The Intersection of Faith and Civil Rights: Galloway Memorial Methodist Church and Racial Integration in Jackson, Mississippi in the Early 1960s

（信仰と公民権の交差――1960 年代前半のミシシッピ州ジャクソンにおけるギャロウェイ記念メソジスト教会と人種統合）

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SUMMARY IN JAPANESE: 1960 年代前半のミシシッピ州ジャクソンは、白人優越主義を信奉する人びとと、公民権運動に共鳴し人種統合を推進する人びととの闘いの舞台となった。本論文は、ジャクソンのメソジスト派最大の教会であったギャロウェイ記念メソジスト教会の牧師、会衆、教会を取り巻く人びとに焦点を当て、人種をめぐって白人プロテスタントの間にどのような葛藤があったのか、人種統合推進派の人びとを支えた信念はいかなるものであったかを明らかにすることを目的とする。1961 年のフリーダム・ライダーズの到来を機に公民権活動家が黒人の礼拝者を受け入れていなかった白人教会での礼拝を試みると、南部の隔離の伝統とキリスト教信仰との矛盾がついに明るみになった。白人キリスト教徒の中には、毎週日曜の説教、声明の発表、辞任宣言を通して人種隔離に強く抗議した牧師たちや、彼らを支えた平信徒が一定数存在し、その結果教会コミュニティ内部の人種をめぐる緊張関係が表面化し、人種統合に向けたさらなる取り組みも生まれた。人種統合を強力に推し進めた彼らの「神の愛と友愛」の信仰は、それまでの社会の在り方を揺さぶり、ジャクソンの人種統合を推し進める一つの重要な糧となった。本論文は、南部諸州の白人教会コミュニティの縮図として当教会内の人びとの対立や統合派の人びとが直面した困難を描くことで、南部における人種問題の様相をより鮮明にし、広く公民権運動史及び南部史への貢献を試みるものである。

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Introduction

With civil rights activism at its peak, Mississippi in the early 1960s was at the center of demonstrations, public protests and the eruption of outrage by anti-civil rights activists. Despite or because of the endorsement of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision by the official board of Methodism, a great deal of opposition arose, particularly from groups such as the Citizens' Council, the Mississippi Association of Methodist Ministers and Laymen (MAMML)[1] and even the Ku Klux Klan, all of which were growing in power during this period. The rift was especially stark in Jackson, the capital city: these groups declared their denominations' official stands to be wrong, mobilizing every possible means with threats and pressure on local churches to overturn their denominations' policies and to close their doors to black visitors.[2]

As civil rights workers started attempting to worship in all-white churches in 1961 with the coming of the Freedom Riders, however, white churches could no longer ignore the issue as the movement physically entered the sphere of white religion: undoubted tradition and its compatibility with faith were at last challenged. The students of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) at Tougaloo College[3] organized a campaign of direct action "church visits" with the purpose of making an appeal to white people's Christian conscience and pressing the issue of whether white Protestant churches should open up their churches to black people. Some minor denominations admitted blacks in their churches, but the doors of dominant Baptist and Methodist churches were kept closed, with many of the civil rights workers being arrested in front of the church doors.

In his April 1963 "Letter from Birmingham Jail," Martin Luther King Jr. expressed his feeling of dismay to the white moderates as well as to white churches and their leadership for having stood on the sidelines, though with some notable exceptions. It was not until quite recently that King's criticisms in this vein have been re-examined and the role of white Christians during the civil rights era caught the attention of historians. Research centering around the Civil Rights Movement, or the Black Freedom Movement, that began at the dawn of the 21st century noted the absence of white southern moderates in the fight for racial justice and in the process of actual desegregation.[4] These works also argued that churches neither gave effective

aid to integrationists nor strongly supported segregationists.[5] Scholarship up to this point did not go beyond pointing to the passiveness, indifference, and failure of white religion to support the Civil Rights Movement. These studies, however, were followed by others exposing the role of religion in resisting the Civil Rights Movement. These works acknowledged that white opponents of the movement articulated their claims in Biblical terms as opposed to integrationists' use of theology to push for black rights.[6] Carolyn R. Dupont gave weight to these viewpoints by arguing that Mississippi's white Protestants from all denominations overwhelmingly held firm "religious commitments to segregation and white supremacy."[7]

As white religion has started to be discussed from a variety of angles, a new outlook has recently been added to the Mississippi civil rights historiography by Joseph T. Reiff, a scholar in religious studies. While acknowledging that each of the previous studies had correctly grasped part of the entire story, he offered an alternative way of looking at the role of white churches and white Christians in Mississippi. His work focused on the stories of the 28 white Methodist pastors who signed Born of Conviction, a statement that publicly called for freedom of speech, racial integration, equal opportunities for public education and opposition to Communism. These were stories of those who dared to express doubts about the prevalent racial discrimination that had been considered as a hallowed tradition.

Building on what has been accomplished by these previous studies, my research gives attention to those white Christians who strived for racial integration and attempted to foster an interracial alliance with black activists in Mississippi during their civil rights struggles in the early 1960s. In particular, I pay attention to an inner-city church community in Jackson: the pastors and the congregation of Galloway Memorial Methodist Church as well as other members of the community who were influenced by Galloway Church, for which no equally detailed body of research currently exists. Back in the 1960s, Methodists were the second-largest Protestant denomination in the South after Southern Baptists, and Galloway had been a prominent church in Jackson with the largest Methodist congregation in Mississippi. While Southern Baptists were predominantly segregationists, there were divided views on race among Methodists: pastors and some church members embraced racial justice while facing strong opposition from many others including MAMML members and supporters of the Citizens' Council.

Integrationists at Galloway Memorial Methodist Church were also involved with some key figures in the Civil Rights Movement and their efforts had a notable impact on the wider public. Attention to this particular church community, therefore, serves for a more nuanced understanding of the freedom struggle in Mississippi.

Moreover, seeing church visit campaigns from the side of white churches brings a new perspective to the historiography of the Jackson Movement. Adding to studies that traced the various local movements in Mississippi,[8] recent scholars like Carter Lyon and Elaine Lechtreck highlighted the challenges that faced Jackson church visit campaigns and social forces that hindered the actions of white clergymen who confronted racial injustice.[9] With a focus on Galloway Memorial Methodist Church and its congregation, this article shows that amid the confusion of the racial struggle, there were certain voices of pro-integrationists within the white community who stood on the opposing side of fierce segregationist opposition. Despite the overwhelming trend of white supremacy and the social ills that had shaped the "Closed Society" for so long, those people confronted the fact of segregation and sought for a change in the light of their theological convictions. Although their efforts could not bring about immediate change to achieve full inclusion, they provoked people to confront the racial issues of the day, which made a lasting impact on their community.

While previous works have mostly focused on the explicit racism of white Christians in the South, I argue that there was a significant movement among white Christians who voiced opposition to the racial status quo, although this movement suffered a decrease in momentum shortly thereafter. A careful analysis of the tension, division, and transformation experienced by the white church community is needed to gain a fuller understanding of the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi. A detailed interpretation of a church community in a specific geographic location like Galloway Memorial Methodist Church, which stood at the heart of Mississippi's church communities, will offer fresh insights into understanding black freedom struggles that have fought against the deep-seated existence of systemic racism in the United States. In doing so, this paper aims to contribute to the history of the Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi and in the South in general.

I. White Methodism and the Civil Rights Activism in Mississippi

In the post-war era, Mississippi Methodists gradually moved forward on the race issue. By the late 1940s, Methodism had already declared that drawing a discriminatory racial dividing line was contrary to Christian spirit and not of the Methodist faith. In the wake of the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, regional and denominational bodies agreed to support the ruling that declared the heretofore accepted "separate-but-equal" doctrine unconstitutional, claiming that integration is the social policy most concordant with Christian belief. More branches of Methodists officially supported integration, with the Women's Division of Christian Service (May 1954), the Council of Bishops (November 1954), and the Board of Social and Economic Relations (January 1955) all officially endorsing the stance.[10] It was also declared by 1956 in the statement in the Discipline of the Methodist Church that "the teaching of our Lord is that all men are brothers. The Master permits no discrimination because of race, color, or national origin."[11] The 1956 General Conference adopted a resolution on the Methodist Church and race, suggesting that "segregation by any method or practice, whether by conference structure or otherwise, in The Methodist Church [shall] be abolished."[12] Methodism had officially confirmed racial segregation to be wrong, which was even documented in its statement of religious principle.

During the years of civil rights, however, there was a strong feeling of indignant displeasure in the South at the Federal Government seeking to grant political equality to blacks. Within Southern Christian denominations, an anti-Civil Rights Movement craze was set off when denominational bodies took official stands in favor of integration. As people feared that integration might reach Mississippi through the doors of churches, they detested the state coming into their religious affairs and their denominations becoming more involved in matters of social justice. Fierce resistance within Mississippi Methodists came in the form of powerful organized opposition. The most active role in race relations was played by MAMML.[13] The work of MAMML was largely assisted by the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission (MSSC), a state agency that was given the responsibility to impede racial integration. The Jackson Citizens' Council, another organization dedicated to segregation, had an increase in membership, attaining greater power and influence. The Citizens' Council had provided force for and

exercised strong control over both political and religious spheres to sustain segregation. Moreover, God's name was invoked in rallies of the Ku Klux Klan, which grew in size and became even more violent. Their statewide activities included cross-burnings, drive-by shootings and sniper fire, hit-and-run collisions, kidnapping, assault, arson, lynching, threats, and other miscellaneous acts of harassment, all in pursuit of the reestablishment and maintenance of white supremacy.[14]

White opposition to the Civil Rights Movement was more visibly brought into light in the early 1960s. Even though civil rights workers in Mississippi were more concerned with voter registration, poverty reduction, educational equality and many other economic boycotts and demonstrations, Sunday integration was also a major part of the movement, where religion and civil rights visibly intersected. Having planned to start things off by appealing to whites' Christian conscience and by raising moral issues for them, civil rights workers attempted to worship in all-white churches, with many of them ending up being arrested in front of the church doors. By the end of June 1961, about 100 Freedom Riders had been arrested in Jackson and imprisoned, and extravagant amounts of bail were demanded for their release.[15] Finally, a full-scale movement came to Mississippi in the summer of 1961, which was marked by the arrests of almost 500 Freedom Riders.[16]

Integrated groups of civil rights activists continued their attempt to worship at churches with white-only status in downtown Jackson. The SNCC students at Tougaloo College[17] organized what were called "pray-ins" or "kneel-ins," a campaign of direct action "church visits" with the aim of challenging and appealing to white churches. In 1963, integrated groups, many from Tougaloo, attempted to worship at 22 all-white Protestant and Catholic churches on Sundays. City authorities arrested those demonstrators day after day for violating a court decree forbidding all demonstrations. In late May of 1963, anti-segregation demonstrations broke out and a total of nearly 700 people were arrested in the following two weeks.[18] Working together with the city government and the Jackson Police Department, the Citizens' Council prevented these integrated groups of civil rights workers from continuing their activities: It would resist any integrationist views and helped any lay group wishing to keep segregation.

While demonstrators carried out such church visit campaigns, the attitude toward Sunday integration varied within Christian churches from

denomination to denomination. Because of the absolute power of a higher church authority that barred segregation, Roman Catholics admitted blacks regardless of the pressure from the Citizens' Council to remove any form of racial integration. Having their roots in the Church of England, Episcopal churches with more authority of clergy had a similar attitude. They were more likely than other Protestant denominations to admit black worshippers over the objections of some lay leaders. Protestant churches of other denominational affiliations such as Jackson's Trinity Lutheran Church and the Unitarian Church also accepted black worshippers. Southern Baptist congregations were by and large segregationists with fundamentalist doctrines. Since the national church of the denomination did not put pressure on local churches and also because of its congregational form of government with less clerical authority, Baptists, the largest Protestant denomination in Mississippi, preserved all-white congregations almost without any internal dissent.[19]

On this count, Methodists—the second-largest Protestant denomination—were a somewhat unique denomination with a deep division of racial views that had remarkably grown even within authority. Although the official board had upheld the *Brown* decision when this landmark ruling was decided in 1954, the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Church traditionally held a conservative worldview that affirmed segregation within the church structure. In spite of the Bishop having similar authority as Roman Catholic leaders, the authority was not exerted to provide support for local ministers who were trying to comply with the Methodist law. In other words, national church resolutions had no authority in enforcing integration in each individual Mississippi congregation.[20] When the church doors were tested by integrated groups, these groups were met with locked doors in major Methodist churches in Jackson including Capitol Street Methodist Church and Galloway Memorial Methodist Church. There was a huge gap in racial views between the national church and the Mississippi Methodist Conference to which each of the local churches were attached. Under such conditions, substantial risk was associated with speaking out for those who sympathized with the *Brown* decision and integrationist views, and therefore, "good" white moderates—those who did not want to disturb the peace in their communities—remained silent.

II. Race Relations within a Local Methodist Community in Jackson: Pastor W. B. Selah's Rhetoric of "Brotherhood" and His Approach to Sunday Integration

During the height of the racial turmoil in the early 1960s, white Methodism and race relations contained some noteworthy exceptions among white racial moderates in the Methodist community in the Jackson area, who publicly shared their views on the issue. In this research work, what follows is an extended application to the case of Galloway Memorial Methodist Church (Figure 1), for it is the paramount emblem of Mississippi Methodism. Located in the heart of downtown Jackson within the environs of the State Capitol, Galloway has long served as a pillar of Methodism in the district with the largest Methodist congregation in Mississippi. There are many other local churches in Jackson and in other parts of Mississippi, each with its own characteristics, yet in a fundamental way the history of those years at Galloway represents what was taking place in every corner of Jackson.

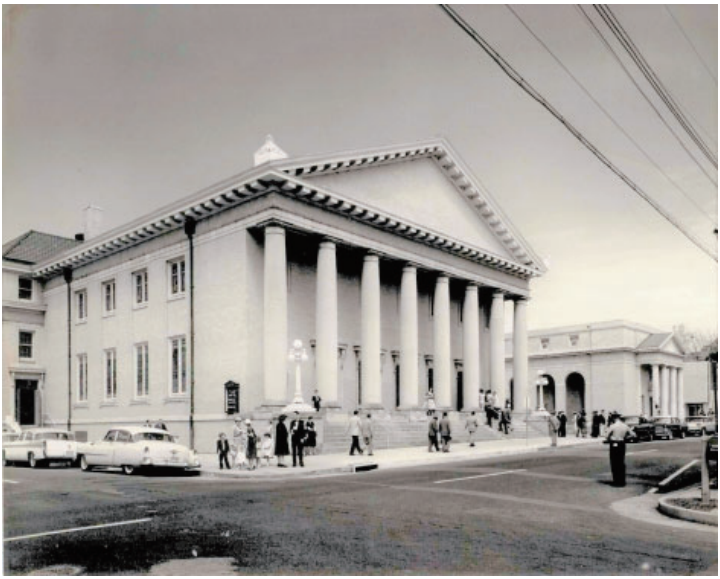

Figure 1. Galloway Memorial Methodist Church.
Courtesy of J. B. Cain Archives of Mississippi Methodism, Millsaps College.

From the post-war period to the difficult times of civil rights strife, Galloway had a senior pastor of considerable influence; the Rev. Dr. William Bryan Selah, originally from Sedalia, Missouri (Figure 2). He came to Galloway shortly after World War II in 1945, following the tenure of Rev. Clovis Chappell. Selah had received degrees from Central College, Fayette and Yale Divinity School. He and his wife Naomi Selah had three children and five grandchildren. Before entering the pulpit of Galloway Memorial Methodist Church in 1945, he had held pastorates at several churches including Clinton, Missouri, 1924-27; the College Church in Fayette,

Figure 2. W. B. Selah, 1950s.
Courtesy of J. B. Cain Archives of Mississippi Methodism, Millsaps College.

Missouri, 1927-32; Central Church, Kansas City, 1932-37; St. John's Church, Memphis, Tennessee, 1937-41; and St. Luke's Church, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1941-45.[21] It may have been his extensive experience in various places in the Midwest that helped him bring a fresh sensitivity to the "Closed Society" in Mississippi.

It is collectively noted that W. B. Selah was well liked and highly respected by people both inside and outside of Galloway. He was famous especially for his exceptional preaching. His preaching was so popular that church attendance surged, and Galloway's membership reached the largest level in its history during his time as pastor. Moreover, having been situated just across Mississippi Street from the State Capitol to the north and one block away from the Governor's Mansion, Galloway had been the church of many leaders of Mississippi, including Mayor Allen Thompson and many leaders of the Citizen's Council such as its president Ellis Wright.[22] By offering sermons evey Sunday, he was able to reach a number of Methodists in Jackson—mostly the upper-middle class—including many of the most powerful people of Mississippi.

The essence of Selah's sermons—though expressed and described in many different ways on every occasion—was always "brotherhood of men and women." Selah particularly lifted his voice on it towards the end of his tenure at Galloway, when racial animosities grew in intensity. His sermon notes of Feburary 21st, 1961 show that he exhorted people to live in brotherhood using a reference to John 4:16-21.[23] It also appears from his sermon notes on "Lordship of Jesus" on March 8th, 1961 that he mentioned the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men in reference to the Good Samaritan Law and also preached the Crucifixion and love of God.[24] Moreover, Selah delivered a sermon on July 9th, 1961 that mourned the fact that the basic principle of life was "neglected" in the world in the face of social unrest: to love one another as Jesus loved his disciples.[25] By referring to the principle, he called on churches across denominations to work together to express their goodwill. To Selah, the principle of love was at the same time the most important feature of salvation because all men are saved from hate to love.[26] For God is love, only those who love can dwell with God in heaven. In such manner, Selah's explication of Christian faith in the pulpit touched every segment of the outside world.

On November 19th of the same year, Selah preached another important

sermon entitled "Brotherhood," a theme which he claimed to be the source of most of his public statements. Its message was that "According to Jesus, all men belong to the family of God and are therefore brothers. The doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man is fundamental in Christ's teaching."[27] Selah quoted from this sermon of his own several years later when he said that "Christian love means that we will seek for all men, black and white, the same rights, the same justice and the same opportunities that we seek for ourselves." Selah constantly stressed the importance of brotherhood and freedom for all—either directly or figuratively—in his sermons, which was his major opportunity for appealing to the public.[28] As Selah himself confirmed, he had stressed the themes of "brotherhood" of all men as children of God and "love of God" more than usual in his sermons throughout the early 1960s.[29] Selah's form of expression was not very flowery in style; rather, it always went straight to the themes of love of God and brotherhood of men and women, with which his preaching that enjoyed a great deal of popularity among Methodists in Jackson, Mississippi, was filled.

When racial turmoil was about to hit its peak in the early 1960s, Galloway Church wavered terribly over how to deal with the related unrest that was spread all over the region, as it became a pressing issue that was not just happening in the streets but right in front of church doors. The ironic truth is that, in the days before racial tension hit its peak in Mississippi in the beginning of the 1960s, Galloway had always been involved with black people.[30] Responding to a matter of great urgency created by the sudden appearance of the Freedom Riders in the spring of 1961, the official board of Galloway passed by an overwhelming majority of votes—85 to 31 with 17 abstentions—a resolution on June 12th, 1961 that would restrict "potential troublemakers" coming to attend services at Galloway.[31] By this time MAMML members and supporters of the Citizens' Council had been elected to Galloway's official board, nervously pushing the decision.[32] There was a widespread sense of frustration that stood behind the passage of this resolution that virtually forbade blacks to come into the church.

Aside from being an excellent preacher, W. B. Selah, whose ministry went far beyond the pulpit, was one of the first white ministers in Mississippi to speak loudly against the furious activists aiming at maintenance of segregation. On the occasion of the passage of the segregationist resolution by Galloway's official board, Selah expressed his forthright views with deep

Christian conviction, declaring that "to discriminate against a man because of the color of his skin is contrary to the will of God." According to his principle, the nature of Christianity determines "there can be no color bar before the Cross of Christ" and therefore, "neither the General Conference, nor the Annual Conference, nor the Council of Bishops, not the preacher, nor the Official Board of the local church can put up a color bar in the church." Though this opinion was not accepted by the official board due to anger and irritation at integrated groups to be sent by the Freedom Riders, Selah's standpoint was clearly indicated in the statement that was expected to be published: "the house of God is a place of prayer for all people—black and white."[33]

Selah, however, said that segregated worship itself was neither wrong nor sinful. The sin comes "when a church seeks to erect a color bar before the Cross of Christ,"[34] by which he meant that the motives of people coming into the church cannot be judged, so no one should be asked to leave at the church door. When he heard early in June 1961 that the mayor of Jackson had requested the police to keep the Freedom Riders out of the church, Selah asked the mayor to revoke the order because that was not something the city had control over.[35] Selah simply valued the motives of people coming into the house of God in a sincere spirit of worship. He rejected "forced" segregation primarily because it impedes the genuine desire of people to worship.

III. Jerry Furr and Born of Conviction—A Statement by 28 Young Ministers

From the late 1950s to the early 1960s, Galloway Memorial Methodist Church had another pastor who was energetically involved in the church and the outside world: Jerry Furr. He was born in 1930 and raised in a neighborhood a mile away from downtown Jackson. He went to Mississippi Southern College in Hattiesburg and was brought into the ministry by Harland Hilbun, the minister of Pascagoula First Methodist Church, which he attended with his future wife.[36] Upon graduating from the seminary in 1956, he was appointed at the Seashore Methodist Campground on Biloxi Beach as the first pastor of Leggett Memorial Church. In 1959, he was summoned by W. B. Selah to serve as an associate pastor at Galloway soon after he moved

from Biloxi to Wesson. He took on the offer after much consideration, and moved to Jackson in the fall of 1959.[37] Furr primarily worked with young people and was enthusiastically involved in many areas of the Church School, especially in teaching class in the study of the Old and New Testaments, as well as in the membership training class for children accompanied by their parents.[38]

On January 2nd, 1963, *the Mississippi Methodist Advocate*[39] ran one of its most important and powerful articles, one that would provoke a storm of controversy. 28 white Mississippi-born Methodist pastors jointly published Born of Conviction, an anti-discrimination statement that courageously challenged the very common segregationist views of that time. The statement showed the signers' firm determination to speak in a situation where persons of Christian conscience faced a painful predicament, and at a time of great danger posed by racial dissention within the state. The preamble read: "Born of the deep conviction of our souls as to what is morally right, we have been driven to seek the foundations of such convictions in the expressed witness of our Church."[40]

Jerry Furr from Galloway Memorial Methodist Church was one of the leading figures in the publication of the statement as he originally proposed the idea. What became a catalyst for white Protestants in Mississippi to transform their vision into concrete action was the Ole Miss riot, which provoked anguish and confusion among some white Methodists. Furr felt that the times called for action, which he wanted to be generated not by outsiders like the Freedom Riders, but from within, by Mississippians who knew themselves. Furr, in consultation with Selah, developed a plan for a public statement.[41] Rev. Maxie D. Dunnam, Rev. O. Gerald Trigg and Rev. Jim L. Waits joined Furr in drafting the statement, and Born of Conviction came into existence.

The critical passage emphasizing the paramount importance of racial integration appeared in the middle of the statement. Referring to the official position of the Methodist Church on race, it reaffirmed: "Our Lord Jesus Christ teaches that all men are brothers. He permits no discrimination because of race, color, or creed. 'In Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith . . . ' (Galatians 3:26)."[42] Furthermore, citing from the paragraph 2020 of the Social Creed of the Methodist Church, it added: "We believe that God is Father of all peoples and races, that Jesus Christ is His Son, that all

men are brothers, and that man is of infinite worth as a child of God."[43] The statement extended the conviction to more concrete social matters, calling for open public schools that provide a common education for all children. It also differentiated the issue of race from the issue of Communism, issues which were often confused with each other. The stance of the Born of Conviction statement echoed that of W. B. Selah in that they both placed the idea of brotherhood at the center of their creed.

Although Born of Conviction was only a few hundred words in length, each signer put much thought into it. For example, one signer of Born of Conviction, Rev. James B. Nicholson, said that the pressing issues of race could be solved through "a doctrine of man that will be acceptable to God" and that the doctrine "must be firmly based on the foundation of the brotherhood of man through the fatherhood of God."[44] The doctrine must be equally applied to all people regardless of race, and the doctrine established that a linkage with God would shape man's actions in the matters they face in social life. Other elements added in his declaration included complete freedom of speech along with a free pulpit, local-level communications between black and white leaders, restoration of legislative and judicial confidence, and openness of education. As found in the very words of Born of Conviction as well as in their comments on the statement, ministers encouraged people to follow what God told them to do and actualize His teachings regarding the brotherhood of men, which would be translated into inclusion of all people in society.

The Born of Conviction statement received extensive coverage, which set off strong widespread public reaction throughout the state. Prominent reactions included insults and violence aimed at the signers, which came in the form of harassing telephone calls or even physical attacks. 20 of the original 28 ministers moved out of the state within six months. Each of the 28 ministers—to a greater or lesser degree—had to encounter threats in response to their public stand. Nevertheless, Born of Conviction still gained support from many prestigious pastors as well as lay leaders in Mississippi. 23 more ministers along with District Superintendent W. L. Robinson of Tupelo showed public support for the statement, further arguing that ministers should have freedom of speech in pulpits.[45] According to Rev. Ed King, who himself endorsed Born of Conviction, more ministers were willing to sign the statement but they were unable to do so because much risk was attached

to their names appearing on the statement.[46] There were many supporters of Born of Conviction, not all of whom made their support openly known.

In Galloway Memorial Methodist Church, W. B. Selah showed strong support for the 28 by releasing a statement which spoke even more forcefully in behalf of making a change. When asked by the Associated Press for a statement regarding the resolution, Selah issued one on January 6th, 1963, giving his stance on race integration that no color bar should be erected in the Christian church, a comment which was quoted.[47] Selah's statement was printed in the *Clarion-Ledger* on January 7th, along with other newspapers all over the nation.

Some action was taken within Galloway Church after their pastors had spoken out so vigorously. A second resolution of the board of Galloway regarding its policy on race came on January 14th, 1963 with an introductory remark reminding readers that the church's senior pastor W. B. Selah's statement recently published in favor of integration did not necessarily represent the views of the members. It instead took the position that "It is not un-Christian that we prefer to remain an all-white congregation. The practice of the separation of the races in Galloway Memorial Methodist Church is a time-honored tradition. We earnestly hope that the perpetuation of that tradition will never be impaired."[48] The board was striving to stick to the principle of excluding blacks from the church walls, and the public stand taken by Galloway's pastors thus met with a swift backlash by the church's governing board.

The action of Furr and Selah elicited a variety of responses from their congregation at Galloway Memorial Methodist Church. On the one hand, the public stance of Selah and Furr received severe criticism from some resentful members of their church. Furr was exposed to accusations by his acquaintances, and someone burned a cross on Furr's yard. On the other hand, more liberal and moderate members reacted favorably to the two, though mostly privately. Some members of Galloway, including Noel Womack, Lewis Crouch, and Merle Mann, provided funding through the conference for the signers like Lampton, Nicholson and Rush, whose churches stopped paying them their salaries after the publication of Born of Conviction.[49] It was true that there were some Galloway members who were sympathetic to the moderate thinking pushing for a change that had been recently voiced by those pastors.

IV. The Crack in the "Closed Society"

In the midst of racial tension, the day came on June 9th, 1963, when the doors of Galloway Memorial Methodist Church were finally tested to see if they were open. Anti-segregation demonstrations erupted at the end of May and a total of 664 people had been arrested by that time, and it was the first racial incident on a Sunday.[50] Prior to this day, W. B. Selah had been trying to persuade Mayor Allen Thompson through earnest appeals to appoint a biracial committee to hold some talks in response to all the demonstrations and arrests that had happened the week before, expediting a peaceful settlement of the issue.[51] Despite all hopes and efforts, a rift was opened between the people of the "Closed Society."

Selah, to his regret, preached what would become his last sermon as a senior pastor at Galloway on this day. His regular sermon "The Spirit of Christ" ended with his declaration of his intent to resign because the ushers had turned away black people who wished to worship at Galloway that morning.[52] Selah had witnessed a large crowd flocking around the entrance of the church before the service began, and he had asked Furr to carefully examine what was going on. When the anthem by the choir was near its end, Furr came up to Selah and whispered the news about the incident that was happening. Having resolved beforehand that he would resign if the church turned away black worshippers, he had no doubt about his decision, which he would never regret. He said once again, "I know in conscience there can be no color bar in a Christian church."[53] On the occasion of Selah's resignation, associate pastor Furr took the same position, asking Bishop Franklin for an appointment elsewhere. He added, "I could not willingly serve a church that turns people away."[54]

It was certainly not that the congregation of Galloway forced Selah and Furr out of their church when they spoke out in favor of racial integration; rather, they left of their own free will, and that action itself was a powerful resistance to segregated churches and broadly segregated contemporary society, right in the middle of a period of racial strife. Selah was not at all expecting to face a tragic ending in the church to which he had an emotional attachment. In recollections of that time, he said "It broke my heart to do this. But a man must live with himself and his conscience."[55] Upon Selah's announcement of his resignation, the congregation was so deeply engulfed

by grief and shock as to make many of them cry.[56] It was not altogether a fatal feud between Selah and Furr and the congregation that drove them out of the church; it was their faith and Christian conscience that made them feel compelled to no longer serve at Galloway. Eventually, both Selah and Furr were to pave new career paths out of state,[57] and the Methodists' most influential pulpit in Mississippi was left vacant.

The announcement of the resignation of Selah and Furr had a considerable impact. Shock waves were sent through the community of Mississippi Methodist ministers and the Mississippi Conference, as Selah and Furr had played crucial roles. Once the news had been reported, letters and telegrams of support addressed to him flooded in from all over the country. Selah received feedback from Jackson inhabitants who described themselves as whites, and had followed his thinking through the news media. They exhibited understanding about how difficult it must have been to stand up for the Christian way of thinking during the time of racial strife they were going through in Mississippi.[58] But they were glad to see that Selah and Furr had had the courage to speak out for right and act accordingly. "It's hard to realize that the voice which has stood out for Christian brotherhood and love is to be no longer heard in Mississippi Methodism."[59] Those letters reflect how invaluable Selah's presence had been in their community.

There were also numbers of positive letters from both current and old-time Galloway members addressed to Selah, offering compliments on his "courage and Christian spirit," thanking him for his "rich and loving ministry." [60] A member of Galloway Church wrote, Selah "selflessly lived and taught the true brotherhood of love" with his belief in "the triangular perfection of love found in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man with a clarity of expression unbelievably beautiful in these times." [61] Others also lamented his leaving. Precisely because these members knew his contribution to the church and the community over the passage of years, they feared losing someone who could lead them towards the right direction in that time of uncertainty and earnestly desired his continuing ministry at Galloway. A few hundred letters—74 from Mississippi and 157 from other states as far as I could find in several archives—were sent to Selah in response to his announcement of his resignation, most of which supported his position. The feeling of opposition to blacks coming into the sanctuary was so intense that people had to care about what would happen if they became vocal in their

support of Selah's stance. But by writing their concerns in letters, they were able to make those who spoke out feel much more emboldened.

The incident at Galloway acted as a trigger for increasingly harsher conflicts caused by deeper internal division within the church itself, some of which broke to the surface more clearly. Attempts by integrated groups to worship at white churches were still continuing and Galloway still clung to the policy of keeping blacks out. By this time, however, the Administrative Board of Galloway was sharply divided over whether to admit blacks to Sunday services. When the Board heard that Bishop Charles Golden of the Mississippi Conference of the Central Jurisdiction, who was black, was coming to participate in a service at Galloway on Easter Sunday, March 29th, 1964, they voted after long discussions, and those who were on the side of rejecting the blacks' entry won by just a few votes.[62] Moreover, the Commission on Social Concerns of Galloway Methodist Church administered in 1964 a questionnaire to major churches throughout the South that asked them about their policy with regard to blacks' attempts to participate in church services. The study further acknowledged the tradition of Galloway's open door policy from 1837 to 1961, with the conclusion that says "the policy in effect at present is clearly in violation of Methodist Church law through recent interpretations handed down." [63] Internal conflict related to civil rights issues had been created within the Board, and the Commission had been seized with the feeling that some actions needed to be taken for a change.

The two sides of the congregation were driven even further apart. The series of events threw Galloway into chaos and many people left the church, eventually affecting the number of people on its church roll. The full membership by and large had continued increasing up until 1960, when the number began a slowly declining trend for the next four years while Selah was still present trying to make peace with both sides. However, the ensuing period between the year 1964 and 1968 saw a drastic drop in the total membership; about 3,600 in 1964 and 2,200 in 1968. With a longer-term view from 1960 to 1976, the number was reduced nearly by half to 1,900. Over the course of the next half a century the membership somewhat rebounded, but Galloway has never fully recovered from the loss it experienced in the early and mid-1960s.[64]

The people who withdrew from Galloway, however, had many different,

completely opposing reasons for leaving. On the one hand, some left to form their own brand-new institution called the Independent Methodist Church on Riverside Drive,[65] which would prefer to remain segregated. It was established before the incident by John Wright, who was a member of the Board of Stewards at Galloway. At the same time his father, Ellis Wright, left in a temper, leaving with an insulting comment about what Selah was doing.[66] This church was eventually joined by others largely from Galloway and also from other churches. They claimed they would return to "the original Wesleyan tradition." [67] Others left for churches of other denominations such as Southern Baptists and Southern Presbyterian churches, which at that time were segregated.[68] A great number of these people left because they wanted segregated congregations.

On the other hand, there was also an exodus of members who wanted integration of the church. A number of people went to Episcopal Churches, including St. Andrew's Episcopal and St. James Episcopal, for the denomination shares great similarities in theology with Methodists yet they would not turn blacks away.[69] There were some others who kept their membership but stopped showing up for the services because they did not feel happy seeing disturbances at the church and paddy wagons or "the color guards" at the church doors.[70] Those people did not feel comfortable with the doors closed to some particular worshippers, which would be a refusal of what they had been taught at the church. These were the people who possessed a sense of discomfort about turning away black people. While the largest part of the congregation had made a firm decision to have the doors closed, there were some others feeling deeply dissatisfied about it yet wanting to remain faithful to the church.[71] In any case, the angry congregation was split by disagreements and different opinions, which was virtually brought about by the confusion in the early 1960s.

V. Impact of Selah and Furr on the Jackson Community

The controversy and change brought by the pastors of Galloway Church, with other factors, had an impact on the Jackson community as a whole. When Born of Conviction was put out into the world in 1962, Medgar Evers, NAACP[72] field secretary and a prominent African American civil rights

activist in Jackson, was encouraged by what had been done by the 28. It became one of the factors that led him to take further action, plans which became more sharply defined after the Birmingham movement[73] three months later. Evers, along with students at Tougaloo and Jackson high schools, had been devising a plan for a boycott of white merchants on Capitol Street, as well as challenges to white churches in order to present the issue of race relations also in Jackson.[74] Interracial meetings across denominational lines had also been set up by Evers, Selah and Ed King in the spring of 1963. Jerry Furr and Rev. Joe Way, the associate pastor of Capitol Street and a signer of Born of Conviction, had actively committed themselves to these meetings. Additionally, Galloway and Capitol Street led interracial church meetings of clergy. The Episcopal Bishop and Marvin Franklin, the Methodist Bishop and even the Catholic Bishop were also part of these meetings.[75] The interracial meetings served as a guide to Christians seeking for an open society. There was strong rising sentiment within Jackson's Christian community that blacks and whites must take action.

W. B. Selah's attitude towards Sunday integration was inherited by the incoming pastor, Mississippi native Rev. W. J. Cunningham, who arrived on September 1st, 1963[76] and had more than seven years of successful pastorate at St. Johns Methodist Church in Memphis before coming to Galloway Memorial Methodist Church. He delivered sermons on brotherhood, prayed for all the human race, and tried to unite the members and guide them in the right direction. Cunningham's tenure at Galloway, however, was not all smooth sailing. In 1964, Bishop Gerald Kennedy officially asked the church to get rid of segregation in whatever form it might be, but that did not work well at Galloway.[77] Nevertheless, in January 1966, shortly after Cunningham had showed his intention to resign on December 13th, 1965,[78] the official board at its regular meeting finally decided by vote "to open the doors of our church, without regard to color, and [to allow] all who wish to enter our services of worship."[79] While Cunningham faced much difficulty in effecting change, integration was finally brought to the church.

Millsaps College, a historically white Methodist institution that had a close connection with Galloway Memorial Methodist Church, was also finally experiencing some changes. On Febuary 21st, 1964, the Board of Trustees reaffirmed the admission policy that they had stated six years before; that segregation is the policy of Millsaps College.[80] In fact, it had been a difficult

situation for Millsaps College to move in the direction of accepting black students because if the administration of the college approved an integrated admission policy, it was very likely that they would lose much financial support from churches who were unwavering in keeping every institution in the town segregated.[81] The change came in 1965. Some faculty members of Millsaps, including some members of Galloway Church, had been pushing for accepting any person who qualified for admission regardless of the color of skin. At the beginning of the year, Nat Rogers, the chair of the board, made the announcement at long last that they would matriculate black students. In the fall of 1965, black students for the first time were admitted to Millsaps, which was several years after James Meredith was admitted to the University of Mississippi. Four black freshmen students—two men and two women—entered the regular college, and another woman who transferred became the first African American to receive a diploma from Millsaps.[82]

Conclusion

In the midst of significant civil rights protests such as the Freedom Riders' church visit campaigns and many other demonstrations in the early 1960s, Galloway Memorial Methodist Church became a contested terrain for Jackson's white Methodist community. Although it is undoubtedly true that most white evangelicals in the South fiercely opposed desegregation, there were still some religious leaders in their local communities who tried to contain militant segregationists and participated in the integration process on the margins of the movement, following the dictates of their Christian conscience. Through his regular preaching and ministry based on the Christian principle of brotherhood, W. B. Selah made a considerable effort to open Galloway to all people. Born of Conviction, Jerry Furr and other Mississippi-born ministers' public stand, also sought to change segregated society. As a result of Selah and Furr's "faithful witness"—their refusal to serve at a church that turned people away—Jackson white Methodists were divided down the middle on race. Whereas many still preferred segregated worship, quite a number of others supported and encouraged their stand—even if not openly, for fear of violent attacks. Their stand also prompted people to come face-to-face with how their Christianity related to the

dilemmas they were facing, which led to a gradual, yet certain transformation of society.

As illustrated throughout this paper, the civil rights story in Jackson is much more complex than it appears at first glance. A strong minority within the white Christians, who identified with the Jackson movement and stood against racial segregation, contributed significantly to the local Civil Rights Movement. There was an underlying tension within the Methodist local communities which was bound to surface eventually, and which came to light when those people raised up their voices and made definite moves.

However, this also suggests that for all their efforts and significant influence, it still required a considerable degree of effort and time to achieve racial integration, meaning that the opposition was equally or far more intense. White resistance to the movement was almost unmanageably strong, and the silent moderates—including many of the white Protestant leaders—just waited for things to work out by themselves or relied fully on the providence of God's will and His guidance. Even if some people had spoken out against the discriminatory tradition of segregation, they would have been ostracized or alienated from society, ending up needing to leave the town, as indeed some of the Born of Conviction signers did. Their failures ultimately reduced the likelyhood of a larger interratical alliance.

This massive resistance helps to explain the nature of structural racism which includes the denial of racism prevalent among today's white evangelicals who have been associated with political conservatism in the history of Christianity in the modern South. It is widely known that there is a tendency by white evangelicals—in comparison with other religious and demographic groups—to reject the presence of racial injustice in contemporary America.[83] Recent scholars have explained this pattern of behavior with the colorblind, individualistic theology that has developed among white evangelicals since the Civil Rights Movement,[84] during which time white evangelicals' emphasis on individual conversion had turned their eyes from structural sin, which ultimately trumped the commitments of integrationists.[85] White religious leaders from mainline Protestant churches were more supportive and vocal in the movement because of the official denominational bodies endorsing the *Brown* decision based on their religious principles, but their views were met with a mixed reception at the community level, as this paper has shown. A reconsideration of the role of white religious

communities in the South as well as that of the theological traditions of mainline and evangelical Protestants, therefore, is key to understanding the social structures that continue to produce division and long-standing inequalities.

In this paper, Galloway Memorial Methodist Church is presented as a microcosm of church communities in Mississippi and the South more broadly, a common site of conflict in the mid-20th century. Their endeavors together with their underlying religious convictions, which had fostered integration are not so negligible as to be left out of the historiography of the Civil Rights Movement; rather, their limited yet unique role deserves serious scholarly attention.

Notes

1. MAMML was a statewide organization with strong segregationist dispositions that had taken the first step in March 1955 in barring any potential integration in churches and maintaining its segregated structure. Carolyn R. Dupont, *Mississippi Praying: Southern White Evangelicals and the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1975* (New York: NYU Press, 2013), 72.
2. Carter Dalton Lyon, *Sanctuaries of Segregation: The Story of the Jackson Church Visit Campaign* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017), 12.
3. Tougaloo College was a historically black institution located northwest of Jackson, Mississippi. During the civil rights era, it served as one of the few places where people across racial lines could meet together.
4. Samuel S. Hill, *Southern Churches in Crisis Revisited* (New ed.) (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999); Tony Badger, "Closet Moderates: Why White Liberals Failed, 1940-1970," in *The Role of Ideas in the Civil Rights South: Essays*, ed. Ted Ownby (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 83-112.
5. David L. Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
6. Charles Marsh, *God's Long Summer: Stories of Faith and Civil Rights* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008); Jane Dailey, "Sex, Segregation, and the Sacred after Brown," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 1 (2004): 119-44; Peter Slade, *Open Friendship in a Closed Society: Mission Mississippi and a Theology of Friendship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 6.
7. Dupont, *Mississippi Praying*, 4.
8. John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995); J. Todd Moye, *Let the People Decide: Black Freedom and White Resistance Movements in Sunflower County, Mississippi, 1945-1986* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom*

Struggle, With a New Preface (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); James P. Marshall, *Student Activism and Civil Rights in Mississippi: Protest Politics and the Struggle for Racial Justice, 1960-1965* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 2013).

9. Lyon, *Sanctuaries of Segregation*; Elaine Allen Lechtreck, *Southern White Ministers and the Civil Rights Movement* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2018).
10. Marsh, *God's Long Summer*, 119.
11. Discipline of the Methodist Church, 1956, ¶2026..
12. Z/1957.000: Civil Rights and Methodism (Jackson, Miss.) Collection, folder 1, Mississippi Department of Archives and History (hereafter MDAH).
13. Dupont, *Mississippi Praying*, 72.
14. "Knights Defending White Supremacy," Mississippi Civil Rights Museum.
15. W. J. Cunningham, *Agony at Galloway: One Church's Struggle with Social Change* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1980), 5.
16. Ed King, "White Church III. Preaching and Rioting: Ole Miss, 1962" (unpublished manuscript), Microsoft Word file; The term "Freedom Riders" originally applied to the 1961 bus protest but after that it was used by people in Mississippi, both black and white, as a generic term for all civil rights workers.
17. Tougaloo College, a historically black institution on a 500-acre campus located northwest of Jackson, was the center of civil rights activism in central Mississippi, the base for demonstrations.
18. "Pastors to Quit Church Refusing Jackson Negroes," *Atlanta Constitution*, June 10, 1963.
19. "6 Churches Turn Away Negroes," Z/2288.000: Selah (William Bryan) Scrapbooks, 1935-1986, MDAH.
20. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, November 28, 1954; *Jackson Daily News*, March 1, 1960.
21. Jackson Churches Methodist Galloway Memorial 1836-1976, MDAH.
22. *Omaha World-Herald*, October 28, 1963; "Desegregate, Mississippi Pastor Asks," Z/2288.000: Selah (William Bryan) Scrapbooks, 1935-1986, MDAH.
23. "And we have known and believed the love that God has to us. God is love; and he that dwells in love dwells in God, and God in him." (John 4:16); "If anyone says, 'I love God,' but hates his brother, he is a liar. For anyone who does not love his brother, whom he has seen, cannot love God, whom he has not seen" (John 4:20).
24. W. B. Selah, sermon notes, M84, Box 1, folder 4.1, J.B. Cain Archives of Mississippi Methodism, Millsaps College (hereafter JBCA).
25. This principle was based on the Sermon on the Mount (John 13:34): "A new commandment I give unto you that you love one another as I have loved you."
26. W. B. Selah, "The Neglected Commandment," in *From the Pulpit: Sermons from Historic Galloway Memorial United Methodist Church*, ed. Anne Webster (Enumclaw, WA: Pleasant Word, 2008), 77.
27. W. B. Selah, "Brotherhood," November 19, 1961, M84, Box 1, folder 7, JBCA.
28. Ibid.
29. W. B. Selah, "Galloway and the Race Issue," M85, Box 1, folder 2, JBCA.
30. Muller Addkison, interview by Don Fortenberry, August 15, 2013, transcript, Galloway Memorial United Methodist Church Oral History Project, Jackson, MS (hereafter Galloway Oral History Project).
31. "Meetings of the Official Board," June 12, 1961, Jackson Churches Methodist Galloway Memorial 1836-1976, MDAH.

32. Carol V. R. George, *One Mississippi, Two Mississippi: Methodists, Murder, and the Struggle for Racial Justice in Neshoba County* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 111; Mary S. Brooke, Letter to W. B. Selah, June 18, 1963, Z/2288.000: Selah (William Bryan) Scrapbooks, 1935-1986, MDAH.
33. W. B. Selah, "A Statement to The Freedom Riders," Galloway Memorial Methodist Church, M84, Box 1, folder 1, JBCA.
34. W. B. Selah, "Brotherhood," November 19, 1961, M84, Box 1, folder 7, JBCA.
35. Z/2288.000: Selah (William Bryan) Scrapbooks, 1935-1986, MDAH.
36. Joseph T. Reiff, *Born of Conviction: White Methodists and Mississippi's Closed Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 31-32.
37. Ibid., 47.
38. "A resolution by the Commission on Education," June 1963, Z/2288.000/S: Selah (William Bryan) Scrapbooks, 1935-1986, MDAH.
39. *The Mississippi Methodist Advocate* was a weekly state Methodist newspaper composed of 16 pages that ran articles with a wide range of topics concerning Mississippi Methodists, often expressing moderate and liberal views on social problems. Although the exact number of subscribers is unknown, the *Advocate*'s print run was one of the largest *per capita* of all the state or regional papers in Methodism. The *Advocate* was meant to serve as many as 185,000 Methodists in Mississippi and was distributed to each Methodist church.
40. "Born of Conviction," *Mississippi Methodist Advocate*, January 2, 1963.
41. Reiff, *Born of Conviction*, 71.
42. "Born of Conviction," *Mississippi Methodist Advocate*, January 2, 1963.
43. Ibid.
44. James B. Nicholson, "Real Issues for These Times," Z/1957.000: Civil Rights and Methodism (Jackson, Miss.) Collection, folder 1, MDAH.
45. "Selah States Stand On Race Integration," *Clarion-Ledger*, January 7, 1963.
46. Ed King, interview by author, Jackson, Mississippi, August 27, 2018.
47. F14 Box 2, folder 5, JBCA.
48. Cunningham, *Agony at Galloway*, 6.
49. Reiff, *Born of Conviction*, 136.
50. "Churches Turn Back Negroes," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* (Dallas–Fort Worth metroplex), June 10, 1963.
51. Ibid.
52. Ray Stevens, "Galloway Church History [1956-1965]," Alford Porter Hamilton Library, Galloway Memorial Methodist Church, 115.
53. *Atlanta Constitution*, June 10, 1963.
54. Ibid.
55. Z/2288.000: Selah (William Bryan) Scrapbooks, 1935-1986, MDAH.
56. "Sanctuary Centennial: A Legacy of Faith . . . Growing in Grace," Galloway Memorial United Methodist Church 1916-2016.
57. Selah was requested to transfer to the Missouri Annual Conference of the Methodist Church, and was appointed as vice-president of Central College in Fayette. Meanwhile, Furr took an appointment in the Southern California—Arizona Methodist Conference and started a new pastorate in the Phoenix area;

"Pastors Leave Pulpits As Protest on Racial Issue," *Columbia Daily Tribune*, August 16, 1963.

58. Letter to W. B. Selah, Z/2288.000: Selah (William Bryan) Scrapbooks, 1935-1986, MDAH.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Nat Rogers, interview by Ginnie Munford, August 18, 2013, transcript, Galloway Oral History Project.
63. Jackson Churches Methodist Galloway Memorial 1836-1976, MDAH.
64. Ray Stevens, "Galloway Church History [1956-1965]," Alford Porter Hamilton Library, Galloway Memorial Methodist Church.
65. Nat Rogers, interview by Ginnie Munford, August 18, 2013, transcript, Galloway Oral History Project.
66. Phineas Stevens, interview by Ginnie Munford, July 2, 2013, transcript, Galloway Oral History Project.
67. T. W. Lewis, interview by Leonard Van Slyke, 2015, transcript, Galloway Oral History Project; Virginia Hogan, interview by Bill Lipscomb, 2015, transcript, Galloway Oral History Project.
68. T. W. Lewis, interview by author, Jackson, Mississippi, September 2, 2018.
69. Ibid.
70. Jeff Cunningham, interview by John Jones, Bill Hanna and Bob Bailey, April 24, 1979, AU 642, transcript, Electronic Archives, MDAH.
71. Ibid.
72. The acronym for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the oldest and largest civil rights organization in the United States of America, established in New York City in 1909 by white and black activists.
73. The Birmingham movement was an unusually large direct-action campaign in April 1963 organized by Martin Luther King Jr., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and others in Birmingham, Alabama, aimed at overthrowing the city's segregation system including segregated churches.
74. Ed King, interview by Don Fortenberry, January 23, 2015, transcript, Galloway Oral History Project.
75. Ibid.
76. Bill Goodman, interview by Ginnie Munford, 2014, transcript, Galloway Oral History Project.
77. George, *One Mississippi, Two Mississippi*, 114.
78. Cunningham, *Agony at Galloway*, 116.
79. "Galloway Votes Open Door Policy," Jackson Churches Methodist Galloway Memorial 1836-1976, MDAH.
80. *Mississippi Methodist Advocate*, JBCA F14 Box 3, folder 4.
81. "Tidings," First Methodist Church of Germantown, Philadelphia, January 23, 1964, JBCA M85 Box 1, folder 2.
82. T. W. Lewis, interview by Leonard Van Slyke, 2015, transcript, Galloway Oral History Project.
83. Daniel Cox, Rachel Lienesch, and Robert P. Jones, "Who Sees Discrimination? Attitudes on Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, Race, and Immigration Status: Findings from PRRI's American Values Atlas," PRRI, June 21, 2017, https://www.prri.org/research/americans-views-discrimination-immigrants-blacks-lgbt-sex-marriage-immigration-reform/ (accessed July 28, 2021).
84. Russell J. Hawkins, *The Bible Told Them So: How Southern Evangelicals Fought to Preserve White*

Supremacy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

85. Dupont, *Mississippi Praying*, 232.