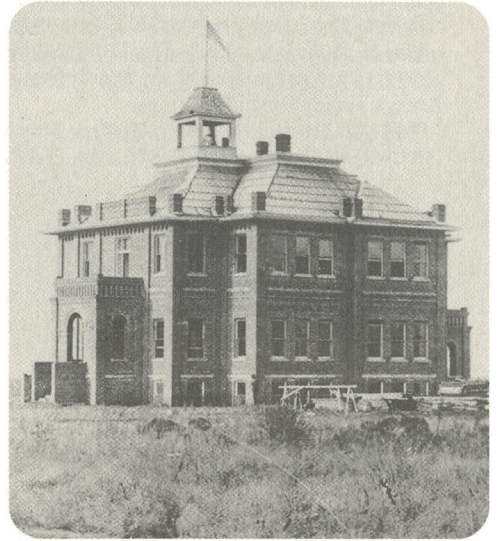


***The
Closing
of
Cordell
Christian
College***



***A Microcosm of
American Intolerance
during World War I***

By Michael W. Casey

Oklahoma during World War I was one of the most repressive states regarding protest against the war. Many Oklahomans upset with the state's "slacker" image, created by the "Green Corn Rebellion" and the large number of anti-war socialists, were determined to silence any dissent to the war. A "tar and feather patriotism" created an atmosphere where beatings, economic coercion, and the threat of vigilante violence occurred with frightening regularity throughout the state.¹

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A key organization created to promote the war effort was the Oklahoma Council of Defense, a part of the National Council of Defense system. Congress created the national council in 1916 to help with preparedness for war. After America's entry into World War I, the National Council of Defense and the Committee on Public Information became leading organizations to mold public opinion in favor of the war effort. The Oklahoma state council organized local county councils across the state.² The Oklahoma county councils "were the most repressive agencies" and even "acted as courts to try slackers and alleged disloyalists," according to one historian.³

One unfortunate incident occurred in Washita County. In an official report, the Washita County Council of Defense reported its closure of Cordell Christian College and claimed that the "order was upheld by the State Council of Defense."⁴ The county council's account was a self-serving whitewash of the real events that took place in Cordell. In 1942 O.A. Hilton said that until the federal records became available for study "it will be impossible to know just how much disloyalty did exist in Oklahoma."⁵ Now that those records are available, what is emerging is not disloyalty, but a sorry story of persecuted dissenters who presented no threat to the war effort. In one case the pacifists of the Churches of Christ (C of C), the denomination that sponsored Cordell Christian College, were caught in the brutal maelstrom of wartime hysteria.

The C of C was a "church of the disinherited" with a class-conscious membership that was deeply disturbed by the materialism and hypocrisy it saw in the more established churches.⁶ "The spirited offspring of the religious rednecks of the postbellum South," the C of C divided from the more prosperous Disciples of Christ.⁷ One distinguishing world-rejecting position of the C of C was pacifism. Peter Brock, a leading historian of pacifism, identifies the C of C as one of America's leading pacifist sects.⁸ Most members believed it was wrong to kill and to fight in war. All political systems were corrupt, so Christians should not even vote. Instead, Christians were to lead quiet pious lives and seek spirituality and the kingdom of God or heaven.⁹

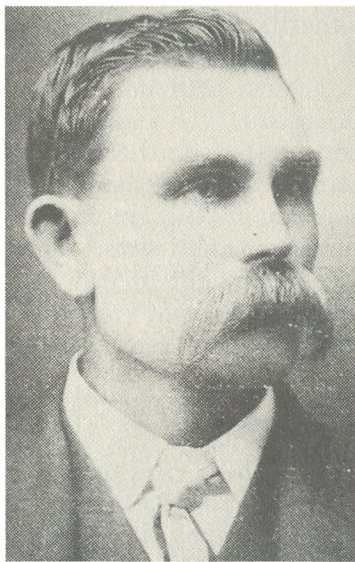
The third largest southern religious tradition, the C of C had a strong presence in Oklahoma. According to the United States Census Bureau, in 1916 the C of C had 21,700 members, making it the seventh largest religious group in Oklahoma.¹⁰ Despite a mostly economically poor membership, the tradition sought to establish colleges to educate and improve its young people. In 1907 three

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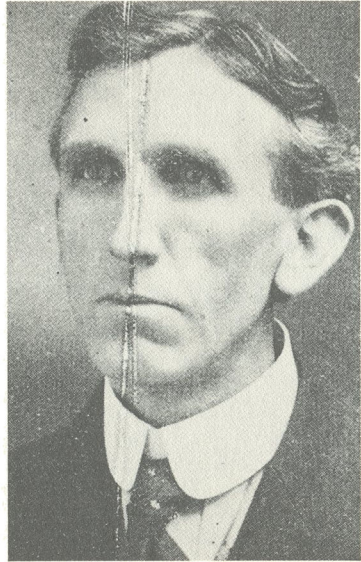
business leaders, J.C. Harrel, G.A.W. Fleming, and W.D. Hockaday, organized Cordell Christian College in Cordell, Oklahoma. Using land donated by Harrel (who had founded the city of Cordell) and raising the necessary money, they opened the school in September, 1907.¹¹

After one year, J.H. Lawson, the college's first president, resigned, and J.N. Armstrong was appointed to fill the vacancy. Armstrong was born near Gadsden, Tennessee, in 1870. He graduated from Nashville Bible School (now David Lipscomb University) in Nashville, Tennessee, and began teaching Greek and Latin at the school. Armstrong later moved to Bowling Green, Kentucky, where he completed a master's degree in Biblical languages and taught at Potter Bible College. In 1905 he moved to Odessa, Missouri, and served as the president of Western Bible and Literary College for two years.¹²

Armstrong's first year as the Cordell president was marked by a strained relationship with Fleming, who served as the business manager. Fleming, a successful businessman, wanted to control the finances and let Armstrong take care of the academic side of Cordell. Armstrong was used to controlling every aspect of a college, so he threatened to resign unless he also became the business manager. Harrel sided with Fleming, while the rest of Cordell's regents sided with Armstrong. They forced Fleming to resign and removed Harrel from the board of regents; however, World War I provided Harrel and Fleming with an opportunity to exact revenge. Armstrong took control of the school for the next ten years and made the school into the largest college of the C of C.¹³



On April 6, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany and entered into the conflict. On May 18 Congress passed the first draft act, and most of the male students at Cordell Christian became subject to the draft. The Cordell draft board was so patriotic it tried to send everyone who was age-elig-



J.C. Harrel (opposite) was one of three Cordell businessmen who founded Cordell Christian College (p. 20). J.N. Armstrong (r) served as the college's second president in an era marked by conflict and intolerance (Courtesy Marie Clay Yingling, p. 20; courtesy Abilene Christian University, Abilene, Texas, right and opposite).

ble into the military, including those who were physically unfit. A former roommate of L.C. Sears, a Cordell faculty member, had incipient tuberculosis and went straight from military camp to a government hospital following his induction.¹⁴

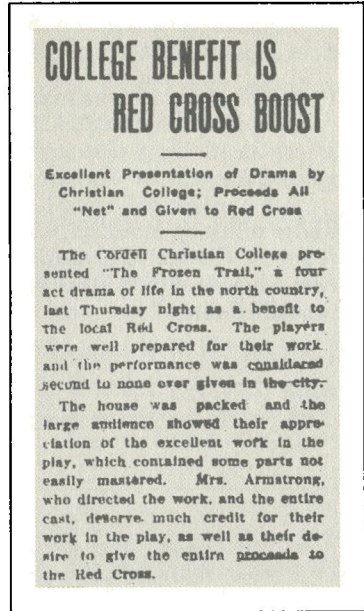
When Armstrong and most of his faculty took a conscientious objector (CO) stance, many Cordell students followed suit. The draft board did not view Cordell as a theological school. Therefore, they believed Cordell students were not entitled to noncombatant service, the only legal CO status available. The draft board also tried to prevent ministerial students and faculty who preached from getting a ministerial exemption.¹⁵ Sears was classified as 1-A for immediate eligibility. Two Cordell regents, D.R. Dial, an elder at the church at Mangum, and Hockaday, then president of the Cordell Christian board of regents, testified before the draft board for Sears. When Sears told the draft board about his preaching, "the chairman of the board asked with a sneer if they were paying" him enough to buy his "BVDs." The local board refused to change his status, and Sears appealed to the state board which finally gave him a "Certificate of Discharge as a minister, dated September 28."¹⁶



Cordell Christian's detractors cited the school's German-language classes as evidence of its pro-German stance. Faculty member L.C. Sears, second from left, middle row, posed with the 1917 class. In September, 1918, the city council passed an ordinance and emergency clause prohibiting the speaking or use of the German language within the corporate limits (Courtesy Oklahoma Christian University of Science and Arts, Oklahoma City).

Despite those difficulties, the 1917–1918 academic year went well. While Armstrong believed individual Christians could not kill, he did believe the United States had the right to fight in the war. The college supported the war effort at home. Cordell faculty and students bought war savings stamps and liberty bonds, ate only cornbread, and endured meatless days to save food for the military. They helped with Red Cross work and even voluntarily chopped and picked cotton in response to the government's request for agricultural help. With the production of a play, Mrs. Armstrong raised more than \$300 for the Red Cross. Thirty-eight students and three teachers went into the military before July, 1918, and by August more than fifty former students were in uniform. At least eighteen of them volunteered for military duty.¹⁷

Many people in Cordell ignored the school's support for the war and noticed only the pacifist sentiment. Most Cordell students who were drafted apparently took noncombatant status.¹⁸ Three students ran afoul of the law over their draft status. Ben Randolph and Levi Kindrick Wilmeth refused to take noncombatant status and were sentenced to prison at Fort Leavenworth. Armstrong, Sears, and others unsuccessfully argued with them to accept noncombatant service.¹⁹ A third Cordell student, Leroy Epperson, was convicted as a deserter when he failed to fill out his registration



Cordell Christian College, with the support and assistance of local merchants and individuals, produced "The Frozen Trail" as a benefit for the Red Cross (Taken from the Cordell Beacon, December 27, 1917).

form.²⁰ Hockaday refused to buy liberty bonds and his store in Granite was painted yellow. Hockaday's nephew, Charles T. Clay, who was living with Hockaday, also refused to take noncombatant service and received a sentence to Fort Leavenworth. Some people in the community mistakenly thought Clay was a Cordell student.²¹ In February, 1918, Armstrong traveled to Washington, D.C., as part of a group to discuss with government officials CO status for members of the C of C.²² Patriotic citizens began to accuse the school of being pro-German, citing the teaching of German as evidence.²³

Everything in Cordell remained relatively peaceful until an ill-advised article in Armstrong's paper, the *Gospel Herald*, set off an explosion that eventually destroyed Cordell Christian College as Armstrong envisioned it. In the May 16, 1918, issue, S.A. Bell, a Cordell faculty member, wrote that it was wrong even for Christians to do noncombatant work in the military. Critics of the school notified the local postmaster at Cordell, Henry C. Hubbard. Hubbard sent a copy of the article to the solicitor of the Post Office Department in Washington and asked for instructions. Hubbard had not read the article before he mailed it, but he considered it nonmailable under the Alien and Sedition Acts and "would have refused to dispatch same pending an opinion from" the solicitor.²⁴

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In an internal post office memo, one official also found Bell's article legally objectionable, especially the following passage:

I would feel that I was taking vengeance, which is the God-ordained duty, the primary duty of the government of which I would be a part. There is nothing plainer than that the United States is seeking vengeance against Germany.

It is hard for me to see how a Christian can afford to do any service under military direction, without being involved in a forbidden thing. A part of the noncombatant work in and of itself is absolutely wrong. And I am sure that all of it, when done as military service, is wrong for a Christian.²⁵

The official said Hubbard "should not have allowed the paper containing the objectionable matter to have passed through the mails," and he would be given "proper instructions" about "future issues."²⁶



Businessmen in Washita County often purchased patriotic advertisements such as this to promote the war effort and discourage "slackers" (Taken from the Cordell Bacon, April 10, 1918).

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W.H. Lamar, the post office solicitor, replied to Hubbard on August 7 that the Post Office Department also considered the May 16 issue of the *Gospel Herald* nonmailable under the Espionage Act. He instructed Hubbard to send to the solicitor's office "two copies of each issue of this publication from May 16, 1918 to date, and of all current issues until further advised."²⁷ Simultaneously, the post office notified the Bureau of Investigation of the violation of the Espionage Act.²⁸

Because pacifist publications were being denied mailing privileges, Armstrong realized he was in trouble and took Hubbard a copy of the June 6 *Gospel Herald*. Hubbard sent it to the post office solicitor at Armstrong's suggestion.²⁹ That issue of the *Herald* contained an article of apologia by Armstrong which tried to defuse the situation. Armstrong explained that "the doctrine of nonresistance has been a cherished doctrine of the Church from the beginning" and he thought Bell was trying to teach that doctrine. However, "Bell's article contained some very radical statements to which the management of the paper does not subscribe." Armstrong added for the benefit of government surveillance operatives, "We have meant to be scrupulously careful as a duty to God as well as to the Government, not to publish anything in these columns that would be objectionable to the Government, but this article contains some statements that are objectionable." Armstrong took the blame for the article's appearance. He had been so busy with a heavy teaching load at the end of the school year that he "hastily scanned the article." When the demand for the issue came he sent it on without reading it further.³⁰

On August 19 the Bureau of Investigation in Washington ordered Special Agent J.G. Findley in the Oklahoma City office to investigate the situation. Special Agent D.P. Leonard went to Cordell on September 7. Leonard interviewed Hubbard who told him about his instructions from the Post Office Department. Leonard also interviewed A.M. Beets of the Washita County Council of Defense. Beets mistakenly told the agent no more issues of the *Gospel Herald* had been published after May 6 since it was a school paper and Cordell Christian "had closed for the season." That apparently ended the investigation of the *Herald*. Armstrong's explanation and the erroneous conclusion that the paper had ceased publication apparently satisfied the bureau, for no more records exist in that bureau case file. However, it did not end government surveillance of Armstrong and Cordell Christian or Armstrong's problems with the Cordell community.³¹

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Bell's article precipitated an "investigation" of Cordell Christian by the Washita County Council of Defense. Armstrong was out of town, so the council questioned Sears, N.O. Ray, and Arthur Tenney, all Cordell faculty members. Sears wrote, "They tried to draw the school into it then, but failed."³² Four preeminent members of the Cordell Church of Christ, Fleming, Harrel, J.W. Crumley, and Clinton Cook, disagreed with Armstrong's pacifism and helped to agitate the council's opposition. Sears bitterly wrote during the conflict:

Crumley has shown himself a bitter enemy—to be a snake in the grass. He has done everything under cover and has done some of the meanest work against us. Fleming has figured the same way. Crumley used to hold our position on war, but to be popular and escape public sentiment and persecution he has changed completely and now persecutes those who do not believe in resisting.³³

With church and community members determined to destroy Armstrong, the Washita County council held a hearing on July 12.

The council accused Armstrong, the faculty, and the college of failing to support the war and liberty bond drives, and of discouraging young men from entering the draft or doing "war work."³⁴ At the hearing Armstrong made it clear he and the faculty took the noncombatant stand and did not agree with Bell's article or the actions of the imprisoned men. Armstrong testified he had believed the noncombatant position for twenty-six years. The council pressed Armstrong about the Cordell students who were at Fort Leavenworth:

Q. Now, I will get you to state whether or not you didn't state in the presence of Mr. Fleming and Mr. Crumley some time in May that these boys were heroes? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Why did you think that? A. I think that any man who stands for his convictions is.

Q. You still say they are heroes? A. IF THEY are standing by their convictions.³⁵

Council members also asked if he thought "the woman who throws her children to the crocodiles to appease the wrath of her god" and Brigham Young were heroes and Armstrong replied "yes." Council members probed if he permitted patriotic songs or patriotic services at Cordell Christian. Armstrong said the issues were never discussed. The council questioned if a student had been reprimanded for writing a patriotic essay in an English class. Armstrong did not know.

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Armstrong testified he believed it was permissible for nations to fight, but not for individual Christians. Council members ridiculed his belief by remarking, "You know that your theory if fully tested out would result in this army being of no military good?" The council continued with hypothetical scenarios of German soldiers raping innocent girls and men trying to burn Armstrong's house. Exasperated, Armstrong complained, "Are these questions fair?" The council ignored Armstrong and asked if he would hold patriotic services in the next school year. Armstrong said he would "as far as our conscientious convictions will allow us."³⁶

The council did not believe Armstrong and held another hearing with the Cordell Christian board of regents and faculty on July 23. They pressed Hockaday about his failure to buy liberty bonds and the actions of his nephew, Charles Clay. According to the council's "summary" of his testimony, Hockaday admitted "that up until a short time ago the parties connected with the school taught the doctrine of 'Absolutism' which opposed any military duty whatever."³⁷ The county council, armed with that "evidence," pressed ahead with its agenda. The next day the Washita County council issued an order to Cordell Christian that the board of regents and faculty "be so re-organized as will unreservedly conform to all military policies and requirements of the government in the present war." All "doctrines or teaching" in the school must "comply strictly and to the fullest extent with the military policy of the government." The council would not tolerate "half-way compliance." The reorganization involved the "withdrawal" of Armstrong and all members of the faculty who agreed with him. Regents who agreed with Armstrong were to resign and have their positions replaced with persons who would make sure the school would "henceforth stand for constituted authority in all its dignity and power."³⁸



J.W. Crumley opposed Armstrong's pacifism and urged his removal (Courtesy Abilene Christian University).

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The Cordell Christian board of regents resisted the pressure and at an "informal meeting" with the council tried to propose three different forms of arbitration "leaving the case to the higher federal authorities at Oklahoma City and Washington."³⁹ The council refused to consider the proposal. On July 27 Armstrong submitted his resignation to the board of regents, but the board refused to accept it.⁴⁰ Hockaday and Dial went to Oklahoma City to visit United States District Attorney John Fain to see if the school could legally appeal to the State Council of Defense. After Fain confirmed its legality they made the appeal and the state council ordered a hearing by Oklahoma State Supreme Court Judge Thomas Owen to investigate the situation.⁴¹

On August 13 Hockaday and Dial went to Cordell for Owen's hearing. Before the hearing began, Hockaday visited the office of Alvin Bingaman, the chairperson of the Washita County Council of Defense. Bingaman, "known as the war horse of the Washita," told Hockaday it did not matter what happened at the hearing or what the state council ordered.⁴² The community "was secretly organized" and Bingaman would make sure that the school did not open. Bingaman then threatened Hockaday, "[Y]ou had better get out of town and quit nosing around, or you will be promptly waited upon." Hockaday informed him of Fain's opinion of the school's legal rights. Bingaman replied, "Yes he is one of your bunch, we are going to have a special attorney appointed to prosecute men that were such criminals as [you are]."⁴³

Hockaday left the office, and a few minutes later, as Bingaman was walking down the street, he asked Bingaman to come over and meet Dial, but Bingaman refused to speak to Dial. Bingaman then slapped Hockaday "half spitefully and half angrily" and said, "No I don't want to see you, I don't want to hear any more of your talk either." He then shook his fist in Dial's face and said the school was going to close despite what Owen or the state council ruled. He warned that Hockaday "had better leave . . . at once or you will be waited upon and that very promptly." Dial responded, "Mr. Bingaman, I am an American citizen and this is a free country and if the people want me I will be found right here on these streets."⁴⁴ Bingaman then left to gather a mob of fifty men. According to Sears, Bingaman called them "from all over the county and told them a lot of lies—they knew nothing except what he and the brethren" who opposed Armstrong "told them." In the mob were some C of C members, Fleming, Crumley, Harrel, and Cook.⁴⁵ Bingaman demanded that Hockaday tell the crowd "he would close

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the school and leave town at once or that mob violence would prevail." Hockaday refused, and Bingaman made the demand repeatedly. Hockaday courageously replied that "if mob violence was going to prevail to begin their persecution—we would not make any resistance."⁴⁶ Bingaman said, "Instead of fifty men, there will be *five hundred* men here to attend to you if you do not clear out at once."⁴⁷ Dial convinced Hockaday they had no chance and told Bingaman they would leave town.

Judge Owen arrived just as Hockaday and Dial were leaving. Owen called Bingaman in and told him "that it was none of his business whether the investigation took place or not." Cordell Christian was entitled to a hearing "in spite of Bingaman and the county council" and Owen "wanted no rough house about it."⁴⁸

The hearing went on as scheduled. Dial, Hockaday, Armstrong, and several students testified on Armstrong's behalf. Owen asked reasonable questions of all the witnesses. Armstrong made a complete explanation of his beliefs. He believed "war in self defense" was "the highest type of war" and a necessity for human governments. The United States was "in the war because she could not help going into it; in self defense and the protection of right she did everything." Armstrong also stated the pacifist stance of the C of C:

I will go back to the beginning of the church in the United States. Alex Cam[pbell] taught . . . it is wrong for Christian[s] to take part in warfare. Leading men of the Christian Church up to the present day have taught the same thing. It has been attested that 90% of the preachers of the Gospel have stood for the doctrine. This has been the doctrine I have held for 26 years.⁴⁹

Armstrong admitted he had advised all the draft-age students to take noncombatant duty, but he denied that he ever discouraged anyone from enlisting or that he had advised anyone from outside the C of C on the draft. Armstrong complained, "No credit has been given by the town papers for any boys who have gone [into the fighting] from our school" and that "created sentiment" against him.⁵⁰

Bingaman, however, was extremely belligerent. Bingaman "had to be called down once or twice" by Owen, "because he became so loud. Several times [Bingaman] went over and consulted Crumley and then came back to question . . . witnesses." As in the earlier hearing Bingaman attempted to bring up situations that would make Armstrong look bad. Bingaman had learned a former Cordell Christian student, Bruce Tharrington, was then in prison for his absolutist CO stance. However, Tharrington was a member of the Church of the Brethren (well known for its pacifist beliefs) in



The future of their school seemed much in doubt for these students in 1918 (Courtesy Marie Clay Yingling).

Cordell. Bingaman also learned another Cordell alumnus, who was a socialist, had been arrested in Clovis, New Mexico, for making disparaging remarks about the flag. Owen did not allow Bingaman to develop further details about those red herrings. Bingaman failed to get any witness to show where Armstrong or Cordell had violated the law.⁵¹ Owen exonerated the school completely and announced, according to Sears, “while the position of the faculty and board was unfortunate for them in time of war, many good people in the state held the same position and that they were free to proceed with their work if they wished.”⁵²

Dial wrote a letter of complaint about Bingaman and the Washita County Council of Defense on August 14, 1918, to the state council and sent a copy to the United States attorney’s office. Dial complained he and Hockaday had been “grossly insulted without a reason of any kind.” He added that the county council “has violated their authority.” Dial demanded that Bingaman “be asked to resign his position and a man be appointed” who would “treat people like they have some rights.”⁵³

Special Agent Findley wrote to the Washington office on August 24 and included a copy of the report containing Dial’s letter. Find-

ley asked for instructions "as to what action this office should take" in the case.⁵⁴ On October 10 Findley received instructions to report "promptly" to the Bureau of Investigation any "information which may come to you . . . in order that the facts may be put before the National Council."⁵⁵

Meanwhile, Findley sent Agent D.D. Lemond to Cordell to investigate. Predictably he could not find anything wrong with Bingaman or the county council, but left the impression that all the problems lay with Armstrong and Hockaday. Lemond interviewed only people who were supportive of the Washita County Council of Defense. First he talked to Postmaster Hubbard. Hubbard claimed the council did not want to close Cordell Christian, but wanted Armstrong fired because "he was disloyal and had preached disloyal sermons." Hubbard also mistakenly claimed that the state council had sent a committee (in actuality only Judge Owen) to investigate the closing of the school and that Hockaday was a part of the committee. Hubbard said Hockaday was "a disloyal man, having his store at Granite [Oklahoma] painted yellow," and was a close friend of Armstrong. Hubbard added, "[T]he college had a bad effect upon the students there as three or four of them were in the penitentiary for disobedience and resistance at the U.S. Military camps." Finally, when "casually asked" by the agent, Hubbard claimed he had not heard of any trouble between Hockaday and Bingaman—"He was a very close friend of Bingaman's and he would have told him if there had been." Lemond talked to A.M. Beets, who sat on the county council. Beets made essentially the same statements as the others. He "considered Hockaday disloyal," and he "confirmed the unpatriotic actions" of Armstrong. Beets said he "had not heard of any difference that Bingaman may have had with Hockaday." Lemond concluded that "the difficulty that Hockaday was supposed to have had with Bingaman was not generally known."⁵⁶

Armstrong's opponents continued their threats of violence, so Owen, Armstrong, and the Cordell Christian board thought it best that Armstrong resign as president and the school disband. Armstrong moved to Harper College, Kansas, and became the president of that school in the fall of 1918.⁵⁷

Even with Armstrong gone and the war over, the Washita County Council of Defense remained determined to vindicate their actions and continued to claim Armstrong violated the Espionage Act. In February, 1919, Special Agent Findley was in Cordell investigating "Mennonite slackers," when the county council and

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Bingaman called Armstrong's actions to his attention. They claimed Armstrong "had caused them a great deal of trouble on account of his purported conscientious objections to engaging in military service." They also told Findley "Armstrong's followers and students in the school" were conscientious objectors and "had become deserters, and they felt Armstrong was responsible." Findley dutifully reproduced in his report the transcript of the hearing conducted by Judge Owen. He also included a partial transcript of the earlier hearing conducted by the county council when Bell's article appeared in the *Gospel Herald*.⁵⁸

The conclusion of the report contained a carefully manipulated and more easily readable "summary" of testimony before the Washita County Council of Defense (double-spaced in contrast to the single-spaced transcription of the hearings). The report summarized Hockaday's testimony that he had not purchased any government war bonds until his store was painted yellow by a "crowd of citizens at Granite." Hockaday "admitted that his nephew Terrell Clay was in the federal penitentiary under court-martial sentence for failure to perform any military service." Hockaday also "admitted" that Clay lived with him "for four years prior to his induction into the military branch of the army." The county council also claimed "it was admitted in this hearing, that up to a short time ago the parties connected with" Cordell Christian College "taught the doctrine of 'Absolutism' which opposed any military duty whatever." That carefully biased "summary" ignored evidence to the contrary buried in the lengthy transcripts of the hearings. For example, Hockaday actually testified that Clay developed his absolutist CO beliefs after he went to the military camp.⁵⁹

In a final stroke of mendacity the Washita County Council of Defense concluded its summary with the details of the Smith and Tharrington cases that did not appear in Owen's hearing. The council tarred Armstrong with the anti-war actions of the socialists and another example of a Cordell student corrupted with pacifism, hoping that would vindicate the council's actions in Washington and Oklahoma City.⁶⁰

The county council did have some basis for concern about its actions. The state council, after learning the details of what happened from Judge Owen, also sent a representative to investigate the county council in October, 1918. Its agent reported "that although there had been some trouble" and "although possibly" Bingaman "had not used proper discretion in all cases . . . the Washita Council had arrived at the proper results." The state council ap-

proved his recommendation that no action be taken against the county council.⁶¹ The Bureau of Investigation in Washington also wanted its agents to keep an eye on the county council. In January, 1919, someone wrote the United States attorney general about the Washita County council's actions. The bureau wanted the situation investigated.⁶² However, with the demise of the entire Council of Defense system in a few months, the situation became moot.

Despite the weak efforts of federal agencies and the state council, the hysteria and vigilante actions of Cordell and other Oklahoma communities went unchecked. In reality the actions of Bureau of Investigation agents and the Oklahoma Council of Defense ultimately encouraged the attacks on dissent to war. There was no recrimination for the persecution of pacifists and so Cordell became a microcosm of American intolerance during war.

ENDNOTES

* Michael W. Casey is Professor of Communication at Pepperdine University, Malibu, California.

¹ James H. Fowler II, "Tar and Feather Patriotism: The Suppression of Dissent in Oklahoma During World War I," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 56 (Winter, 1979): 409-430.

² O.A. Hilton, "The Oklahoma Council of Defense and the First World War," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 20 (March, 1942): 18-42. On Councils of Defense during World War I, see William J. Breen, *Uncle Sam At Home: Civilian Mobilization, Wartime Federalism, and the Council of National Defense, 1917-1919* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984).

³ Fowler, "Tar and Feather Patriotism," 416.

⁴ Oklahoma State Council of Defense, *Sooners in the War: Official Report of the Oklahoma State Council of Defense From May, 1917 to January 1, 1919* (Oklahoma City: n.p., 1919), 64.

⁵ Hilton, "Oklahoma Council," 37.

⁶ James R. Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism: Radical Movements in the Southwest, 1895-1943* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 171.

⁷ David Edwin Harrell, Jr., "The Sectional Origins of the Churches of Christ," *Journal of Southern History*, 30 (August, 1964): 277. The names for the entire tradition are at times confusing. "Disciples of Christ," "Christian Church," and "Churches of Christ" were used interchangeably in the beginning of the Campbell-Stone movement. As time progressed, "Disciples of Christ" and "Christian Church" were used by the "liberals," while "Churches of Christ" was preferred by the "conservatives." The 1906 *U.S. Census of Religious Bodies* is the first time the Churches of Christ were recognized as a distinct group separate from the Disciples of Christ.

⁸ Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States: From the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), 911-915.

⁹ Michael Casey, "From Pacifism to Patriotism: The Emergence of Civil Religion in the Churches of Christ during World War I," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 66 (July, 1992): 377.

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¹⁰ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926* (2 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930), 1: 315–343. The 1926 census contains 1916 Oklahoma data.

¹¹ Norman Parks, *Cordell's Christian College: A History* (Cordell, Oklahoma: Fourth and College Church of Christ, 1994), 2–4.

¹² L.C. Sears, *For Freedom: The Biography of John Nelson Armstrong* (Austin, Texas: Sweet Publishing Company, 1969), 9, 10, 34–35, 68, 73, 87.

¹³ Parks, *Cordell's Christian College*, 5–6, 9.

¹⁴ Sears, *For Freedom*, 155.

¹⁵ Investigation Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation, Case File OG352204, Record Group (RG) 65, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as BI and NA).

¹⁶ L.C. Sears, *What Is Your Life? An Autobiography* (Dallas, Texas: Temple Publishing Company, 1979), 81–82.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 80; Sears, *For Freedom*, 156; Parks, *Cordell's Christian College*, 20; Testimony of J.N. Armstrong, August 14, 1918, Case File OG352204, BI, NA.

¹⁸ M. Norvel Young, *A History of Christian Colleges* (Kansas City, Missouri: Old Paths Book Club, 1949), 125.

¹⁹ Sears, *For Freedom*, 156.

²⁰ Case File OG352204, BI, NA.

²¹ *Ibid.*; Sears, *For Freedom*, 157.

²² Earl West, *The Search For the Ancient Order: A History of the Restoration Movement 1900–1918* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Religious Book Service, 1979), 375.

²³ Sears, *What Is Your Life?*, 82–83.

²⁴ Postmaster Henry C. Hubbard to The Solicitor for the Post Office Department, May 23, 1918, Case File 51153, RG 28, Investigative Case Files of the United States Postal Office (hereafter cited as PO), NA.

²⁵ Internal Post Office memo J.A.H., May 28, 1918, Case File 51153, PO, NA.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ P.O. Solicitor W.H. Lamar to Hubbard, August 7, 1918, Case File 51153, PO, NA.

²⁸ See copy of Lamar to Hubbard, Case File OG259981, BI, NA.

²⁹ Hubbard to Solicitor, June 6, 1918, Case File 51153, PO, NA.

³⁰ J.N. Armstrong, "An Explanation," *Gospel Herald*, 6 (June 6, 1918): 2. A copy of the issue can be found in Case File 51153, PO, NA.

³¹ Chief [Bielaski] to Findley, August 19, 1918, Special Agent D.D. Lemond, September 7, 1918, Case File OG259981, BI, NA.

³² L.C. Sears to Mary Shepherd, August 16, 1918, copy in possession of the author.

³³ *Ibid.*; also see Sears, *For Freedom*, 156.

³⁴ A summary of the charges can be found in Case File OG352204, BI, NA, and in Sears to Shepherd.

³⁵ Transcript of the Hearing before the Washita County Council of Defense, Case File OG352204, BI, NA.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Case File OG352204, BI, NA. No transcript of this hearing exists, only a summary that was clearly designed to vindicate the county council.

³⁸ Sears, *What Is Your Life?*, 84, reproduces most of the county council's order.

³⁹ Sears, *For Freedom*, 157; Sears to Shepherd.

⁴⁰ Transcript of the Hearing Before Judge Thomas Owen, Case File OG352204, BI, NA.

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⁴¹ D.R. Dial to Chester H. Westfall, August 14, 1918, in report of Special Agent James G. Findley, August 22, 1918, Case File OG271712, BI, NA.

⁴² Oklahoma State Council, *Sooners in the War*, 64.

⁴³ Dial to Westfall, Case File OG271712, BI, NA.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; Sears to Shepherd.

⁴⁵ Sears to Shepherd.

⁴⁶ Dial to Westfall, Case File OG271712, BI, NA.

⁴⁷ Sears to Shepherd.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Armstrong in Owen transcript, Case File OG352204, BI, NA.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Owen transcript, Case File OG352204, BI, NA. On Smith, see Harold L. Nelson, ed., *Freedom of the Press from Hamilton to the Warren Court* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1967), 312. On Tharrington, see Case File 10092-103, RG 165, War Department, Military Intelligence Division, NA.

⁵² Sears, *For Freedom*, 157.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Special Agent James Findley to A. Bruce Bielaski, Chief of the Bureau of Investigation, August 24, 1918, Case File OG271712, BI, NA.

⁵⁵ Chief [Bielaski] to Findley, October 10, 1918, Case File OG271712, BI, NA.

⁵⁶ Special Agent D.D. Lemond, September 7, 1918, Case File OG271712, BI, NA.

⁵⁷ Sears to Shepherd; Sears, *For Freedom*, 157-158.

⁵⁸ Special Agent James Findley, February 18, 1919, Case File OG352204, BI, NA.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* For Terrell Clay and other CO's of the C of C who were sent to Fort Leavenworth prison, see Michael Casey, "New Information on Conscientious Objectors of World War I." *Restoration Quarterly*, 34 (1992): 83-96.

⁶⁰ Special Agent James Findley, February 18, 1919, Case File OG352204, BI, NA.

⁶¹ Proceedings of the Oklahoma Council of Defense, Minutes and Reports of Meetings from May 16, 1917 to January 4, 1919, in Oklahoma State Council, *Sooners in the War*, 42-43.

⁶² Case File OG271712, BI, NA.