The Whole Trouble Lies in Religion: Dwight Lyman Pendleton and the Federal Bureau of Investigation during the First World War

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Abstract

While the founders of the Stone-Campbell Movement rejected Christian participation in warfare, by World War I, the majority of Disciples of Christ supported participation in the conflict. However, a small pocket of Disciples, such as D.L. Pendleton—the grandson of Alexander Campbell—continued to oppose Christian participation in warfare. Pendleton, a prosperous and powerful attorney and a quintessential community insider, spoke out against the war. Pendleton’s outspokenness about war transgressed community norms, transforming him from an insider to an outsider, and therefore, susceptible to both harassment by the FBI and to the vigilante justice of his community.

Narrative

Pacifism has been a consistent theme in the history and theology of the Stone-Campbell Movement. Both Alexander Campbell and Barton Stone taught pacifism, a belief shared by many within the movement. The coming of the American Civil War, however, made pacifism a controversial issue, as many in both the North and the South took up arms with the intent of either preserving the Union and destroying slavery, or destroying the Union and preserving slavery. Between the Civil War and World War I, those associated with what would become the Churches of Christ were generally known for their pacifism, while those in the Disciples often embraced a theology that allowed for participation in warfare. This theological divide developed during the American Civil War for a number of reasons, but the largest reasons were those of sectionalism and slavery. As David Edwin Harrell demonstrated in his social history of the Disciples of Christ, the majority of those who identified with what would become the Churches of Christ were located in the Upper South (and held sympathy with the Confederacy, even though they disagreed with participating in war), while the majority of congregations that went with the Disciples during the 1906 split were located in the North. Northern Disciples largely supported the Union during the Civil War because they perceived the conflict as a chance to finally eliminate the practice of chattel slavery in the United States.2

However, while most Disciples rejected pacifism in the years between these two major conflicts, and historians have emphasized Disciples rejection of pacifism, some Disciples in fact maintained a stringent witness for peace, and at the dawn of the First World War risked their lives and liberty in order to stand by their convictions. Among those Disciples who risked the wrath of the federal

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government during the war was the grandson of Disciples founder Alexander Campbell, along with several members of his extended family.3

On the afternoon of June 6th, 1918, Dwight Pendleton, a prominent and wealthy attorney in Winchester, Kentucky, was working in his office when he received a surprise visit from Special Agent R.E. Monroe of the U.S. Department of Justice. Agent Monroe had come to interview Pendleton about his stance on the Great War, which was being waged in Europe. Pendleton’s dissenting positions on the war threatened the political hegemony of the local and national elite, and Agent Monroe had been dispatched to Winchester to investigate and put a stop to it.4

Dwight Lyman Pendleton was the son of William K. Pendleton and the grandson of Alexander Campbell, one of the founders of the Stone-Campbell Movement. Dwight, who at the time was a deacon and bible class leader at the First Christian Church of Winchester, had been born and raised in Bethany, West Virginia, and had graduated from the school where both his father and grandfather had been president. While Dwight had been born after the death of Campbell, he had been heavily steeped in the tradition of the Disciples, which at the time of Campbell’s death, had taught that killing, even during war, was sinful.5 Pendleton was, in 1918, a deacon at the First Christian Church in Winchester, a congregation with a membership of over 750, and with a bible class enrollment of over 600.6

After Pendleton moved to Winchester, Kentucky, a small town about twenty miles east of Lexington, he married Sarah Tebbs Prewitt, the daughter of David and Elizabeth Prewitt, who were wealthy farmers near Winchester. Sarah’s brother, Stanley Prewitt, married Henrietta Gay, who came from one of the wealthiest families in the area. Together, the Pendleton and Prewitt families were part of the upper echelon of Winchester society. They were rich and influential, and

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4 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, (Alleged Anti-Draft Activity), #2 6 June 1918, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) M1085, Old German Files (OGF) #205865, 5.

5 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 5; In 1918, the full division in the Stone-Campbell Movement between the more theologically liberal Disciples of Christ, and the more conservative Churches of Christ, was still not fully complete. Furthermore, the split between the Disciples of Christ and what would become the Independent Christian Churches and Churches of Christ, did not formally begin until at least the end of World War I. Pendleton is best defined as a Disciple.

with Dwight’s occupation as an attorney and his political connections, they were powerful. Dwight Pendleton and his extended family, then, were quintessential insiders in the community.  

Therefore, when the United States entered what eventually became known as World War One on April 6th 1917, Dwight Pendleton was against any Christian participation in the war. In addition to his views that war was sinful and that Christians should not participate, Pendleton, who was viewed as “the best bible student in this part of the country” by some of his peers due to his education at Bethany, thought that he had come to understand the war as part of the fulfillment of Biblical prophecy, specifically the writings of the Old Testament prophet Daniel. Pendleton’s interpretation of Daniel was quite negative, with much more in common with the melancholy premillennialism that had started to gain currency after the Civil War than the heady, optimistic postmillennialism of Alexander Campbell.  

Dwight Pendleton’s views on prophecy were likely learned from his father, William. W.K. Pendleton’s views on the millennium were quite different from those of Campbell. Campbell taught that the millennium would be a thousand-year golden age that occurred before the coming of Christ. Campbell saw the world as gradually improving in nature, and believed that his Restoration Movement would usher in this age of enlightened living. W.K. Pendleton, however, seems to have been heavily influenced by his colleague James Turner Barclay. Barclay, a doctor, had been the first foreign missionary sent out by the American Christian Missionary Society, a controversial missionary arm of the Disciples of Christ. Barclay’s mission had been to Jerusalem, where he had unsuccessfully attempted to proselytize Palestinian Jews. After Barclay’s return, he taught at Bethany College as a Professor of Natural Science, and penned ten articles on biblical prophecy with a premillennial bent for the 1867 volume of the *Millennial Harbinger* at the request of W.K. Pendleton, who had recently taken over the editorship of the journal after Campbell had died. An indication of William’s premillennial interests, along with a foreshadowing of his son’s beliefs, can be seen in William’s choice of a name for his son, Dwight Lyman, the same first and middle name of the famous premillennial preacher and revivalist D.L. Moody.  

Dwight Pendleton, in watching the events in Europe and comparing them to what he saw in the biblical text, had come to believe that the war signaled that God was “closing the Christian age and work of the church.” Pendleton believed that shortly after the war, Jesus would return and “the Kingdom of God will be set up on earth, as prophesied.” Pendleton thought that the war could not be stopped, and that Christians should refuse to participate and prepare for the “Universal Peace” that would be brought by the Kingdom of God after the war had fully run its course.  

Viewing the war in this manner, Pendleton, who taught a 100-plus person bible class at First Christian, gave a special two-part class on “the War and Prophecy” within a week of the

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declaration of war against Germany. The novelty of Pendleton’s ideas and the fact that he was well-known ensured that the local newspaper covered his lecture, and articles appeared before the class occurred, advertising the event. Afterward, the Mt. Sterling Advocate reported that “Mr. D.L. Pendleton finished his lecture, ‘War and Prophecy,’ Sunday night at the Christian church, a large audience being present to enjoy the same. . . He is a deep thinker and scholar and his audience were much impressed with his remarks.”

While Pendleton’s initial teachings on the war received a warm welcome, Pendleton’s views on the morality of warfare did not. Special Agent L.O. Thompson in Lexington, Kentucky received a walk-in complaint from three Winchester “oil men” complaining about Pendleton and his brother-in-law, Stanley Prewitt. The men told Thompson that the pair were speaking out against the war, violating the Sedition Act. The Sedition Act of 1918 punished violators with up to twenty years in the federal penitentiary who would “willfully utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of the Government of the United States.” The men also reported that they were “attempting to interfere with the successful enforcement of the selective service act.” Agent Thompson noted in his report that he had heard similar rumors from others about Pendleton and Prewitt.

Like Pendleton, Stanley Prewitt and his family were members of the Disciples. While the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) is today well known as a Mainline Protestant denomination, in 1917, the Disciples of Christ—termed an “American Original” by historian Paul Conkin—were, according to Ronald Moore, an “outsider group” that has “recently been granted mainline status, but have nonetheless remained on the edges of general narratives of American religious history.”

While Pendleton and Prewitt’s wealth and political influence made them quintessential insiders in their community, their religious beliefs, especially about the immorality of war, served to alienate them from the rest of their community. This reversal, from insiders to outsiders, exposed Pendleton and the Prewitts to efforts to enforce new community norms regarding support for the war, and would ultimately lead to the community resorting to vigilante justice to silence their influential views. Pendleton and Prewitt would find that even though World War I was termed a “Rich Man’s War and a Poor Man’s Fight,” their wealth and influence would not protect them from community attempts to coerce their support for the war and adherence to America’s civil religion.

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14 L.O. Thompson, In Re: Stanley Prewitt and Dwight Pendleton, et als., Alleged Conspiracy to Interfere with the Selective Service Act, 3 June 1918, NARA M1085, OGF# 205865.
15 Paul K. Conkin, American Originals: Homemade Varieties of Christianity (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 1-56 (first quotation); R. Laurence Moore, Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans, xiv (second quotation); Historian Jeanette Keith, in her groundbreaking book on the Great War in the American South, argues that most those who actively resisted the war were poor, alienated Southerners who were
The Sedition Act, which was signed into law by President Wilson in May of 1918, outlawed a variety of activities and punished many different forms of speech that the government believed was harmful to the war effort. The Espionage Act, in addition to outlawing all types of spying for foreign governments, specifically targeted anyone who might:

willfully make or convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies and whoever when the United States is at war, shall willfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service or of the United States.16

The amendments of the Sedition Act also made it unlawful to engage in any act or make any utterance that obstructed the sale of war bonds or government securities in time of war, encouraged others to stop production of war goods for the government, and made it unlawful to “willfully utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States or the Constitution of the United States, or the military or naval forces of the United States, or the flag.” The Sedition Act was used as a hammer throughout the war to intimidate and harass Americans who held conscientious objections to the taking of human life.17 It was also used against various political opponents of the government who were also opposed to war, such as labor organizer and socialist Eugene Debs, who spent close to five years


Pendleton, a wealthy attorney born in West Virginia and living in a border state, was anything but a poor Southern outsider.

17 Many historical works have been written detailing the use of social control against objectors of all stripes to the Great War. For an early account of the coercion of religious objectors to war during World War I, see Ray H. Abrams, Preachers Present Arms (New York: Round Table Press, 1933), xiv-xvi. For a more comprehensive view of coercion against objectors of all types, including religious objectors, see H C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, Opponents of War, 1917-1918 (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1957). For a more nuanced accounting of how the federal government’s attempts at coercion of objectors affected people across class, racial, and religious boundaries throughout the Southern United States, see 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: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004); The resultant changes occurred among churches that were pacifist, but not considered members of the “Historic Peace Churches.” This change has been most clearly demonstrated in the scholarship of Jay Beaman, whose work in the history and sociology of Pentecostal pacifist movements has uncovered a massive sea change in the beliefs and even organization of Pentecostal churches that embraced pacifism before and at the beginning of the Great War. See Jay Beaman, Pentecostal Pacifism: The Origin, Development, and Rejection of Pacifist Among the Pentecostals (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2009), as well as Jay Beaman and Brian K. Pipkin, eds., Pentecostal and Holiness Statements on War and Peace (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2013), and Jay Beaman and Brian K. Pipkin, eds., Early Pentecostals on Nonviolence and Social Justice: A Reader (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2016); The late Michael Casey conducted several macro-level studies of the decline of pacifism in the Churches of Christ, a stream of the larger Stone-Campbell Movement. See 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. Also, for a full historical treatment of pacifism in the early Stone-Campbell Movement and the subsequent stream of the Churches of Christ, see Johnny Andrew Collins, "Pacifism in Churches of Christ" (DA diss., Middle Tennessee State University, 1984).
in federal prison for making a seditious speech against the war. To be accused of violating the Sedition Act during the war, then, was serious business.\textsuperscript{18}

To follow-up on the allegations against Pendleton, Agent Thompson sent Agent R.E. Monroe the next day by train to fully investigate the matter. Monroe hit the ground running, and upon arrival contacted a local attorney, T.B. Davis, who while denying having any direct information, told Agent Monroe that he had heard about Pendleton and Prewitt’s stand against the war, and that while he considered Pendleton and Prewitt as “two of the best citizens of the county,” he thought that Pendleton was a religious “fanatic” who had been responsible for Prewitt’s stance. Davis introduced Monroe to his law partner, Judge J.M. Benton, who had been friends with Pendleton for over thirty years and who regularly attended Pendleton’s bible class. Benton informed Monroe that while the topic of the war was “very seldom mentioned in the class,” he had heard Pendleton speak at length against both the war and the draft from a religious perspective. Benton characterized Pendleton’s stance as that of a Christian being against all killing, and that “it would be better to submit to the Kaiser’s rule rather than attempt to kill.” Benton also gave Monroe the names of several other people in the class who all supported Benton’s statements.\textsuperscript{19}

After Agent Monroe finished interviewing Judge Benton, he paid a visit to J.H. MacNiell, Pendleton’s minister. MacNiell was prominent in the Disciples, having been a speaker at the 1909 Disciples of Christ Centennial Celebration. Originally from Canada, MacNiell had come to the U.S. at the age of twenty-five to study at Transylvania University in Kentucky. After graduating from Transylvania with a degree in Bible, MacNiell had ministered to several different churches in Kentucky and Indiana, and developed a reputation for growing large congregations. This congregation had been the home church of James A. Harding, and Harding’s grandparents were charter members in the congregation. Harding, who went with the Churches of Christ when the Stone-Campbell movement split into two, was avowedly against war.\textsuperscript{20}

MacNiell, who by this time was a very experienced minister with a reputation and a congregation to protect, was reticent with Agent Monroe. MacNiell told Monroe that he was aware of how Pendleton felt about war, but because he did not want to become embroiled in conflict, he had avoided all discussion of the matter, and so, like others, could not provide direct knowledge of Pendleton’s statements. He did, however, tell Monroe that he thought the government needed to investigate the Pendleton and Prewitt connection because of their stance against the war, and volunteered the name of David Prewitt, a first cousin of Stanley Prewitt, who also happened to be the County Food Administrator. MacNiell also told him that he could tell that Pendleton was against the war because every time a war related announcement was made in church, the look on Pendleton’s face showed disapproval.\textsuperscript{21}

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\textsuperscript{19} R.E. Monroe, \textit{In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt}, 1.


\textsuperscript{21} R.E. Monroe, \textit{In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt}, 2.
While Agent Monroe had already interviewed several subjects who had knowledge of Pendleton and Prewitt’s pacifism, he had not yet found probable cause to believe that they had violated the Sedition Act. In order to make an arrest or seek an indictment for violation of the law, Monroe would need to find a witness that wouldn’t deny having “direct knowledge” of Pendleton or Prewitt’s statements and activities, and that had heard them actually make an utterance that violated the law, such as statements that discouraged compliance with the draft, or statements that urged disobedience or could be perceived as being disloyal to the U.S. So far, his investigation had come up fairly empty.22

Since it had been alleged that Pendleton and Prewitt had impeded the draft, Agent Monroe contacted members of the county draft board to see if he could sustain those allegations. He first spoke with J.A. Boone, the Chairman of the local board, who told Monroe that Pendleton’s attitude towards the draft “had caused the board a great deal of trouble.” Boone told Monroe about the case of James Dunlap “Gay” Prewitt, a son of Stanley Prewitt, who had been drafted into the army after initially having received a deferral as a farmer. When the Selective Service had called on men to register in 1917, Gay had filled out his draft card stating that he was a farmer, which qualified him for an initial exemption, but had also listed in box 12, which asked for any claims of exemption, that he was “religiously opposed to bloodshed.” When the board needed additional men, it ignored Gay Prewitt’s application for an exemption and inducted him into the army. Pendleton, being an attorney and a member of the Prewitt family by marriage, attempted to intervene by calling Chairman Boone to his office “to talk it over.” During this meeting, Pendleton had spoken out against the war and the draft, and had verbalized his support for draftees who had been inducted at Camp Taylor who had refused to submit themselves to the Army and fight. According to the Swarthmore College WWI Conscientious Objector database, 418 men who were conscientious objectors were detained at Camp Taylor during the war for refusing to fight or obey military authority after being drafted. Of these men, two, including Gay Prewitt, were members of the Disciples of Christ, thirteen more men were members of Churches of Christ, and six more were Christadelphians.23 All three churches stem from the Stone-Campbell Movement, and would have shared similar objections towards warfare.

In addition to Boone’s complaints about Pendleton supporting so-called “slackers” at Camp Taylor, Boone also told Monroe that in addition to his conversations with Pendleton, the community was up in arms about other sons of Stanley Prewitt who refused to take off their hats when they were present at meetings where patriotic songs were played, symbolizing their lack of support for the war effort. Such conduct was an unforgivable affront against America’s civil religion, one that further alienated the Prewitts and Pendleton from the rest of the community.24

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22 It should be noted that until the passage of the Act of June 18, 1934, Bureau of Investigation agents did not have federal statutory authority to make arrests or carry firearms. A lack of statutory grant of authority, however, did not stop Bureau agents from either of these activities. I am unaware of any contemporary case law challenging Bureau agent’s ability to arrest.

23 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 2 (First quote); Draft Registration Card for James Dunlap Gay Prewitt, Winchester, KY, June 5, 1917 (second quote); According to Jeanette Keith, draft boards often ignored these types of requests. See Rich Man’s War, Poor Man’s Fight, 61-83, for a full discussion of draft policies, deferments, and exemptions; R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 2 (third quote); See http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/conscientiousobjection /WW1.COs.coverpage.htm

24 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 2.
Other draft board members made similar comments to Agent Monroe. R.P. Taylor, the cashier of the local Clark County Bank, who claimed to be “close friends” with both Pendleton and Prewitt, told Monroe that he thought Pendleton was a religious fanatic, and stated that Pendleton had told him that he “would not contribute to the Red Cross, Y.M.C.A. or Liberty Loan because they were adjuncts to the war.” Taylor added, however, that he had not heard Pendleton or Prewitt say anything about the war since the previous fall, as he had approached both of the men in friendship and asked them to stop talking about their convictions in public. It is difficult to determine if Taylor made this comment to Agent Monroe because it simply crossed his mind, or if, instead, he made the comment in an effort to provide the government with information that it sought, but then frustrate its investigation with the added caveat that the conduct had occurred before the passage of the Sedition Act, which would mean that the conduct Pendleton and Prewitt had engaged in had been lawful at the time that it occurred.\(^ {25} \)

The statements of Boone and Taylor provided Monroe with a great deal of evidence that might be useful to file charges against Pendleton and Prewitt. Boone’s allegation that Pendleton had praised the actions of several men who had refused to submit to the military after they had been drafted came close to violating the draft law, however, since the statement had been made in private, it was unlikely that such a statement alone would provide enough cause for an arrest. Likewise, Boone’s allegation that Pendleton refused to buy war bonds or contribute to the Y.M.C.A. could possibly be viewed as statements calculated to obstruct the sale of bonds, but since the statements were made in private, they didn’t provide enough cause for an arrest. Complicating things further was the comment by Boone that both Prewitt and Pendleton hadn’t made any comments about the war since “last fall,” which meant that their statements had stopped before the passage of the Sedition Act. It is noteworthy that while these men testified against Pendleton and Prewitt to Agent Monroe, that they also did so in a way that refused to make them criminally culpable to the government.

H.G. Garrett, another member of the draft board, and Vice Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee for Kentucky, however, told Monroe that he had recently conversed with Pendleton about the war while they rode a train together to Cincinnati. Garrett said that Pendleton had talked to him about how the war had been predicted in biblical prophecy, and that the war would be “by an Asian power,” and that the United States should have never entered the conflict. Moreover, Garrett thought that the reason that Pendleton and Prewitt were so opposed to the war and the draft was because Prewitt’s son had been drafted against their wishes. Garrett’s opinion of both men was that they were rich, and felt like they were members of the “blue-blooded aristocracy,” and because of this, were “not used to finding any interference in their manner of living.” While Garrett might have hoped that his information was damaging to Pendleton and Prewitt, it might have made Agent Moore think twice about how much he wanted to tangle with two rich men, one of whom was a corporate lawyer, who held the deep respect of the community. It is also worthwhile to note that Garrett, a prominent Republican, was making antagonistic comments about Pendleton, who was a staunch Democrat, and who sometimes served as a delegate to the State Democratic Convention.\(^ {26} \)

\(^ {25} \) R.E. Monroe, *In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt*, 2; In 1918, a “bank cashier” was equivalent to the Vice President of a bank today. See Jeanette Keith, *Rich Man’s War, Poor Man’s Fight*, 108.

\(^ {26} \) Frank K. Kavanaugh, *Directory for the Use of Courts, State and County Officials and General Assembly*
Monroe then visited David Prewitt, the County Food Administrator and cousin of Stanley Prewitt, as MacNiell had recommended. David Prewitt also described Pendleton as a religious fanatic, and thought that Stanley Prewitt and his family had fallen under the influence of Pendleton’s ideas. David told Agent Monroe that he thought his cousin was mentally unbalanced, because he had refused to give money to the Red Cross when David had asked him to. David thought that “an investigation was greatly needed,” and told Monroe ominously that “if these men had not been of such high standing, they would have been ‘attended to’ locally, that is, by force.” David tempered his statements about his cousin, however, by reporting that contrary to accusation, Prewitt had recently reported a surplus of over 1,000 pounds of flour that was available for government use.27

Agent Monroe also spoke to Judge George B. Nelson. Nelson told Monroe that he was related to both Pendleton and Prewitt, and that both men were “high class citizens in every way,” but that they were both “damn fools about religion and the war.” Like many others, Judge Nelson blamed Pendleton for both men’s ideas, and felt that Pendleton had been influenced by his reading of biblical prophecy, especially Daniel, into thinking that “the United States had no business in the war.” Nelson told Monroe that he had had a “falling out” with Pendleton after the Lusitania was sunk by a German U-Boat in 1915, and that he refused to discuss war matters with Pendleton to avoid conflict. He also thought that many of Pendleton and Prewitt’s friends had taken similar tactics in order to avoid arguing about the war.28

Agent Monroe had gathered a decent amount of information about his suspects, but had still not found enough probable cause to make an arrest. In his report, Agent Monroe stated that he thought that he might find the most useful evidence by interviewing both suspects. He had found that neither Prewitt nor Pendleton had any known enemies in Winchester, and that while the men had made statements about the war, that they had been made “only among their intimate friends,” meaning that they had been private comments that did not rise to the level of criminality. He also noted that while they had made statements against the war, they had resulted in negative reactions towards Pendleton and Prewitt, except for some reactions inside of Prewitt’s family. Finally, he mentioned that he had been told by numerous sources that neither Pendleton nor Prewitt would be untruthful with him, and that “these men would not lie to save their own necks,” and “that they would say in my presence what they would say to anyone.”29

Convinced that he was wasting his time interviewing other witnesses, Monroe went to Pendleton’s office. Monroe found Pendleton to be witty and intelligent, and stated that he thought Pendleton probably was “the most ablest lawyer in the country.” Pendleton told Agent Monroe that he had

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27 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 2.
28 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 4.
29 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 4 (first quote); R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 4-5 (second and third quote).
been misunderstood, and that his objections to U.S. involvement in the war were not based on his religious ideas, but instead upon his “political principles.” Pendleton told his interviewer that he understood the Monroe Doctrine to mean “that we stay on our side of the ocean and the European nations stay on theirs,” meaning that by entering into the war, America was violating its doctrines of foreign policy. He told Monroe that his opposition to the war could not be on religious grounds, because he believed that the war “was a disease that God has sent and must run its course, and it would be wrong for him to try and stop it.” He also told Monroe that he did not teach these ideas to others, or express them in public.  

Pendleton denied attempting to impede the draft. He told Monroe that he had heard about Prewitt’s son, Gay, being drafted, and that he was against him being drafted because he thought that Gay was physically unfit for service, and also because he had been farming 650 acres of land, which should have exempted him from the draft. Pendleton admitted to writing a letter to a major at Fort Thomas, asking that Gay be thoroughly examined so that it would be determined that he did not meet the physical requirements of the draft, but then stated that he had not spoken to Gay since he had been drafted. Finally, on the issue of the draft, Pendleton admitted that he had spoken out against both the war and the draft, but that he had not done so “since the sedition law had gone into effect.” He also told Monroe that he was not pro-German, that he did not violate the law, and that he would submit to laws even if they were wrong. Pendleton used the example of losing a court case unjustly but complying with the ruling as a way to show his adherence to the law and, presumably, Romans 13, while deftly reminding Agent Monroe that he was an attorney. Monroe then asked Pendleton to provide him with a written statement that detailed his beliefs about warfare and conscription, as well as a description of what he had taught regarding these subjects. Pendleton complied with Monroe’s request, and the written statement that he provided, which Monroe attached to his report as “Exhibit A,” provides the best extant documentation regarding Pendleton and Prewitt’s beliefs regarding the war, as well as Pendleton’s understanding of biblical prophecy and eschatology.

Pendleton’s responses to Agent Monroe are ironic. As noted above, Monroe had been told by everyone that he had interviewed that Pendleton and Prewitt “would not lie to save their own necks” and that they would say the same things to him that they had said in front of everyone else. However, Pendleton’s responses to Monroe sharply contradict those of the witnesses against him, and many of his statements were often the hairsplitting arguments of an attorney, and not the straightforward “let your yes be yes and your no be no” statements that Monroe was probably expecting. Did no one who knew Pendleton grasp his beliefs fully, or was Pendleton lying to Monroe?

When Monroe asked Pendleton about his stance against the war, Pendleton told Monroe that his objections about the war were political, not religious, and that he had “been misunderstood, even by those who knew him best.” However, the evidence suggests that Pendleton’s objections to the war seem to be religious. If Pendleton had political objections to the war, the evidence doesn’t suggest it. For example, Judge Benton, one of the first people that Agent Monroe interviewed, stated that Pendleton was against the war because he thought it was morally wrong to take the life

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30 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 5.
31 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 5-6. See the last four pages of this PDF for Pendleton’s letter of June 6, 1918, “Exhibit A.”
of another person. Benton also told Monroe that Pendleton had stated that the German Kaiser was another form of Caesar, and that it would be better to submit to his authority than to kill. These seem to be religious views against warfare, and not political statements.32

Similarly, H.G. Garrett had told Agent Monroe that Pendleton was opposed to the war because of his views about prophecy, and that Pendleton had used “the book of prophecies” to show why the U.S. should not have entered the war. Garrett also attributed Pendleton’s views to membership in the “blue blooded aristocracy,” which implies political power, however, Garrett said nothing about politics that was recorded. David Prewitt, the cousin of Stanley Prewitt, told Agent Monroe that Pendleton’s views against the war were religious in nature, and that he knew this because he had spoken with Pendleton about his views.33

Judge Nelson, who was related to both Pendleton and Prewitt, told Monroe about Pendleton’s views, stating that they were based on his understanding of biblical prophecy. Nelson did tell Agent Monroe that he had had a “falling out” with Pendleton over an argument about the Lusitania being sunk, but Nelson did not indicate the nature of this argument, which could possibly have been political in nature. Pendleton, in all of his conversations with friends, relatives, and others that he knew, had spoken of the war in seemingly religious terms.34

Finally, one piece of evidence that Agent Monroe likely did not have, but that is now available to the historian, are several newspaper articles advertising and describing Pendleton’s bible class. The Mt. Sterling Advocate noted that the class was entitled, “The War in Prophecy.” Additionally, it is likely that some of his statements to Agent Monroe were the result of lawyerly hairsplitting, rather than an attempt to be deceptive. For example, Pendleton told Monroe that he thought the war was “a disease which God had sent and must run its course,” and that because the war had been sent by God that he nor anyone else should attempt to stop it. In making this statement, Pendleton it seems, was attempting to say that while his religion influenced his views on warfare, that in reality his religion taught that war is from God, and because of that, he could not be “religiously” opposed to it. While this may be technically true, it seems common-sensical that Pendleton’s views were religious in nature, and not truly political. Pendleton may have told Monroe that his views against the war were political and not religious because he thought that it would be easier to defend himself in court were he subjected to a criminal trial, by claiming that he was being persecuted and prosecuted for his political beliefs. However, as Kornweibel has shown, political defenses to violations of the Sedition Act quickly proved to be ineffective, as the cases of Eugene V. Debs and O.E. Enfield illustrate.35

Pendleton might have been untruthful with Agent Monroe when he told him that he had not publicly taught or spoken about his beliefs regarding the war. Judge Benton had told Monroe that

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32 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 5 (first quote); R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 1.
33 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 2.
34 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 4.
35 See “Pendleton to Make Address”, “Delivers Fine Lecture,” and “Concludes Lecture.” Mt. Sterling Advocate (first quote); R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 5 (second quote); Theodore Kornweibel and Jr, Investigate Everything: Federal Efforts to Compel Black Loyalty During World War I (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002), 62. Enfield was a lawyer, a socialist, and a preacher in the Churches of Christ.
the topic of the war had come up in Pendleton’s class, even though it was “seldom” spoken of. The newspaper articles that appeared in The Sterling Advocate also show that he did indeed teach on the subject on multiple occasions. However, Pendleton told Agent Monroe that he had not publicly taught or spoken about the war and his beliefs. Pendleton’s comments to Judge Benton certainly seem to have been made in private. Whether the lectures he conducted at First Christian were public or private was probably open to some debate, and as an attorney, Pendleton would have been very prepared to make the argument that his speech was private, as well as protected by the Constitution.36

Finally, Pendleton claimed that he had never spoken to Stanley Prewitt’s son, Gay, about the draft or how he should respond to it. While no solid evidence exists that Pendleton spoke to Gay about the draft, it is highly unlikely that this is true. Pendleton was Gay’s uncle, and had spoken with Stanley about the war. It is doubtful that he had spoken with Stanley about the war but had not said anything to Stanley’s son. Furthermore, Pendleton helped other men in the community with filling out draft paperwork, including filling for exemptions, and considering the fact that he had called the head of the local draft board to his office to talk about Gay Prewitt being conscripted, it seems highly unlikely that Pendleton hadn’t actually talked with Gay himself. Monroe seems to disbelieve Pendleton on this count, because in the closing sentences of his report to Washington, Monroe made the statement that the ideas of “Pendleton have spoiled one soldier for the United States Army.” Pendleton’s claim, however, that he had not spoken with anyone about the war since the Sedition Act had passed, and that he had not broken any laws, is probably true. Since the Sedition Act had only been passed on May 16, 1918, and the investigation into Pendleton and Prewitt’s activity had commenced on June 5th, it likely that Pendleton, being an attorney, had been very careful to obey the law, and had likely advised Stanley Prewitt and his family to do the same. Nevertheless, it is important to note that some sort of activity or statement had aroused the community against Pendleton and Prewitt to the point that several people made complaints to the government. Unfortunately, no evidence exists to conclusively show whether these activities occurred before or after the passage of the Sedition Act. Since Monroe could find no evidence that Pendleton had spoken out against the war or the draft since the passage of the Sedition Act, nor could he concretely prove that Pendleton had spoken to Gay about resisting the draft, he likely lacked probable cause to make an arrest.37

Pendleton offered to make arrangements for Agent Monroe to interview Stanley Prewitt, and even offered to drive Monroe to the Prewitt property. Agent Monroe accepted Pendleton’s offer to set up a meeting, but declined Pendleton’s offer to drive him there, probably preferring to talk with Prewitt without counselor Pendleton present.38

Before Agent Monroe borrowed a car and made the drive out to the Prewitt estate, however, he interviewed “two or three other prominent men” who, while having nothing else to add to the inquiry, had told Monroe that “the results of the investigation were already ‘very gratifying’.”39

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36 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 1.
38 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 6.
39 Ibid.
When Monroe arrived at Prewitt’s residence, he questioned Stanley about his son’s resistance to being drafted and his own views on war. Prewitt told Monroe that his son had made his own decision to resist serving in the army, and that he had done so for religious reasons. Stanley denied that he or anyone else had talked with Gay about rejecting military service. Stanley told Monroe that he was upset that Gay had been drafted because he wasn’t physically fit, and because he was a farmer. Since Gay had been drafted, Stanley had been forced to take over Gay’s farm in order to save the crops. Monroe noted that it was quite obvious that Stanley approved of his son’s stance. Monroe asked Prewitt if he and his son’s views on war had been influenced by Pendleton, and Prewitt stated that they “undoubtedly” had since he and Pendleton had known each other for years and had talked quite a bit about war. Prewitt also added, however, that he and Pendleton had not spoken of the war since the passage of the Sedition Act, and that he didn’t break the law, nor was he pro-German. In these statements, the influence of Pendleton is clear. Prewitt denied speaking about the war to anyone, even Pendleton, since the Sedition Act had been passed, and also insisted that he was not a law breaker. He had been coached by Pendleton not to make incriminating statements to government agents. However, unlike Pendleton, Prewitt made it clear to Monroe that his objections to the war were religious, and not political, telling Monroe that, “this life is short but eternity is long.”

Agent Monroe wrote a detailed report of his investigation, attached Pendleton’s statement to it, and forwarded it to the Justice Department for review, but in a closing line stated, “I would say a little religious fanaticism, a little too much ‘blue blood’ idea on the part of Prewitt and a feeling of intellectual superiority on the part of Pendleton have spoiled one soldier for the United States Army; but the strong undercurrent of reaction has made any further influence of Pendleton’s ideas improbable but not impossible.” The Bureau of Investigation file on Pendleton and Prewitt abruptly ends with these last words. It is likely that Monroe’s closing lines, with his belief that no further damage could be done by Pendleton and Prewitt put an end to the government’s interest in them. No evidence of arrests being made are extant in either Bureau records or in the local newspapers. The war ended in November of 1918, and life in Winchester largely returned to normal. Gay Prewitt was discharged from the Army in December of 1918. It appears that the Army released him from service and confinement in spite of his refusal to follow orders. He was engaged to be married by September of 1919, which seems to indicate that he did not suffer any lasting social stigma from his detention at Camp Taylor. D.L. Pendleton was admitted to practice law in front of the U.S. Supreme Court in April of 1920, which suggests that he did not face any lasting impediments to his law career.

However, one serious incident is worth noting. Almost exactly a month after Agent Monroe filed his report with the Department of Justice, the home of D.L. Pendleton burned to the ground. A short newspaper article, which ironically appeared sandwiched between two advertisements for fire insurance, noted that the cause of the fire had not been determined. The article did state,

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40 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 6-7; R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 7 (first quotation); The Justice Department’s Bureau of Investigation was not the only federal agency investigating violations of the Espionage and Sedition Acts. The Military Intelligence Division of the U.S. Army, the Secret Service, the Post Office Department, the U.S. Marshals, and even a private vigilante group, the American Protective League, were all involved in investigating domestic radicalism and subversive activities of U.S. citizens during the war. R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 7 (second quotation).
however, that the occupants, a “Mr. and Mrs. John Adams,” had “smelt something burning at
intervals” since a storm had come through the area shortly before. While the author of the article
appears to assume that the fire was an accident of some sort, it is difficult not to relate the incident
to a statement that David Prewitt, the County Food Administrator, had made to Agent Monroe,
which was that “if these men had not been of such high standing, they would have been ‘attended
to’ locally, that is, by force.” No evidence exists that the fire that destroyed Pendleton’s home was
set intentionally as an act of vigilante justice, but David Prewitt’s description of the community’s
anger towards Pendleton and Prewitt, along with later statements made to Monroe that “the results
of the investigation were already ‘very gratifying’,” make it hard to ignore this incident and not
place it within the larger story of the investigation of Pendleton and Prewitt. Furthermore, an article
from a newspaper in an adjacent county, which appeared shortly after Pendleton’s home burned to
the ground, suggested that rich men in the local area that did not support the war effort as heartily
as the community thought they should, would be made to regret it later, as had occurred “in several
other counties” in Kentucky. Finally, it is also somewhat odd that Dwight Pendleton and his family
were not living in their home at the time it burned to the ground. Had the Pendleton’s temporarily
left the area due to the investigation and uproar over Dwight’s views? The evidence, unfortunately,
is silent.41

While Dwight Pendleton and Stanley and Gay Prewitt were wealthy, influential, and powerful
members of their communities, their membership in the Disciples of Christ, along with their
dissenting views of the war and failure to participate in the rituals of the American civil religion,
transformed them, at least for a time, from quintessential insiders to rejected outsiders and enemies
of the community. Their resistance, coupled with their wealth and political influence demanded a
response by other insiders, who had to assert their dominance in the face of evidence that their
values were not receiving “the least popular respect.” Once Pendleton and the Prewitts had
transitioned from insiders to outsiders, the community was able to use coercive force against them
in order to enforce its hegemony. While their wealth and influence protected them from outside
government coercion, it could not protect them from the wrath of the larger community. In the
case of Pendleton and the Prewitts then, while the war might have been a “rich man’s war,” the
business of war resistance also turned out to be a “rich man’s fight.”42

The files of the Bureau of Investigation demonstrate that pacifism had not fully died out in the
Disciples of Christ after the Civil War. Bureau files also testify to the fact that other Disciples also
resisted the war. While it is clear that Pendleton and the Prewitts had no doubt inherited the pacifist
position of Alexander Campbell due to family influences, more research is needed in order to
determine what caused other Disciples to hold to Christian pacifism during the First World War.

41 R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 7 (first quotation); J.M. Benton, History of
“Announcement of Interest,” Mt. Sterling Advocate, September 23, 1919; “The Daily Legal Record: The Supreme
Court,” Washington Post, April 20, 1920; “Pendleton Home Burns Near Winchester,” Bourbon News, July 9, 1918
(second quotation); R.E. Monroe, In Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 2 (third quotation); R.E. Monroe, In
Re: Dwight Pendleton and Stanley Prewitt, 6 (fourth quotation); “The Financial Slacker”, Mt. Sterling Advocate 28,
no. 16 (October 15, 1918): 1 (fifth quotation).
42 Moore, Religious Outsiders, xiii-xiv.
I have been requested by Mr. R. E. Monroe, Special Agent of the Department of Justice, to state in writing to him my attitude towards the participation of the United States in the present war, and also my attitude towards the draft, and to what extent, if any, I have talked or taught with reference to these matters.

As a lawyer and citizen my attitude is one of submission to the law of this Country, and I have, since the United States has declared war, recognized that its authority and laws with reference thereto must be obeyed, and particularly with reference to the draft I have assisted in the preparation of what papers the legal fraternity were called upon to prepare for the drafted men, such as questionnaires &c., freely and without charge and without expression of opinion to any man who has been drafted.

With reference to the general attitude of the United States it is not my right or privilege to obstruct this country in anything it undertakes to do, nor have I attempted in any teaching or talked to obstruct or interfere with the Government in its plans. It has been well known in this community where I have taught a Sunday School Class for more than ten years past, numbering anywhere from one hundred to three hundred men in attendance, that I am a firm believer in the Bible, belonging to the Christian or Campbellite Church, which has no creed except the Bible itself, and in teaching this class I have publicly taught the lessons prescribed by the International Sunday School Association, confining my teaching directly to developing what is taught in those lessons without particular reference to anything done by this country. I have scrupulously avoided in these teachings offering my personal opinions to what this country should have done; although I am frank to say, that I have the same opinion...
that was common in this country before the war, that we should
not be drawn into it if possible to avoid it.

Without going at length into a statement of my religious
beliefs as to this war, I will state, however, that from a careful
study of the Bible and particularly of the prophecies of the Old and
New Testament, I was convinced as far back as two years before the
beginning of the war, that we were on the verge of what has now
developed into a world war, and from what has transpired since, I
am firm in my belief that this is the war that is described in
practically all the prophetic writings of the Old and New Testament
as closing a Christian age and the work of the Church. I have not
taught this in the class, however, because I did not believe that
my position could be fairly understood, nor could I in a few pages
lay a foundation for this belief which may seem strange to one
who has not made this matter a study. I would state this, how-
ever, that it is my belief that this war must run its course, and
that there is no way of stopping it, and I have not suggested to
anyone, and am religiously opposed to suggesting to anyone the poss-
sibility of stopping it or interfering with its progress, which is
the natural result of such a belief. I do believe in universal
peace and hope to see it accomplished, and I do believe that it is
the teaching of the Bible that it will follow shortly after the
close of this war. My belief and object and intent in all of my
Bible teaching, whether in the class or in private conversation,
have been to try to lay the foundation for such peace after the
war is over. This is because it is my firm belief that the Bible
teaches that some time, in all probability shortly after this war
is finally closed, the Kingdom of God will be set up on earth, as
predicted by the Bible, and I believe that I do not pretend to

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know, but my object has been to direct the mind and the thought of those whom I am called upon to teach to the fact that such a Kingdom is to be set up and to be prepared and ready as efficient workmen to cooperate in its establishment. As a part of this belief I have consistently taught, that during the progress of this war nothing can be done along this line by anyone.

I further believe that such a peace cannot be accomplished except as described in the Bible, by a world war.

My individual belief is, that I should not voluntarily take part in this war in any way, but I have not taught this or suggested to others what they should do. My purpose has been simply to teach the Bible and let each man form his own conclusion from what is taught in that Book, independent of my personal views, and I could not do that honestly, if I were to inject my personal conclusions which might be erroneous. I have consistently observed what the laws of this country require me to do so far as I know how. To illustrate, I have for many years believed in prohibition, yet even in that matter I have refrained from teaching it, even though the lessons prescribed called for that teaching in the Sunday School, and have so stated to the Class, that I would not teach Prohibition or any other political issue in the Bible Class, but would confine my teaching strictly to the truths taught in the Bible as moral truths and not political issues and let each man draw his own conclusions as to the attitude he should assume with reference to such political issues. I have even gone further than that in avoiding the possibility of suggesting or outlining to others what they should do in their individual conduct morally, and have repeatedly stated to the Class, that even on moral issues it is my purpose to teach the Bible, the lessons as they are given, and let each man draw his own moral conclusions, because I believe that each
man is morally and intellectually endowed sufficiently to draw his own conclusions from that Book. This is also a fundamental teaching of our Church, that each man is free to form his own opinions unbiased from the scriptures as they are written.

As to whether or not I am a German sympathizer, as that question has been asked me, I would state very positively that I am not, and that my belief from the teaching of the Bible is, that the ruler of Germany from many angles appears to be the man who is described in the Bible as the "man of sin", and I firmly believe he is that king referred to in the latter verses of the 11th Chapter of Daniel.

I trust that this will cover the points that I am requested to answer, but if it does not, I shall be happy to go into the matter more elaborately.

This the 6th day of June, 1916.

[Signature]