

VERMONT

*The
Proceedings of the
Vermont Historical Society*

HISTORY



SUMMER 1993

VOL. 61, No. 3



Espionage in Windsor: Clarence H. Waldron and Patriotism in World War I

*When Waldron refused to be quiet
about his religious beliefs, leave his
pulpit, and depart the community,
. . . townspeople . . . settled their
scores.*

By GENE SESSIONS

In March 1918, less than a year after the United States declared war on Germany, Clarence H. Waldron, a Baptist minister in Windsor, Vermont, was found guilty of violating the Espionage Act and sentenced to serve fifteen years in a federal prison in Atlanta, Georgia. *The United States v. Clarence H. Waldron* stood as the first important case involving religious opposition to the war, and the penalty became the harshest that had been imposed under the act. President Woodrow Wilson's attorney general, Thomas W. Gregory, welcomed the sentence "as an effective deterrent against a very dangerous type of antiwar propaganda."¹

Gregory's words reflected the national obsession with internal security and patriotic conformity during the 1917–1918 years of U.S. involvement in World War I. Vermont avoided the worst excesses of the "patriotic hysteria," but the experience of Waldron was an exception.² His fate may be understood by examining events and pressures in Windsor influential in shaping the minister's case that had little or nothing to do with questions of national security. Waldron's experience illustrates the local and unpredictable uses to which patriotic sentiment and wartime passions may be harnessed once aroused by government in the service of national policy.

Clarence Harvey Waldron started life on December 30, 1885, in Cleveland, Ohio, the second son of Sarah Waldron and her husband,

Samuel R. Waldron, an itinerant "minister of the gospel" and evangelist affiliated with the Wesleyan Methodist Church.³ He grew up in pious austerity in a succession of small communities, primarily in New York and New Jersey, which were his father's ministerial posts.⁴ The young Waldron decided to follow his father in the ministry, and after completing his public school studies, he enrolled in the newly established evangelical Bible and Pentecostal Training School in Nashville, Tennessee, an institution with free tuition, minimal academic entrance requirements, and a small student body drawn primarily from the impoverished farms and villages of the rural South.⁵

The Nashville institution, along with the teachings of his deeply devout parents, provided the main influences that were to guide his religious thinking. The school offered a curriculum with a distinctly otherworldly focus. Influenced by the budding nondenominational Pentecostal movement of the early twentieth century that rejected the purported materialism, complacency, and cold formalism of mainline American Protestantism, its program of studies embraced the emotion-laden tenets of "emersion in the holy spirit," biblical literalism, and austere moral rigor. Moreover, the school's founders were driven by a conviction that Christians were living in a time of extreme urgency, the apocalyptic "last days" before Christ's prophesied return to set up his kingdom on earth "for one thousand years." They believed Christ's long-anticipated return was "so near in fact that there was scarcely time to do more than preach." Thus, "no Christian worker ought to spend precious time . . . attempting" to solve "the social ills of the world." "There was more urgent business at hand," and, after all, Christ himself would heal the world's ills when he returned.⁶

Waldron's Nashville education consequently did not include exposure to "the world of men and letters" (although he did take courses in astronomy and history).⁷ Instead, as the published history of the school explains, its curriculum aimed "to indoctrinate and to be a short-cut to the preaching ministry."⁸

The Nashville years also exposed Waldron to Pentecostal beliefs in the supernatural gifts of prophecy, healing, and speaking in tongues as outward signs of a believer's experience of sanctification. In the course of his education, Waldron, as well, embraced what he later described as a "Quaker-like" conviction against war. His wife, Grace, whom he married in 1909, had been raised in the Mennonite church, a denomination historically committed to nonviolence, but Waldron's own antiwar convictions seem to have flowed mainly from his rigorous embrace of biblical literalism and the concomitant determination to take seriously the Old Testament commandment "Thou shalt not kill."⁹

Clarence Waldron vigorously applied his millenarian faith and training to his personal living, later describing himself as one who did not take "active part in the worldly things" and who did "not believe in them." A Windsor acquaintance described him as "different from any man he had ever known . . . he was so religious that worldly things did not matter much to him."¹⁰

After finishing his studies at the Pentecostal Training School, Waldron completed his formal education at a short-lived Bible institute in Philadelphia. This school's doctrinal approach was "Baptistic," but like the Nashville school it followed a fundamentalist course theologically.¹¹

In 1908 Waldron was ordained as a Baptist minister at a church in New Jersey, and in the next seven years he served successive pastorates in three small, struggling New Jersey parishes.¹² A report in 1915 by the New Jersey Baptist Convention condemned the trend among economically strapped, small, rural congregations of choosing pastors from among men "of limited means" and "few educational advantages," whose training had been acquired at hastily founded Bible schools established "to provide short cuts to the Christian ministry."¹³ Although Waldron fit that description almost precisely, he proved to be a minister of unusual effectiveness. At the Calvary Baptist Church in Passaic, from which he departed to accept the Windsor, Vermont, pastorate, he doubled his congregation's membership in a three-year period and achieved dramatic increases in Sunday school attendance. When Waldron arrived in Windsor in the spring of 1915, he brought with him a reputation as an "untiring" worker, accomplished at winning "converts" and baptisms, and whose ministerial approach was distinctly "evangelistic" in nature.¹⁴

THE CLIMATE OF OPINION

Waldron preached his first sermon as minister of the Windsor church on Easter Sunday 1915. At age twenty-nine he was an earnest, slightly built man "of excellent appearance";¹⁵ his wife was twenty-six years old and "attractive appearing."¹⁶ The couple shared a talent and enthusiasm for music and impressed those around them as "capable and aggressive young people."¹⁷ Also in the Waldron household were a daughter, Genevieve, age one year, and Mrs. Waldron's German-born mother.¹⁸

In Windsor Waldron dramatically reversed the fortunes of a congregation that Vermont Baptist officials had viewed for years as one of their "discouraging churches." Some churchmen had even concluded the denomination should "give it up" in Windsor.¹⁹ With only about thirty-five regular church worshipers during the early 1910s, the parish had remained solvent only because of its "missionary" status within the Baptist State Convention, qualifying it to receive from that body an annual financial contribution.²⁰

Waldron arrived with “a desire to see the church grow,” and it did.²¹ The new pastor started a young men’s Sunday Bible class that became “a huge success,”²² a choral program, weeknight Bible classes, and a woman’s society. The expanded church program provided activities for the town’s young machine shop workers and drew new worshipers to the church’s pews on Sundays. In Waldron’s first two years as minister, Sunday morning attendance increased from the thirties to the nineties, and seventy-five new members were added to the church rolls.²³ It was “a splendid record.” In the single year of 1916–1917, Windsor’s Baptists took in more new members than all except five other Baptist churches in the entire state.²⁴ By spring of 1917 the congregation found itself in the unfamiliar status of being able to pay its bills, and at each of its annual meetings in the spring of 1916 and 1917, the grateful membership rewarded its energetic young minister with “substantial” salary increases.²⁵

Two factors, in addition to his personal skills, seem to have been influential in Waldron’s success at the church. One was the timing of his arrival in town, which coincided with an unprecedented local economic boom. For many years, Windsor’s Connecticut River valley region – which included scenic Mount Ascutney and the Cornish, New Hampshire, artist colony – had benefited commercially as a summer vacation and resort destination, attracting in recent times such prominent figures as President Woodrow Wilson, U.S. Court of Appeals judge Learned Hand, novelist Winston Churchill, and journalist Norman Hapgood.²⁶ The crucial element of Windsor’s prosperity over the past century, however, had been its machine tool industry. It, along with the town’s economy, had been in decline for many years when the outbreak of war in Europe in August 1914 stimulated a deluge of orders from Europe’s combatant countries for machines tooled for the production of shells and other munitions work.

Three months after the European fighting started, the bellwether Windsor Machine Company began operating around the clock. In a short time, the town’s population doubled in size, to approximately five thousand residents, as farmers’ sons from the surrounding vicinity and immigrants recently arrived from Poland, Russia, Italy, and Greece took jobs in the expanding work force.²⁷ Villagers constructed forty-six new tenements, and more than forty additional hastily built “hideous looking shanties,” without adequate health conveniences or electrical lights, came into existence with “astonishing rapidity” in an area on the meadow near the Connecticut River east of the machine company that became known as “Little Warsaw.”²⁸

The local newspaper, the *Vermont Journal*, gushed that “this village is growing like a weed, by gosh.”²⁹ The growth, however, brought problems as well as opportunities, as villagers struggled to adjust to the

rapid changes. The greater population created pressure to expand public services and increase taxes to pay for them that, in turn, triggered intense local acrimony and conflict. There were other negative effects as well; the community's decision to hire its first full-time uniformed police officers did not abate increasing concerns over factory workers' after-hours rowdiness and instances of drunken behavior.³⁰ Nevertheless, as the town expanded and prospered, so did Windsor's six church congregations. None, though, exceeded the growth of the Baptists under Waldron's leadership. Still, the Baptists remained the smallest church in town, with about half the membership of the next smallest Protestant congregation.³¹

Waldron's success in Windsor derived also from his conservative theological and social convictions and a preaching style rooted in turn-of-the-century Protestant fundamentalism that was thoroughly familiar to local residents.³² He admired, and in some of his mannerisms emulated, the flamboyant revivalist Billy Sunday, whom he called the nation's "greatest evangelist."³³ His own enthusiastically delivered sermons centered on such standby topics as "The Evidence of Salvation," the "Promise of Our Resurrection," "The Fruits of the Spirit," and other standard themes of conservative Protestantism.³⁴ He was a booster of the efforts of the local Anti-Saloon League chapter³⁵ and energetically lambasted the imagined influences of socialism on the state and nation.³⁶ Successful and growing in the spring of 1917, the First Baptist Church of Windsor appeared to its members to have a future "brighter than most of us have ever known it."³⁷

During the last months of the year, however, the bright prospects of Waldron and his church vanished. In the early fall a factory worker, one of the many new arrivals in town, began conducting nondenominational Pentecostal religious services during the evenings on the streets of "Little Warsaw."³⁸ Advertisements for the services appeared in the local newspaper, promising "the Word preached will be confirmed by signs following, healing the sick, casting out demons, speaking in other languages as the Spirit gives utterance, prophesying, etc."³⁹ The "Holy Roller Society," as local wags called the gatherings, drew sizable crowds.⁴⁰ The unconventional behavior exhibited by some of those attending attracted the ridicule of other town members, and local "rowdies" sometimes disrupted the services.⁴¹

Clarence Waldron took an interest in the "Little Warsaw" meetings. After a few days, the Baptist minister "felt to follow his convictions" and embraced the meetings' Pentecostal doctrines; he began holding "Holy Roller" sessions at his Main Street home.⁴² Several of Waldron's Baptist church members who had also attended the Pentecostal services followed their pastor's lead, and in addition he began accepting into membership

in the First Baptist Church numerous Pentecostal converts from other denominations in the community.⁴³

The young minister's actions were not a violation of Baptist doctrine, which allowed considerable latitude in creedal interpretation. Nevertheless, within his small congregation they caused a division between the Pentecostal converts and some other members, mostly older, longtime residents of Windsor, who denounced the Pentecostal beliefs and openly opposed Waldron's "bringing the Holy Rollers into the church." One angry anti-Pentecostal parishioner cried out during a church service that "the Christ I accepted here a year ago is not present today," and others feared that the newcomers and new believers, whose numbers had grown to about half of the membership, "were getting control" of the church and beginning to "run things."⁴⁴

As the Pentecostal controversy surfaced within the Baptist congregation during October, other events involving Waldron brought him wider, even more unwelcome attention. In April 1917 the United States formally entered the European war on the Allied side. In the rapid military mobilization effort that followed, the federal government greatly expanded its control over the nation's institutions, establishing legislation authorizing conscription of thousands of men into uniform, broadening regulation of the economy, and creating a federal propaganda agency, the Committee on Public Information (CPI), to mobilize and sustain confidence in the war.⁴⁵ Also, on June 15, 1917, President Wilson signed into law an Espionage Act intended to protect the nation from internal enemies. Title I, Section 3 of the act stated that whenever anyone "shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces . . . [or] shall willfully cause, or attempt to cause . . . insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States . . . [he or she] shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years or both."⁴⁶

Vermonters generally embraced the decision to enter the European conflict and joined in the national war excitement that followed.⁴⁷ Windsor village engaged "enthusiastically in the wave of patriotism" sweeping the country, according to the local newspaper, testifying "in no mistaken manner its loyalty to Americanism and support of President Wilson and Congress in the steps that have been taken to condemn German ruthlessness and savagery of warfare on the high seas." Local women quickly organized a Red Cross committee, and Windsor's Methodist minister made known his belief that because the American soldier was "fighting for a holy and righteous cause God will give him victory."⁴⁸

Windsor County became a leader in the state's war support, outdoing all counties in the number of contributors to a YMCA war fund,⁴⁹ and some of its citizens took leadership positions in statewide war-related agencies.⁵⁰ Local patriots also heeded the Wilson administration's call for vigilance against internal foes. Mrs. Parker C. Manzer, wife of the Episcopal minister, reported at a meeting of her women's club that while on a summer visit "she met two 'nuns' whom she suspected of being German spies and that her suspicions proved to be correct."⁵¹ By July 1917, sixty men from Windsor had been called for military service.⁵²

One opportunity available to Windsorites for demonstrating patriotic support was participation in the national drive to sell government war bonds. To boost the bond drive, President Wilson designated October 21, 1917, as the first national "Liberty Loan Sunday." Wilson wanted the nation's clergy on that day to decorate their churches with patriotic colors, ring the churches' bells at their eleven o'clock services, lead the congregations in singing the "Star-Spangled Banner," and support the Liberty Loan drive in the day's sermons.

When that Sunday arrived, Waldron's congregation was the only one of the six Windsor congregations not to follow the president's request. Waldron thought the Sunday service should be used for worship only and not for secular purposes such as the war bond drive. He believed that service was not an occasion to discuss the "outside world," and certainly should not be used to raise money for a war or rally recruits for an army. Support for his view on the sanctity of the Sunday worship hour was apparently broad-based within the Windsor church. After the October 21 incident, the local newspaper surmised that "the major part of the Baptist congregation were of the same mind as their pastor."⁵³

News of the Baptists' nonparticipation in the Liberty Loan events spread so rapidly during that Sunday that "not long after the morning service . . . practically every person in the village had heard."⁵⁴ That evening a crowd of angry townspeople, estimated between three hundred and a thousand, many of them factory workers, gathered in front of the church on the town's Main Street and forced the minister to defend his patriotic loyalty and his church's actions.

From the church's front steps, Waldron tried to explain his position and that of his congregation. He told the crowd that he believed the Sunday morning service ought to be reserved for preaching the Gospels only—that the gospel message was "greater than that of anything else." He "was not opposed to the government," and he "denounced the Kaiser," but he did stand "opposed to this war and to all other wars." He defended his patriotism by tracing his ancestry to the *Mayflower* and claimed to be "as loyal an American as ever walked in shoe leather." To dramatize

his patriotic commitment, he draped an American flag across his shoulders and sang the "Star-Spangled Banner," accompanied by his wife and several members of his congregation. In a further attempt to ease the tension, he invited the crowd to join his church's evening service, "where we can have a heart-to-heart talk," but although a few responded to the invitation, most dispersed and the demonstration ended quietly.⁵⁵

At a meeting of the Baptist congregation a few days later, a group of church members formally requested Waldron's resignation. The action seems to have been precipitated by the Pentecostal controversy rather than the events of Liberty Loan Sunday. According to Waldron, "not a thing was said in the request of my resignation . . . about patriotism"; the opposition to him was "all on account of the Pentecostals." He refused to resign at that meeting, and a majority of those attending pushed through a vote of confidence in him.⁵⁶

During the following days, however, officials of the Vermont Baptist State Convention, which provided an annual financial grant to the "missionary" church, entered the congregation's controversy. W. A. Davison, Baptist state executive secretary, wanted the minister to leave town, apparently having concluded that he was "unworthy to continue as pastor . . . because of his conversion to the Pentecostal faith."⁵⁷ Davison "remonstrated with Mr. Waldron several times,"⁵⁸ but the minister refused to resign and leave Windsor, believing that the town was approaching "a real religious awakening." Baptist officials then "threatened to use the courts" to get him out.⁵⁹ By mid-November, a federal investigator arrived in the community inquiring about Waldron's statements and actions concerning the war.⁶⁰

On November 22 the congregation held a second meeting on Waldron's future, arranged by Davison in coordination with anti-Pentecostal church members. Davison attended this meeting, held at the Windsor Baptist church, as did former Vermont governor W. W. Stickney, president of the Vermont Baptist State Board of Trustees, and Henry Bond, president of the Vermont Baptist State Convention. This time, by a vote of thirty-nine to twenty-eight, the attending church members adopted a resolution calling for Waldron to quit. The beleaguered minister then formally resigned his pastorate, "to take effect at once," in a prepared statement that discussed the Pentecostal controversy at length.

His resignation statement left no doubt that he understood his ouster to have been the culmination of a dispute over religious doctrine rather than patriotism or the events of Liberty Loan Sunday. He told the meeting that by embracing Pentecostalism he had not "changed in the main my . . . view" and had not accepted "any doctrine that the word of God does not touch." He equated "Pentecostal truth" with "Baptist truth," which

he said was "God's unchanging truth." His forced resignation would be understandable, he asserted, "if we were teaching Universalism, Spiritualism, Mormonism, Christian Science or any other ism contrary to view and practice held by the church . . . but to be called in question upon this very word we pride ourselves upon as believing is above all things the most unthinkable."⁶¹

One newspaper report of the meeting bluntly asserted that Waldron had been removed from his pulpit "by the Vermont State Baptist Convention," and another concluded that "weight was added to the counsel of the convention officials inasmuch as that organization gives financial aid to the Windsor church in the amount of about \$400 yearly." About half of the congregation followed Waldron out, resigning their church memberships. No longer the Baptist pastor, he nevertheless remained in town, ministering to his following and using his Main Street home as the group's meeting place.⁶²

The minister, however, would soon be removed from the town as well as the church. Following the incident on Liberty Loan Sunday, some Windsor patriots were prepared to conclude the worst about Waldron—that his utterances had been "pro-German," that his bias for Germany was "notorious," and that his German-born mother-in-law influenced his "disloyal" thinking.⁶³ "It was time," the *Vermont Journal* wrote, "to lay aside . . . individual ideas and stand by the flag and federal government."⁶⁴ Had not Waldron's own evangelistic idol, Billy Sunday, condemned "Christian Pacifists" and told his vast audiences "either you are loyal or you are not, you are either a patriot or a blackhearted traitor"?⁶⁵

By mid-December several members of his former congregation began receiving summonses to appear before a federal grand jury in Brattleboro. Five days before Christmas, the grand jury handed down a three-count indictment against Waldron, alleging violations of Title I, Section 3 of the Espionage Act. Count 1 of the indictment charged the minister with knowingly making false statements about the Selective Service Act (1917) in the presence of draft-age men; Count 2 charged him with attempting "to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty" in the armed forces by distributing to men of draft age, and others, copies of a religious pamphlet; and Count 3 charged that he "willfully . . . obstructed the recruiting and enlistment services of the United States" by public statements and through circulation of the religious pamphlet.⁶⁶ Waldron was arraigned in Brattleboro on December 21; two former members of his congregation posted his bail, which had been set at one thousand dollars.⁶⁷

Harland B. Howe, U.S. district judge for the district of Vermont,⁶⁸ set

the trial date for two weeks later, on January 8, 1918, in Brattleboro. Judge Howe believed that a quick hearing of the case was needed to defuse the atmosphere of hostility that was building against the former Baptist minister. The presumption of Waldron's guilt so pervaded public opinion that one Vermont attorney concluded "the only defense for this case that I could see at first was either insanity or absolute denial of everything."⁶⁹

THE TRIALS

Waldron had no money and few other resources to combat the charges against him. In addition, he had to cope with an energetic adversary in W. A. Davison. The Baptist administrator played a busy backstage role after the indictment, actively cooperating with the U.S. district attorney, Vernon A. Bullard of Burlington, to line up prosecution witnesses and assisting in the preparation of the government's case.⁷⁰ He also met several times with Waldron. Davison later recalled that his goal in these meetings had been to persuade the minister to enter a plea of guilty and promise to "keep his mouth shut on the war, and leave Windsor" in exchange for a possible lighter sentence.⁷¹

A more supportive offer of help came to Waldron from the National Civil Liberties Bureau (NCLB), headquartered in New York City. The bureau had been formed only a few months earlier out of a wing of the pacifist organization the American Union Against Militarism. Created to provide legal assistance to victims of the Selective Service and Espionage acts, NCLB had already aided several individuals, including a number of socialists and revolutionaries.⁷² The wary Waldron turned down the NCLB offer, fearing "a trap which would get him into more trouble."⁷³

A Boston-based organization, the League for Democratic Control (LDC), also offered help that he did accept. Acquaintances of Waldron in the Quaker community made possible the contact with this small (and short-lived) organization, which was composed primarily of progressive social reformers and ex-Protestant ministers recently driven from their pulpits because of their pacifist views. LDC's purposes in relation to the war were similar to those of NCLB.⁷⁴

The organization's secretary, Harold Rotzel, a pacifist and former clergyman,⁷⁵ traveled to Vermont to monitor Waldron's case, but he could provide little financial support. Rotzel became convinced that the minister was being prosecuted for his religion-based pacifist convictions and saw the central question as "whether or not a literal belief in the Bible and the preaching of that belief is a violation of the espionage act."⁷⁶ In the days preceding the trial, though, Rotzel was unable to locate Vermont lawyers willing to argue the case from this perspective, and a request for a trial delay by a Boston lawyer acting for LDC also failed.⁷⁷

The Vermont attorney Waldron did finally manage to retain tried to persuade his client to plead guilty. Davison was involved with the minister's attorney in this effort. On January 8, 1918, the day the trial began, however, the minister insisted on entering a plea of "not conscientiously guilty." His unhappy lawyer in turn withdrew from the case.⁷⁸ To avoid a delay, Judge Howe immediately appointed a Brattleboro attorney, Robert C. Bacon, to represent the defendant, who lacked the means to pay for one of his own choosing. The prompt action enabled the trial to begin on schedule but also allowed little time for Bacon to become familiar with the case or prepare a defense.

From its first day the trial drew intense statewide attention and press coverage. It was the first jury trial held in Brattleboro's new federal building, and spectators daily arrived at the courtroom early, with latecomers lining the corridors outside.⁷⁹ Among those who attended every session were Grace Waldron and the Reverend Samuel R. Waldron, the defendant's wife and father, and numerous members of Windsor's Pentecostal faithful. It quickly became apparent, in fact, that the trial represented a renewal of the Windsor Baptists' internal dispute; all except one of the prosecution witnesses and all of the defense witnesses had ties to the church controversy.⁸⁰ District Attorney Bullard opened the government's case by stating he would show that Clarence Waldron was a disloyal American who was responsible for seditious acts and statements and who had tried to "prevent young men from performing their duty under the law." He claimed that on several occasions during and prior to May, June, and July 1917, Waldron had counseled young draft-age members of his men's Sunday Bible class not to enlist in the U.S. armed forces. One such effort to obstruct recruiting, Bullard claimed, was Waldron's distribution of a pamphlet, *The Word of the Cross*, that related in allegorical terms reasons why a Christian should not bear arms.

To substantiate the charges, he called six witnesses, five of whom were members of the Bible class. Each of the five testified that Waldron had made unpatriotic statements in Sunday school classes, from his church pulpit, and in personal conversations. One stated that Waldron had told Bible class members that no Christian could take part in war and another swore that he had declared from the pulpit, "To hell with patriotism." Two of them said he had given them copies of the pamphlet *The Word of the Cross* and that Waldron had advised them: "These are my sentiments." The sixth prosecution witness was Sherman Evarts, a longtime Windsor businessman and civic leader whose brother once owned controlling interest in the Windsor Machine Company and whose father had served as U.S. senator from New York and as secretary of state in

the administration of Rutherford B. Hayes. Evarts testified that Waldron had opposed the local war bond drive and Red Cross efforts.⁸¹

The prosecution rested its case in the afternoon of January 9, and the next morning the defense presented its case. Attorney Bacon chose not to base his defense on Waldron's First Amendment right to express his religious beliefs, as Rotzel had urged, but argued his client's innocence on the grounds that the minister had said or done nothing with intent to interfere with the U.S. war effort or help the enemy. He had made a few of the statements credited to him, Bacon acknowledged, but they had been taken out of context or misinterpreted by prosecution witnesses; other statements had been distorted by individuals apparently harboring personal animosities stemming from the congregation's religious dispute, "so as to make their meaning totally different from what was intended."⁸²

Bacon called Waldron as the first defense witness. The minister readily acknowledged that he had told his Bible class that Scripture taught that a Christian may not take his brother's blood.⁸³ He said his statements to prosecution witnesses, however, had been misunderstood. For example, he testified that he had told one Bible class member not that he was sorry the young man had enlisted but that he was sorry that his enlistment would require him to leave town and his church. Responding to another accusation, he denied advising a class member to resist the draft in expectation that the subsequent litigation would not be completed before the war ended; in fact, he had told the potential draftee, in an effort to calm his anxieties, that the war might end before he was called.

As for the statement "To hell with patriotism," Waldron testified that he used the words in a sermon during the spring of 1916, prior to U.S. entrance into the war, in reference to Germany's onslaught against Belgium. He explained that during Germany's spring military offensive, the kaiser had called on God for support in the name of patriotism, and that, in his sermon, Waldron had commented that "if this is patriotism, to hell with patriotism." Bacon told the jury that the prosecution witness's testimony in that regard had been a deliberate and malicious distortion of Waldron's meaning.

Concerning the alleged "sedition" pamphlet, *The Word of the Cross*, Waldron testified that his intention in circulating it was not to interfere with the draft. He had distributed copies of it during the stressful time following the townspeople's demonstration in front of his church on October 21, 1917, as a way of explaining his own religious convictions and his church's position in not taking part in the exercises of the Liberty Loan Sunday.⁸⁴ He said that he had ordered copies of the pamphlet, which had been written and published several years prior to the outbreak of the European war, after seeing it advertised in the August 1917 issue

of the reputable Dwight L. Moody publication *The Christian Worker*. It had been described as “an important and timely message for the Lord’s people in these troublesome times. We cannot recommend it too highly.” Bacon pointed out to jurors that the federal government allowed *The Christian Worker* to pass through the U.S. mails and that the *Record of Christian Work*, another reputable periodical published and printed in Brattleboro, Vermont, had carried the same advertisement.⁸⁵

Waldron testified further that he did not oppose the liberty bond drive or Red Cross war work but only opposed discussing such subjects in the pulpit on Sundays. Waldron’s answers to questions were brief and direct, and when he completed his testimony, the *Brattleboro Reformer* reported that “it was the general opinion of lawyers and spectators” that the minister “had made an excellent witness for the defense.”⁸⁶

Bacon called almost twenty other defense witnesses, all of whom denied ever having heard Waldron make unpatriotic comments. Each had been associated with the minister’s Pentecostal activities in Windsor, and most had left the church with him when he resigned. Two of the “most interesting, if not the most important witnesses” were out-of-state Pentecostal missionaries, Hortense Pruden of Melrose, Massachusetts, and Christine A. Gibson of East Providence, Rhode Island, who had helped conduct the “Little Warsaw” religious services during the fall of 1917. District Attorney Bullard’s cross-examination of the two women sought to impeach their credibility in the jury’s eyes by ridiculing the Pentecostal manner of conducting religious meetings, which, according to their answers to Bullard’s inquiries, included “submerging in the spirit,” losing consciousness of their surroundings, falling on the floor, and rolling about.⁸⁷

One unintended effect of Bullard’s questioning, however, was to draw increased attention to the church quarrel and the religious connection of the trial’s antagonists. After three days of testimony, the *Brattleboro Reformer* observed that “it is this church row, the details of which have not fully appeared, that has caused a suspicion in the minds of some of the spectators that there is considerable bias on the part of witnesses on both sides.”⁸⁸

The case went to the jury on January 15. Judge Howe dismissed Count 1 and Count 3 of the indictment and directed the panel to consider only the second count, the allegation that Waldron had willfully attempted to cause insubordination, disloyalty, and refusal of duty in the U.S. military forces. Howe instructed jurors that if they determined that whatever Waldron did or said was not such a willful attempt, then they should reach a verdict of not guilty.⁸⁹

The trial ended with no verdict at all. After deliberating for thirty-six

hours and taking three inconclusive votes, the jury reported that it was hopelessly split and that reaching a verdict would be "impossible." Judge Howe declared a hung jury and dismissed the panel.⁹⁰ "All surprised at the result" came a report out of Brattleboro.⁹¹ One courthouse rumor had the jury divided eight to four for conviction, another that the jury was ten to two for acquittal.⁹² By every account, Bacon, the court-appointed defense lawyer, had performed outstandingly in Waldron's behalf.

The minister's supporters took heart from the inconclusive results. A lawyer who followed the trial testimony speculated that Waldron "could never be convicted on the evidence adduced as it was a religious squabble."⁹³ The *Brattleboro Reformer* concluded that the trial created "considerable sympathy" for the ousted pastor.⁹⁴ Some of that sympathy came from the Windsor community, where the legal proceedings apparently enlarged the number of the minister's friends, causing "a rift in the ranks of the public" and splitting "opinion in the town wide open."⁹⁵

The post-trial discussions spilled onto the columns of the Windsor newspaper, the *Vermont Journal*. Waldron's father, in a letter published on the paper's front page, suggested that the "townsfolk" had become aware, "as they listened to the testimony on both sides," that "this affair . . . is but a full grown 'church row.'"⁹⁶ Windsor's anti-Waldron Baptists promptly responded with a front-page letter of their own, charging that the sole source of the minister's problems was his "unpatriotic actions." This assertion was undermined later in the letter, however, by specific references to the church row, in which the authors (six names accompanied the letter) claimed that almost all of those who withdrew from church membership with Waldron had been newcomers to the church who had joined "with the evident purpose of having a majority in his favor."⁹⁷ Most, if not all, of the letter's six authors in fact had been outspoken opponents of the congregation's Pentecostal faction, on record as fearing for the church's future under "Holy Roller" influence; and the letter's lead signature was that of the longtime church clerk, a public school teacher, who had written a communication in the fall of 1917 stating "that the Pentecostals were getting control of the church and that Waldron should be voted out."⁹⁸

After the trial, Clarence Waldron also resorted to the pages of the *Vermont Journal* in an effort to clarify his views and actions to the Windsor community. In a statement published on March 1, the minister explained that in his response to the war he had been trying to be consistent in his loyalties as both a conscientious Christian and as a patriotic American. His unwillingness to reconcile Christianity and military violence was based on the application of Jesus's own life: "As He [Jesus] is, so are

we in this world." He knew, however, that he had "certain duties toward my country and all its laws and regulations," and as a patriotic citizen he would "gladly submit to everything that is not plainly opposed to my duty toward God . . . and even a question of duty toward God must be left with each individual believer, to his conscientious interpretation of its teachings."⁹⁹

Harold Rotzel of the League for Democratic Control, like other Waldron sympathizers, was encouraged by the trial's outcome. Rotzel believed that the jury's failure to convict had resulted not so much from the nature of the evidence as from the religious demeanor of Waldron and his followers during the trial proceedings. Rather than alienate jurors as District Attorney Bullard had hoped, the Pentecostal followers had "brought into the courtroom an unmistakable spirit of religious faith and of humble regard for the truth." Rotzel was convinced that this "religious spirit . . . was wholly responsible for breaking down the barrier of prejudice to the extent that a conviction was made impossible on the evidence." Rotzel anticipated that the prosecution would now drop the case rather than try it again. In a long communication to the *New York Post* on February 4, he reasoned that the government "cannot afford to be put in the position of persecuting a man for his religious convictions." Even Baptist State Convention officials, he reported, were "using their influence to have the case dropped."¹⁰⁰

The government, however, determined to retry the case, upholding all three counts of the original indictment, and the second trial opened on March 12, at the federal court in Burlington. Judge Howe again presided, and Vernon A. Bullard again headed the prosecution. Rufus E. Brown of Burlington, a former Vermont attorney general, led Waldron's defense this time, assisted by Burlington attorney M. G. Leary, E. E. Williams of Utica, New York, and Fred Bicknell of Windsor. The funds that made this legal defense possible came from contributions of Windsor's Pentecostal followers.¹⁰¹

The second trial lasted nine days and attracted "more interest than any case which has been tried in Vermont in years."¹⁰² At times it verged on becoming a disorderly entertainment spectacle. During the questioning of prospective jurors, prosecutor Bullard offered descriptions of Pentecostal practices that were "very amusing and the court and spectators were forced to express mirth several times."¹⁰³ On a day when the "Holy Rollers" were scheduled to testify, newspapers reported that "several Catholic priests, Methodist and Episcopal ministers with scores of parishioners from their churches were among the many spectators." They "were treated with an amusing session, full of pep and many sideshows, so to speak, with the four lawyers from the defense all trying

to put in objections at once, the witnesses continuing the testimony and the judge trying to restore order.”¹⁰⁴

The facts presented in the Burlington trial differed little from the first trial, despite newspaper characterizations of the testimony as “sensational in the extreme.”¹⁰⁵ There were alterations in emphasis, however. The prosecution focused heavily on testimony regarding the *Word of the Cross* pamphlet and made certain that its entire content was read into the trial record (in the first trial this had not been done); the defense, in turn, presented evidence of Waldron’s patriotism and the personal nature of his pacifist convictions. “My personal view is that I cannot kill,” defense lawyers elicited from the minister, “however, I do not inflict my views on other people.”¹⁰⁶ Waldron testified that he had never discouraged the young men of his Bible class from enlisting and had never taken them aside to tell them that “a Christian ought not to fight.” He recalled responding to one of the young prosecution witnesses, when asked for his counsel, that “I couldn’t give him advice, personally, because my situation was different. I couldn’t, as a minister, take a gun and kill a man. I told him as I told the other young men, to do their duty as they saw it.”¹⁰⁷

In addition to small differences in emphasis, the Burlington trial did differ in one major respect from the Brattleboro proceedings: Judge Howe disallowed evidence pertaining to the Windsor church controversy. The judge’s changed position became clear in his treatment of the initial two prosecution witnesses, both of whom were former members of Waldron’s Sunday Bible class who had split with him over the Pentecostal influx. A defense attorney, in cross-examination, tried to discredit the first witness “on the grounds that he was prejudiced against Waldron because of his peculiar religious beliefs,” but the effort “was not admitted” by Judge Howe. The defense tried to describe the second prosecution witness as “angry because of Waldron’s affiliation with the Holy Rollers,” but the judge again “put a stop to the Holy Roller talk, saying that the court was not sitting there to try out a church row.”¹⁰⁸ Later, when a defense lawyer tried to initiate a line of questioning relating to the church’s Pentecostal dispute, the judge “ruled that any demonstration of controversy in the church was not material.”¹⁰⁹

With scrutiny of possible religious motives of Waldron’s accusers thus removed, the prosecution was able more easily to focus the trial on the issue of patriotism. In an emotional summation to the jury, Bullard reduced Waldron’s religious beliefs to “propaganda,” which if allowed to spread “would have forever made us subject to the yoke of Germany.” If such propaganda “got a good hold on this country, spread as it was

under the guise of religion, conditions here would be worse than in Russia.” Drawing analogies to fears and anxieties then current in the nation, Bullard asserted that Waldron was “no better than Trotsky, Lenine [sic], the Bolsheviki or the IWW’s of America.”¹¹⁰

Waldron’s own guileless religious perspective became clearer, too, in the Burlington trial. During a dramatic and aggressive four-hour cross-examination by Bullard that “was enough to make almost anyone ill at ease,”¹¹¹ the Bible literalist minister displayed the limitlessness of his faith in, and reliance on, an interventionary God. Waldron, “in a spasmodic flow of words that fell so fast that nobody could catch them,” asserted his belief that prayer was the only real solution for the war. “The way to fight the Kaiser,” he testified, “is to have God send a bolt of lightning as came into Burlington last night and to strike the Kaiser dead. I believe that if every Christian in the nation would get down and pray, God would strike the Kaiser dead and destroy his army.”¹¹²

The case went to the jury on March 19, and shortly before midnight, after eleven hours of deliberations, the panel reached a verdict against “the little minister of Windsor.” The jury found Waldron guilty on Count 2 of the indictment, of willfully attempting to “create insubordination, disloyalty and refusal of duty” in the military forces of the United States by distributing the pamphlet *The Word of the Cross*. On the third count, of willfully obstructing recruitment, the jury found him innocent. As in the Brattleboro trial, the first count had been dropped. Waldron’s Pentecostal supporters, Bibles in hand, had kept a courtroom vigil during the jury deliberations, praying and quietly singing gospel songs, and they remained with the minister as he heard the verdict.¹¹³

Two days later, Judge Howe sentenced Waldron to fifteen years in federal prison. The harshness of the sentence stunned even Waldron’s antagonists, “most people having expected no more than a two or three year term.”¹¹⁴ The minister commenced an appeal but abandoned the effort after a Boston lawyer representing the League for Democratic Control concluded that insufficient grounds existed in the trial record for a successful appeal.¹¹⁵ On April 1 Waldron entered the federal prison in Atlanta, Georgia; his wife and daughter took up residence in Atlanta to be near him.

In November 1918 the war in Europe ended, and a few months later, in the spring of 1919, President Wilson commuted the espionage sentences of a number of federal prisoners, including Clarence Waldron. In announcing the commutations, a spokesman for the U.S. Justice Department stated that “in many of the cases . . . prisoners had been victims of wartime passion or prejudice, and had received long sentences

not commensurate with their offenses." Waldron left the federal prison in Atlanta on April 1, 1919, returning with his wife and daughter to New Jersey and to a Pentecostal ministry.¹¹⁶

Clarence Waldron had the courage to live his beliefs, and his commitment forced him to pay a large price. He was one of approximately two thousand individuals prosecuted during World War I under Title I, Section 3 of the Espionage Act, about half of whom were convicted.¹¹⁷ Fewer than fifty of these prosecutions involved ministers of the gospel,¹¹⁸ even though there were numerous pacifist ministers in the nation's pulpits and several in Vermont during the war years.¹¹⁹ In fact, in two of Windsor's nearby communities, Woodstock and White River Junction, ministers (both of whom were Universalists) left their congregations because of opposition to the war.¹²⁰ They were not prosecuted for crimes, however; the two clergymen simply left town.

In Windsor the coalescing of several local pressures and the nature of the Espionage Act produced a different result. Congress had framed the espionage legislation in language so general that anyone who made an antiwar speech could be liable to charges of "interference" with the draft or enlistment.¹²¹ Consequently, indictment and conviction under the act were often determined as much by local circumstances as by a prosecutor's evidence; statements or actions ignored or merely condemned in one community might be prosecuted in others. In Windsor the Baptist church became inflamed by a dispute over Pentecostalism that split the congregation into bitter factions and attracted the interests of the Vermont Baptist State Convention. In addition, the local Baptists and other Windsorites, as well as Baptist state administrators, had little familiarity with Scripture-based pacifist beliefs of the kind Waldron espoused. They did have intense concern, however, for the patriotic reputation of their town and their institutions, and great popular regard for war leader (and occasional summer visitor) Woodrow Wilson, who had carried their normally Republican community in the 1916 presidential election. Finally, Windsor was a town inclined to be sympathetic with wars, having provided rifles and ammunition for warfare as far back as the Crimean War and the American Civil War. The relationship between war and machine tool expansion was a familiar one to Windsor residents.¹²²

Thus, when Waldron refused to be quiet about his religious beliefs, leave his pulpit, and depart the community, anti-Pentecostal congregation members, augmented by Baptist state officials and supported by sizable numbers of indignant and patriotic townspeople, many of whom owed their economic well-being to the war, settled their scores.

After President Wilson signed the Espionage Act into law, Attorney General Gregory had instructed law enforcement officials that "dis-

cretion” should be used in enforcing Section 3 of the act. It “should not be permitted to become the medium whereby efforts are made to suppress honest, legitimate criticism of the administration or discussion of government policies; nor should it be permitted to become a medium for personal feuds or persecution.”¹²³ Gregory’s call for restraint, however, proved easy to ignore. In Windsor that national legislation, ostensibly directed against spies, provided a way to remove from town an individual whose religious views had split his congregation and embarrassed his denomination’s state hierarchy and whose pacifism, rooted in those same views, had confused and infuriated local patriots. Unleashed by war and harnessed by the federal government to the support of its war policy, patriotic passions in the form of the Espionage Act became in the hands of Windsor citizens a potent instrument for disciplining, harassing, and punishing a neighbor no longer welcome.¹²⁴

NOTES

The author thanks Brian Porto, Kevin Ryan, Michael Sherman, and Deborah Sessions for insightful comments on the manuscript.

¹ *Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States, 1918* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1918), 50.

² Vermont’s overt acts of patriotic excess seem to have been comparatively few, despite the widely reported ouster from the University of Vermont faculty of a German-born professor, and a few other incidents. See, for example, on Professor Anton Hermann Appelmann, Robert V. Daniels, ed., *The University of Vermont: The First Two Hundred Years* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1991), 201; on the case of Seigmund Bloch in St. Albans, *Herald and News* (Randolph), 6 December 1917; on an incident in which a Wilmington high school student refused to salute the American flag, *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 27 March 1918, 28 March 1918, 29 March 1918. Only two cases involving violations of the Espionage Act were prosecuted in Vermont during the war, according to Vermont Federal District Court records. In addition to Waldron, a young creamery employee in Holland, Orleans County, of German descent, was convicted for making pro-German public statements; see *Burlington Free Press*, 20 March 1918, 21 March 1918, 22 March 1918. Another indication of the limits of Vermonters’ response to Wilson administration–orchestrated patriotic ferment was the difficulties experienced by the Vermont chapter of the American Protective League (APL). The APL was a semiofficial intelligence service created by the U.S. Justice Department, an organization of “patriotic” private citizens, with branches in every state, whose members carried cards stating “Secret Service Division” and reported directly to Justice Department officials. APL members were charged with “keeping an eye on disloyal individuals and making reports of disloyal utterances and seeing that the people of the country are not deceived.” The Vermont APL struggled to maintain a full slate of statewide leaders, and an account of wartime APL activity in New England, published in 1919, did not mention Vermont at all. See Horace F. Graham, Gubernatorial Papers relating to World War I, Correspondence, 1917–1918, Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier; Emerson Hough, *The Web: The Authorized History of the American Protective League* (Chicago: Reilly and Lee, 1919); and Joan M. Jensen, *The Price of Vigilance* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968).

³ County Birth Records, Board of Health of the City of Cleveland, 30 December 1885, Cuyahoga County Archives, Cleveland, Ohio; *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 1 September 1916.

⁴ See, for example, U.S. Census, Rockland County, New York, Schedule I, Twelfth Census, 1900 (microfilm).

⁵ See Mildred Bangs Wynkoop, *The Trevecca Story* (Nashville: Trevecca Press, 1976). The school became a four-year institution and changed its name to Trevecca College in 1910.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 33, 37.

⁷ Shirley Fuller, Alumni Office Secretary, Trevecca Nazarene College, correspondence with the author, 3 July 1989.

⁸ Wynkoop, *Trevecca Story*, 37.

⁹ U.S. Census, Sussex County, New Jersey, Schedule I, Thirteenth Census, 1910 (microfilm). For a brief discussion of pacifism in "Holiness," Pentecostal, and millenarian groups in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and their place in the history of American pacifist thought, see Peter Brock, *Pacifism in the United States, from the Colonial Era to the First World War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1968), 918.

¹⁰ *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 22 March 1918.

¹¹ Dr. Larry McKinney, Philadelphia College of the Bible, telephone conversation with the author, 22 June 1992.

¹² See *Minutes of the North New Jersey Baptist Association*, 1909, 1910, 1912, 1913, 1914; and *Minutes of the West New Jersey Baptist Association*, 1911.

¹³ Norman H. Maring, *Baptists in New Jersey: A Study in Transition* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1964), 287.

¹⁴ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 9 April 1915; *Minutes of the North New Jersey Baptist Association*, 1912, 1913, 1914.

¹⁵ *Springfield Reporter*, 10 January 1918.

¹⁶ *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 14 January 1918.

¹⁷ *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918.

¹⁸ *Newark* (New Jersey) *Evening News*, 26 December 1917.

¹⁹ *Minutes of the Vermont Baptist Anniversaries*, 1916.

²⁰ Unpublished history of Windsor Baptist church, pages unnumbered, in possession of church clerk, Trinity Evangelical Free Church, Windsor, Vermont (hereafter cited as Windsor Baptist church history).

²¹ Windsor Baptist church history.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Minutes of the Vermont Baptist Anniversaries*, 1916, 1917.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1917.

²⁵ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 14 April 1916; *Minutes of the Vermont Baptist Anniversaries*, 1916, 1917.

²⁶ Katherine E. Conlin, Wilma Burnham Paronto, and Stella Vitty Henry, *Chronicles of Windsor, 1761-1975* (Taftsville, Vt.: Countryman Press, 1977), 72-73; *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 26 February 1915, 4 August 1916; Guy Hubbard, "Industrial History [Windsor]" (1922), typescript copy in Chaplin Library, Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont.

²⁷ Conlin, Paronto, and Henry, *Chronicles of Windsor*, 224; *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 6 October 1916; U.S. Census, Windsor County, Vermont, Schedule I, Fourteenth Census, 1920 (microfilm).

²⁸ The *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 27 October 1916, reported that "the shanties were located with no attempt at alignment, so that they presented a scene of disorder and primitive civilization." See also *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 15 November 1915, 7 January 1915, 21 January 1915, and 19 November 1915.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 12 May 1916.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 6 October 1916, 20 October 1916, 27 October 1916.

³¹ See Windsor's denominational membership records: *Minutes of the Vermont Baptist Anniversaries*, 1912-1920; *Official Minutes of the Vermont Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1912-1920; *Minutes of the Vermont Congregational Conference*, 1912-1920; *Journal of the Annual Convention of the Diocese of Vermont*, 1912-1920.

³² See chapter 22 of Henry Crocker, *History of the Baptists in Vermont* (Bellows Falls, Vt.: P. H. Gobie Press, 1913).

³³ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 8 December 1916, 24 November 1916, 1 December 1916.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 7 May 1915, 9 April 1915, 2 July 1915.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 28 January 1916, 18 February 1916, 25 February 1916.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 23 July 1915, 30 July 1915.

³⁷ *Minutes of the Vermont Baptist Anniversaries*, 1917.

³⁸ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 21 September 1917; *Springfield Reporter*, 27 December 1917.

³⁹ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 12 October 1917.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 21 September 1917, 5 October 1917.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 12 October 1917.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1 March 1918.

⁴³ *Barre Times*, 16 March 1918.

⁴⁴ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 15 March 1918; *Brattleboro Reformer*, 13 March 1918, 15 March 1918, 25 March 1918; *Vermont Standard* (Woodstock), 21 March 1918.

⁴⁵ Harry N. Scheiber, in his *The Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties, 1917-1921* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960), 16, writes that the CPI's campaign "often seemed geared to persuade the American people that every German soldier was a violent beast; that spies and saboteurs lurked behind every bush; that conscription, bond sales, and 'liberty cabbage' were the greatest national blessings since the Bill of Rights; and that Russian Bolsheviks were merely German agents."

- ⁴⁶ Walter Nelles, *Espionage Act Cases* (New York: National Civil Liberties Bureau, 1918), 1-3.
- ⁴⁷ John T. Cushing and Arthur F. Stone, eds., *Vermont in the World War, 1917-1919* (Burlington: Free Press Printing Co., 1928), 433.
- ⁴⁸ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 13 April 1917, 1 July 1917.
- ⁴⁹ *Elm Tree Monthly and Spirit of the Age* (Woodstock), February 1918.
- ⁵⁰ See, for example, various appointive positions accepted by Windsor manufacturer George O. Gridley, Horace F. Graham to Newton Baker, 27 June 1917, Graham Papers.
- ⁵¹ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 20 November 1914.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 27 July 1917.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, 26 October 1917.
- ⁵⁴ *Bellows Falls Times*, 25 October 1917.
- ⁵⁵ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 26 October 1917; *Bellows Falls Times*, 25 October 1917; Ray H. Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1933; revised 1969), 214. A lengthy summary of Waldron's "patriotic ancestry" is presented in *Springfield Reporter*, 24 January 1918.
- ⁵⁶ *Burlington Daily News*, 23 March 1918; *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918.
- ⁵⁷ *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918.
- ⁵⁸ *Plainfield* (New Jersey) *Courier News*, 28 November 1917.
- ⁵⁹ *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918.
- ⁶⁰ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 30 November 1917; *Plainfield* (New Jersey) *Courier News*, 28 November 1917.
- ⁶¹ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 23 November 1917, 30 November 1917; *Burlington Daily News*, 23 March 1918.
- ⁶² *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 30 November 1917; *Plainfield* (New Jersey) *Courier News*, 28 November 1917; *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918. Two days after his resignation, Waldron and his family departed from Windsor "to take up their residence in Brooklyn, New York." *Plainfield* (New Jersey) *Courier News*, 28 November 1917. In a matter of days, however, the family returned to the Windsor residence.
- ⁶³ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 21 December 1917; *Newark* (New Jersey) *Evening News*, 26 December 1917.
- ⁶⁴ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 26 October 1917.
- ⁶⁵ Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*, 106.
- ⁶⁶ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 14 December 1917, 21 December 1917; *United States of America v. Clarence H. Waldron*, U.S. District Court, District of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont, Criminal docket no. 408.
- ⁶⁷ *Springfield Reporter*, 27 December 1917.
- ⁶⁸ Howe, age forty-five in 1918, had been appointed a federal judge by President Wilson in 1915, after running unsuccessfully as the Democratic candidate for the governorship of Vermont in 1914. He graduated from "the law department" of the University of Michigan in 1894, practiced law in St. Johnsbury, and served in the Vermont legislature prior to his appointment as federal judge. *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 26 February 1915. Howe's own enthusiasm for the U.S. war effort is reflected in a letter from the judge to Harvey E. Goodell, secretary of Civil and Military Affairs in Vermont governor Horace Graham's administration. Howe to Graham, 17 October 1917, Graham Papers.
- ⁶⁹ *Springfield Reporter*, 27 December 1917; *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 21 December 1917; *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918.
- ⁷⁰ President Wilson appointed Bullard to the post of district attorney for the federal district of Vermont in March 1915. *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 5 March 1915. The title of the office Bullard held has since been changed to U.S. attorney.
- ⁷¹ *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918; Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*, 215.
- ⁷² NCLB was predecessor to the American Civil Liberties Union. See Donald O. Johnson, *The Challenge to American Freedoms: World War I and the Rise of the American Civil Liberties Union* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1963).
- ⁷³ *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; Charles Chatfield, *For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914-1941* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971), 55; David J. Goldberg, *A Tale of Three Cities: Labor Organization and Protest in Paterson, Passaic, and Lawrence, 1916-1921* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 103-104. Chairman of LDC was A. J. Muste, an ex-Congregationalist minister who later became a leading U.S. labor leader and peace activist.
- ⁷⁵ Goldberg, *A Tale of Three Cities*, 103-104. See also Harold Rotzel, "Pacifism in the Labor Field," *The World Tomorrow* (March 1926): 81-83; and Chatfield, *For Peace and Justice*, 50, 55, 180.
- ⁷⁶ "Non-Resistant Preacher Guilty," *Survey*, 30 March 1918, 712.
- ⁷⁷ *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918.
- ⁷⁸ *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 9 January 1918.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 14 January 1918.

⁸⁰ Transcripts of the Waldron trials do not exist.

⁸¹ *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 9 January 1918, 10 January 1918. Sherman Everts's brother, Maxwell Everts, sold his ownership in the Windsor Machine Company in 1911. His father was the celebrated New York lawyer William M. Everts. Sherman Everts owned the house on Windsor's Main Street that Clarence Waldron rented as his residence. *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 7 May 1915.

⁸² *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 11 January 1918.

⁸³ *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918.

⁸⁴ *Vermont Standard* (Woodstock), 28 March 1918; *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 11 January 1918; "When Conscience and War Join Issue," *Survey*, 16 February 1918, 551.

⁸⁵ Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*, 215; "When Conscience and War Join Issue," 551-552; *Vermont Standard* (Woodstock), 28 March 1918.

⁸⁶ *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 11 January 1918.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 12 January 1918; *Vermont Standard* (Woodstock), 17 January 1918.

⁸⁸ *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 12 January 1918.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 15 January 1918.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 16 January 1918.

⁹¹ *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918.

⁹² *Burlington Free Press*, 17 January 1918; *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918.

⁹³ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 1 March 1918.

⁹⁴ *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 14 January 1918.

⁹⁵ "When Conscience and War Join Issue," 552.

⁹⁶ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 1 March 1918.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8 March 1918.

⁹⁸ *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 13 March 1918.

⁹⁹ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 1 March 1918.

¹⁰⁰ *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918. In July 1930 Ray Abrams invited W. A. Davison to make a retrospective assessment of the Waldron case. The Baptist official's written response was: "I can see nothing good whatever by answering your questions or stirring up this matter, regarding the Rev. C. H. Waldron, up [sic] again." Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*, 216.

¹⁰¹ *Burlington Free Press*, 20 March 1918. R. C. Bacon, who served as Waldron's attorney in the first trial, requested to Judge Howe that he be allowed to withdraw from further involvement in the case, and Howe granted the request. *Burlington Free Press*, 17 January 1918.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 20 March 1918.

¹⁰³ *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 12 March 1918.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 15 March 1918.

¹⁰⁵ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 15 March 1918.

¹⁰⁶ *Burlington Free Press*, 14 March 1918.

¹⁰⁷ *Barre Daily Times*, 16 March 1918. According to Windsor's Congregational pastor, all the town's Protestant clergymen took the witness stand at this trial, with the Methodist minister giving "damaging testimony for the prosecution and the Unitarian minister . . . equally positive for the defense." Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*, 215. H. C. Peterson and Gilbert Fite, in *Opponents of War, 1917-1918* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 118, state that the Methodist minister in Windsor "resented Waldron's proselyting members" of his congregation.

¹⁰⁸ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 15 March 1918.

¹⁰⁹ *Barre Daily Times*, 16 March 1918.

¹¹⁰ *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 19 March 1918.

¹¹¹ *Burlington Free Press*, 16 March 1918.

¹¹² *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 16 March 1918.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 20 March 1918.

¹¹⁴ *Rutland Herald*, 22 March 1918.

¹¹⁵ "Jottings," *Survey*, 27 July 1918, 484-485.

¹¹⁶ *New York Times*, 6 March 1919. Despite the enforced nature of his stay in Georgia, Waldron did not bear a grudge against that state and its people. Less than a year after his release from prison, he and his wife were back in Georgia with other New Jersey ministers, lodging at the Phoenix Hotel in the railroad city of Waycross, apparently attending a religious meeting. U.S. Census, Ware County, Waycross, Georgia, Schedule I, Fourteenth Census, 1920 (microfilm).

¹¹⁷ Scheiber, *Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties*, 19; Zechariah Chafee, Jr., *Freedom of Speech* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), Appendix II.

¹¹⁸ Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*, 213.

¹¹⁹ Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*, 193-207, cites very incomplete data listing seventy pacifist ministers in the United States in 1917 and 1918. Three of this number occupied Vermont pulpits—one Baptist, one Congregationalist, and one Unitarian—but Abrams provides no specific identification. My

own unsystematic and incomplete research turned up at least three Vermont pacifist ministers, all of whom were forced from their pulpits. One – Waldron – was a Baptist; the other two were Universalists.

¹²⁰ *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 30 March 1917, 18 May 1917.

¹²¹ Scheiber, *Wilson Administration and Civil Liberties*, 28.

¹²² *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 10 November 1916. An example of the churches' lack of familiarity with religious pacifism is the following excerpt from an editorial in the Unitarian periodical *The Christian Register*, 28 March 1918, 294. The editorial asserted that use of the word *pacifist* to describe Waldron was misleading. "The thing of which he was convicted was disloyal action of the darkest kind, and the ugliest word of two syllables comes more nearly to fit the situation. The penalty took into account the important influence of a minister; and we would add, of a preacher in a church whose members are blindly devoted to queer religious ideas. They make susceptible subjects in a time of stress. Give a cause, however wrong-headed, the sanction of a religious teacher, give it the shelter and nurture of a church, and you have the most pernicious and deep-rooted of all problems in hand. The forces of religion in general are marshalled invincibly, we pray, behind the arms of a divine cause, a crusade that marches forth to win the world."

¹²³ Nelles, *Espionage Act Cases*, 2-3.

¹²⁴ Concomitant effects in Windsor were felt in the Baptist church, where membership shrank "from the 90s to the low 40s," and the congregation struggled with six different pastors in the next eight years before the Baptist State Convention closed the church in 1925, "for an indefinite period on account of financial standing." It reopened in 1928. Windsor Baptist church history. Also, the town's budding Pentecostal movement, which Waldron had believed would lead Windsor to "a real religious awakening," died out, tarred by identification with "sympathy with the Kaiser" and denied access to the community's meeting halls by town fathers and the local theater owner. *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 19 March 1918; *Annual Reports of Town Officers of Windsor, Vermont, 1918*, 9; *Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 14 December 1917, 21 December 1917; *New York Evening Post*, 4 February 1918.