

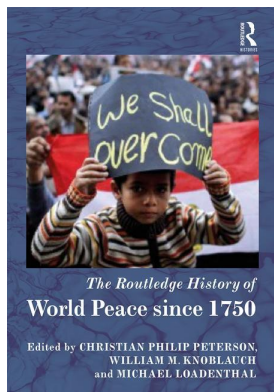
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LOSING MY RELIGION

The effects of World War I on pacifism in the Stone-Campbell Movement

Joshua W. Jeffery

Introduction

As the historiography of peace movements and pacifism has expanded in recent years and attracted new attention from scholars, these narratives have often—and justifiably—focused on the role of religion in the creation and sustaining of movements for peace. In fact, scholars of American religion have placed such an emphasis on peace movements that, according to Yale historian of American religion Harry Stout, textbooks, monographs, and surveys of American religion seem to portray “that religion in America is better understood in terms of its peace testimony than its support of war.” Stout argues that historians have generally failed to ask the question of “*why* did American religious actors feel compelled to preach peace.”¹ Stout’s answer is that many religious (and secular) Americans felt the need to teach on and argue for peace because “there has not been one generation in America’s colonial and national history that has not known substantial wars of conquest and dominion.”² Therefore, peace movements existed because America has been a nation from its inception that has not known peace; therefore, Americans have felt the need to agitate for it. Stout goes on to argue that historians of American religion have largely ignored war in favor of a narrative of peace, which creates the assumption that America’s normal state has been that of peace, punctuated by wars that were just, necessary, and good.³ Stout’s article was, ironically, a call to arms to fellow scholars to address the history of religion and war in the United States, which he felt has been systematically ignored.

Arguably, however, the history of peace and peace movements cannot be told without also telling the history of war. The two historiographies are really, of course, two sides of the same coin. Stout’s criticism, however, stands. He wishes to make war more visible in these histories because he believes that a focus on peace bolsters the popular (if incorrect) opinion that America has been a nation of peace that occasionally goes to war; such a view allows Americans to ignore their nation’s militarism. This is a laudable objection. Historians of peace, then, should work to ensure that war is indeed an extremely visible component of our work. To this end, this essay has two arguments: First, that the historiography of peace in the United States has largely ignored the largest peace church with a commitment to non-violence in America at the entry of the nation into World War I, and that by attending to the war, this history becomes visible. In this telling, it will become clear that the history of war is just as integral to understanding the largest peace church tradition in America at the

beginning of the war as it is to understanding the history of peace and pacifism. Second, in attempting to correct this oversight, is indeed to make war—through the battle for the American home front—fully visible in the telling.

The Great War

When the United States entered “The Great War” in April of 1917, President Woodrow Wilson’s intention was to win, both on the American home front and on the Western front. However, he had campaigned for reelection (in 1916) upon a platform to keep the country out of war. Wilson knew that changing American public opinion would be difficult, so he settled upon a carrot and stick approach. He first turned to propaganda and patriotism to earn support. Resorting to what he saw as moral suasion through these methods failed to win over a portion of the populace, however. In response, Wilson and Congress turned to the methods of social and cultural control to achieve those goals, including the coercive power of the law. As historian Ray Abrams has shown, Wilson’s attempts at social control included criminalizing free speech, restricting the freedom of the press, and making unlawful overt acts that impeded the draft or the war effort.⁴ For example, the government arrested and prosecuted several men who passed out flyers to draft-age men, encouraging them to resist induction into the armed forces.⁵

To force compliance, Wilson unleashed the police powers of the federal government, including United States Marshals, the US Secret Service, Army Intelligence, and the Department of Justice’s fledgling Bureau of Investigation, which had been founded just nine years prior. He also urged Congress to pass laws to deal with what he saw as disloyalty. Congress reacted to Wilson’s prompts, and enacted the Espionage Act in June of 1917, originally to criminalize espionage conducted by foreign governments. Congress amended the act, however, through the passage of several modifications in May of 1918 that came to be colloquially known as the Sedition Act.⁶ Congress enacted the sedition portions of the Espionage Act largely in response to American citizens—and not foreign agents—who were critical of America’s entry into and involvement in the war in Europe. The government criminalized many speech acts, either verbally or in writing, that might “interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States.”⁷ Once these laws were passed, statements as innocuous as “the United States should have kept out of this war,” were enough to land a person under federal investigation.⁸ For example, the socialist Eugene V. Debs was arrested in 1918 while making a speech critical of the war. Debs was sentenced to ten years in federal prison for making the speech, but was released early on Christmas Day, 1921, after having his sentence commuted by President Warren G. Harding.

The federal agencies tasked with national security during World War I so thoroughly carried out their duties under the Espionage and Sedition Acts that Jeanette Keith, historian of the American South, described the dragnet that followed as having an:

intensity and breadth of surveillance that heralded the birth of the American surveillance state. The Bureau of Investigation, the Military Intelligence Division, and the American Protective League were not just spying on leftists, feminists, pacifists, and immigrants—the “usual suspects” in the history of state suppression of the American left—they were spying on just about everybody, with the gleeful compliance of everybody’s neighbors . . . Curse the president, bad-mouth the Red Cross “ladies,” and before you knew it, you had to account for your words to

a federal agent. And not in New York or Washington, but in the smallest, dustiest, crossroads towns in the rural South.⁹

The fact that the federal security apparatus and the American Protective League—a citizen vigilante group working as a semi-official auxiliary of the Bureau of Investigation—worked so effectively was not lost upon government officials. Attorney General Thomas Gregory saw federal enforcement and surveillance as so efficient that he remarked approvingly that, “It is safe to say that never in its history has this country been so thoroughly policed.”¹⁰

Many Christian sectarian religious movements that opposed warfare did indeed find themselves thoroughly policed after the war began. In particular, two religious groups attracted the attention of federal agents to the point that their members were systematically targeted, harassed, and arrested. Those groups are the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), and the Churches of Christ, which together made up the larger Stone-Campbell Movement.

The Stone-Campbell Movement arose from several smaller religious movements in both the United Kingdom and the United States. They aimed to restore visible Christian unity in one universal (Protestant) church to return the church to the doctrine and practice of the apostles of Jesus in the First Century CE. The majority of these movements coalesced around three men: Father and son duo Thomas and Alexander Campbell, who emigrated to the United States from Ulster, Ireland, and Barton Stone, an American Presbyterian pastor who hosted the Cane Ridge Revival, which is considered by most historians of American religion to be the initiating act of the Second Great Awakening. Stone and the Campbells and their followers came together in a united movement in 1830. However, the movement split in 1906 into two different churches: The Churches of Christ, and the Disciples of Christ. They split largely over tensions remaining from the American Civil War over questions of militarism and pacifism, questions surrounding the support of para-church organization, and the use of instrumental music in worship.¹¹

World War I wrought major changes to the two major streams of the Stone-Campbell Movement that were extant in 1917. Before the war, the majority of members in Churches of Christ were pacifists.¹² By the time the war was over, however, pacifism had been severely weakened in the church, due to persecution, prosecution, and propaganda coming largely from the federal government.¹³ The weakening of pacifism, which was one of the elements of which Stone-Campbell historian Richard Hughes has called the “apocalyptic worldview,” served to accelerate the acculturation of Churches of Christ to American society, which hastened the transition of the group sociologically from sect to denomination.¹⁴

The war also deeply affected the Disciples of Christ. Before the war, and unlike the Churches of Christ members, the majority of Disciples were decidedly not pacifists, and the church soon lost the majority of its sectarian pacifists to the Churches of Christ.¹⁵ However, the persecution of conscientious objectors both inside the church and without, along with other factors, led the Disciples to a crucible; after the war, the group returned to embrace pacifism and non-violence.¹⁶ But while the war resulted in the Disciples embracing pacifism in a new way, the conflict brought on another battle inside the Disciples movement itself. War financing drives by the federal government in the form of war bonds and stamps, and Red Cross drives decreased giving to church initiatives. This forced the Disciples to embrace efficiency with regards to its denominational agencies, resulting in the merger of several agencies into the United Christian Missionary Society (UCMS). The creation of the UCMS helped to galvanize conservative and fundamentalist Disciples against those in the church

who were attempting to move the group farther away from sectarianism and restorationism and towards denominationalism. As Disciples historian Dee Atwood has argued, World War I influenced the Disciples of Christ to a second major split in the Stone-Campbell Movement, one that brought about the creation of another new restorationist sect, the “Christian Churches and Churches of Christ.”¹⁷

War resistance in Churches of Christ

At the beginning of the war, the Church of Christ was strongly pacifistic, and the largest peace church in the United States. According to historian Jeanette Keith, the Churches of Christ, who practiced “Christian non-resistance,” were larger than both the Quakers and the Mennonites. Keith notes that General Enoch Crowder, the head of Army conscription, “labeled the Churches of Christ the largest of the ‘Religious denominations opposed to war,’ with 317,937 members, of whom 132,755 were male.”¹⁸ With the federal government recognizing this robust status, it was inevitable that the church would fall afoul of the law during the war.

Soon, members of Churches of Christ quickly began to experience arrest and prosecution once the Espionage and Sedition Acts were passed. Bureau of Investigation Special Agents investigated at least twenty members of the Churches of Christ during the war. They frequently arrested, harassed, threatened, and pressured members who opposed the war. At least thirty members of the Churches of Christ who were inducted into the army after filing conscientious objector claims, and who refused to comply with orders, were held against their will in segregated “objector” areas at Army camps across the United States.¹⁹ Political Scientist Mark Elrod has found that at least fourteen members of the Churches of Christ were sentenced to the federal penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, for their refusal to fight for the Army or otherwise support the war effort.²⁰

One who probably did end up in the penitentiary was J. P. Watson, a prominent preacher in what would become the Non-Sunday School Churches of Christ. Watson’s preaching against the war was so thorough and brazen that the original complaint made to the Bureau was through Rutledge Smith, the chairman for the National Council of Defense in Washington, D.C.²¹ Watson, who was preaching around Cookeville, Tennessee, was accused of telling an audience that, “he did not think a man could be a Christian and a soldier. They could carry him to battle but could not make him fight.”²² Watson was willing to criticize the government to proclaim his views and keep young men out of the army. Watson’s statements outraged enough people that the State of Tennessee sought an indictment from a Grand Jury to arrest him, but for some reason, the Jury failed to return an indictment.²³ Federal Special Agent Blane Danley also attempted to prosecute Watson, but there is no evidence that the US Attorney at Nashville ever took up the case.²⁴

Sometimes, Bureau agents did not seek prison time for violators, but simply used intimidation. G.H.P. Showalter, editor of the Church of Christ journal *Firm Foundation*, and his correspondent W. R. Carten, were investigated in May of 1917 for publishing an article entitled “Can a Christian Go to War?” The article urged Christians to seek conscientious objector status if drafted. Carten stated in the article that he would send a petition to Washington seeking peace church status for the sect. When confronted by the Bureau, Showalter apologized for its inclusion in his paper, and promised the agent that he would make sure nothing similar would be published. Showalter told the agent that he was opposed to all warfare, but that he believed that the United States had no other choice but to fight.²⁵

The Bureau dropped the case after Carten decided to enlist in the Army rather than face time in prison.²⁶

The Department of Justice were not quite as kind to *Gospel Advocate* editor J. C. McQuiddy. Throughout the war, McQuiddy and his fellow editors and writers published anti-war articles in the *Advocate*. McQuiddy also published other news on the war, including pieces seeking funding for the evangelization of soldiers in training camps in the United States.²⁷ The offending articles eventually came to the attention of the Justice Department, and McQuiddy and Price Billingsley, an anti-war minister and frequent writer for the *Advocate* who wrote a piece critical of the government, were summoned to the US Attorney's Office for Middle Tennessee. The US Attorney threatened to have both men arrested for violation of the Sedition Act. McQuiddy, however, was able to talk down the US Attorney, and he and Billingsley were eventually released. McQuiddy closed the *Advocate*, the most influential journal in the Churches of Christ, to articles critical of the war or supporting pacifism for the remainder of the conflict.²⁸

When the war ended, the Churches of Christ emerged from it with their pacifism in shambles. Each of the Churches' major journals had been silenced during the war through the threat of prosecution and property seizures; the group's largest and most successful education institution had been forcibly closed, and most of the denomination's prominent preachers had been quieted by prison or the threat of it by federal officials. Additionally, many of the churches' draft-eligible men had been forcibly inducted into the Army, with some placed in guard houses, some thrown into prisons, while others were made medics and other non-combatants, and some were even forced to fight on the front lines. The effect of the government's cumulative actions against pacifism in the Churches of Christ took its toll on these members, and eventually resulted in a retreat of pacifism in Churches of Christ.²⁹

War resistance in the Disciples of Christ

Clearly, the war not only affected the Churches of Christ, but it also had a significant impact on the practice and theology of the Disciples of Christ. In 1917, most Disciples embraced Woodrow Wilson's "War to Make the World Safe for Democracy."³⁰ In an April 26, 1917 editorial, J. H. Garrison, the influential editor-emeritus of the *Christian-Evangelist*, declared that,

Preparedness for war, now that war has been declared to exist, is a duty which this nation now owes to itself and all the world. That the people are responding with wonderful unanimity to the call of our President and Congress is what we had a right to expect from such a nation with such a history.³¹

But while Garrison praised the nation for preparing for war as he thought it should, "with wonderful unanimity," he also sounded a cautious note: That Disciples and the rest of the nation should remember that the ultimate goal of the war was to ensure a lasting peace. In that vein, Garrison called upon the creation of an international organization at the end of the war that would "enforce" peace upon the nations so that such a conflict never occurred again.³²

But while Garrison believed that the nation and the Disciples were unanimously backing the war effort, a small group of Disciples ministers and laymen continued to resist the war. However, much like their cousins in the Churches of Christ, anti-war Disciples discovered

that the government would not tolerate dissent. Consider the example of C. C. Cline, an ordained minister in the Disciples and Dean of the Little Rock College for Women; the Bureau of Investigation and the Post Office Department investigated Cline for allegedly making statements that discouraged enlistment in the Army, a violation of the Conscription Act.

Cline, who was also an itinerant preacher, had been accused of preaching against the war in Rogers, Arkansas, in July of 1917. A. Bruce Bielaski, the Chief of the Bureau, assigned A. C. Cunkle out of the Fort Smith office to investigate. Cunkle apparently had contact with the Post Office Department, and the Postmaster of Eureka Springs, Arkansas attended one of Cline's meetings. The Postmaster wrote down Cline's speech, and forwarded it on to the Bureau. Cunkle's report indicated that the postmaster heard nothing "disrespectful to the President or that was disloyal." Cline interestingly spoke about the war and related it to prophecy and "Armageddon," believing that Jesus would arrive after the war and initiate his millennial reign. However, Cline also specifically stated in his sermon that "I am a patriot, I love my country, my father loves this country; I do not want anyone to accuse me of being unpatriotic."³³ Such a statement suggests that Cline may have suspected that he was being monitored.

It is possible that the government was monitoring Cline because some of his correspondence through the postal service had been betrayed to investigators. About three months before Cunkle's report, Cline had written a letter to Champ Clark, a prominent Disciple and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The letter indicated that Cline had indirect connections to Clark through family members, but that he did not expect Clark to know him personally. Cline congratulated Clark for fighting against the Conscription Act, and he told Clark that he had also written to his Senators, urging them to stand up against conscription. Cline opined that if Clark could defeat the measure, it would put him into an excellent position to run for President. Cline also denigrated President Wilson in his letter, saying that he had "become in effect a military dictator."³⁴ Such a statement, considering how the Bureau enforced the Threats against the President Act, would have raised the hackles of the federal government.

Another Disciple who raised the hackles of the federal government was Kirby Page. A Disciples minister who would become a household name in the church, Page left the United States for France at the beginning of 1917 to work for the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Page worked among injured soldiers and prisoners of war, and quickly became disillusioned with the conflict. He returned to the United States in September 1917, with plans to proceed to China with Social Gospeller Sherwood Eddy and hopefully evangelize the country.

Shortly after Page's arrival back in the US, his hometown newspaper, the *Houston Chronicle*, interviewed him. The article recounted a story of Page's narrow escape from death when his ship was attacked by a German U-Boat and barely avoided being hit by torpedoes. In addition to Page's riveting story, however, were critical remarks about the American press, the American people, and American troops' conduct overseas. Specifically, Page accused Allied troops of committing atrocities similar to those perpetrated by the Germans, including killing women and children. Page believed that if the American people could witness the horrors of war, they would rise up and refuse to allow their children to be conscripted.³⁵

Page's comments offended someone in Houston, who mailed the article to George Creel's Committee for Public Information (CPI) in Washington, D.C. The CPI, an official

propaganda agency established by President Wilson at the beginning of the war, was created to ensure that all Americans supported the war effort. Edgar Sisson, the vice-chairman of the CPI, viewed Page's remarks as a dangerous piece of intentional counter-propaganda. He forwarded the article to the Bureau, and asked them to keep Page under surveillance. He also asked the Bureau to keep any visitors that Page received while in the United States "under observation."³⁶

The Bureau immediately opened an investigation into Page, and dispatched a Special Agent to the Houston YMCA to investigate. Once the agent arrived, however, he found that Page had already left for China with Sherwood Eddy. As much as the Bureau might have wanted to prosecute Page, they would have no opportunity to do so.³⁷ The Bureau did prosecute Page's good friend and fellow Disciples' minister Harold Studley Gray, however. Gray, after serving the YMCA in Great Britain and working with German Prisoners of War, returned to the United States and refused to be conscripted into the Army. For Gray's refusal to serve after he was forcibly inducted, the Army court-martialed him and sentenced him to life in prison in Fort Leavenworth. He made such a stir in Leavenworth that the military then shipped him to Alcatraz, where he stayed until the President finally commuted his sentence in September of 1919.³⁸

But while some Disciples ended up in Leavenworth, most—having been excluded by the government from the draft due to age, gender, or other factors—remained at home and in the pews throughout the war. Those tasked with conducting the business of the church, both locally and nationally, quickly faced a major problem: National economic pressures such as inflation, coupled with calls for money from the Red Cross, Liberty Loan, and War Savings Stamps drives, as well as from the various missionary and relief agencies of the Disciples, made for major financial problems. These economic pressures resulted in a push in the Disciples to consolidate the majority of Disciples agencies, including the American Christian Missionary Society (ACMS), the Foreign Christian Missionary Society, the Christian Women's Board of Missions, the National Benevolent Association, the Board of Ministerial Relief, and the Board of Church Extension.³⁹ While these bodies could not be joined immediately during the war due to logistical issues, Disciples agencies began to collect money through a singular appeal in the Men and Millions Movement.⁴⁰ Such consolidation of collections, along with unification, while advocated by progressives and their newspapers such as the *Christian Evangelist* and the *Christian Century*, were opposed by conservative Disciples, and especially by their paper, the *Christian Standard*.

The *Standard* opposed these measures for several reasons, including the fact that many conservatives saw unification as a means of becoming "more like the denominations"; also, because near the beginning of the war a major controversy had broken out among the Disciples over "modernism," including the use of higher criticism at the College of the Bible at Transylvania University.⁴¹ Many of those involved in the modernism controversy were also supporters of joint collections and the unification of the societies. As the *Standard* increased its opposition, an additional controversy erupted over "open membership," or the acceptance of the un-immersed, especially in foreign missions, which because it involved the missionary society, increased the *Standard's* opposition to unification.⁴²

After the war, the various societies did unify, sparking an even larger controversy. Conservative and fundamentalist Disciples who opposed unification founded an alternative to the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ, the annual mass meeting and convention for Disciples. This new meeting, the North American Christian Convention, allowed fundamentalist Disciples a place to rally against the unification of the societies,

as well as to take counsel of their own fears regarding the movement of the Disciples from sectarianism to denominationalism. The International Convention, largely shorn of conservatives, continued to push for the Disciples to move more towards a denominational stance in both culture and structure. In 1962, the convention appointed a committee to examine restructuring the Disciples into a denomination. In 1968, the committee proposed a “Provisional Design” of a new denomination, which the convention approved. Thereafter, liberal Disciples officially recognized themselves as a denomination, but conservative and fundamentalist congregations left in droves. In 1972, a large group of congregations adhering to the North American Christian Convention wrote to the international convention, requesting that their churches and pastors be delisted from the annual year book of churches. A third split in the Stone-Campbell Movement, begun because of events that occurred in World War I, was now a reality.

Conclusion

How did World War I precipitate the split? Without the economic strain of the war, and the need for an emergency method of raising funds during the conflict, the unification of the agencies into the UCMS would most likely not have occurred.⁴³ Had the war not precipitated the need for the UCMS, a second division in the movement might have been avoided, or, more likely, it might have been postponed or caused less damage. What is more, the split between the Churches of Christ and the Disciples in 1906 was precipitated first and foremost by the actions of the ACMS during the American Civil War. In short, along with historian Dee Atwood, this chapter maintains that the merger of the ACMS with other agencies to form the UCMS during and after WWI precipitated the second split that occurred within the Disciples. The two major splits in the Stone-Campbell Movement, then, both came about because of the movement’s reaction to major American wars.

In 1935, before World War II, but also before the official split between the Disciples and independents, Kirby Page—who narrowly escaped arrest by the FBI during the war—founded the Disciples Peace Fellowship (DFP). DFP became “one of the largest independent but integrally related organizations within the denomination,” and was the first peace fellowship formed within a specific denomination in the United States.⁴⁴ Today, the Disciples are known for their stances in favor of social justice and non-violence. This group transformed from a church in 1917 that largely accepted the war (with some notable exceptions), to a denomination on the front-lines of the peace movement. This occurred because of the work of such Disciples as Page, Gray, and C. C. Cline, as well as by the merger of Disciples agencies and the eventual split of the Disciples from the Christian Churches and Churches of Christ, precipitated by the war.

Furthermore, just as the war initiated major change in the Disciples, it also caused major changes in the Churches of Christ. The war’s weakening of pacifism in the Churches of Christ contributed to the decline of the apocalyptic worldview in the Churches of Christ, and eventually a shift in the character of the group from sect to denomination.⁴⁵ These changes suggest that the Great War had a much greater effect on the Stone-Campbell Movement than previously accepted by historians. Furthermore, the history of peace and pacifism in the Churches of Christ and the Disciples of Christ cannot be told coherently without also narrating the history of war and its effect on the movement. Pacifism in the Disciples during this period would be all but invisible without a war for pacifists to react against. While pacifists in the Churches of Christ were more visible before the war, the events of the Great

War and government attacks against those who stood for peace brought this group into focus. Without government interference with the faith and practice of pacifists in the movement, the deep commitment to peace within this group could not be fully seen or appreciated.

Such conclusions point to important lessons for peace activists, both inside and outside of religious groups. Throughout the Stone-Campbell Movement, the conflict of war brought increased visibility to pacifists and peace activists within the movement. In the Disciples, as noted above, without the war, the pacifists that remained in this group would have been completely invisible. However, as has been illustrated, it is obvious that such a peace witness survived within the Disciples, and was transmitted among members of the church. Such a phenomenon among the Disciples suggests that those who would work for peace must not simply transmit the tradition quietly among those who are receptive, but that peace activists must also agitate loudly and publicly to make their voices clearly heard during times of peace as well as times of war. While the peace witness was better known and better disseminated in Churches of Christ during times of peace, persecution by the government clearly impacted pacifism within Churches of Christ. Because of this, peace activists, both inside and outside the church, must recognize that simply teaching peace or agitating for it is not enough. Activists must also prepare contemporaries to recognize that stands of peace will be unpopular and may be met not only with scorn and shame, but perhaps also with physical and even legal force. If those who embrace peace in times of war are not prepared to face persecution and possible prosecution, then the pacifism that activists nurture, teach, and exhibit may be severely threatened by those who prefer to choose militarism over peace. The experiences of peace activists in the Stone-Campbell Movement point us towards these lessons.

Notes

- 1 Harry S. Stout, "Religion, War, and the Meaning of America," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 19, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 282.
- 2 Harry S. Stout, "Religion, War, and the Meaning of America," 275.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 276.
- 4 Ray H. Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms: A Study of the War-Time Attitudes and Activities of the Churches and the Clergy in the United States, 1914–1918* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933), xiv–xvi.
- 5 *Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47 (1919)
- 6 Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*, 128.
- 7 The act was specifically aimed at false statements, or statements that were intentionally aimed at the government to impede the war effort. For the full text of the act, see 50 U.S.C. 4 § 40 (1917).
- 8 For one of many possible examples, see the case of Julius Rhuberg in H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War, 1917–1918* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 153.
- 9 Peterson and Fite, *Opponents of War*, 199–200.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 20.
- 11 For a discussion of the split as a function of pacifism versus militarism, see Joshua W. Jeffery, "Spies, Slackers, and Saboteurs: Federal Suppression of Religious Pacifism in the Churches of Christ During World War I" (MTS thesis, Vanderbilt University, 2015), 18.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 *Ibid.*, 39.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 40.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 4–17.
- 16 Joshua W. Jeffery, "A Barbarous Method of Adjusting Differences: Federal Persecution of Conscientious Objectors in the Disciples of Christ During the Great War, 1917–1918," *Stone-Campbell Journal* 20, no. 1 (April 2017): 17–33.

- 17 Dee James Atwood, "The Impact of World War I on the Agencies of the Disciples of Christ" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1978).
- 18 Jeanette Keith, *Rich Man's War, Poor Man's Fight: Race, Class, and Power in the Rural South During the First World War* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 76. Keith bases this assertion on data tabulated by the War Department and published in Enoch Herbert Crowder, *Second Report of the Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War on the Operation of the Selective Service System to December 20, 1918* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), 56–58.
- 19 The Swarthmore CO Database contains a large amount of information about many of the pacifists that were inducted into the armed forces. See Anne M. Yoder, "World War I Conscientious Objection," Swarthmore College Peace Collection, September 13, 2013, accessed October 15, 2014, www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/conscientiousobjection/WWI.CO.coverpage.htm.
- 20 Mark Alan Elrod, "The Churches of Christ and the 'War Question': The Influence of Church Journals" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1995), 162.
- 21 Blaine Danley, *In Re J. P. Watson, Alleged Preacher, Violation of the Espionage Act*, November 22, 1918 NARA M1085, OGF #32336, 2.
- 22 Danley, *In Re J. P. Watson*, 3.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 4.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 1–7.
- 25 B. C. Baldwin, *In Re W. R. Carten, Publishing Article against Enlistment*. May 4, 1917. NARA M1085, OGF #14515, 1.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 27 Price Billingsley, "Brother Dunn's Ministry in Camp Sevier," *Gospel Advocate*, January 31, 1918.
- 28 Michael W. Casey, "From Religious Outsiders to Insiders: The Rise and Fall of Pacifism in the Churches of Christ," *Journal of Church and State* 44, no. 3 (2002): 462.
- 29 See Yoder, "World War I Conscientious Objection," Swarthmore College Peace Collection, September 13, 2013, accessed October 15, 2014, www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/conscientiousobjection/WWI.CO.coverpage.htm.
- 30 See Jeffery, "'A Barbarous Method of Adjusting Differences,'" 2.
- 31 J. H. Garrison, "The Editor's Easy Chair," *Christian Evangelist*, April 26, 1917, 511.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 A. C. Cunkle, *In Re: C.C. Cline, Anti-Registration*, July 6, 1917, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) M1085, Old German Files (OGF) #35022, 1–3.
- 34 C. C. Cline, letter to Speaker of the US House of Representatives Champ Clark, April 26, 1917, Champ Clark Papers, The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, MO, accessed March 26, 2018, <http://cdm16795.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/overthere/id/6489>.
- 35 "War is Hell in Absence of More Expressive Word, Says Kirby Page," *Houston Chronicle*, n.d.
- 36 Edgar Sisson, letter to Chief of Bureau of Investigation A. Bruce Bielaski, *In Re: Kirby Page, Pro-German Propaganda*, 24 November 1917, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) M1085, Old German Files (OGF) #70976, 5.
- 37 C. R. Holland, OGF #70976, 7.
- 38 Jeffery, "A Barbarous Method," 19–24.
- 39 Atwood, "The Impact of World War I," 31–49.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 47.
- 41 Theological modernism or "liberalism" includes a constellation of ideas, including a rejection of the infallibility of the Bible, a rejection of the historicity of scripture, the rejection of miracles, the acceptance of biological evolution, and other doctrines.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 93–127.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 147–163.
- 44 "About DPF," Disciples Peace Fellowship, accessed March 31, 2015, www.dpfweb.org/about-dpf/.
- 45 For more about this decline, see Jeffery, "Spies, Slackers, and Saboteurs." For more on the jettisoning of premillennialism in Churches of Christ, see Joshua W. Jeffery, "A Fight for the Future: Stone-Campbell Eschatology through the Lens of Jürgen Moltmann's Theology of Hope," at the Stone-Campbell Journal Conference, Indianapolis, Indiana, April 10, 2015.