sphere, casting off the confusion and uncertainty of World War I: "It will be up to us as young people to give to the world a constructive peace program."[52]

At the same time, very few people involved with conscientious objection and/or draft resistance, either representatives from the Church or College, believed it their duty to forego cooperation with the U.S. government. As an anonymous writer in the *Goshen College Record* put it,

> **The first thing to remember is that it is not our duty to determine what shall be the forms of government in the world. We are expressly told to OBEY the government under which we are living and we are NOT given license to upset that government…The nonresistant Christian must be calm in spirit, restrained in speech, and kindly in his attitude toward all nations. He must be endowed by the Spirit of Christ with a love for all peoples to the extent that he cannot seek revenge against any. This is the only sound basis for a refusal to fight, for exemption from military service.[53]**

51 *Goshen College Record* 39, no. 8 (January 1938): 1.
52 *Goshen College Record* 36, no. 3 (December 1934): 10.
53 "Keeping Our Testimony Clear," *Goshen College Record* 40, no. 14 (March 1939): 1.

The burning flags and draft cards of Vietnam would have to wait, if indeed Goshen students would ever feel completely comfortable going beyond the boundaries set by a nonresistant, "two-kingdom" Church doctrine.[54] Instead, few conscientious objectors (COs) – at least those from the Mennonite Church – chose to go against the example of H. S. Bender, P. C. Hiebert, or E. L. Harshbarger, all of whom strictly adhered to government dictates throughout the establishment and administration of the Civilian Public Service camps. Bender, Hiebert and Harshbarger were with the initial group of eight representatives from the Society of Friends, Church of the Brethren, and Mennonite denominations who met with President Roosevelt at the White House on January 10, 1940.[55] They submitted some initial proposals for forms of alternative service in lieu of military conscription, and clearly stated their intention of serving their country in any way that did not conflict with their pacifist position. Their presentation was well-received, but with the first round of the draft coming in ten short months, they had little time to put a concrete program in motion. Early suggestions for an alternative service format included soil conservation camps and the construction of schools in southern states.[56] Then, on November 7, 1940, representatives of the Peace Problems Committee including Chairman H. S. Bender, Secretary O. O. Miller, Treasurer C. L. Graber and H. A. Diener joined other Mennonite Church officials from various conferences on Goshen's campus to approve the work projects which had been established by the U.S. government working with Mennonite Central Committee.[57] The first camps were built in Grottoes, Virginia, Medaryville, Indiana, and Colorado Springs and were fully functional by May of 1941.[58] As the war went on, Goshen faculty and administrators continued to work for the C.P.S. camps in a number of capacities. The program accelerated at the end of 1942, when Goshen President E. E. Miller announced the formation of a Civilian Public Service College Reserve Force, composed of conscientious objectors who were willing to pledge at least twelve months of their time after the war to foreign relief work. They were placed in camps but were allowed to continue to study on campus, as long as they also took courses which would "fit them for relief work."[59] At the same time, 25-30 more Goshen students joined the local unit of the Civilian Public Service Training Corps.[60] Also in December of 1942, C. L. Graber took a post as assistant to Paul French, the Executive Secretary of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, in Washington D.C. At that time 40 percent of

54 Perry Bush, *Two Kingdoms, Two Loyalties*.
55 *Goshen College Record* 41, no. 9 (January 1940): 1, 4.
56 *Goshen College Record* 42, no. 4 (November 1940): 1.
57 "Mennonite Leaders Approve Plan for Alternative Civilian Service: Relief Committee also Meets," *Goshen College Record* 42, no. 4 (November 1940): 2.
58 H. S. Bender, *The Church and Returning C.P. S. Men*, (Goshen: Peace Problems Committee of the Mennonite General Conference, 1946), 4.
59 "CPS Reserve Force Proposal Officially Approved," *Goshen College Record* 44, no. 7 (December 1942): 1.
60 *Goshen College Record* 44, no. 8 (December 1942): 1.

C.P.S. workers were Mennonite.[61] H. S. Bender also continued to meet regularly with General Louis B. Hershey, the director of Selective Service, for the next few years and succeeded in expanding the program to allow a small number of Mennonite draftees the option of serving internationally. In 1942, two were sent to China and six to England.[62]

Professors Guy F. Hershberger and H. S. Bender in particular were very active in spreading the news about alternative service plans among the student and constituent populations. Student interest increased in the program as friends began to be called up for the draft, including the first two to go: Milphert King and Cleland Gunden.[63] A year later, students Carl Beck, Dennis Miller, Clarence Burck, Clarence Kreider, Lester Zimmerman, Paul Blosser and Edwin Boschart had all achieved conscientious objector status and were sent to Civilian Service camps in Pennsylvania, California, and Iowa. Other students were either refused CO status or chose to accept non-combatant military service, such as student Eugene Collins, who was stationed in the Army Air Corps at Camp Shepherd, Texas.[64]

Meanwhile, on campus, students responded to the call for patriotic service in their own way. Representatives from faculty and the Young People's Christian Association organized three committees for the purpose of "investigating all possible means of service to the community, to the state, and to the entire country, which will be in accordance with non-resistant beliefs."[65] Leading the committees were Professors Paul Mininger and Carl Kreider along with students Viola Good, Harold Mishler, Freida Maust, Laura Blosser, and Glen Esh. The first group took on the responsibility of spreading awareness about war events, C.P.S. camp progress and needs, and the meaning of nonresistance. The second worked with the Peace Society to prepare for the "re-adjustments" that would follow the war's end, and the third committee devoted themselves to organizing relief training including classes in first aid and fire-fighting.[66] The latter committee in particular expressed their hope to "train students to be of the greatest possible use in a world that is involved in a devastating war."[67] Then, in the summer of 1943, Goshen College held a relief training school for 80 students, 65 men and 15 women. Participants examined relief needs in China, Europe, and South America as well as studying a number of practical skills including relief administration, community hygiene, first aid, and physical fitness.[68] Goshen

61 *Goshen College Record* 44, no. 7 (December 1942): 1.
62 "Dean Bender Reports on Conference with General Hershey," *Goshen College Record* 43, no. 8 (January 1942): 1.
63 *Goshen College Record* 42, no. 4 (November 1940): 1.
64 *Goshen College Record* 43, no. 2 (October 1941): 1.
65 *Goshen College Record* 43, no. 10 (February 1942): 1.
66 *Goshen College Record* 43, no. 10 (February 1942): 1.
67 *Goshen College Record* 43, no. 11 (February 1942): 1.
68 *Goshen College Record* 44, no. 17 (June 1943): 1.

was attempting its own wartime mobilization, consisting of placing COs around the nation and the world and preparing large numbers of students committed to restoring areas left devastated by warfare.

World War II's legacy of destruction did not leave students with a sense of despair, but it impressed upon them the urgency of relief work around the world to a greater extent than even World War I due to the far greater level of participation it had required. At the height of reconstruction work in 1948, the YPCA confidently declared Goshen's partnership with the Church in planting the seeds of peace through material aid and reconstruction:

> **We, the students of Goshen College, can have a definite part in the promotion of a positive peace testimony by participation in our relief and voluntary service programs… [through which] we as a church, are bravely standing out in the battle against the great spiritual wickedness of materialism. Our witness in these programs along with the impact of the churches at home, does more to promote peace than all of the armies of the world. Our efforts though small and of a quiet nature are valuable and important because they present the true way of peace in contrast to the hideously deceptive propaganda of the war machine.**[69]

Students went on to join Mennonite Central Committee-sponsored service units in state hospitals in Minnesota and Mexico and mental hospitals in Rhode Island and Michigan. Others labored in national construction projects and taught in schools among "Negro communities."[70] Students also organized local "clean-up" days and fundraisers for clothing and food to send to European refugees. The number of participants surpassed all other relief projects with which the College had ever been involved, even post-World War I. Campus interest and energy for relief work was so pervasive that the College administration and faculty considered making summer Voluntary Service a requirement for graduation, although students were usually not in favor of removing the "voluntary" from VS.[71] The reasons for the increase of relief work are no doubt varied, but a large portion of the credit can be assigned to the impact the C.P.S. draftees had on their classmates. Not only did they set the bar for self-sacrificial living in contexts of hard labor and harsh living conditions in the camps, they also assumed leadership roles in several student organizations upon their return in 1945 – including the YPCA and Peace Society, the two largest student groups involved in post-war relief and service work. Yet the rising level of commitment to serve their neighbors in the U.S. and around the world was not simply a socially imposed necessity or characteristic of the young generation. Goshen students owed much to the preparation of Mennonite leaders already discussed and to the example of those who had been at the forefront of WWI-era

69 "Y Reflections," *Goshen College Record* 49, no. 14 (May 1948): 2.

70 *Goshen College Record* 45, no. 14 (March 1944): 1; & *Goshen College Record* 48, no. 16 (June 1947): 1; & "Students Participate in Summer Service Program," *Goshen College Record* 49, no. 15 (June 1948): 1; & *Goshen College Record* 45, no. 16 (June 1944): 3.

71 *Goshen College Record* 52, no. 7 (December 1950): 2.

reconstruction. As student Ellwin Hartzler wrote,

> **Perhaps my interest in foreign relief work can be traced quite definitely to what a couple of my college professors who had been in such work themselves, related from time to time during my college days. Both of these former workers were conscientious, thorough Christians who continually impressed me with their zeal, and their overwhelming love and concern…This unselfish, sacrificial spirit caught hold of me, stirred my compassion and love, and led me to realize that I should offer myself or what I possess to help relieve suffering whenever and wherever opportunity opened up.**[72]

72 "Why I Volunteered for Relief Work," *Goshen College Record* 44, no. 18 (July 1943): 3.

VIII. Post-World War II

A large percentage of students maintained the commitment to serve their time in the "church draft"[73] after the War had passed. The week, month, and summer-long service programs sponsored by Mennonite Central Committee for students wishing to contribute to their community, country, and the world continued when the C.P.S. camps closed, blossoming into a wide-ranging Voluntary Service program. Established in part to finish the projects begun by C.P.S. draftees, VS was initially a response to female students' request that they be provided the opportunity to serve in mental hospitals "as a parallel to what the young men of the church were drafted to do."[74] In the summer of 1947, students were posted at the mental institution in Ypsilanti, Michigan and the former C.P.S. camp in Gulfport, Mississippi, both of which were advertised in the *Goshen College Record* as a "peacetime plan that is being developed by the M. C. C. where we, the youth of the church, can take an active part in helping others."[75] The VS program continued to grow in the coming years, along with a number of college graduate-oriented programs such as the Peace Corps, which also took some inspiration from C.P.S.

Even so, by the end of the 1940s a minority of students were beginning to show signs of frustration with the limits of material aid and physical labor. According to student Gerhard von Beckerath, many of the programs established by the Mennonite Central Committee or the Mennonite Relief Committee were simply reactive. "We can do more if we eliminate the evil at its source," he wrote.

> **The Christian loves the Moslem and the Hindu, the Arab and the Jew, the Russian and the American. His heart is with all of them. He sends relief workers and parcels over all the world to keep the needy ones alive – but only that they might be slaughtered in the next year![76]**

The inclination felt by many students to address the causes as well as the effects of warfare merged with the emerging debate in the Mennonite Church over the acceptability of nonviolent resistance as opposed to the traditional doctrine of nonresistance. Although the term nonviolent resistance was floating around as early as 1935,[77] it would not be seriously considered until after World War II, and would not be accepted by a large number, even among the younger generation, until the Civil Rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s and '70s. In fact, not all Mennonites had been willing to endorse the C.P.S. camps from the beginning, although most accepted that they were the best option under the circumstances.[78] After the war ended and the immediate

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73 Edgar Metzler, "Students Speak," *Goshen College Record* 50, no. 1 (September 1948): 2.

74 Albert Meyer, "Opportunities for Service," *Goshen College Record* 48, no. 12 (March 1947): 2.

75 Ibid.

76 Gerhard von Beckerath, "News Views," *Goshen College Record* 50, no. 10 (February 1949): 1.

77 In *Goshen College Record* 36, no. 5 (February 1935): 1-3, Dr. Edward Yoder wrote an article called "A More Excellent Way" in which he noted, "The technique of nonviolent resistance and the real possibilities for overcoming evil with good have seldom been thought upon seriously by Christians."

78 Perry Bush, *Two Kingdoms, Two Loyalties*.

need for the camps had passed, a portion of the Church hoped to return to the pre-war stance of sectarian nonresistance, as made apparent by student Albert Meyer's comparison of generational attitudes in 1947:

> **I recently overheard several older members of our church discussing some of the problems involved [with the C.P.S. program]. Some of them doubted whether the results of our experiences were desirable. Several of them seemed to have the idea that we must do our best to close ourselves up in "Mennonite communities" where we will not have to face all this "undesirable contact" with the world about us.**[79]

Needless to say, Goshen students were past the point where sectarian community was an option, and a Peace Society meeting in January of 1949 suggested their opinion reflected a global phenomenon, for students from Germany, Switzerland, and France all spoke about the "loss of the traditional doctrine of nonresistance" in their own countries.[80] Although the language of nonresistance would continue to be used, increased participation in the world had become a necessity for the Mennonite Church, and for Goshen College students it had become a defining characteristic, so much so that 50 years later the *Goshen College Record* looked back on the 1940s and observed,

> **In the past 50 years many things at GC have changed, but the commitment to nonviolence, service and community has remained…Because of its commitment to peace and nonviolence, GC, and the Mennonite church in general, was not popular with the local community during the war…The men who did Civilian Public Service (CPS) work knew that leaving the college meant sacrifice, but it also meant living up to a principle for which GC stands.**[81]

The 1950s passed relatively uneventfully for the College, at least in terms of peace-related action. Having lost the antithesis of war to react against, it is possible that the College community initially found it difficult to find ways of keeping peace foremost in their thoughts. In some sense it was a time of recovery from years of intensely focused effort expended during World War II. It was also a time of preparation, as Goshen students adjusted to having C.P.S. and relief participants back in their midst, and then reoriented themselves toward current world events including the perceived Communist threat. Voluntary Service options from the Mennonite Central Committee and the Mennonite Relief Committee continued to develop, the Peace Society began and then ceased to sponsor Gospel Peace Teams over the course of a few years, and the college community began to test the waters of the race relations debate by sending a few students to do service work at the bi-racial Flanner House in Indianapolis and by inviting Dr. Mordecia Wyatt Johnson to speak on the

79 Albert Meyer, "Opportunities for Service," *Goshen College Record* 48, no. 12 (March 1947): 2.
80 "Pacifists Meet," *Goshen College Record* 50, no. 8 (January 1949): 1.
81 Nathan Osborne, "50 Years of Service, Community, and Peace," *Goshen College Record* 103, no. 4 (October 1993): 6.

topic.[82] Although the College continued to take more notice of political events than they had in the past, the Peace Society in particular began to take interest, largely due to the influence of J. Lawrence Burkholder, who led several peace workshops on the topic of social responsibility in 1955.[83] Edgar Metzler, then secretary of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, also spoke to the Society about peace witness in the political sphere on multiple occasions.[84] In 1962, an impressive 86 students signed a statement committing themselves to communicating their views to the government, and a few weeks later they followed up on their promise by sending 16 students with Professor C. Norman Kraus to Washington, where the group met with a number of congressmen to discuss atmospheric nuclear testing.[85] By the election year of 1964, a significant minority of students and faculty on campus were consistently aware and somewhat involved with local and national political happenings. *Record* writer Frank L. Hartzler paid tribute to the trend in November that year, noting that the Goldwater-Johnson campaign was one,

> **in which Goshen College has been involved to a greater extent than ever before… Students read the news magazines, editorial columns and listened to newscasts. They discussed the foreign and domestic issues confronted in the country. In some cases they helped local Republican and Democratic committees register voters.**[86]

It was also the first year in which Goshen invited partisan political figures to debate each other on campus, as occurred when Democratic candidate for Indiana's third congressional district John Brademas and his opponent Robert Miller visited the week before their election. While the College's administration busily assured outside parties that they were endorsing no particular candidates, students were planning letter-writing campaigns to government representatives and discussing the possibility of forming political party-specific clubs, unwittingly helping to position the campus for action in the momentous events of the 1960s.

82 David Bowman, "On the Goshen College Peace Society: 1935-1965. "The Hershberger Era,"" (Mennonite Historical Library vertical records, Goshen College, 1978), 19; & Rosemary van Dyke, "Y Sponsored Service Projects Solicits Student Efforts," *Goshen College Record* 55, no. 12 (April 1954): 4; & Omar Lantz, "Johnson Presents Lecture on Better Race Relations," *Goshen College Record* 55, no. 10 (March 1954): 3.
83 *Goshen College Record* 57, no. 3 (October 1955): 3.
84 *Goshen College Record* 58, no. 4 (November 1956): 2.
85 "Students Go to Washington to Present Petitions for Peace," *Goshen College Record* 63, no. 9 (February 1962): 1; & "Peace Action Participation to Take Various Forms," *Goshen College Record* 63, no. 10 (February 1962): 3.
86 Frank L. Hartzler, "Goshen Student Body Exhibits Increased Political Awareness," *Goshen College Record* 65, no. 4 (November 1964): 1.

IX. Sixties/Civil Rights

Along with young people across the nation, Goshen students were swept up in the excitement of the Civil Rights movement, drawn by inspiring orators, large crowds, and entirely new ways to be socially effective and yet nonviolent. Driven by the personal testimonies of African-American classmates, educated by classes and conferences on race relations, and freed to some extent from Church disapproval of nonviolent forms of political activism, student groups – most notably the Peace Society, and then an African-American Society starting in 1969 – joined the lines of protestors in Washington and Montgomery. Even so, Goshen students exhibited a curious hesitation to fully commit to Civil Rights rallies, marches, boycotts, and sit-ins. It was not the goals of the movement about which they were suspicious, nor was there any great amount of indecision regarding the right of black citizens to claim social and economic equality. After all, racial equality was not a new concept on campus. It had been addressed in a limited fashion by the student missions committee in 1916-1917, and as early as 1925 the *Record* noted with some humor that "evidently some people are getting tired of the white race and enjoy visiting the Negro Church at Elkhart."[87] The first African-American student was admitted in 1942, well before legislation arrived to force schools to desegregate. Students had also taught in African-American schools as part of the myriad of service initiatives following World War II and identified "the attitude of the white race toward the Negro" as an irrational result of their nation's war-time climate of fear.[88] Despite its status as a northern, private, predominantly white campus, Goshen College's past action and thought seemed to indicate its students would dive headfirst into the Civil Rights movement.

However, the fact that the majority of people on campus thought civil rights activists were clearly justified did not always prevent students and faculty from becoming bogged down in debate over the appropriateness of protest methods. As early as 1957, students traveled to Georgia to volunteer at a bi-racial farm called Koinonia, where they received a first-hand account about the bus boycotts being organized by the Montgomery Improvement Association. At times students were unsure about the boycott method's effectiveness; at other times they were enthusiastic to encounter experimental forms of demanding social justice. Whatever the case, it is clear that "those who volunteered had to ask themselves about the extent of nonresistance, such as…could [the boycotts] be justified by the "thoroughgoing pacifist"… [who does] distinguish between different kinds of force and between force and violence."[89] Similar questions arose on campus repeatedly through the 1960s, as Mennonite students were forced to consider the pros and cons of economic and social forms of coercion and their challenge to a faith-based view of nonresistance. In doing so

87 *Goshen College Record* 27, no. 1 (October 1925): 17.
88 Norman Kraus, "Seniors Bid Farewell," *Goshen College Record* 47, no. 16 (May 1946): 3.
89 Victor Stoltzfus, "Through a Glass Darkly," *Goshen College Record* 58, no. 13 (May 1957): 4.

they were reflecting the influence of Guy F. Hershberger, who had addressed the use of nonresistance in Civil Rights protest briefly in *War, Peace and Nonresistance*.[90] According to Jan Bender Shetler,

> **It was, in fact, this question that nearly paralyzed the church from any kind of action at all… Coercion, whether violent or nonviolent, was seen as a form of warfare and therefore against the Gospel. Although Hershberger made it clear that he was in sympathy with the black cause, he could not agree with their methods.[91]**

The question of how to apply a nonresistant stance to social affairs was one which each generation of Goshen students had to explore for themselves, and whether or not they were familiar with Hershberger's writings, his views were often echoed on campus.

Ironically, the same students who were struggling with the questions asked by Hershberger and other Mennonite leaders became so impatient with elder Mennonite authority in the late 1950s that it seemed as though they would join Civil Rights action of any kind, just to assert their own independence:

> **Did you know that Mennonites make the most withdrawn, inhibited, timid, unassertive, and unquestioning students known? No one submits more easily to authoritarian pressures and traditional molds than a Mennonite…Are we weakly allowing our social, intellectual, and religious convictions to be decided by others? Did we merely bring funnels along with us when we came to college or are we equipped with sieves to test and try whatever comes our way? Will we never rise above our background and environment?...There is a basic sanity and stability connected with a conservative and authoritarian background, but it only becomes an advantage as it is exploited to serve a free, seeking, courageous individual in his social, cultural, and religious pursuits.[92]**

A couple of years later, however, frustration with Mennonite nonresistant heritage had been largely subsumed by the sincere intention to pursue civil rights justice in the most "Christian" way possible; to acknowledge responsibility for race-related social problems and to withhold judgment for the methods black citizens used to respond to them. Students especially tended to embrace the nonviolent methods of Martin Luther King Jr. and civil rights activists on their own terms (rather than as a separate protest option against nonresistant doctrine) after two events in the early 1960s. First, King spoke on campus March 10, 1960.[93] Second, 20 Goshen students attended an Intercollegiate Peace Fellowship Conference at Fisk University, Nashville, March 23-25, 1961, on the theme of race relations.[94] At the conference, students heard first-hand accounts from participants in the sit-in movement in Nashville, and were deeply moved by what they heard:

90 Guy F. Hershberger, *War, Peace and Nonresistance*, (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1969).
91 Jan Bender Shetler, "A Prophetic Voice in Race Relations? The Mennonite Church: Missions to Minority Ministries," (History Thesis, Goshen College, 1977), 13-14.
92 "Are We Going to Stand For It," *Goshen College Record* 59, no. 9 (February 1958): 5.
93 *Goshen College Record* 61, no. 7 (January 1960): 1.
94 "IPF Conference at Fisk to be Race Relations," *Goshen College Record* 62, no. 10 (March 1961): 3.

> **Traditionally, Mennonites have been understood to hold to a somewhat indifferent type of passive non-resistant doctrine… However, times and people change, and God reveals further direction to those who truly seek. The question in point is whether we as Mennonites…are being challenged to a more positive expression of the love of Christ to the evil of the world in which we live. Or, are we really non-resistant? And should we be if we are?...Heretofore, my concept of this sit-in movement in the South was a fight for equal social rights and economic opportunity. A struggle by the black race to throw off the yoke it had been forced to carry for several hundred years in this country. The students and leaders of the sit-in movement in Nashville, however, presented convincing evidence – both in spirit and results – of the power of a positive, active love to one's neighbor and to the existing evil. Non-resistance? Or non-violent resistance? No, let's not dwell with confusing terminology; these terms are of little significance in themselves. What is significant is the meaning we put into the term; and thus it is with the group of Negro students and ministers in Nashville…Literally loving one's enemy and being willingly ready to suffer for the sins of the system if this action speaks to a truth is certainly one step of the way of the cross. In Nashville they are attempting to do just this. Love has become a force.[95]**

Others on the college campus were not so easily convinced of the need for nonviolent action, nor were all members willing to lay "confusing terminology" aside in order to move ahead with civil rights. The *Record* printed a number of opposing views on the issue throughout the early 1960s, presenting a kaleidoscope of topics ranging from the "irrelevancy" of picketing and ineffectuality of protest marches to the lack of genuine religion found in the movement and its leaders.[96] Persistent disagreement over the efficacy and moral justification for different types of action caused Goshen College to be absent from many of the earliest civil rights demonstrations and government petitions, with the exception of a small number of students and a few faculty.

As the 1960s wore on, however, criticism of the Civil Rights movement diminished and more and more people took on political action. Students were much impressed by guest speaker John Griffin, who had written a book about his experience masquerading as a black man in the South and who argued, "We don't realize we are in a massive era involved in drawing up an indictment against an entire people…Our silence is condoning."[97] Two years later they would again be inspired to action by Southern Christian Leadership Conference representative Dr. Vincent Harding, who visited campus during a Peace Emphasis Week.[98] Students Ron Mininger, Dick Brunk, Deloss Schertz, Sam Steiner, and Marv Eash participated in the 1965 march on Montgomery. Goshen participation was temporarily stalled again around 1967 due to increased aggression, violence, and radicalism among some activists as well as the tendency of groups such as the Student Nonviolent

95 Stanley Friesen, "Active Love," *Goshen College Record* 62, no. 12 (April 1961): 2.
96 "Appropriate Protest," *Goshen College Record* 65, no. 16 (May 1964): 4; & Henry David (Tom Harley), "Thoroughly," *Goshen College Record* 66, no. 12 (March 1965): 2.
97 "Standing-Room Only Crowd Hears of Griffin Experiment," *Goshen College Record* 65, no. 3 (October 1964): 1.
98 "Harding Gives Peace Lectures," *Goshen College Record* 68, no. 3 (October 1966): 1.

Coordinating Committee and the Black Panthers to refuse white help, but some students also expressed their full support for "Black Power."[99] By March of 1968, the majority of students were thoroughly fed up with inaction, as expressed by student Ray Funk who, in looking ahead to an upcoming All-School Study Day on "Race Relations in America," demanded,

> **Have we as Mennonites been involved because we actually feel we can offer an alternative or because we wish to maintain our "saint" and "servant" images? Or has our involvement been a token one, designed to least ruffle the status quo?**
>
> **Beyond this lie the questions WASP society as a whole must ask itself. Are we so committed to our corrupted institutions that the black people must use guerilla warfare to wrest from us the right to choose their individual destinies?**
>
> **Can we at this late moment still convince the black people that we are serious about making amends for the unbelievable past we have subjected them to?...**
>
> **All of us, white and black, must ask ourselves if we both are not clinging to subtle forms of racism which will lead us on a collision course.[100]**

The very next month, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated and the campus community joined in a vigil to mourn his death. For some, the event, and the race riots that followed, acted as a catalyst for action. As soon as a couple of weeks later, 12 students spent a week in a Chicago ghetto sponsored by Adrian Powell Inc. to help raise funds for Reverend Ralph Pennery's campaign for alderman of the first ward "against Mayor [Richard J.] Daley's machine."[101] The group and other students also sent telegrams to Congress urging the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Black students began to meet together regularly on campus, contributing to the growing unity among students wanting to contribute in concrete ways to social justice.[102] The Student Senate appointed a committee to formulate a statement on human rights and examine the possibility of increasing funds for "Negro scholarships."[103] In 1970, four members of the Black Panthers visited the college, reflecting students' growing interest in the more radical side of Civil Rights.[104] By 1971, the Black Student Union was well established and the number of African American students on campus had risen to 64, the highest it would reach for the rest of the century.[105]

In some ways, the increased energy and ambition felt on campus had come too late. Most students had

99 Marvin Hochstedler, *Goshen College Record* 68, no. 14 (April 1967): 1.
100 Ray Funk, "Goshen Students to Confront Issue of 'Subtle Racism'," *Goshen College Record* 69, no. 11 (March 1968): 3.
101 "A.P. Inc. Relate Ghetto Experience," *Goshen College Record* 69, no. 13 (April 1968): 1.
102 Rosetta Savanick, "Negro Group Forms on Campus," *Goshen College Record* 69, no. 13 (April 1968): 1.
103 *Goshen College Record* 69, no. 14 (May 1968): 2.
104 Steven P. Miller, "Mediating Revolution: The Goshen College Peace Society and the New Left, 1965-1972," (Bachelor's thesis, Goshen College, 1999).
105 Dominique Burgunder-Johnson, "Black, White, and Mennonite: African American Students at Goshen College, 1963-1983," (Bachelor's thesis, Goshen College, 2006).

missed their chance to join the historic nonviolent gatherings that had taken place in Selma, Montgomery, Birmingham, and Atlanta. The college had hosted more African American artists than Civil Rights political leaders, and had spent 15 crucial years (1950-1965) discussing among themselves whether nonresistance precluded demanding justice from the government instead of coming to a compromise that would have allowed for more action and dialogue with groups outside of their own belief system. However, as the 1970s went on and many sections of society assumed Civil Rights were a concern of the past, Goshen College did not let the issue go. Instead, they continued to seek ways to improve race relations on campus. Students in particular were frustrated with the lack of cultural understanding between groups and the separation it caused.[106] According to Vic Chaney,

> **We all try to pretend the problem of segregation on this campus doesn't exist. We try to hide it but it comes out in the cafeteria and on the Opinion Board. We need to bring the problem out in the open – even if people get angry.[107]**

There were a number of attempts on campus in the early 1970s to "bring the problem out in the open," most notably the Human Relations Training Seminars sponsored by the Committee on Black Education. The Seminars brought eight black and eight white faculty and students together weekly to discuss a number of issues and build trust through personal sharing of experiences. According to J. Howard Kauffman, the conversation "helps to point out the great distance between the black and white points of view."[108] However, it was often difficult to attract participants for such efforts. Unfortunately, white students were gearing up for action at the same moment many black students felt they needed space from the issue and time to build their own sense of identity amidst a white campus. Black students at Goshen requested the formation of an all-black cultural center and/or community living situation. Black enrollment went from 64 in 1971 to 35 in 1974, increasing the tendency of minority students to form separate social groups.[109] Their need for a place of their own on campus was intensified by the demographics of the city of Goshen, a historic "sundown town" which had "virtually no black population until about 1970."[110] In April of 1972, the Black Student Union was granted the use of Howell House as a gathering place for black students, but the lack of other resources for minority groups prompted a new set of requests in 1976, including increased recruitment of black students, the incorporation of more

106 A more detailed account of African American student enrollment and experiences can be found in Dominique Burgunder-Johnson, "Black, White, and Mennonite: African American Students at Goshen College, 1963-1983."
107 Gayle Dosher, "Cultural Difference Separate Black and White," *Goshen College Record* 81, no. 11 (November 1971): 2.
108 Dan Leichty, "Racial Seminar Report: 'A Long Way to Go'," *Goshen College Record* 82, no. 19 (February 1973): 1.
109 Denise Pike, "Black Enrollment Down; Less Active Recruiting Charged," *Goshen College Record* 84, no. 8 (Novmber 1974): 1.
110 Cassie Greer, "All White on Purpose? An Exploration of Goshen, Indiana as a Sundown Town in the Twentieth Century," (Bachelor's thesis, Goshen College, 2007).

minority individuals into the administration and faculty, more minority speakers in convocations and chapels, an expanded Black Studies program, and African-Black Art exhibits.[111]

Not all students' requests were accommodated, but Goshen's administration established annual Black History Week study days and celebrations, and then a Cross-Cultural Relations Center in 1977. Several more Black Studies courses were added to the curriculum in the early 1980s, and Damascus Road Anti-Racism Training would soon become another fixture on campus.[112] To some, Goshen's progress on race relations seemed agonizingly slow; for others, each advancement brought hope for the future. Given that each new incoming class changed the dynamics of the debate and forced a recurring cycle of education on issues of race, Goshen's progress through the 1980s and '90s might best be described as slow but steady. Dominique Burgunder-Johnson described the current pattern best when she observed,

> **Goshen clearly values the need for building intercultural relationships and diversity, but their response**
> **to this desire has shown itself to be cyclical, always returning them to the place they started. Regina Shands-Stolztfus questioned this ongoing pattern observed in minority student enrollment at Goshen College by asking, "How much of this is every generation having to deal with this and how much is a lack of progress?[113]**

Increasing minority enrollment, retaining minority students, and encouraging interracial conversation and relationships among the college population is an ongoing challenge, however, it is important to remember that the Civil Rights Movement at Goshen is, in the words of student Robin Schmoyer, "still alive," and "each individual can make a difference in eliminating racial tension in our society."[114]

111 Deb Blackwell, "White Majority can Overcome Negative Feelings," *Goshen College Record* 85, no. 17 (February 1976): 2.
112 Gerald Schabach and Anne Meyer Byler, "Cross-Cultural Relations Center Going into Action," *Goshen College Record* 87, no. 4 (October 1977): 1.
113 Dominique Burgunder-Johnson, 57-58.
114 Robin Schmoyer, "Williams Encourages Action," *Goshen College Record* 100, no. 10 (November 1990): 1.

X. Vietnam/Study Service Term

Civil Rights were not the only issue with which Goshen College had to contend in the 1960s. The same decade saw the establishment of the College's unique Study-Service Term as well as a new round of student anti-war activism, which easily matched and may have exceeded interest and activity concerning racial equality. Drawing on the legacy of World War II, the majority of Mennonite students on campus were more than ready to engage in draft resistance and peace marches, as evidenced by the large group of students who took part in the March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam on November 27, 1965, despite a considerable amount of debate on campus over its potential to alienate society's pro-war majority.[115] The march was one of the earliest mass protests against military activity in Vietnam and included many radical groups including Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and supporters of Ho Chi Minh. As with much of the on-campus Civil Rights debate, concerns were expressed about being identified with the "wrong group" or being pressured into non-Christian action. However, student marchers including Ray Brubacher were of the opinion that,

> **The trouble with many Christians is that they always try to find a pure white answer, and while they seek they do nothing. I think it is time we realized that many of our decisions and actions are not entirely perfect and guiltless and that as we act we should pray for the mercy of God, realizing that what we are doing has some inherent wrong in it, but also realizing that we have chosen the best path.**[116]

The College also had several personal connections with Vietnam which helped to persuade students and faculty to action. In 1966, Goshen welcomed Thienan von Goc, a Vietnamese exchange student who had struck an acquaintance with Professor S. A. Yoder during his sabbatical at the University of Hue.[117] Then there was the correspondence of Professor Atlee Beechy, who was in Vietnam working with the Mennonite Central Committee's medical and emergency distribution services at the onset of the Tet Offensive in 1968.[118] Joining his voice was that of a Goshen alum then part of the PAX program in Vietnam, whose letter describing the suffering of the Vietnamese people and calling for action was published in the *Record* at the end of 1967:

> **The time is passed when we can still sit around discussing what we should do…You can refuse to even register for the draft, you can march, you can demand that your Christian church not only make a statement but also take action…You feel comfortable back there, do you? It is easy to "arm chair" a war when you are thousands of miles away from it…But suddenly I have found out what living without a tomorrow is like. Perhaps we all need a taste of it in America.**[119]

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115 Steven P. Miller & "Students Attend Peace March," *Goshen College Record* 67, no. 5 (November 1965): 3.
116 Eric C. Lehman, "Reflections on a March," *Goshen College Record* 67, no. 6 (December 1965): 3.
117 Pat Mishler, "Thienan Arrives at GC," *Goshen College Record* 68, no. 6 (November 1966): 2.
118 Yvonne Kraus, "Beechy: 'Vietnam Situation Worse'," *Goshen College Record* 69, no. 10 (March 1968): 6.
119 Jonathan Lind, "Former Goshen Student in Vietnam Begs for American End to 'Hell'," *Goshen College Record* 69, no. 6 (December 1967): 2.

Draft resistance was certainly a popular topic on campus, although refusing to register was not the only response to the topic by any means. A good number of students supported the idea of turning in their draft cards, either to government offices or to church officials,[120] while others thought the alternative service option of WWII was far more effective and useful than time spent in jail. Others argued that public demonstrations and letter-writing campaigns to Congress would be more effective in ending the war than any form of draft resistance.[121] Another reoccurring question was that of war taxes. According to an on-campus projected estimate for the 1968 fiscal year, GC faculty and staff were going to contribute approximately $15,000 to the War through income tax, a statistic which generated much debate over whether the College could afford the possible consequences of withholding their employees' taxes.[122] Six years later the issue was still being debated without any concrete plan, but at a conference on war taxes in Kitchener, Ontario, ten Goshen representatives supported the conference's conclusion to leave the question of taxes up to individual, rather than institutional, conscience.[123]

In 1970, up to ten or more Goshen students had turned in their draft cards.[124] Their action, along with a slate of study days, conferences, Peace Society meetings, vigils, and widespread support for national protests culminated in an official statement from the faculty in 1980, which reaffirmed their opposition to peacetime military conscription and their support of Church-approved alternatives including conscientious objection and non-cooperation. Under College policy, students' names would not be released for Selective Service registration, military recruitment materials would not be displayed on campus, and faculty committed to counseling students in alternatives to military service.[125]

Despite the obvious commitment of many students and faculty at Goshen, there were still those who criticized the lack of international concern found on campus, or even just a lack of energy, especially moving into the 1970s. The *Record* observed a difference between the confrontational spirit of the 1960s and the '70's "relative calm," while those still discouraged by Goshen's delayed reaction during the Civil Rights Movement complained that "The unsuccessful protest years have only produced a group of bruised and apathetic students, who want no part of the establishment."[126] Although antiwar action invited the same criticisms and doubts as

120 A 1967 conference of the Peace and Social Concerns Committees of the General Conference and Old Mennonite Churches had examined a proposal for students to turn their draft cards in to a delegated church official, who would then deliver them to the appropriate personnel in the Justice Department. The General Conference was willing to consider the idea, while the OM Churches decided against it. "Vietnam War: Quest for a Conscience," *Goshen College Record* 69, no. 6 (December 1967): 4-5.

121 *Goshen College Record* 69, no. 9 (February 1968): 4.

122 "Vietnam War: Quest for a Conscience," *Goshen College Record* 69, no. (December 1967): 4-5.

123 "GC Conscience on Trial," *Goshen College Record* 85, no. 10 (November 1975): 3.

124 Ray Hershberger, "Activism – Now a Whimper," *Goshen College Record* 83, no. 24 (April 1974): 15.

125 "GC Faculty Adopts Statement on Draft Registration," *Goshen College Record* 89, no. 30 (June 1980): 2.

126 "JLB to Stress Relationships," *Goshen College Record* 81, no. 1 (September 1971): 1 & "Campus Apathy?" *Goshen College*

Civil Rights, students still exhibited more willingness to join in war protests, likely for two reasons. First, the war seemed to many to be a relatively clear-cut moral issue that easily unified a large portion of the campus. There was some sense of relief in finding a cause about which every pacifist could be automatically expected to feel a specific way. As student Bob Johnson reminisced in 1982,

> **Goshen College was alive in those years with a fervor and passionate hopefulness that vibrated a whole nation. Every decision you made – how you dressed, how you spoke, what you owned, how you played – was charged with political significance. Classes were seen, at their best, as journeys toward enlightenment…Yes, we hated and feared the war, but I can't resist offering the notion that we loved equally the chance it gave us to bond ourselves to one another in a society increasingly mobilized and fragmented.**[127]

Perhaps students' search for unity and attachment on campus contributed to the second reason students felt so strongly about Vietnam: the nature of the War fell right in line with a growing sense of international awareness and solidarity. Students were well aware of the revolutionary movements in Africa against colonialist powers, newly sensitized to the discriminatory nature of social institutions, and angered at what Professor J. R. Burkholder identified as "A distorted conception of "national honor" [which] is driving the richest and most powerful nation on earth to the systematic destruction of one of the poorest and weakest."[128] They had relationships with foreign exchange students on campus and experience with local and foreign relief projects, some of which had continued from the World War days. The College therefore had strong motivation to say, "Now is not the time for Americans to think of nationalism. It is a time for internationalism, a time for cooperation."[129]

Since 1917, Goshen had been welcoming exchange students from a number of countries, through a number of channels. The first came from the Dominican Republic and Cuba. In 1926 there were students on campus native to Canada and South America, while many of the earliest exchange students also came from India as a direct result of the College's connection with foreign missionaries there.[130] Following World War I, reconstruction workers networked with students in France, Germany and Russia. A greater number of international students came to campus following World War II, again largely because of relief programs and the expanding work of Mennonite Central Committee, which provided foreign students, and especially international Mennonites, the opportunity to connect with Mennonite colleges in the United States. There were even

Record 82, no. 2 (September 1972): 2.

127 Bob Johnson, "Survivor of the '60s Recalls Fervent Era," *Goshen College Record* 92, no. 11 (December 1982): 5.

128 J.R. Burkholder, "Vietnam and American Pride," *Goshen College Record* 67, no. 5 (November 1965): 2.

129 "We, the Americans," *Goshen College Record* 67, no. 4 (November 1965): 2.

130 *Goshen College Record* 28, no. 3 (December 1926): 1.

moments when Goshen personnel went abroad personally for the express purpose of recruiting international students, as did President E. E. Miller in 1946 and Dr. Paul Bender in 1958.[131] The former traveled to Holland, Switzerland and Germany seeking Mennonite students, the latter to the Netherlands. Goshen students were sometimes involved as well, and in 1945-46 they raised almost $1,000 to help bring foreign students to campus, an amount which sponsored three students from Puerto Rico. Then, in 1968, the Study Service Term (SST) program opened many new channels through which to attract international students. Today, international students make up about eight percent of Goshen's student body, 70-80 percent of students study abroad, and over half of the faculty has lived abroad.[132]

The presence of international students on campus has always been one of the greatest motivating factors for U.S. American students to stay alert to current events. In the early 1960s, for example, there were a significant percentage of international students at Goshen at the same time that the *Record* began printing regular updates on world events and conflicts, including the development problems of post-colonial African nations and the Pakistan-India conflict.[133] Though coverage of international news had increased during each World War, students had never written so extensively concerning the outside world as in the 1950s and '60s. Not to mention that seven years before the first SST group went to Costa Rica, students were starting to consider themselves global citizens, as expressed by *Record* editor Stanley King:

> **This so-called "outside world" is also our world. We are not only students of Goshen College, but we are also citizens of the world and, as citizens, we have a responsibility to be informed about world events.[134]**

As dedicated as the College was to on-campus diversity and awareness, their commitment to instilling an "international mindedness" in their U.S. American students, which dates back to early-20th century missionary activity (see page 16), has been far better served by sending students abroad. The Council of Mennonite Colleges was the first to sponsor large groups of Goshen students in international "seminars" in Haiti and El Salvador. Dr. Henry Weaver, secretary for the Council's International Education Services, stated, "There are a number of ways in which an international perspective can be obtained, but it is doubtful that any method is as good as living abroad."[135] Goshen College agreed, and in October of 1966 the faculty unanimously endorsed

131 "Foreign Students Coming to GC," *Goshen College Record* 47, no. 14 (April 1946): 2 & Anne Kraybill, "Dr. Paul Bender Returns from Work in Netherlands," *Goshen College Record* 59, no. 7 (January 1958): 3.

132 Goshen College, "Diversity at Goshen College," http://www.goshen.edu/aboutgc/diversity/.

133 "African Nations Face Development Problems," *Goshen College Record* 67, no. 1 (September 1965): 2 & *Goshen College Record* 67, no. 2 (October 1965): 3.

134 Stanley King, "Responsible Citizenship," *Goshen College Record* 62, no. 8 (February 1961): 2.

135 "Study Abroad," *Goshen College Record* 67, no. 7 (January 1966): 3.

international study terms.[136] By January of 1968, 300 students from Goshen and Hesston Colleges had received official notice and locations for Study-Service Terms.[137]

The thousands of students who have since participated in SST came out of their experiences with a new appreciation for the wideness of the world and increased understanding as to cultural differences and human nature, along with incredible personal growth. SST sets both the College and its graduates apart – the College for its innovation, and graduates for their global perspective and understanding. The program constitutes a symbol of many of the values Goshen holds dear, including service to others, respect for cultural differences, and peaceful dialogue and cooperation between individuals and nations. As such, it is fiercely protected when criticized. Often called Goshen's "sacred cow," SST has been challenged over the years for the lack of preparation and follow-up afforded students, the potentially imperialistic connotation of its idea of "service," the hierarchy that emerges among past participants (as when a Cambodian SSTer feels superior to the German SSTer for having survived more intense physical sacrifices), and the absence of domestic SST units in southern states, among American Indians, or in inner-city settings.[138] While each suggestion for improvement is valuable, Goshen has retained a tendency to react defensively when faced with these assessments, as noted by Tom Meyers in 2001, "For many of us, when the SST program is critiqued, we tend to respond like those patriots who become nearly apoplectic when the American flag is desecrated."[139]

Even so, the College has taken many past criticisms and suggestions into account, as evidenced by increased language preparation and a recently-established SST in Goshen's immediate Latino community in the summer of 2010. And while defensiveness is not the most helpful of reactions, the rationale behind it is easily apparent given that SST lies at the heart of the College's peace commitment. This is due to the College's belief that building interpersonal relationships may contribute as much to global peace as any court ruling or political treaty.

According to Wilbur Birky, director of international education in the late 1990s:

> **SST will endure and will prevail. It will build on the forms of the past, but it will also continue to dwell in possibility – driven by our commitment to transcend North American tendencies toward cultural arrogance, to develop "servant leaders" for the world, and to respond to an era just now emerging.[140]**

136 Arlene Koch, "Student Term Abroad Endorsed by Faculty," *Goshen College Record* 68, no. 3 (October 1966): 1.

137 *Goshen College Record* 69, no. 7 (January 1968): 1.

138 Steve Denlinger, "Sacred Cow Evaluated," *Goshen College Record* 86, no. 16 (January 1977): 7 & David Hiebert, "Misplaced Emphasis," *Goshen College Record* 81, no. 29 (June 1972): 2.

139 Tom Meyers, "Letter to the Editor," *Goshen College Record* 110, no. 14 (February 2001): 2.

140 *Goshen College Record* 108, no. 13 (January 1999): 6-7.

The mass marches of Civil Rights and Vietnam had passed, students lost much of their fear over the draft, and the SST programs moved beyond the first glow of novelty. Although no past peace issue had truly disappeared, Goshen began to feel that an era had ended. Peace Society president Ron Kraybill was one of the first to predict how the College would approach peace in the next decade:

> Perhaps it would be best if activism as a movement be laid to rest. With it needs to go the vestigial conviction that change will come quickly. Certainly Goshen College, with our historical emphasis on peacemaking and service, should continue to work on the perennial peace issues. But our rationale needs to change from that of "reacting against," to a more reasoned solid stance "in affirmation of."[141]

Students and faculty alike would take a break from activism in the 1970s, if only in the political arena. And the College would also maintain a steady stream of education, awareness and discussion on "perennial" issues ranging from disarmament to racial equality and diversity to labor union struggles. The affirmation of individual worth and creativity took on new significance as students entered a decade of self-examination.

141 Ray Hershberger, "Activism – Now a Whimper," *Goshen College Record* 83, no. 24 (April 1974): 15.

XI. Seventies/Eighties/ Women's Issues

It was during the feminist movements of the 1970s and ‘80s that Goshen College began to embrace a wider view of a peaceful society, where peace included every individual having the opportunity to fulfill their individual potential, whether or not that meant staying true to social norms. It is generally assumed that women in the United States took some inspiration from the Civil Rights movement in their struggle for equality, although they had been challenging traditional gender roles to some extent since World War II opened doors in the job market. Even before the War women were demanding recognition for their roles as mothers, wives, and homemakers. The same patterns were reflected on Goshen’s campus. In 1901, the *Record* encouraged each female student to remember that her “highest duty and her holiest position is in her home, through which she is really the ruler of the world…We are wasting time when we harangue on the question of women’s rights.”[142] Not only that, but keeping to the home and maintaining “law and order” there was considered a “very potent factor in bringing the spirit of peace; greater honesty in business; better homes; more efficient educational system; and better churches.”[143] By the 1920s, students at Goshen were beginning to question whether running a home was truly the most women could contribute to “the spirit of peace” – or to student groups on campus, for that matter. In a 1932 opinion piece in the *Record*, students were asked, “Is it true that in co-educational colleges like ours the women are not given proper recognition?” To which Ruth Ebersole replied, “May the best man win, but if the best man is a woman, that is all right too.”[144] Given that not all students felt the same way – several women on campus argued that the major student offices were better left up to men – but they were beginning to chafe at the relative lack of recognition and/or opportunity they received. For the time being, though, most students felt as Alma Kauffman did when she wrote,

> **Surely woman has a very definite place in the world today. Why she should, in the guise of the modern woman, attempt to replace man, her coworker, against the will of her Creator, is a puzzle. Yet many today are attempting that very thing, and as a result we have coarseness, degradation, misfits, restlessness and unhappiness. A square peg may be placed in a round hole, but by no shaping or chiseling will it ever fit.**[145]

Fifteen years later, female students had largely given up on the idea of “replacing” men – but they were also much less likely to believe that by expanding the social definition of their capabilities, they were attempting to place a square peg in a round hole. As noted, young women wanting to provide a service to their country during World War II entered multiple professions previously unexplored. Female students joined in

142 Olivia W. Good, “Girls in Education,” *Institute Monthly*, III, no. 10 (June 1901): 150.
143 W. B. Weaver, “The Place of Woman in Society,” *Goshen College Record* 24, no. 5 (February1922): 1.
144 *Goshen College Record* 33, no. 7 (April 1932): 7.
145 Alma Kauffman, *Goshen College Record* 36, no. 7 (April 1935): 7.

with relief training camps, and many sought out positions in mental hospitals as a parallel to Civilian Public Service Camps. Immediately following the war, both male and female students looked back on their wartime service and realized, along with the Mennonite church, that their "peace witness," while noteworthy, had been weakened by the number of women who worked in war industries, and the number of men who assumed military service:

> **In the past, and even now, we may have consciously or unconsciously assumed that the failure of the peace way of life was largely dependent on the men, the draftees, who were faced with the decision of accepting military service or the alternative, C. P. S. Yes, they must be our leaders, carry the torch the highest, but we must realize that the clarity of the witness depends on all… We now know that approximately 50 percent of drafted men from our churches accepted military service. Regrettable, we say! But what kind of picture would we have had if women had had to make the decision, if they had been drafted, had to face the same onslaught of public opinion? Would the witness have been more or less clear?**[146]

No doubt many members of the Goshen community felt in hindsight that they could have done more to witness for peace. What is certain is that the women who had been involved in wartime alternative service took on new leadership roles, on campus and in society, just as the C.P.S. men had done. The Civil Rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s welcomed participation from both genders, and in the '70s, female students began to take more initiative, forming their own organizations, calling for inclusive language, seeking out female role models and challenging patriarchal interpretations of the Bible and world history. Interestingly, although students were consistently aware of the wider social trend towards women's rights and feminism – for instance, several opinion pieces in the 1981 *Record* compared the public conduct of political activists Phyllis Schlafly and Gloria Steinem – Goshen women were much more likely to attribute their participation in the movement to the example of certain professors and church leaders, as well as defining their motivation in terms of the College's peace tradition rather than an effort to keep up with changing times.[147]

The first women's organization on campus was called the WAM, or Women's Awareness Meeting. Described as the result of "budding disgust for traditional female roles" among students, the 20 to 25 WAM members expressed their hope "to impel women to take more active roles on campus where men have traditionally taken the initiative."[148] The group began by examining gender roles in the Old and New Testaments. In subsequent meetings they examined a series of "socialization processes" including children's literature, high school dating, and women's role in the Church. Most importantly, students began to define what they really

146 "The Place of Women in the Peace Program of the Church," *Goshen College Record* 49, no. 15 (June 1948): 6.
147 *Goshen College Record* 90, no. 15 (January 1981): 2.
148 Rebecca L. Peterson, "Women's Awareness Alive," *Goshen College Record* 82, no. 15 (January 1973): 3. Quote from Rosie Epp.

meant when they spoke of things such as personal liberation, healthy relationships, and feminism. At one of the first meetings of the WAM, Liz Gunden shared her understanding of the group's goal:

> **To me "women's liberation" simply means the freedom of women to be recognized first, and foremost, as human beings in their own right. It means liberation from a rigid role-stereotype dictated by society – being able to choose the life-style of one's preference. It means recognition of equal potential and therefore equal opportunity based on personal qualifications rather than on biological function**s.[149]

Responses from male students on the subject varied widely. A few seemed to take personal offense at the development of women's organizations, viewing the entire issue as useless or ludicrous. When student John Hege was asked what he thought of feminism, he objected,

> **Women are losing their awareness of their primary function of producing babies. It is particularly the educated women who apparently have lost their maternal instinct since they reproduce very little and many work away from home at jobs that have little to do with bringing in the new generation. Women: be aware of your function!**[150]

Others were quick to affirm the women's movement as a pathway to a greater liberation for men as well as women, a description many female students subscribed to themselves. John Nyce, for example, urged the campus community, "Let's be ready to acknowledge our offenses! Then we (men) can be liberated to be interdependent with all persons with whom we live, work and interact."[151] There was enough interest among both groups for co-ed dialogue that students began to organize workshops on themes such as interdependence, classroom equality, Christian relationships, and sexuality.[152] Then, eight years after the first WAM meeting, the Goshen College Student Women's Association (GSWA) was formed and became a much more consistent and enduring organization than the WAM had ever been. GSWA would be fundamental in organizing annual Women's Emphasis Weeks, a tradition they picked up in the second year of their existence.[153]

Besides the formation of student and faculty women's organizations, the College was looking to equalize their hiring practices. In 1926 Goshen had six women on their faculty, and the number tripled in 50 years, though so did the number of male faculty. Female faculty were concentrated in certain academic areas including nursing, home economics, and elementary education. Patterns were much the same among administrative and counseling staff – far more men than women hired to serve a student body that was usually made up of many

149 "Goshen Women: Liberated Confused or Cupcake?," *Goshen College Record* 83, no. 6 (October 1973): 4-5.
150 "Males Talk of Fem Lib," *Goshen College Record* 83, no. 7 (November 1973): 2.
151 John Nyce, "Men Quick to Accept Domination," *Goshen College Record* 83, no. 8 (November 1973): 3.
152 Eleanor Olson, "Workshop Examines Male-Female Interdependence," *Goshen College Record* 84, no. 4 (October 1974): 3.
153 Anne Martin, "Women Sponsor Emphasis Week," *Goshen College Record* 92, no. 3 (September 1982): 1.

more female students than male.[154] In 1978, the trend in higher education was about one female professor for every nine males. At the same time, Goshen College's faculty was about 31 percent female, a number which fluctuated through the early 1980s.[155] By 1989, women comprised 10 percent of full-time and 42 percent of associate professors. In that year, an affirmative action task force formed to discern how the College might increase the number of both women and persons of color among faculty. They set a goal of 40 percent female faculty by 1995.[156]

Feminist groups were always very supportive of campus efforts to increase the number of female employees, but it was the idea of installing a woman in the post of college president that inspired them and became a sort of unattainable goal, reserved for some future magic moment when the College would finally come into its own as a leader in gender equality, comfortable with having a woman as a figurehead. Even in the 1970s, hardly any feminist on campus thought it was possible, in part because of the slow pace of change they had already encountered in faculty hiring but also because of the influence of Mennonite culture and doctrine. Again students, and to some extent faculty, pushed up against the expectations of their main constituency. As Sara Hartzler put it in 1977, "Practicality forbids…outrunning your constituency: There would be a certain amount of culture shock in hiring a woman as president of the college."[157] Students would hope for it, hold meetings about it, send requests to the administration, and write opinion pieces in the *Record* about it, but it would not be until 1996 that Shirley Showalter became Goshen's first female president.[158]

Arguably the greatest gain of the feminist movement came in the realm of women's studies, and in this Goshen was at the forefront of a much wider trend, as described by historian Bruce J. Schulman:

> **By the mid-1980s, literally thousands of institutions dedicated to women's needs dotted the landscape. In 1970, American universities offered fewer than twenty courses about women; two decades later, there were more than 30,000 on the undergraduate level alone.[159]**

Women's Studies courses were already in their initial phases by the late 1960s, while the first class with a specifically feminist perspective was "Womanhood in America," taught in 1977 by future president Shirley Showalter.[160] Goshen got in on the ground floor of women's studies thanks largely to students' repeated requests

154 Beth Gerig, "Female Role Models Lacking at Goshen," *Goshen College Record* 86, no. 11 (November 1976): 4-5.
155 *Goshen College Record* 87, no. 26 (May 1978): 1.
156 Rex Dannan and Tamara Loewen, "GC to Diversify Faculty," *Goshen College Record* 99, no. 6 (October 1989): 4 & Lynda Nyce, "Affirmative Action Policy Proposed," *Goshen College Record* 99, no. 20 (March 1990): 3.
157 Jan Swartzendruber, "Women's Activism at GC," *Goshen College Record* 86, no. 21 (March 1977): 10.
158 *Goshen College Record* 105, no. 27 (May 1996): 1.
159 Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2001), 172.
160 Janneken L. Smucker, "A Curriculum of One's Own: The Emergence of the Women's Studies Program at Goshen College,"

for a program and to Anna Bowman, Judith Davis, and Ruth Krall, all of whom were instrumental in organizing, advocating for, and teaching at the outset of the women's minor. Krall taught one of the earliest classes, "Contemporary Women's Issues," 1981.[161] Discussions over the Women's Studies minor began in earnest in September of 1982, and faculty approved the program, which consisted of several feminist-oriented courses along with a sprinkling of psychology, sociology, and family life courses, on February 24, 1983.[162] It was then adopted with relative ease by the Sociology Department, pushed through by Professors Howard Kauffman and Robert Birkey rather than the more radical feminist leaders on campus such as Bowman. While the minor may have been approved so quickly because some campus faculty and administrators hoped "to calm the feminist agenda," it was immediately successful and popular among students.[163] According to Krall, student women "lined up" for the classes as soon as they were offered.[164]

A revised women's studies minor was approved in 1987, with an expanded course list and new emphasis on recovering women's voices in history, religion, psychology, and media portrayal including department head Anna Bowman's "Criticism: Women in Text and Image."[165] Far from losing interest in the topic, female students continued to be empowered through the program as well as through their meetings together, as exemplified by Shawndra Miller's 1989 testimony, "College offers the ideal environment in which we women can challenge each other to break out of the passive mode…Let's seize the educational bull by the horns: we have a right to it."[166] Meanwhile, male students on campus appeared to take the entire feminist movement in stride, attending GSWA's co-ed meetings, supporting the formation of the Women's Studies program, and examining gender socialization from their own perspective. GSWA in particular evidenced a tendency to invite male participation on a regular basis. Students such as Jeff Martin were genuinely appreciative of the field's insight into male-female relationships: "Feminism has something integral to say about male socialization, something that our position in society prevents us from realizing."[167] In all fairness, though, students were not always kind in comparing the two sexes. In 1990, a *Record* article written by student Heidi Kauffman which criticized men's deficiency "in the art of nurturing themselves and each other" attracted a great deal of self-defending protest

(Bachelor's thesis, Goshen College, 1997), 5.
161 Mary Snitger, "Class Promotes Awareness of Women's Movement," *Goshen College Record* 89, no. 16 (January 1980): 3.
162 Tim Buckwalter, "Women's Minor in Works," *Goshen College Record* 92, no. 19 (February 1983): 3.
163 Janneken L. Smucker, 27-33.
164 Ruth Krall, phone interview by author, February 5, 2010.
165 Mike Stoltzfus, "Women's Studies Minor Gives New Perspective," *Goshen College Record* 97, no. 17 (February 1988): 4.
166 Shawndra Miller, "Finding Our Voice – Seizing the Bull," *Goshen College Record* 98, no. 14 (January 1989): 2.
167 Jeff Martin, "Rhetorical Atom Fear of Feminism," *Goshen College Record* 98, no. 25 (April 1989): 3.

from the male population.[168] Student Terry Slabach spoke for many exasperated men when he wrote, "Enough already. Four years of GC and four years of *Record* articles that portray all men as the scum of the Earth, and in general, lowlifes. Isn't the purpose of your article to strive for equality?"[169] Despite the occasional loss of temper, however, both men and women at the College continued to renew feminism as an important topic of interest, discussion and action each year.

168 Heidi Kauffman, "Men are Thumbsuckers," *Goshen College Record* 99, no. 21 (March 1990): 11.

169 Terry Slabach, "Generalizations Don't Fit all Men," *Goshen College Record* 99, no. 22 (March 1990): 10.

XII. Into the 21st Century

At the end of a busy century, Goshen's varied peace-minded parties appeared to have hit something of a peace routine. Goshen Student Women's Association, the Black Student Union, Latino Student Union, and International Student's Clubs were all meeting regularly, pursuing their own interests and occasionally coming together to sponsor a guest speaker, hold a workshop, or show a film. The Peace Society experienced a revival in the early 1990s and changed their name to Students for Shalom, so as to broaden their appeal to incoming students by shedding the "idealistic, long hair stereotype" of the past.[170] Political activity had again become widely accepted and encouraged among student groups, who took to the streets of Washington D.C. and the sidewalks of Goshen in support of affordable living and in protest of the death penalty and 1991 Gulf War. Students were also able to explore new areas of service with the advent of Inquiry Programs, allowing students a taste of such diverse areas as pastoral ministry, mediation, social welfare, and camp counseling.

At the same time, several new concerns arose in the Church and wider society that effectively interrupted Goshen's routine. The first was the issue of sexuality, emerging at its most controversial in debates over the morality of the homosexual orientation and the Mennonite Church's hesitation to welcome those so oriented into positions of leadership, or even into membership. In response to the Church's position and the College's mirror policy, which precluded the hiring of openly homosexual faculty, students formed the Lesbian, Bisexual and Gay Alliance (LBGA) in the mid-1990s, and when the administration placed a moratorium on their request for official club status, students organized a new group known as the Advocates in the hopes of supporting the LBGA members and improving awareness and positive relations on campus.[171] Fifteen years of vigils, demonstrations, discussions, and discouraged LGBTQ students later, the issue still goes unresolved, although Goshen is viewed by many as being "ahead" of their constituency in terms of promoting equality on the basis of sexual orientation.

Second, the College has made forays into environmental awareness and activism, thereby adding harmony between humans and the natural world to its peace repertoire. The SST program had arguably laid a foundation for on-campus environmentalism, as an increasing number of student participants became aware of the extent of the damage an American consumerist culture could do to developing nations. However, it would take 30 years before the topic had gained enough momentum to emerge as a major peace theme on campus. With a newly organized Ecological Stewardship Committee, EcoPax student club, and a ready-made base of

170 Amy Houser, "Peace Society Adopts New Name," *Goshen College Record* 99, no. 7 (October 1989): 4 & Susan Fisher Miller, 302.

171 Katie Graber and Amber M. Friesen, "Students Organize in Support of LBGA," *Goshen College Record* 106, no. 20 (March 1997): 8.

operations in the form of the Merry Lea Environmental Learning Center, the Goshen College of the late 1990s was ready to do far more in the name of environmental peace than the simple recycling program which had existed since 1973.[172] The environmental movement grew in popularity quickly, likely because there were many improvements to be made right on campus. The college community would take advantage of many immediate opportunities through the late 1990s and especially the 2000s, including conserving energy use, implementing an Environmental Studies minor in 1990, greatly expanding the campus recycling program, and increasing education efforts through annual events, most notably Earth Week. An Environmental Studies major was approved in 1999, followed by a graduate program in Environmental Science. At the end of the 1990s, the EcoPax Club took the lead on most of the ecological initiatives on campus, adopting a section of the Elkhart River in 2002 and sponsoring Goshen's participation in a national teach-in on global warming in 2008. A flood of activities would occur between 2007 and 2010, ranging from composting in the dining hall to controlled prairie burning research at Merry Lea to participation in the national 350 movement.[173] In 2010, environmental enthusiasm had still to reach its peak on campus.

Also at the turn of the century, Goshen watched in horror with the rest of the nation as the World Trade Towers in New York collapsed, spawning a new generation's Vietnam War in the Middle East and making terrorism a constant part of continuing campus discussions of multiculturalism and global awareness. However, the majority of the College population stepped out of the mold in their response to the tragedy, calling for peace in place of war and humility and reconciliation in place of revenge. The week immediately following 9/11, Professor John D. Roth implored the community,

> **Let us become more attentive to the patterns of violence in our world. No act of violence – especially not those planned and organized by terrorist groups – takes place in a vacuum. The seeds of hatred that gave rise to these events were sown, no doubt, long ago; they were likely watered by a deep and festering sense of political and economic injustice; and they took root amidst the rage of powerlessness…The powerful impulse among most Americans to "strike back swiftly and decisively" is understandable; yet nothing in such an action will address the sources of hatred that have brought us to this point. And we should not be surprised if military retribution will only result in another round of violence and vengeance-seeking.[174]**

In the years immediately following the United States' declaration of war against Iraq in 2003, Goshen students would respond in the way that generations of students had before them in the face of war: they held vigils to mourn the War's civilian victims and military casualties, sent letters to Washington officials, held prayer meetings, talked to representatives of the Islamic faith and examined the historical context which had culminated in a catastrophic terrorist attack. They also struggled with the same questions of past wars, seeking ways to show their support for their country and its leaders, questioning the effectiveness of nonviolent methods of protest, and struggling to remain open-minded amidst an onslaught of discriminatory media portrayals of Mid-Eastern Muslims. As the war lengthened into two years, then four, then six, students lost much of the energy they had first exhibited. By 2010, almost all anti-war action had ground to a halt.

The major peace themes of the century, from missions to environmentalism, had taken up residence in Goshen College's psyche and could not be dislodged. The community's shifting focus, therefore, tended not to be clearly delineated from year to year or decade to decade; rather each conception or area of peace informed the others and contributed to the whole of Goshen's peace identity. It is encouraging to observe that the Goshen community has shown itself quite adept at retaining a communal awareness of past peace action and yet possesses the capacity to extend its reservoir of passion for peacemaking to new dilemmas as presented by Church, society or College members. In which aspects, then, does this community need most urgently to progress?

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172 "Energy Crisis Comes to GC," *Goshen College Record* 83, no. 12 (December 1973): 4-5.
173 Alana Kenagy, e-mail correspondence, July 5, 2010.
174 John D. Roth, "Reflections on a Tragedy," *Goshen College Record* 111, no. 3 (September 2001): 2.

XIII. Looking to the Future

In the beginning, I asserted that Goshen College is a "peace-full" institution because it is a Mennonite institution. Given the clear presence of the Church in each and every one of the College's major peace-related activities through history, I feel confident in reaffirming that statement. However, it seems that the reverse is also true: Goshen remains a Mennonite institution because of its enduring peace commitment, which has always been one of, if not the most, immediately visible, recognizable, and unique characteristics of the College community and certainly one of its strongest ties to the Church. Without our pacifist-nonresistant-nonviolent history, could we look at the current Goshen College and truly say we are still a Mennonite college, with specifically Mennonite values, not simply based on the names of campus buildings and sources of financial support?

We are continually hounded by this question of whether or not we are losing our unique identity, and what we must lose in order to gain in other ways. Questions such as whether to fly the United States flag, play the national anthem, increase minority enrollment, retain four-part hymn-singing in chapels, assign Martyr's Mirror readings in religious courses, or allow the Church's policy to influence whether homosexual professors are hired are all important, not because each issue in itself is so very earth-shaking but because they reflect much deeper concerns over identity. And each one should be considered a peace question, for if we are to keep our commitment, or even covenant, with peace, it must reach into every aspect of our life together.

Perhaps it is time to stop asking ourselves whether we are still "Mennonite enough," if only to free ourselves to stand confidently in our tradition. This College's bonds to the Church through heritage and culture have shown themselves quite tenacious, if not immovable, for over a century. They are here to stay, and fortunately so, for the Church is the greatest source of accountability in terms of peace commitment the College could ever have. At the same time, the simple truth is that Goshen is also an other-than-Mennonite campus, a reality which is both an aspect of and contributor to our peace witness. It seems that when it comes to matters of peace, the minority is as much a part of the whole as the majority.

I hope, then, that this College's future members continue to find the strength to welcome diversity and renew their ties with Mennonite beliefs and tradition. I hope they will never become tired of talking about individual wholeness in areas of gender and sexuality, or lose sight of our country's great need to hear a pacifist voice. In the 21st century, Goshen faces increasingly severe ecological and economic crises along with rapid technological advancement. Mennonites may soon enter the fields of politics, law, and large business in increasing numbers, even while the gulf widens between increasingly-categorized Republican and Democrat

Mennonites. In all approaching uncertainties and possibilities, I hope that Goshen's past may help it to navigate its future.

What can we do but ask the same questions in our own context? We struggle again to find the balance between faithfulness and effectiveness, groundedness and exploration, inner calm and prophetic peace action. Therefore, students, faculty, staff and administrators of GC, know that you are part of a tradition. Know that this community's distinctly Mennonite heritage is the sustaining factor in our continuing peace commitment. And know that your day-to-day struggle is the vital continuation of the efforts of generations to make peace a reality, in all its forms.

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