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THE FEDERAL COUNCIL
OF THE
CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
WITH
ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO
SOCIAL GOSPEL AND UNIONISM

A Thesis presented to the
Faculty of Concordia Theological Seminary

in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Bachelor of Divinity

by

Herbert A. Hinz

Concordia Seminary
May 30, 1943

Approved by:

J. E. May Jr.
J. Theodore Davelle.

In Dedication

to

The Extension of Our Savior's Kingdom

My Father and my Sainted Mother

A. M. S.

In
Grateful Acknowledgment
to

Dr. Theodore Graebner, for the use of
his valuable files;

Dr. Walter A. Maier, for the use of
his extensive files;

Dr. John Theodore Mueller, for his int-
erest in reading this thesis;

Professor F. E. Mayer, for his unselfish
and unsparing surrender of time to help bring
this paper to completion, for his invaluable
advice, encouragement and interest, and for
the use of his library and files; and

To other friends who encouraged and
assisted the writer.

FOREWORD

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America during the past thirty-odd years has gained an extraordinarily large influence in the affairs of the American Protestant church, and American life and government. It has been thought well, because of the extensive power of the Federal Council, to investigate the Council, with reference to its background, religion and work, with special treatment of those factors which make control by the Federal Council in religious, civil and political life intolerable. It is to a study of such features that this paper is dedicated.

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Chapter 1

ORIGIN AND ORGANIZATION

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America is a federation of Protestant denominations in the United States "for the prosecution of work that can be better done in union than in separation."¹

The program of the Federal Council² shows that much of the work to be done "in union" is social in nature. The social aims of the Federal Council are summarized in the "Social Ideals of the Churches,"³ which were borrowed from Methodism.

The question quite naturally arises as to what prompted churches to enter upon a program so apparently this-worldly. The answer to that problem lies in the history of religious liberalism.

The history of modern religious liberalism begins with F. E. D. Schleiermacher (died 1834), who taught that "feeling" or "immediate self-consciousness" is the center of all religious knowledge.⁴ This teaching made every individual his own authority in religion.

¹So worded in the Constitution of the Federal Council (1932 form), s.v. "Plan of Federation."

²Hereafter referred to by this abbreviated form.

³The General Conference of the Methodist Church adopted the "Social Creed" in 1908. This was taken over in a revised form by the Federal Council. The "Social Ideals of the Churches" are listed in their revised (1932) form in L.P. Qualben, A History of the Christian Church (1936 edition), p. 549.

⁴See H.R. Mackintosh, Types of Modern Theology, pp. 60ff., 75, 95, 101, and J. Horsch, Modern Religious Liberalism, p. 52.

Albrecht Ritschl (died 1889) "made religion still more subjective by demanding that 'every objective teaching is to be tested and judged by the practical value for my own inner life or experience.'"¹ Thus the love of God is true because it has "value" for our lives, whereas it is "an error to put the righteousness of God in opposition to His love."² Ritschl emphasized the Kingdom of God as being the "moral unification of the human race, through action prompted by universal love to our neighbor."³ Sin is not an offense against God, but an "individual phenomenon, each of us in turn being led astray by the bad influences emanating from our collective life."⁴ The antidote to "sin" would then be the "Kingdom." This idea becomes prominent in the social gospel.

A later aspect of religious liberalism is the historico-religious method, which seeks to explain Christianity as being but one in a related series of religions. Mackintosh formulates this thesis of the historico-religionists thus: "All religions come within a uniform field of development, though not in a single line of evolution. The deepest thing in them is...mystical and intuitive contact with the supersensible... It exhibits a real forward movement... One religion amongst the others is Christianity."⁵ This school teaches that the facts of history must be in-

¹Popular Symbolics (CPH), p. 360

²See Mackintosh, op. cit., pp. 145-154, 172, et al.

³Quoted by Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 162

⁴Quoted by Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 151

⁵Quoted by Mackintosh, op. cit., pp. 159-160

⁵Op. cit., p. 201

terpreted in their settings (relativism),¹ so that Christianity is "not valid forever," but "has power only under concrete and historical conditions under which it first arose."² Troeltsch's main interest lay in "translating Christianity into the present social consciousness of mankind."³ Thus Christianity is regarded as a religion particularly fitted to cope with the social problems of this time. The social note is very evident.

The leader in liberalizing American theology was Horace Bushnell (died 1872), who also insisted upon experience in theology.⁴ Additional influences⁵ bearing upon religious liberalism in America were evolutionism, pragmatism, the social "sciences"⁶ and the "social gospel." The last of these, the social gospel, has come to enjoy a position of dominance in modern theological thinking. Its undue influence is due largely to the work of Walter Rauschenbusch, its chief prophet.

The prevailing thought of Modernism today is that the empirical method is the one source of religious knowledge, that there is no a priori truth, but that truth is found through experience, and is relative. The scientific method, particularly the social sciences, is the means of finding truth.⁷

¹Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 198

²Mackintosh, op. cit., pp. 211-212

³Mackintosh, op. cit., p. 216

⁴Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel, p. 5

⁵Professor F.E.Mayer, Mimeographed Notes for Comparative Symbolics, s.v. "Modernism," p. 55

⁶For criticism see F.E.Mayer, op. cit., p. 56

⁷F.E.Mayer, op. cit., p. 56

The "scientific" method, put into practise, has shown that God is a loving being--a concept representing the highest ideals of man, and that man is an embryonic god, who will reach perfection under ideal, social, moral and economic conditions. Sin is not personal sin, but only the evil influence emanating from social customs and institutions, and absorbed by the individual from the group. "Immoral society" is responsible for man's "backsliding." Therefore the work of the churches consists primarily of applying the "social teachings of Jesus" to our modern society, particularly the fatherliness of God, the brotherhood of man, and the supreme worth of the individual. The social gospel is the message of the church and aims to establish¹ the "kingdom of God" as a purely this-worldly kingdom.² This definition of the work of the church is a definition of the social gospel.

The powerful influence of the social gospel upon present-day religious thought compels us to review briefly the history of the rise of the "new" gospel.

The beginning of the social gospel in its modern sense is closely connected with liberalism in American theology. Hopkins asserts that "the social gospel of Washington Gladden and others" stemmed directly from Horace Bushnell, "the great liberalizer of mid-nineteenth century American

¹Advocates of the social gospel are not agreed on the manner in which the "kingdom" is to be brought in. One class holds that it is to be brought in by means of a "militant crusade against capitalism"; another, by education of the masses; and a third, by a "divine catastrophe." (F.E.Mayer, op. cit., p. 57)

²F.E.Mayer, op.cit., pp.56-57

theology."¹ Liberalism provided a new religious basis for the social work of the churches, and Calvinism, with its idea that "God is the source of all authority and power in civil government,"²—that therefore the church is to direct the state, supplied the weapon of political action. The product resulting therefrom is the "new gospel."

Organizations³ for the spreading of social gospel principles in America appeared as early as 1872, when the "Christian Labor Union" of Boston came into being. The Episcopal Church was one of the first churches to take note officially of the labor problem,⁴ a problem which by 1880 had become the gravest issue in industry.⁵ Other churches took up the question, the American Methodists especially showing an active concern "to bridge the gulf between the masses and the church."⁶

Individuals⁷ actively concerned at this time to establish the new social gospel ideas were J.H.W. Stuckenberg, Washington Gladden, Josiah Strong, T. Ely, David Jayne Hill, E. Benjamin Andrews and Edward Bellamy. Their contribution was the introduction into the churches and the popularization of the sociological sciences. Gladden published a

¹Hopkins, op. cit., p. 5

²Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 17f.

³See Hopkins, op. cit., passim, for the history of organizations set up for this purpose.

⁴Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 38f.

⁵See Sweet, The Story of Religions in America (Rev.) pp. 507ff., also Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 98-117

⁶Hopkins, op. cit., p. 113

⁷See G.B. Smith, Religious Thought in the Last Quarter Century, pp. 229ff., and Hopkins, op. cit., passim

number of books dealing with social questions, and Strong helped to popularize the conception of the kingdom of God as a social ideal.¹ Another "social prophet," who preached the "gospel of social salvation through sacrifice," was George D. Herron.² The greatest "prophet of the social gospel," however, was Walter Rauschenbusch, who came into great prominence after the publication in 1907 of his book Christianity And the Social Crisis. This book established Rauschenbusch as the leader of the social gospel movement.³ Rauschenbusch placed the "kingdom of God" at the center of his argument. He declared that the kingdom idea was the result of translating the theory of evolution into religious terms. He saw the kingdom as a collective conception involving the whole social life of man, and based his criticism of modern society and his program for its reformation on his belief in an immanent, active God.⁴ He laid down five "fundamental" requisites for a Christian economic order: social justice, collective property rights, industrial democracy, approximate equality, and cooperation.⁵ and looked upon the economic system as "the key to the spiritual conquest of the modern world."⁶ Walter Rauschenbusch interpreted all traditional Christian doctrines in social terms. Thus the social gospel was for him "the old message of salvation, but enlarged and intensified," so as to "bring men under repentance for their collective

¹Smith, op. cit., p. 251

²For his work see Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 138, 184-200

³Hopkins, op. cit., p. 218

⁴Hopkins, op. cit., p. 221

⁵Hopkins, op. cit., p. 224

⁶Hopkins, op. cit., p. 227

sins and to create a more sensitive and more modern conscience."¹
The work of Rauschenbusch did much to entrench and spread the social gospel.

A vast amount of literature appeared during the years in which the social gospel was gaining a solid foothold in the churches. Unique among the different types of literature was the "social gospel novel."² These novels were stories which based their appeal upon religious idealism, sympathy, novelty of the cures proposed, and upon stewardship. They were very successful in bringing the social gospel closer to the common mind. One single item of literature was particularly responsible for the idea that the government has to give its assistance to the church in improving man. This was a report of social conditions in Chicago, with proposed remedies, by William T. Stead, a British journalist. As a result of his work the Chicago Civic Federation was born. Stead had asserted: "The assistance of the government is indispensable to improvement."³ Other literature influenced the spread of the social gospel.

A significant effect of both religious liberalism and the social gospel was the rise of movements toward church federation. This was a natural effect. For the religious

¹Hopkins, op. cit., p. 232

²The most successful of these novels was Charles Sheldon's In His Steps: What Would Jesus Do? This book by 1933 had sold over 23,000,000 copies in English, and had been translated into 21 foreign languages. (Hopkins, op. cit., p.143). It is still a best seller.

³Quoted by Hopkins, op. cit., p. 148

liberal there are no doctrinal reasons which warrant "isolationism" and denominationalism, whereas the tenets of the social gospel call for united efforts in the direction of influencing "proper" legislation. The arrangement which would be perhaps most nearly ideal for the social gospeler would be complete organic union of all the churches, so that the churches would be welded into one solid unit for "bringing in the kingdom." However, since a union of such a nature was simply out of the question, the apostles of union had to content themselves with cooperation and federation of churches to accomplish their purpose. As a result, various leagues and federations did arise.

One such organization was the "Open and Institutional Church League," formed in 1894.¹ It was a forerunner of the Federal Council. This League hoped to bring about social salvation by means of an aggressive, evangelistic, educational and institutional program. Dr. Elias B. Sanford, a prominent figure in the League, very early broached the subject of a possible relation between social service and church union.² This idea gave immediate rise to state and local federations, and undoubtedly was largely responsible for the later organization known as the Federal Council.

The year following, 1895, the "Federation of Churches and Christian Workers in New York City" arose. This organization did much to stimulate church federation, devel-

¹On "institutional" churches and their work see Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 154-156, 251-252., and John A. Hutchison, We Are Not Divided, pp. 22-25

²Hutchison, op. cit., p. 24

oped the religious survey,¹ and was in large part responsible for the churches becoming recognized as significant social service centers. Thus the movement toward larger federations grew.

In the meantime schools and universities were beginning to take over responsibility for the sociological education of the clergy, with Chicago University, under the leadership of Shailer Mathews, A.W. Small, and Charles R. Henderson, becoming the most important center.²

The attitude of the churches over against socialism changed remarkably in the course of the years. At first the churches rejected socialism, but they later came to regard socialism as a spiritual means to a social end.³ Societies developed to spread the socialist teachings in the churches. The "Christian Socialist Fellowship" was organized in 1906, with the aim to show that "socialism is the economic expression of the religious life."⁴ Other groups arose to gather and spread sociological data for use in the churches.⁵ So widespread did the interest in social service become that by the years immediately preceding the first World War almost all religious bodies had established social service commissions. The churches which took the lead in the "social awakening" were the Methodist groups. They took a leading part in the temperance movement and in the fight for the abolition of child labor. The Methodist Episcopal Church (North) under-

¹Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 274-279

²Sweet, op. cit., pp. 512ff.

³Hopkins, op. cit., p. 183

⁴Hopkins, op. cit., p. 241

⁵Hopkins, op. cit., chapter 16

took social action officially largely as the result of the efforts of a voluntary organization pushing social Christianity within Methodism, and by December 7, 1907, it organized the "Methodist Federation for Social Service." In 1908 the General Conference adopted a "Social Creed,"¹ which with a few variations became the Federal Council's "Social Creed of the Churches."

Methodists, it may be noted, were always very active in union movements, carrying their hope for the reunion of Christendom from Wesley, who had hoped that Methodism would be the nucleus for such reunion. A Methodist was a "most influential" delegate to the organization meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in London in 1846, others took an important part at the World Evangelical Alliance meeting in Berlin, in 1857. Methodists were influential in establishing the American branch of the Alliance, and likewise in the formation of the Federal Council. A Methodist, E.R. Hendrix, became the first president of the Federal Council. Methodists were also prominently represented at the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1927.

The various forces operating for church union in 1901 brought about the "National Federation of Churches and Christian Workers," whose task was to establish another organization which would represent interdenominational attitude and action on a non-theological basis. This body met from

INTERCHURCH
CONFERENCE ON
FEDERATION

November 15-21, 1905, at Carnegie Hall,
New York. Official delegates from thirty

¹See Hopkins, op. cit., p. 291

denominations attended. The chief item of business was the "Plan of Federation," which in 1908 became the constitution of the Federal Council.

Theological differences had not prevented the leaders of this conference from working together. Thus, for example, William H. Roberts, who had done much of the preparatory work connected with the meeting, was a conservative Presbyterian, while the chairman of the committee in charge of the Conference was William Hayes Ward, a Congregational liberal. This was the spirit of unionism.

One purpose of this body was the promotion of fellowship among its members. This furtherance was put into action on the first Sunday of the conference, when each minister was appointed to preach in the pulpit of some church other than his own.¹ Such action was, of course, unionism.

A significant occurrence at this conference was a debate over the inclusion in the "Plan of Federation" of the word "divine" before "Lord and Savior." The word was finally included. Apparently this word excluded Unitarians from the organization to be set up, though actually also the Unitarians can speak of Christ as "divine."² The liberals within Christian denominations certainly did not let the word stand in the way of their membership in the later Federal Council.

For practical purposes this meeting represented the beginning of the Federal Council, though the Council was not organized as such until three years later. And already

¹E.B. Sanford, Origin and History of the FC..., p. 211

²See Horsch, op. cit., Chapter 9, pp. 75-83

The new organization took action immediately on social problems of the day.¹ Sanford led in a movement of protest concerning charges of cruelty to natives of the Belgian Congo. He spoke to church groups throughout the country, conferred with Secretary of State Elihu Root, addressed a long letter to President Roosevelt, and organized a campaign of protest to Congress. During this same period the Executive Committee of the National Federation led a successful campaign to stop race track gambling in New York State, used its influence to secure more stringent divorce laws for South Dakota, and treated problems of temperance, immigration, and cooperation in home missions. It likewise established cordial relations with the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A.

Such activities showed that the purpose of the newly proposed Council was not to change the character of men by means of the power of God's Word, and thus to better the world, but to improve society and consequently also the individual by legal enactments. Such work showed a woeful lack of understanding of the real nature of sin as an offense against God, as well as ignorance of the true work of the Church. The task which this body assumed for itself was to become the conscience and guide of the government. That "task" is a prominent feature of the social gospel.

The first meeting of the Federal Council was held at Philadelphia from December 2-8, 1908. The opening address² by the presiding officer, W.H. Roberts, bears scrut-

¹See Hutchison, op. cit., p. 37, and Sanford, op. cit., Chapter 14.

²Ibidem, pp. 245-248

iny. The speaker stressed the "fact" of the "substantial unity of the Christian Churches of the Nation." This "substantial unity" does not exist. As a second "fact" the speaker ORGANIZATIONAL produced the assertion that cooperation was MEETING OF THE needed "for the moral and spiritual welfare FEDERAL COUNCIL of the nation and of the world." Previous activities of the National Federation had shown the needed cooperation to be united effort in political and social gospel action, not cooperation in the proclamation of the one message which can save men's souls. The fact is that these men could not have cooperated in preaching the Gospel of salvation through the redeeming blood of Christ if they had wanted to, because many of them simply did not possess this Gospel, and were unwilling to turn to it. A final "fact" impressed by Roberts was "that the Council witnesses to the truth that the only enduring hope for the salvation, progress and perfection of mankind, in this and all lands, is to be found in faith in and obedience to Jesus Christ as the divine Savior..." However, there is no "perfection of mankind" outside the imputed righteousness of faith, and, as with the first "fact," the actions of the National Federation had shown that under the terms "salvation" and "faith" social salvation by the work of men was understood.

The newly organized Federal Council at once set up machinery for the furtherance of "Christian union." It recommended that the several churches of the Council formally encourage, or at least authorize, their constituent bodies to enter into cooperation and federation with the constituencies

of other denominations in their states for fuller and more efficient work.¹ The Council set up a committee on "Organization and Development," whose duty was to develop a secretarial force to help organize state and local federations of churches for "the unifying of religious forces in the advancement of great movements that concern Christians of every name and demand their concerted action, if the church is to lead effectively in the conquest of the world for Christ."² Unfortunately this "conquest for Christ" meant only the winning of the world for the social gospel. The leaders of the Council also planned to establish as rapidly as possible offices in strategic centers of population, for the purpose of establishing more and more federations of the churches. Thus this Council made clear its intention to unite the churches and revolutionize the social order.

The Federal Council also took up the problem of labor and industry at this meeting. The Council declared "that the complex problems of modern industry can be interpreted and solved only by the teachings of the New Testament, and that Jesus Christ is final authority in the social as in the individual life."³ The Council regarded the fundamental purpose of the labor movement as ethical. To express its attitude on this question the Federal Council adopted the Methodist Social Creed. It urged the churches to socialize their message and to take cognizance of movements for the

¹Sanford, op. cit., p. 254

²Ibidem

³From the Report of the Committee on the Church and Modern Industry (now Commission on the Church and Social Service), quoted in Sanford, op. cit., p. 495

betterment of social and industrial conditions.

Pacifism found expression at this early meeting. The Council placed itself on record as declaring that war is evil, and that the Council favored the creation of the International Court of Arbitral Justice proposed by the Second Hague Conference.¹ The unqualified statement that war is evil found expression eventually in the declaration that war is the "world's chief collective sin."

The new Council considered also other problems and topics, such as those of marriage, divorce, "Week Day Instruction in Religion," and others dealing with most phases of human life.

The great weakness in all this expenditure of effort was the delusion that character in individuals was to be produced by the Church through its evangelical and educational program. A deep insight into the true nature and terrible consequences of sin is simply absent from the records. The Kingdom of God is misconstrued as an earthly kingdom to be brought in by consecrated men.

The tragic consequence of such woeful misconstruction and misapplication of God's Word is that the entire philosophy and policy of the Federal Council has turned into a channel away from God's Word and opposed to God's will, while the pure treasure of the Gospel is allowed to lie unused, uncared for, under an ever-increasing heap of rubbish. The consequent history of the Federal Council will show that this judgment is not too severe.

¹Sanford, op. cit., p. 263

Chapter 2

THE THEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL

The constitution of the Federal Council declares that the Council "shall have no authority over the constituent bodies... to draw up a common creed or form of government or of worship, or in any way to limit the full autonomy of the Christian bodies adhering to it."¹ These words apparently prevent the Council from promoting any particular theological position. Actually, examination of the writings and utterances of prominent leaders in the Federal Council reveals that the latter is committed to a definite point of view in theology, namely to Modernism.

The commitment of the Federal Council to Modernism has come about through a small group of Modernists who are in control of the Council. Various factors have made it possible for such a group to gain and maintain control. A large measure of power has been vested in the Executive Committee,² which has authority to do all business of the Council in the intervals of its meetings and to fill all vacancies, and to which the Departments and Standing Committees are subject.³ This Committee also has large powers of appointment and nomination,⁴ which enable it to place men of its own preference in important, key positions.

¹Revised (1932) Constitution, "Plan of Federation," 4
²Personnel and function of Executive Committee defined by Constitution, s.v. "Plan of Federation," 9 section c. Cf. section b. See also By-Laws, Article IV.
³Constitution, By-Laws, Article VI.
⁴See Constitution, "Plan of Federation," 9b and e.

Another factor which makes it possible for the leaders of the Federal Council to exercise remarkable control is their non-accountability to the various member denominations. Hutchison calls attention to the fact that the Council "has never been tied too closely to the denomination either with respect to financial support or formulation of program."¹ The Commissions and Committees are responsible only to the Executive Committee, and are thus semi-autonomous. Hutchison describes the implications of such semi-autonomy: "...ignored by the churches, these commissions went their way under the guidance of individuals deeply concerned about their objects. When the program had attained sufficient proportions and momentum the churches were confronted with an accomplished fact. The Council then had a potent leverage by which to influence church opinion..."² Nor is the Council altogether financially accountable to the denominations. Thus in 1928 the constituent bodies contributed only \$89,284 for a budget of \$409,935.³

Thus it is evident that the member churches of the Council have little control over the policies of the Council. Financial pressure could not effect a change because most of the Council's funds come from without the membership. Those within the Council desiring change might attempt to bring it about by judicious use of the ballot at the bi-ennial meetings, but the weakness there is the support for candidates to office nominated from the floor easily could be too scattered to be

¹We Are Not Divided, pp. 310-311

²Ibidem, pp. 60f.

³See Hutchison, Ibidem, pp. 57f., on the Federal Council's sources of income.

effective.

One effective means of registering protest against the policies of the Council's leadership remains open. That method is withdrawal from the membership of the Council.¹ To many, however, that seems too drastic a step, and they do not take it. Other church bodies do not withdraw because they are themselves under the control of men in sympathy with the Council, or because their members actually do not know anything about the Federal Council. Nevertheless, withdrawal from Council membership seems to remain the most effective way for the individual congregation or denomination to compel variation of policy on the part of the Council leadership.

In view of the apparent ease with which a particular element may perpetuate its control over the Federal Council it becomes obvious that the character of the group in established control will have a great deal to do with the general policy of the Council as such. Therefore we are interested in the theological position of the Council's leaders.

We shall first investigate the religious beliefs of the presidents of the Council, together with the views of some LEADERS ARE MODERNISTIC AND RADICAL of them on political issues. The first president of the Council, E.R. Hendrix, seems to have been conservative. His successor, Dean Shailer Mathews, was definitely liberal, as is to be seen from his defense of Robert Ingersoll² and from his definition of God

¹See Hutchison, op. cit., for changes and causes therefor in membership of the Council, pp. 56f.

²"The time is past when...Ingersoll can be considered as a "veritable anti-Christ." From The Constructive Quarterly, p. 106, March 1913, quoted by Horsch, op. cit., p. 7

as "those elements of the cosmic activity with which personal relations are possible."¹

Frank Mason North, third president of the Federal Council, stressed the social gospel, asserting that the church must stand for human progress, and must accept its "social mission." North was the originator of what soon came to be known as the "Social Creed of the Churches."²

Robert E. Speer was a defender of "flagrant Modernism," according to a charge made against him by a Presbyterian missionary in India.³ and an advocate of the social gospel.⁴ He was also a vice president of the Anti-Saloon League.⁵

S. Parkes Cadman has been charged with denying the infallibility of the Bible, the Virgin Birth, deity of Jesus, and the miracles of Jesus.⁶ Furthermore he declared that "the day is past when any realm of our economic, social, political or international life will be regarded as outside the sphere of the responsibility of the churches."⁷

Francis J. McConnell was a member and supporter of several Communistic parties and organizations.⁸ His religious liberalism is manifested in the following statement from his book The Christlike God: "I repeat again that I have not the slightest objection to what might be called the total-humanizing

¹The Atonement and the Social Process, p. 37, quoted by Horsch, op. cit., p. 65. See also, Horsch, op. cit., pp. 85, 184.

²Hutchison, op. cit., pp. 46f.

³Sunday School Times, July 25, 1936

⁴See Hutchison, op. cit., p. 93

⁵See diagram in "Green Book"

⁶H.H. Springer, Termites, p. 31

⁷Handbook of the Churches, 1930, p. 7

⁸G.R. Post, Is the Federal Council a Dead Issue?, p. 23

of the Christlike in regard to actual earthly conditions."¹
In the same book McConnell declares that the "tendency to deify Jesus" is "more heathen than Christian."²

Albert W. Beaven was one of the signers of a letter to President Roosevelt urging him to go farther to the "left."³ The Sunday School Times said of him that he is "of Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, well known as one of the most liberal and modernistic of our theological seminaries."⁴

Ivan Lee Holt, writing in the Christian Century of October 11, 1939, says of the Church that it is not primarily an institution but a community fellowship, "the Community of the holy imagination; that it "possessed the liquid fire of human ethical energy before it crystallized into creed or code or institution--The Christian community possessed something which no man had for himself."⁵

Edgar DeWitt Jones was a member of Communist organizations,⁶ and a defender of the "killing, by Communist-led firing squads, of priests and nuns in Spain."⁷

George A. Buttrick stamped himself as Modernist by his signature on the "Auburn Affirmation,"⁸ a denial of inspiration, the Virgin Birth, the atonement, resurrection and miracles of Jesus. He declared his Modernism in the pamphlet Is There Room for the Preacher Today?, where he says: "Admittedly

¹See editorial comment in The Presbyterian, May 2, 1929

²Quoted by G.R. Post, op. cit., p. 49

³Ibidem, p. 25

⁴July 25, 1936

⁵Quoted by G.R. Post, op. cit., p. 24

⁶Ibidem, p. 31

⁷"The Federal Council Speaks," (pamphlet), p. 4

⁸See E. Rian, Presbyterian Conflict

God is a faith--'our dearest faith.' Admittedly God is a doubt--'our ghastliest doubt.' Perchance He must be a faith and doubt if life is to keep its courage and knowledge, its zeal..."¹ The pamphlet, "The Federal Council Speaks," marks Buttrick as decidedly Communistic in his sympathies. Mrs. Post records this comment on Buttrick from the United Church of Canada: "How the churches in America could put such a blatant infidel at its head is a surprise to me."²

Luther A. Weigle stated in a pamphlet written in 1931 that a revival of religion "will not come through the reiteration of time-worn dogmas."³ The pamphlet, "The Federal Council Speaks," lists Weigle as having been connected with the War Resisters League, the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, and the National Religion and Labor Foundation.⁴

The most recently elected president of the Federal Council is Henry St. George Tucker. We find the following statement by him in the December 20, 1942 issue of the Living Church: "If the Christian Church is to be a vital factor in the solution of the problems that confront us at the present time, the activities of its various branches must be coordinated... Evil is so firmly entrenched in human society that we cannot hope to dislodge it by scattered, disconnected assaults. The Federal Council offers us an opportunity to coordinate

¹Pamphlet issued by the Department of Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church, quoted by Post, op. cit., pp. 43f.

²op. cit., p. 44

³From The New Paganism and the Coming Revival, quoted by Horsch, op. cit., p. 227

⁴See appendix on radical organizations

our efforts and thus enable Christ to fulfill in our time His promise that against His Church 'the gates of hell shall not prevail.'" (italics mine). These words indicate that also Tucker will hew to the line of the social gospel.

Such, then, are the presidents of the Federal Council. It may be that the general secretaries of the Council are in an even more important and strategic position to influence Council policy than are the presidents. It is certain that two of these secretaries, who have been associated with the Council for most of its life, exercised very considerable influence in the Council.

Charles S. Macfarland has held various offices within the Council from the time of its inception, having been General Secretary most of the time, from 1913 until the 'thirties. Hutchison attributes the Council's place of leadership and authority to Macfarland.¹ Macfarland is the arch unionist. He declared: "I am willing to talk with men upon almost any other subject but that of Christian unity. The important thing is to get them together to show them the common social task."² To Macfarland doctrine is only a hindrance to union.

Samuel McCrea Cavert for a time worked together with Macfarland as secretary, later becoming sole General Secretary. Cavert reveals his theology in the following excerpt from a sermon on July 10, 1932: "For who can trace mankind from an amoeba in the slime to the brilliant mind of Einstein

¹Op. cit., p. 61

²Quoted Horsch, op. cit., p. 187

without knowing that there is progress?"¹

Others have spoken for the Council. Frederick Lynch was the first secretary of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration, organized in October, 1911. A book by Lynch, entitled The Peace Problem, identifies the Kingdom of God with the "coming international brotherhood," and identifies God with the "immanent force of evolution which is to bring about the brotherhood."²

Sidney L. Gulick did important work for the Council as secretary of the Commission of Oriental Relations. Gulick, in a book called The Fight for Peace, states that Jesus' followers are "to suffer with Him in the redemption of the world, transforming it from what it is into what it ought to be."³ Gulick, as Lynch, identifies the Kingdom of God with a worldwide brotherhood. Atonement is regarded "not only as a mystery to be appreciated and a doctrine to be believed but as a force to control life..."⁴

Mary E. Woolley was chairman of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill in 1937. Mrs. Post indicts her as a rabid pacifist, and as a member of various Communistic organizations, e.g., the American Civil Liberties Union, of which she was vice chairman, and which Earl Browder himself identified as a Communist transmission belt.⁵

Roswell P. Barnes in 1940 was Acting Executive

¹Reported by the New York Times, July 11, 1932. Quoted in Post, op. cit., p. 48

²See Hutchison, op. cit., pp. 168f.

³Quoted by Hutchison, op. cit., p. 169

⁴Ibidem, p. 170

⁵Post, op. cit., p. 28. See appendix

secretary of the Department of the Church and Social Service, an Associate General Secretary with Cavert and J.Q. Miller, and editor of the Federal Council Bulletin.¹ "The Federal Council Speaks" identifies Barnes as a member of the Socialist Party, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters League, the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the National Religion and Labor Foundation, the Emergency Peace Campaign, and the extremely Communistic American Youth Congress.

Harry F. Ward, professor of Union Theological Seminary of New York, is militantly pacifistic and Communistic. He is listed by the "The Federal Council Speaks" as a member of the Methodist Federation for Social Service, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, American League for Peace and Democracy, North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the American Civil Liberties Union and the United Christian Council for Democracy.

Kirby Page has worked with the Federal Council's Department of International Good Will. In his book, The Abolition of War, he declares:

"For me to sanction or participate in war would mean the adoption of attitudes and practices which I regard as an absolute repudiation of Jesus' way of life. I do not believe that a man can ever serve his country or humanity most effectively by abandoning that way of life. In proportion as a citizen really follows Jesus he becomes a true servant of his country. Therefore, I feel under obligation to disobey any law that would compel me to engage in war and thus deny my Lord and betray humanity."

Mr. Page was a speaker highly recommended by the Federal Council.

¹1941 Yearbook of the Churches

E. Stanley Jones stands very high in the favor of the Federal Council, is even called "the Modern Saint Paul."¹ He is thoroughly Communistic and unionistic,² and in Christ of the Mount he suggests that we "open our minds to the best in other faiths."³

We may mention one name more, that of Harry Emerson Fosdick. This man touched off the "Presbyterian Conflict" through his denial of the virgin birth, inspiration, atonement, second advent of Christ and other fundamental doctrines.⁴ His religious views are well known.

Such are the men who control the Federal Council. It is therefore no surprise to find the Council committed to the Modernistic viewpoint in theology. Further examination of the Council will reveal that the out-
MOUTHPIECE OF MODERNISM
lets of thought of the Federal Council are controlled by Modernism. Radio is an important outlet. Let us see what the Federal Council has done in this field.

RADIO The Federal Council began⁵ its work with religious radio in 1923 with an appeal by the Evangelism Commission to city federations and religious leaders to get broadcast time on their local stations. In 1926 the Committee of Religious Activities of the Advisory Council of the NBC was formed, with three co-chairmen representing Protestants, Catholics and Jews respectively. Macfarland "represented"

¹Post, op. cit., p. 22

²See section on Unionism

³Quoted Post, op. cit., p. 47

⁴Cf. Rian, op. cit., p. 31

⁵See Hutchison, op. cit., for a brief history of religious radio, pp. 285ff.

the Protestants until 1931. The Federal Council, which delegated this task to Macfarland, had "assumed" the "responsibility" for national religious radio.¹ Such arrogation of authority on the part of the Council points to a desire to exercise complete control over religious radio. Macfarland admitted that this is the wish of the Federal Council. As secretary of the General Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Macfarland reputedly stated that the Federal Council was then (1938-9) working on a plan to sign up local stations "with iron-clad contracts obliging them to use the Federal Council religious programs and none other," so that "in the future no denomination or church will be able to secure any time whatever on the air unless they are willing to pay prohibitively high prices for brief periods of broadcast." Macfarland asserted that it would be a "wise policy" for the Federal Council to control all religious broadcasting, making it impossible for "denominational conventions to get on the air and for pastors to broadcast sermons without Federal Council sanction."² By 1938 the Federal Council controlled more than twenty-five chain programs.³

In 1928 the NBC made a statement of policy which is very significant both to religion and to radio. This policy of the NBC expresses exactly Federal Council thought. We quote it here:

"1. The National Broadcasting Company will serve only the central or national agencies of great religious faiths, as for example, the Roman Catholic, Protestant

¹Ibidem, p. 287

²Christian Faith and Life, January, 1939, p. 23.

³Hutchison, op. cit., p. 288

or Jewish as distinguished from individual churches or small group movements where the national membership is comparatively small.

"2. The religious message broadcast should be non-sectarian and undenominational in appeal.

"3. The religious broadcast message should be of the widest appeal presenting the broad claims of religion which not only aid in building up the personal and social life of the individual but also aid in popularizing religion and the church.

"4. The religious message broadcast should interpret religion at its highest and best so that as an educational factor it will bring the individual listener to realize his responsibilities to the organized church and to society.

"5. The national religious messages should only be broadcast by the recognized outstanding leaders of the several faiths as determined by the best counsel and advice obtainable."¹

Such a policy securely shackles testimony against error and unbelief.

The Federal Council maintains a Department of Religious Radio, whose function is the "coordination of non-network programs" and the choosing of themes for emphasis, e.g., missions, Bible, racial and religious goodwill.² One wonders whether the term "coordination" does not mean the bringing of smaller stations into line with the policies of the Federal Council.

The list of speakers approved by the Federal Council includes S. Parkes Cadman, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Ralph W. Sockman and others similar to them. "The Federal Council Speaks" includes Sockman with Cadman and Fosdick on its list of radicals. Fundamentalists are thus kept off the air by "crowding-out" processes. Other methods have been used to keep Christ-centered messages off the air.³

¹Quoted Hutchison, op. cit., p. 288

²Ibidem, p. 289

³See Post, op. cit., pp. 32ff., Springer, Termites, pp. 53ff.

Thus the "Lutheran Hour" has had to buy all of its time. This is a further indication that the Federal Council has committed itself to Modernism.

NATIONAL PREACHING MISSION Another outlet for the Modernism of the Federal Council was its National Preaching Mission begun in 1934 by the Department of Evangelism. The Council declared the purpose of this Mission to be:

"The mission, therefore, solemnly conscious on the one hand of the devastating power of sin in human lives and on the other, triumphantly aware of the redeeming, transforming Grace of God in Christ, shall seek to teach and preach in its fullness the Gospel of our common Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ; to confront through group contacts and public meetings as well the clear thought and courageous will of the American people as their finer feeling and best tradition; in a civilization which irreligion is on the verge of destroying and in the midst of which it has become an imperative necessity in the high cause of the future that Christianity should gird itself for a real struggle, to stress once more the reasonableness of the Christian faith in the Personal God, its aptness to the deepest needs and farthest aspirations of human life and its redemptive, creative power in the organizing and shaping of a bewildered society toward the standards and ideals of the Kingdom of God."¹

The Sunday School Times calls attention to this that there is nothing said here of salvation for lost souls through the blood of Christ as the sinner's Substitute, that there is here no "offense of the Cross," but that there is appeal to men's pride.²

The Mission was planned for the autumn of 1936, but was continued through 1937. It covered a total of forty-one cities, and reached a claimed total of 1,629,215 people.³

¹1935 Report, p. 105, quoted Hutchison, op. cit., pp. 280-1.

²July 25, 1936

³Hutchison, op. cit., p. 283

People such as George Buttrick, E. D. Jones, A. M. Bailey, Sherwood Eddy and Muriel Lester prepared pamphlets for distribution. Hutchison describes the program of the Mission in We Are Not Divided.¹ Speakers included such Modernists as Albert W. Beaven, Ivan Lee Holt, E. Stanley Jones, Lynn Harold Hough and Robert E. Speer. Some conservatives were also represented.

The declared purpose of the National Preaching Mission and the religious liberalism of many of the speakers precludes the possibility that this Mission could have had a very great beneficial effect upon the spiritual life of the nation.

UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MISSION The Federal Council has interested itself also in the life of the youth of the nation. One of the agencies which the Federal Council has used to do its work with young people was the University Christian Mission, begun in 1937. Other organizations assisted the Federal Council in this venture.² The purpose of this Mission was "to lead students and teachers to a vital faith in God as revealed in Jesus Christ, the Savior and Lord of Life and to a thorough commitment to His Cause in the World."³ Some of the speakers who were to accomplish this purpose were Mary Wolley, John Mackay, a Barthian, A. J. Muste, a pacifist, Albert W. Palmer and Bernard C. Clausen. Thus again Modernists and radicals became the official spokesmen for the Federal Council.

¹Pp. 282ff.

²See Hutchison, op. cit., p. 283

³1938 Report, p. 48, quoted Hutchison, op. cit., pp. 283-4.

The Federal Council shows in other ways that its theology is based on the glory of man rather than the mercy of God. Prayers distributed by the Council for the 1930 Lenten season contain elements of Pelagianism, e.g., "O Lord, we thank Thee for the ideals and purposes that Thou hast implanted in our hearts and that make us better than we appear to be..." Another declares, "O God, we pray Thee that we may exercise this day the noblest capacities that Thou hast implanted within us. Give us wisdom and courage to put into daily practise our best thoughts and dispositions and the things we most sincerely believe. Amen."¹

One wonders why the Federal Council, with the theological basis it has, still excludes Unitarians as a body from membership in the Council. Study of the history of the Council's constitution shows that it was only at the insistence of a few that the word "divine" before "Lord and Savior" was inserted into the constitution. And these words had no binding power; their only effect was to exclude the Unitarians as a body from the Federal Council, but not the Unitarians who concealed their agnosticism behind the name of some Trinitarian denomination.

The Rev. Ellery B. Haskell, pastor of the Federated Church, Spencer, New York, pointed to the ludicrousness of excluding honest Unitarians from the Federal Council when there were already many Unitarians and pantheists within the Council. He wrote in the Christian Century for July 20, 1938:

¹From "The Fellowship of Prayer--for the Lenten Season 1930" quoted CTM, 1930.

"To emphasize the importance of Jesus it is not necessary to make an idol of Him, to make Him God. Although I am impressed with the fact that if it were not for Jesus there would be no Christ, I am more impressed with the fact that if there were no God there would have been no Jesus. It would help much if the Christian Century were to advocate some arrangement in the Federal Council and the World Council so that Unitarians could participate conscientiously and fully as Christians."

The American Association for the Advancement of Atheism adds its evaluation of some of the leaders of the Federal Council:

"...The Liberals and the Modernists .. are heroically saving the ship of Christianity by throwing her cargo overboard. With what zeal the Fosdicks, the Mathews, and the whole crew of rescuers toss out, first the Garden of Eden and the Flood, followed by the Virgin Birth, Atonement, and the Resurrection. Then they gain the victory by getting rid of hell and heaven and of the devil and God, though with much ado they keep the name of the last... They will go ashore and enjoy life with the atheists. We welcome the aid of the Modernists and pledge them our fullest cooperation in ridding the world of Fundamentalism--of any serious acceptance of Christian theology."¹

Their June, 1933 report adds that "the Modernists seem to attack Atheism only to screen their own unbelief."² This atheists' society also predicts eventual dissolution of Christianity:

"...No better proof of our contention that the Church is losing ground can be given than that the Modernists are already in control of all the larger denominations and, working from the inside, to discredit the basic teachings of Christianity... We now hear of that absurdity, 'a creedless faith'--of persons who believe without believing anything. Thus Christianity slowly dissolves."³

¹Annual report for 1931 (April), quoted Post, op. cit., p. 51

²Quoted Post, op. cit., p. 51

³June, 1933 report, quoted Post, op. cit., p. 51

Unfortunately evidence seems to support some of the accusations of the Association of Atheists. Fortunately, not all of its boasts and claims are true. Christianity will not die. Already there are movements within the Church to revive true Christianity, while there are other churches which have never succumbed as yet to the spirit of the Federal Council. Christ's promise that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against" His Church must stand!

There is but one conclusion which can be drawn from this chapter. The Modernism of its leaders, its opposition to evangelical Christianity, and the testimony of kindred spirits all demand one judgment over the Federal Council. The Federal Council as an official organization apart from individual member denominations, is committed to Modernism.

Chapter 3

THE WORK OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL

The leaders of the Federal Council are liberal theologians, who view the work of the Church as the social gospel. Because of their position the Federal Council very naturally becomes an agency for the promulgation of the social gospel. We find, therefore, that the social gospel is at the foundation of nearly all the Federal Council's work. In the Federal Council "the contrast becomes less sharp between the individual and social gospels."¹ The message of the Church becomes the "gospel of sacrificial service to mankind,"² whereby man is regarded as the partner of God in the work of saving the world society.³

In giving concrete expression to the social gospel the Federal Council assumes the role of teacher and judge in directing the thought and action of the church.⁴ The work of the Council's Washington Committee is said to be service as a center for the cooperative work of the churches in their relation to various national agencies such as the Census Bureau, the Bureau of Education, and the American Red Cross. It is described as a clearing house of information concerning many activities which affect moral and social conditions.⁵ The Committee has other functions less well publicized.

The Federal Council laid stress on the social gospel from the very beginning. Its interest in the social gospel

¹1931 Handbook of the Churches

²Ibidem, p. 9

³Ibidem, p. 80

⁴Hutchison, op. cit., p. 96

⁵1931 Handbook of the Churches, p. 164

finds an outlet through the different Commissions and Committees of the Council, and through the great stress which the Council has always laid upon educational processes as a means to social progress. The Commission of the Church and Social Service was set up in 1910 to develop, integrate and expound the social gospel. This department concerned itself chiefly with the problems of industry and labor.¹ Another important department is that of Research and Education. This group gathers information concerning social, economic and political conditions and movements "in their moral aspect and with especial reference to the work of the churches,"² and distributes the information thus gathered through a weekly Information Service, research bulletins on social problems, study courses and occasional other publications. The Department also conducts an extensive correspondence with persons studying social problems. Accordingly, the Federal Council sets itself up as a "central laboratory for the churches."³ In this way, also, the Council is able to exert some influence over a wide area.

The Federal Council extends its interest to specific tasks which it regards as the work of the churches. It has a Committee on Mercy and Relief, the function of which is to serve as "a central body for stimulating the securing of funds for humanitarian uses in cases of great emergencies or disasters. China Famine Relief was initiated largely through the work of this committee."⁴

¹Ibidem, p. 161

²Ibidem, p. 163

³Ibidem

⁴Ibidem, p. 164

Early in its history the Council held up social service as the work of the pastor, and urged the need of specializing in social subjects at the seminaries.¹ The result of the great stress laid on social service is the tendency on the part of some pastors to oversimplify problems and to offer "foolish panaceas on subjects which they know nothing about."² A more tragic result is the neglect of the real work of the Church, the preaching of the Cross to lost sinners.

The erroneous conception of the work of the Church shows up in the political activity of the Federal Council.

POLITICAL
MEDDLING

The leaders of the Council lay great stress on education as a means to improve society, but feel that education is of itself inadequate to bring in the "kingdom." The government must lend its assistance through the enactment of proper social laws. That was the idea which brought the Volstead Act into being.

The Federal Council has not hesitated to resort to lobbying, political pressure and propaganda to effect its ends. It has employed these methods under the plea that it is the duty of the churches to "insist more and more upon putting before the public their views on public questions, especially those having to do intimately with human values."³ Macfarland said in a letter (March 15, 1930) to Frederick M. Alger: "We deem it our duty in shaping a sound public opinion to make known such information and judgments both to the pub-

¹Library of Christian Cooperation, Vol. 1, p. 149

²Cf. Sweet, The Story of Religion in America (Rev.), p. 550

³1931 Handbook of the Churches, p. 15

lie and to Congress."¹ The 1931 Handbook of the Churches mentions it as the function of the churches to "seek to correct, or curb, or direct public opinion."² These aims are carried out through propaganda and pressure.

The Federal Council generally denies charges of political activity and lobbying, but at other times its spokesmen have openly defended such actions. Macfarland asserted that "the Federal Council has no lobby in Washington whatever and is in no way connected with any organization which has a lobby."³ Bishop McConnell, as president of the Council, also issued a denial of charges that the Federal Council sought to use external pressure.⁴ This same McConnell stated in the Federal Council's 1931 Handbook of the Churches (p. 18) that "the church has a right to employ lobbyists to carry through enterprises which it conceives to be for the public welfare." Strange inconsistency! And Macfarland could say: "The Federal Council does not consider any question involving principles of right and justice as being secular. Such questions are regarded as moral and therefore inherently religious and coming under Christian ethics..."⁵ U.S. Representative Tinkham refuted this claim with the statement that "If an organization asserts its intention to interest itself in every legislative and political question which it considers moral or ethical or involves right or justice, there is no limit to its participation in any legislative or political matter in which it

¹Quoted Joy, "Green Book," p. 59

²p. 16

³Letter to H.B. Joy, March 4, 1930, quoted "Green Book," #7

⁴Letter to F.M. Alger, April 15, 1930, "Green Book," p.65

⁵Reply to Tinkham, on House Floor, February 25, 1924

desires to exert its influence."¹ Apparently circumstances alter positions and arguments.

Macfarland denied that the Federal Council was in any way connected with any organization having a lobby.^{2,3} Specifically, the Federal Council has disavowed any connection with the Anti-Saloon League, which maintained a powerful lobby.⁴ The Anti-Saloon League, however, lists the Federal Council as one of the component supporting organizations of the League.⁵ More significant is the following excerpt from the 1934 Biennial Report of the Federal Council:

"...A radical reorganization of the allied temperance agencies historically related to the Protestant churches is in prospect. This primarily concerns the Anti-Saloon League... The reorganization movement... aims to include all the allied temperance agencies through which the churches have traditionally operated..."⁶

Interlocking directorates between the Anti-Saloon League and the Federal Council show a still more intimate connection.⁷

The Federal Council needs no connection with any other organization having a lobby, since it itself is a past-master in the art of bringing pressure to bear upon Congress. The Federal Council itself published the following:

"The Commission issued letters to 75,000 pastors setting forth the facts and the moral implications of the (navy) building program. Presently such a flood of letters deluged congress

¹Stated on House Floor, March 13, 1924

²See previous page

³Lobbying was defined at Lobby Investigation Hearing (April 15, 1930; P.P. 9704-5) as "including any effort designed or intended to effect legislation or executive action." Quoted "Green Book," p. 102

⁴See Joy, "Green Book," p. 47f.

⁵Ibidem, p. 100

⁶P. 31, quoted Joy, op. cit., p. 50

⁷See Joy, op. cit., p. 111

and such a volume of editorials appeared that the House Committee on Naval affairs reversed its vote by 16-1..."¹

How could lobbying by personal solicitation of congressmen be more effective?

The Chicago Tribune² pays high tribute to the effectiveness of church propaganda. The paper describes the church politicians as "the master propagandists from whom all other propagandists are taking lessons." "The new lobbying ... consists in mobilizing the constituents of senators and representatives and inducing them to inundate congress with resolutions, letters and telegrams urging legislation proposed by the propagandists or opposing legislation upon which the propagandists have set their disapproval." The article then describes the manner in which prepared resolutions and materials are released at psychological moments "to inundate congress with every sort of representation, ranging from plea to demand..."

The same article in the Tribune lists an "impressive demonstration" of the power of the "deluge of propaganda rolled up by the Federal Council" and others. Finally the Tribune describes the process by which the propaganda organization manages to have an immense volume of printing done at cost by government presses, and to have this propaganda handled at the cost of the government. "The Federal Council spends, according to their own figure for this article, \$330,000 for

¹Twenty Years of Church Federation, p. 95, quoted Joy, op. cit., p. 103
²July 10, 1927. See this article.

this means that the Church has not only the right, but the duty to change society as it thinks best. This means, too, that the conditions of industry and labor must be regulated.

The Federal Council has stood constantly for the principle that "industrial democracy is... the necessary complement of political democracy in a machine age," according to Hutchison.¹ The Council has stood consistently for labor organization and collective bargaining.² It also held that the church has the duty of teaching the principles of cooperative control, ownership of industry and natural resources.³ The Council organized a Committee on Cooperatives in 1937. The Federal Council has also concerned itself with such matters as hours of work, working conditions, wages, employment of women and children, with unemployment, especially in later years, social insurance against sickness and old age, and similar social legislation.⁴ All of this would make a fine political platform, but it is not the work of Him who said that His Kingdom was not of this world, but that it is within man. This is prostitution of resources given by God to rescue lost souls, one of which is worth more than all the world.

The interest of the Council in labor has resulted in the formation of the Commission on the Church and Social Service, which, among other things, conducts industrial conferences to bring pastors, workingmen and employers into closer cooperation and harmony.

¹Op. cit., p. 118

²Library of Christian Cooperation, Vol. 5, p. 66

³Ibidem, p. 67

⁴Hutchison, op. cit., p. 113

The Federal Council early in its history made efforts to gain the confidence of organized labor. To this end it formulated a Statement in ten sections to show its good will. The first section declared that the complex problems of industry can be interpreted and solved "only by the teachings of the New Testament, and that Jesus Christ is final authority in the social as in the individual life." Christ, however, had refused to become a Judge and Divider in temporal affairs. The fifth point of the Statement asserted "the gospel's prerogative to test 'the rightness of both individual and collective conduct everywhere.'" This means that the Federal Council has the right to determine what is right and wrong in industry. The eighth point urges that conciliation supplant strikes, lockouts, boycotts and the blacklist. The ninth point is the formulation now known as "The Social Creed of the Churches," taken over almost verbatim from the Methodist pronouncement on "The Church and Social Problems."¹

Surveys² are important for a more complete understanding of industrial problems. The Council has carried out many of these. It made over a hundred surveys during the first World War, of subjects ranging from "war-industrial communities to logging camps," and since then has increased the number. The Social Service Commission now carries on this work.³

Christ gave to His Church a more important task!

¹Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 309-11

²Ibidem, pp. 309-11 describe one of the investigations.

³Hutchison, op. cit., p. 126

The home, family and sex also receive consideration.

The Council declared: "A special activity receiving major emphasis at the present time is the intensive study of marriage and the home life, and an educational program in this field."¹ This is part of the work of the Commission on the Church and Social Service.

The Federal Council originally had a Commission on Family Life, but has since delegated the work of that group to the National Committee on Marriage and the Home. The latter group has put out several studies dealing with different aspects of the problems of marriage, and in 1929 made a resolution calling for revision of obscenity laws, in order to have a distinction recognized between pornographic literature and information on birth control.

The radical nature of the Federal Council leadership manifested itself in the work of the Council on questions of marriage and birth control. The Committee on Marriage and the Home has put out and still recommends literature of a very questionable nature, and conducive to immorality.² One of the books, Young People's Relationships, evoked so much unfavorable comment that the Federal Council withdrew its "imprimatur" from succeeding editions, though not discouraging reading of the book.

The Temperance Commission of the Federal Council came into being in 1913 for the express purpose of coordinating and stimulating denominational efforts in the cause of

¹1931 Handbook of the Churches, p. 161

²See Post, op. cit.

prohibition.¹ The Commission passed out of existence after accomplishing its purpose, but the Federal Council since 1934 has again on occasion sought to initiate programs of temperance education.² The basis for these efforts is still the social gospel.

The social gospel emphasizes the sacredness and equality in social status of all human life. This led in
INTERRACIAL RELATIONS the Federal Council to a deep interest in interracial relations. Leaders of Negro churches were among the organizers of the Council, and since 1905 Negro churches have been admitted to the Council on a basis of equality with white churches.

During the War the General Wartime Commission appointed a Committee on the Welfare of Negro Troops, composed of leading members of both white and Negro denominations. After the War the Federal Council placed the racial issue before the churches as a religious issue.³ It regarded racial friction as a menace to democracy and a denial of Christianity. As regards civil rights, this position is correct.

The Commission on Church and Race Relations was formed in 1921. Later, Race Relations Sunday was inaugurated. The 1924 quadrennial of the Federal Council stressed the issue of race relations, and condemned the attempt to adjust race relations upon the assumption of inherent racial superiority as neither justified by science nor supported by ethics. Special action was taken against lynching.

¹Hutchison, *op. cit.*, p. 148

²*Ibidem*, p. 152

³*Ibidem*, p. 132

Though some of the Council's efforts are to be commended, the effort to make religious issues out of all social questions sometimes falls beside the mark. An additional criticism of the Council's race policy is the effort of many within the Council to bring about closer harmony among races by encouraging miscegenation.

The Council has also exerted itself to better the relations existing between Christians and Jews. It has organized the Committee on Goodwill Between Jews and Christians to isolate and eliminate the causes of illwill. This committee became a separate organization in 1932, but the Council has continued its efforts to improve relations.

The criticism of these efforts is directed against the means used to bring about better relations. The medium usually is religious unionism, with silence on the person and work of Christ. This is Christ-denial. The motivating force of all this work is not Christian charity and love, but the "solidarity" of the human race based on evolutionistic teachings and concepts. The Bible, too, teaches that all men are brothers, in Christ, by virtue of Christ's work of reconciliation, by virtue of the faith which accepts the reconciliation. Those "in Christ" are to transform the world, not to conform to its practises and evils.

Communism is opposed to Christianity. The official manifesto of the British Socialist Party,¹ declared: "No man consistently will be both a Socialist and a Christian. It must be either the soc-

COMMUNISM
RADICALISM

¹Reprinted and circulated in U.S. by Socialist Educational Bureau, quoted Post, op. cit., p. 43

ialist or the religious principle that is supreme, for the attempt to couple them betrays charlatanism or lack of thought." Harvey Springer calls attention to the remarkable coincidence of Communistic hatred of Christianity and Communistic praise for the Federal Council.¹ That praise becomes less "remarkable" when we see that Communism exists within the Federal Council.

Many leaders of the Council are or were Communistic in their sympathies. Some of them were Ivan Lee Holt, E. Stanley Jones, Harry F. Ward, Francis J. McConnell, R. P. Barnes, Mary E. Woolley and many others.² Some of them, as McConnell, Ward, Kirby Page and Samuel Cavert, are connected with Communistic organizations either as directors or in some other capacity.³ Thomas Nicholson was at the same time president of the Anti-Saloon League and member of the Executive and Administrative Committees of the Federal Council.⁴ It seems reasonable to assume that the Communist would not "change his stripes" to suit the body whose meeting he happened to be attending, but that he would strive to carry out Communistic principles in both organizations.

If the Federal Council is radical in its sympathies, we should expect to find favorable reviews of radical literature. The Council's Information Service, put out by the Department of Research and Education, has recommended pamphlets of the American Civil Liberties Union, the League for Industrial Democracy and the Committee on Militarism in

¹Termites, p. 51

²See Pastors, Politicians, Pacifists, pp. 195-205

³See pamphlet on American Civil Liberties Union, in Graebner's files, s.v. "F.C. Radical, Communist"

⁴Joy, "Green Book," p. 70

Education, together with material published by Kirby Page, Sherwood Eddy, Maxwell S. Stewart (former associate editor of "Moscow Daily News"), Goodwin Watson (leader of "Social Frontier Group") and others.¹

Radicalism is expressed in the following statement issued by the Federal Council's Commission on the Church and Social Service:

"The principle of cooperative planning must be extended to world economic relations including balances of production, consumption, and exchange, access to raw materials, questions of tariffs, movements of gold and the economic waste of armaments..."²

Other similar statements might be adduced.

As we conclude this survey of Communism within the Federal Council, we should like to quote the Rev. L. P. Buroker on the logical conclusions of Marxist doctrines:

"The doctrines of Marx... tend directly to the destruction of faith in God, destroy respect for the natural laws governing the races, remove all old standards of morals and decency and reduce the human race to the level of soulless animals. Race amalgamation is the answer in the back of its text book of the "classless society."³

The Federal Council must plead guilty of fostering such degeneracy.

The social gospel deals very much also with relations among nations. The Federal Council has a Commission
INTERNATIONAL on International Justice and Goodwill,
RELATIONS whose task is a

"persistent educational campaign to inform the

¹Post, op. cit., p. 19

²Graebner's Files, s.v. "F.C. Bolshevik"

³National Republic, quoted Joy, "Green Book," p. 151

membership of the churches on matters of international justice and goodwill, and to secure their cooperation in behalf of world peace and human welfare. It vigorously supported the Pact for the Renunciation of War, and is committed to continuing an unremitting activity of educating public opinion until a peace system takes the place of competitive armament and recurring war."¹

Through this Commission the Federal Council attempts also to educate children in a new internationalism through world friendship projects among children. The Commission supplies literature, often of a pacifistic nature, for use in church groups, and has taken the lead in convening National Study Conferences on the Churches and World Peace.²

The Federal Council, in its efforts to better world relationships, has fought constantly against imperialism, denouncing it as pagan, and prescribing it as the duty of the church to infuse a Christian international idealism.³ It sets up world militarism or "Golden Rule internationalism" as alternatives. This is again the social gospel.

The Federal Council proclaims that arbitration should rule instead of war in international disputes. Then it asserts that leadership in international arbitration should be assumed by the churches.⁵ Christ, whom also the Federal Council professes as its Lord, said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's..." and Paul said, "Be subject therefore unto the higher powers..." This the Federal Council ignores.

Immigration laws and naval building programs cause

¹1931 Handbook of the Churches, p. 162

²Ibidem

³Library of Christian Cooperation, Vol. 3, pp.142,159 and Vol. 4, p. 52

⁴Ibidem, Vol. 4, p. 172

⁵Ibidem, Vol. 2, p. 8

the Council much concern. The Council in 1924 participated actively in the campaign against the Japanese Exclusion Act, denouncing the act, when it was passed, as "needless and wanton," and as causing a deep wound on Japan's feelings of goodwill and admiration for America.¹ The Council sent special deputations to Japan to express the "Christian sentiment" of America, and denounced segregation of races as un-Christian. The Council also took interest in questions concerning Mexico and Latin America as well as other countries of the world. In all its actions it assumed a right to represent the churches and to dictate the policies of the United States. This is meddling and unwarranted usurpation of authority. The Federal Council has no more mandate from Christ than has the Roman bishop to decree what is and what is not to be the work of Christ's Church. The Federal Council, in its zeal for political internationalism, loses sight of the only true internationalism, the spiritual union of all believers in their Savior, the eternal Son of God.

The Federal Council has at all times concerned itself with the problem of war and peace. Early in the
THE PROBLEM OF WAR first World War it organized the General War-Time Commission of the Churches, composed of members and non-members of the Federal Council, and embracing every kind of wartime activity from pulpit appeals for Liberty Bonds, Red Cross and prune pits to the moral welfare of soldiers and the comforting of grieving families.² One wonders how much comfort the social gospel could give to

¹Hutchison, *op. cit.*, p. 201

²*Ibidem*, pp. 62-3

those who had lost their loved ones.

When the United States entered the first World War the Federal Council issued a statement to the effect that "we enter the war without hate or passion... and to make of the kingdoms of the world the Kingdom of the Christ." That statement reveals the fatal belief that human efforts can change human nature, that laws and courts can better mankind.

At the same time the Federal Council engaged in many peace efforts. It was actively engaged in the Pre-War Peace Movement. Stelzle called for a peace strike of the workers.² A resolution approved the creation of an international court. Peace Sunday was instituted. The Commission on Peace and Arbitration was organized, in 1911. Hutchison characterizes all these peace efforts thus: "Religiously, the Kingdom of God is completely identified with the coming international brotherhood; God is identified with the immanent force of evolution which is to bring it about..."³

Hutchison's comment, which seems to be an accurate diagnosis, makes one keenly aware of the vast difference between the work of the Federal Council on the one hand and the work of the Church of Christ on the other. The proclamation of one is the "social gospel," the proclamation of the other is life everlasting in the Gospel.

The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook was formed April 2, 1918, for the purpose of "factfinding and study in the influence of the war on religious thought and life."⁴

¹"Our Spirit and Purpose," quoted Hutchison, op.cit., p.178

²Hutchison, op. cit., p. 163

³Ibidem, p. 168

⁴See, Ibidem, p. 190

This Committee reported that as a whole the effect of the war was beneficial as "a great educational discipline." Does this mean "discipline" toward pacifism?

Following the war the Federal Council stressed internationalism, and American responsibility for world order and justice, peace, goodwill and love. This emphasis reveals an elevation of the American nation as the supreme instrument of God, pacifism and internationalistic tendencies. The Federal Council was subtly driving for peace under cover of the professed desire for peace.

In its struggle for internationalism the Federal Council pushed the League of Nations, giving it an idolatrous religious significance. A Message to Christians urged establishment of the League of Nations on the plea that "such a League is not a mere political expediency; it is rather the political expression of the Kingdom of God on earth."¹ This again shows that the gospel of the Federal Council is the gospel of men, trying to bring in a humanly conceived kingdom through human efforts. It shows a deification of man.

At the Washington Conference the Kingdom was looked upon not as an international community, but as a warless world.² The Council claimed that 12,500,000 letters received by the State Department urging disarmament had been stimulated by the Federal Council. That claim shows the political activity of the organization, as well as its desire to bring in the kingdom by social action or legislation.

¹Graebner's files, s.v. "F.C.Bolshevik"

²Hutchison, op. cit., p. 197

Though the Council failed to bring the United States into the League of Nations it has continued its efforts in the direction of setting up international institutions, especially a World Court. A resolution, dated May 23, 1924, and approved by the Methodist Episcopal General Conference, declared that war is futile, and that men should not be called on to decide between support of country and loyalty to Christ. The resolution continues:

"...We demand the immediate entrance of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice. The participation of the United States in a League of Nations will receive our active support. We shall elect men to public office pledged to secure these ends... The principles of brotherhood are plainly challenged. The progress of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ is clearly at stake." ¹

The Methodist Church, one of the largest bodies within the Federal Council, is determined to interfere in politics in order to achieve the dubious end of a World Court not authorized in Scripture, and to bring in a "Kingdom of God" which Christ could not acknowledge as His own.

The Federal Council has discussed various problems of war, including those of the conscientious objectors, disarmament, and the economic causes of war. The Federal Council sees the cause of war in large armaments and in economic relationship, but fails miserably to get to the root of all the evil in the world, the sinful heart. Thus the Federal Council can offer no cure for the difficulties it seeks to solve.

The Federal Council is still in pursuit of permanent world peace. Its latest efforts are now being made. The

¹St. Louis Post-Dispatch, May 23, 1924

present work goes back to the Atlantic City meeting of the Federal Council in December 1940, when the "necessity" was emphasized of "preserving Christian unity and of working for a just and durable peace."¹ At that time a Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace was organized. This Commission has now issued "Six Pillars of Peace"--six areas in which, according to its judgment, our nation must work with others unless 'the world will be doomed to continuance of the war system.' These six pillars are supposed to be derived from moral principles common to all religions.²

Significantly, the Federal Council still looks to man's intellect to find the way out of wars. The Council still does not recognize individual sin as the cause of all strife, and it still has not come to the proper understanding of the cure for this strife unending. To the Council sin is still a matter of society, not of the individual.

The Federal Council has very largely gone over to pacifism in its crusade against war. Pacifism has been given much expression within the Federal Council. Harry Emerson PACIFISM Fosdick proclaimed himself a pacifist, and declared that he "cannot imagine any situation in which he shall feel justified in sanctioning or participating in another war."³ Bishop Holt was a sponsor of the pacifistic Emergency Peace Campaign. Kirby Page, who stands in high repute with the Council as lecturer and author,

¹Hutchison, *op. cit.*, p. 221

²Lutheran Witness, March 30, 1943, p. 110; LIFE, December 28, 1942, "A Righteous Faith" by John Foster Dulles

³In introduction to Page's book, War: Its Causes, Consequences and Cure, cited in Lutheran Church Herald.

believes that by convincing other nations of our own goodwill we will avert war with them, or if they have overrun our non-resisting nation, we will induce them to leave by means of our goodwill.¹ Kirby Page suggests the following pledge:

"Let the Churches of America say to their own government and to the people of the earth; We feel so certain that war is now unchristian, futile and suicidal that we renounce completely the whole war system. We will never again sanction or participate in any war. We will not allow our pulpits and classrooms to be used as recruiting stations. We will not again give our financial aid or moral support to any war. We will seek security and justice in other ways."²

Such a pledge ignores completely the possibility of a righteous war. Kirby Page's books are recommended reading for the Council.

The Federal Council has sanctioned pacifism officially. The "Message to the Churches of Christ in America," issued in 1924, contains these words:

"Let them (the churches) denounce the colossal wrongs and evils of war, and point out the violation of every moral principle and ideal by the methods of war. Let them call the people to repentance for their long quiescence in the war-system of the nations."³

Such a message includes condemnation of the Jews in the Old Testament, who were commanded by God to war against the heathen, idolatrous nations. Pacifism is all too-inclusive condemnation of war.

The Federal Council, in its 1931 Handbook of the Churches declares:

¹Abolition of War, quoted Joy, "Green Book," p. 22
²War: Its Causes, Consequences, and Cure, cited Joy, "Green Book," p. 38
³Joy, "Green Book," p. 11

"We hold that, in the light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and in the light of the obligations assumed by our country under the Pact of Paris, our national sovereignty, national honor and national interests should be defended only by pacific means." ¹

This statement denies the right of a national government to arm for the defense of its citizens. It errs also in the other points in which pacifism usually errs.

A better means toward world peace than pacifism is that advocated by Alton B. Parker, President of the National Civic Federation, in a letter to John Huston Finley, Chairman of the Federal Council's Commission on International Justice and Goodwill. Mr. Parker declares:

"We believe that the first step toward insuring international peace is for the churches to increase their efforts to create in their own communities an individual appreciation of right and wrong which would inevitably be reflected in the policy of government through the actions of Christians at the polls."

"Individual appreciation of right and wrong" can be brought about in a proper way only through the preaching of the full Word of God, the Law and the Gospel. Only thus will the world become truly free, if not from physical warfare, which will persist as long as sin remains, then at least from a far deadlier warfare, from defeat at the hands of Satan. This freedom will come through the blood of Christ, the true Son of God, slain for the sins of this warring world.

¹p. 73

²October 20, 1924; Joy, "Green Book," p. 9ff. (quoted)

Chapter 4

WORKING TOWARD A SUPERCHURCH

Modernism has no interest in doctrine. It considers creeds as being "divisive" of Christian fellowship.¹ The prime interest of Modernism is work, or "deeds." Work is likewise the basic interest of the Federal Council. We have studied the nature of the work performed by the Council, and can readily see that such a program requires a large "front." The Federal Council must advertise a large following in order to make the impression necessary to accomplish its ends. To get this backing the Council from its beginning embarked upon a vast program of unionism,² working in the direction of a superchurch. To this end the Council has been fostering local, state, and national federations of churches, and has been cooperating heartily in international movements for church union and cooperation in work. This activity is in full agreement with the Council's constitution, which states that the fourth object of the organization is "to secure a larger combined influence for the churches of Christ in all matters affecting

¹Stated by J. Strong. Quoted by Macfarland, Steps Toward the World Council, p. 19

²Dr. Theo. Engelder defines unionism as "church union without unity of doctrine, fellowshiping those who are not brethren in the faith. It is practised not only when an orthodox church forms an organic union with a heterodox church, but also when such bodies or members of such bodies meet in joint worship...and engage in joint religious work; and also when a church body tolerates errorists in its midst. Unionism demands that where churches agree on the essentials of Christian faith, differences must form no barrier to union." (Unionism notes, p. 1)

the moral and social conditions of the people..."¹

In its efforts to produce a large backing, the Federal Council makes use also of questionable methods to induce or coerce church bodies to blend their destiny with that of the Council, and it frequently makes false claims of size and representation in order to influence legislation. This chapter will deal with some of the Council's legitimate efforts toward union as well as with some of its aberrations in those efforts.

The official policy of the Federal Council rests on Modernism. However, in order to persuade the more fundamentalistic denominations to join hands, the Council must find a compromise basis upon which all may build. Theoretically, this basis is work. But work must have some motivating force outside of itself to inspire it and to guide it; it must have a religious basis. Moreover, this basis must be a common one, acceptable to all who are to work from it. In the Federal Council it becomes a minimum theology, a theology of subtraction, a theology of compromise. In the end it leads directly back to the social gospel.

The field of worship provides an opportunity for compromise, and the Federal Council is active in this field. It founded the Worship Committee in 1932 on authorization of the Administrative Committee. The membership of this committee was to include different denominational committees. Its duties are to give instruction in worship and to prepare wor-

¹Revised (1932) Constitution

ship services. It wrote the "Seven Principles of Public Worship" for the National Preaching Mission. A newer innovation of the committee is the Universal Week of Prayer, for which 70,000 booklets were ordered from January 3-10, 1943.¹ The Council's Commission on Evangelism and Life Service arranged "special periods of prayer and spiritual emphasis..in which nearly all communions participate," according to the 1931 Handbook of the Churches.² Under the auspices of this Commission also the "Fellowship of Prayer" is issued, being circulated in quantities of nearly a million copies a year.

The prayers issued by the Federal Council through its special Commission are so worded as to be usable by anyone--except a true Christian. The prayers are so constructed as to bring "no offense of the cross," but to be usable to the most work-righteousness-minded Romanist and Pelagianist. We have already given citations from the "Fellowship of Prayer"³ to show the Pelagianistic character of some of the prayers. We wish now to reproduce a prayer used at the last biennial meeting of the Federal Council, in December, 1942. This prayer was prepared and offered by the Most Reverend Metropolitan Antony Bashir, of the Eastern Orthodox Church, which, except for recognition of the pope, is Roman Catholic in practise. This is the prayer with which Bashir led the assembly of Protestants:

¹Federal Council Bulletin, February, 1943

²p. 161

³See p. 30

"...O God, save thy people, and bless thine inheritance. Look upon thy world with mercy and compassion. Send down upon us thy rich mercies.

"Through the intercession of our all-immaculate Lady Theotokos and Ever Virgin Mary; through the power of the precious and life-giving Cross; through the protection of the venerable Bodiless Powers of heaven; of the venerable Prophet-Forerunner and Baptist, John; of the Holy and all praiseworthy Apostles; of our Holy Fathers, the Great Ecumenical Teachers and Hierarchs, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Chrysostom; of our Holy Father, Nicholas, Archbishop of Myra in Lycia, of the holy glorious right victorious Martyrs; of the holy and righteous Theopatores, Joachim and Anna; and of all thy saints, we supplicate thee, thou only greatly merciful Lord, hearken unto us sinners who pray unto Thee, and have Mercy upon us..."¹

At the close of this prayer Dr. Albert E. Day, vice president of the Federal Council, voiced to the Bishop the thanks of the Council for this prayer thus: "Thank you for enriching our lives by permitting us to share in the worship of your church and the worship of our God."² This is the true spirit of the unionist.

The spirit of unionism and the spirit of compromise which is in reality denial leads the Council so far as to fraternize with Jews and Unitarians. The Christian Century for February 28, 1940 reports that Drew College, Madison, New Jersey, was host to a conference on religion and consumer cooperation sponsored by the Federal Council's Committee on the Church and Cooperatives and by a local committee of churchmen. The list of speakers included the names of Rabbi Jacob Shankman of Temple Israel, New Rochelle, and Harold E. Fey of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.³ It was the Federal Council, too, which instituted the

¹Christian Beacon, December 24, 1942

²Ibidem

³Quoted Post, op. cit., p. 21

National Conference of Jews and Christians. The Federal Council also maintains the Committee on Goodwill Between Jews and Christians for "the pursuit of the great social objectives of peace and righteousness in the relationships of men and groups and nations."¹ The function of this Committee ignores the fundamental truth that true peace and righteousness can come about only through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior. Would rather that the Council had instituted a special committee to do intensive missionary work among the Jews.

The wide spirit of unionism has been one factor holding widely divergent groups together within the Council. It seems now some members of the Council are beginning to see that this spirit is not to the benefit of the Council. Thus the Rev. H.M. Griffiths observed in the Christian Beacon of December 31, 1942 that to him it seemed "that doctrinal inclusivism, by which the Federal Council has managed to hold discordancies together, is rapidly becoming a liability rather than an asset, even from its own point of view..." That "doctrinal inclusivism" should become a liability ought to be no cause for wonder.

The Federal Council keeps up a steady barrage of propaganda calculated to further the cause of unionism. Its leaders speak of "steadily combating prejudice"² instead of "steadily working to bring men to our own unionistic way of thinking." Dr. Theodore Engelder has ably discerned and

¹1931 Handbook of the Churches, p. 163

²Ibidem, p. 161

refuted unionistic propaganda in his Notes on Unionism.¹ The reader is referred to these notes for fuller treatment on the topic of unionism with respect to its basis of unionism, the dangers and harm of unionism, its harm, propaganda and treatment by Lutherans.

The Federal Council's constitution states that the fifth object of the Council is "to assist in the organization of local branches of the Federal Council to promote its aims in their communities." The Council has carried out this purpose quite efficiently. The Council claims with pride that local federations or councils of churches for cities and states are the result of Federal Council efforts.² It also states with pride that by 1931 Church Federations had been established in most large cities and in six states. The Lutheran reported that in 1942 "more than 1300 such organizations are known to exist."³

The Federal Council has also taken a very active interest in the work of the Community Church Movement,⁴ and effected a cooperative relationship in 1929. At that time the Federal Council, the Home Missions Council and the Community Church Workers joined hands. The three bodies then set up the Joint Advisory Committee⁵ to serve the three groups.

¹Pp. 7-17. Notes are obtainable at Concordia Seminary
Mimeograph Company

²1931 Handbook of the Churches, p. 161f.

³August 19, 1942

⁴On this Movement see the 1931 Handbook of the Churches, pp. 30ff., and Smith and Guild, The Manual of Inter-Church Work pp. 20-1

⁵1931 Handbook of the Churches, p. 31

It may be edifying to know the character of some of these "community churches" which the Federal Council is helping to foster. The United Presbyterian for April 13, describes one:

"Dr. John Haynes Holmes is building a new community church in New York City. It is to be pacifist in its teaching and international in its membership. It now has within its membership representatives of thirty-four different nations, representing all the five continents and the South Sea Islands. Protestants of all denominations, Catholics, Jews, Mohammedans, Hindus, and all races of North America except Indians, worship in this church."¹

Such movements are supposed to be expressions of the will of Christ that His Church be one. That is sheer blasphemy.

The Federal Council transfers its interest in union movements to the mission fields. It has instituted a Committee on Religious Work in the Canal Zone as a "central agency through which the churches of the United States assist in building and maintaining the union churches in the Canal Zone."² It also maintains contacts with other foreign fields.

The ambitions of the Federal Council go beyond state and local federations. The Council wants to produce federations of states in a great national federation and then, above all, to have a great international church federation.

When once the Council has brought about these gigantic federations, then their next move will be an attempt to bring about organic union of churches. This is, after all, the logic of the Council movement, and has been stated as the

¹Quoted Post, op. cit., p. 39

²1931 Handbook of the Churches, p. 164

ultimate goal of the Council. S. M. Cavert could say that "federal union may become organic. The only way of securing a still larger unity either of spirit or of organization is to strengthen the cooperative and federative processes which are already under way."¹ Cavert believed that by a gradual process of delegating more and more tasks to a federal agency eventual organic union would result. Hutchison adds that such ideals are being seriously considered by many within the constituency of the Federal Council.² Such statements are of great significance to various churches; they should give warning of the hierarchical plans of the Federal Council leadership.

It is entirely natural that the Federal Council should be interested in world movements of churches. Its INTEREST IN WORLD MOVEMENTS interests are largely in keeping with those of the more recent great world movements as those on Faith and Order and Life and Work, especially the latter. We find, then, that Federal Council leaders were active in many of the church movements of the past forty years, including also the Interchurch World Movement, the Laymen's Missionary Movement, the Men and Religion Forward Movement, and especially the world movements to which reference has been made.

Two parallel movements which interacted upon each other virtually since their inception are the World Conference on Faith and Order and the Universal Conference of the Church of Christ on Life and Work.

¹Cavert and Van Dusen, The Church Through Half a Century, p.372, quoted Hutchison, op. cit., p. 94
²Op. cit., p. 94

The Federal Council was interested in both movements, but was more actively concerned with the Conference on Life and Work.

The Faith and Order Movement had its origin at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910. Since then it grew, and in 1920 a meeting preliminary to a proposed world conference was held at Geneva. Representatives of forty nations and seventy some autonomous churches attended. This meeting resulted in the appointment of a Continuation Committee, which is of interest to us because its roster listed the names of several men who were to become prominent in the Federal Council, Peter Ainslie, Bishop Cannon, Bishop McConnell and S. Parkes Cadman. Of these the two last-named became presidents of the Federal Council. However, though these men were active in the Faith and Order Movement, the Federal Council was not officially connected with the movement.

The Conference on Faith and Order met at Lausanne in 1927. As its first task it undertook to discover just at what point the churches already understood each other and just where their differences lay. The Conference sought to find a "sympathetic" theology, which could include all those who believed in the *Una Sancta*. It operated with the assumption that no one church has all the truth. Cadman said, in a speech before the Conference, that "it seems clear that no historic or local communion has hitherto borne an exclusive witness to the saving truths of God."¹ This is in opposition to 2 Timothy 3, 14 which demands that one be certain of his

¹H.N. Bate, Faith and Order, p. 126

faith. Adolf Keller states that the purpose of the Lausanne Movement is to find "how the particular knowledge and the confession of a church...can be translated into the language, the psychology, the understanding and theology of another church."¹ But how can the sola gratia and sola fide of the Lutheran Church be "translated" into the work-righteousness of Rome? Thus the Conference on Faith and Order pursued a hopeless path.

The Federal Council was more directly concerned with the movement on Life and Work. The beginnings of this movement are found in the years from 1907 to 1910, when there were interchanges of churchmen from Great Britain and the United States, and in 1911, when proposals were made for the inclusion of the churches of the United States, through the Federal Council, in a tri-national conference. In 1914 the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches was formed, and Macfarland and H.A. Atkinson attended its 1919 meeting to represent the United States. At that meeting in 1919 the Federal Council was requested to take the initiative in convening a conference the following year, at which time a world council representing all non-Roman Christendom could be set up. These plans did not materialize quite as rapidly as planned, but a little later Frederick Lynch of the Federal Council was selected as a committee of one for the conference, with full powers of action.² With him as organizer the chief job of promoting a world conference fell to the Federal Council.

¹Keller, Karl Barth and Christian Unity, p. 273
²Hutchison, op. cit., p. 250

The first Universal Conference on Life and Work assembled at Stockholm, Sweden, August 19-30, 1925. About a hundred religious bodies were represented. A second meeting was held at Oxford, England, in 1937.

The work of this conference was different from that of the Conference on Faith and Order. This conference was to deal with work only. Keller defines the work of the Stockholm Movement as being the translation of problems purely sociological into theological questions, into problems of conscience.¹ Macfarland said at the outset of the Stockholm meeting:

"It is to be clearly understood at the outset that any agency that may be appointed shall not deal with questions of creed or ecclesiastical organization, but that it shall strictly limit itself to the class of subjects under consideration at the Conference, namely, the Life and Work of the Church of Christ, and in particular the assertion and application of Christian principles to those problems, international, economic, social, civic, with which the future of civilization is so vitally concerned."²

Despite the intention of the Conference to deal only with questions of Life and Work, it became evident that "for the performance of common practical tasks there is also necessary a certain minimum of universally accepted doctrine."³ This minimum was not found at the 1925 Conference; the British and Americans accepted the "essential ideas of the social gospel," whereas the Germans declared that "the church's entire effort should be exerted toward building up personal faith and fellowship with God."⁴ Such divergence of opinion is to be expected in a religious group as motley as that assembled at Oxford.

¹Op. cit., p. 271

²Macfarland, Steps Toward the World Council, p. 91

³Keller, op. cit., p. 281

⁴Hutchison, op. cit., pp. 237-8

The 1925 Conference ended with no more permanent organization than a Continuation Committee. This committee was reorganized in 1930 to become the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, a permanent organization. In 1929 the Federal Council's Commission on the Relation With the Churches Abroad had merged with the American section of the Continuation Committee, and this group in 1930 secured as its secretary Henry Smith Leiper of the Federal Council. This meant that the Council was to keep in close touch with the Life and Work Movement.

The Federal Council assisted in a great amount of work preparatory to the second conference, in 1937. It distributed an extensive set of pamphlets, books and study outlines both before and after the Conference, and urged churches and groups to study the problems of the movement.

Hutchison points out that there was a difference in theological temper and outlook between the 1925 and the 1937 conferences. For the men at the latter meeting "God was not immanent, but an absolute and transcendent being above and beyond man. Sin as an alienation of man from the absolute God was dwelt upon."¹ This change may indicate that even former rabid adherents of the social gospel had been compelled by the logic of events to admit that their position was wrong. It also indicates that the delegates at last realized that common efforts in church work are very difficult without some kind of doctrinal agreement. Therefore they sought a minimum which all could accept and upon which all could build.

¹Ibidem, pp. 252-3

The stress of the conference remained on work, on the things which man was supposed to do for the salvation of the world. Three propositions were developed as a guide for Christian teaching in reference to the economic order:

1) Christian teaching should deal with ends..., 2) the message of Christianity should throw a searchlight on the actual facts ... and reveal the consequences of present forms of economic behavior..., and 3) this searchlight of the Christian message can also make clear the obstacles to economic justice in the human heart.¹ The conference also discussed questions as the doctrine of absolute national sovereignty, war and pacifism, education, and others similar.

In general the Life and Work Movement reflected the peculiar position and teaching of the Federal Council. Doctrine entered the discussion only because a minimum of it seemed to be necessary for cooperation. Otherwise, the tenets of the social gospel predominated.

As the two parallel movements of Faith and Order, WORLD COUNCIL and Life and Work, grew, many saw that these two movements could not remain separate, but that they were by their very nature complementary to each other. The identity of personnel among the leaders made this the more obvious. Accordingly, attempts were made to bring the two movements together in a World Council of Churches. In America the Federal Council received the chief responsibility for the promotion of the "ecumenical movement." Church leaders met in 1938 at Utrecht, Holland, and there projected the World

¹Ibidem, p. 259

Council of Churches. The present war has interrupted the plans.

The Council continues to work, however. It is working on the problem of the rehabilitation of Christian institutions after the war. The Geneva staff has been working on a compilation of statements from churches and leaders throughout the world. In February, 1943, it issued an eleven point statement which is supposed to represent an "ecumenical consensus." A number of these points are significant as they represent the viewpoint of the American Federal Council. The first point asserts that "the Church has a specific task in relation to peace-making and the creation of an international order." The question arises as to whether this task includes "the interpretation of these Commandments in terms of concrete policy." The fourth point claims that the Church must proclaim the divine commandments concerning the order that is to reign in the world." Christ, however, did not meddle with questions of social orders or economic orders, but only of the relationships which are to exist between men and their God and between man and his fellowman. The ninth point also goes beyond the authority of Scripture when it asserts that "the Church is to proclaim that society must provide all its members with the opportunity to fulfill a meaningful vocation, and that it should provide conditions of social security for all." The tenth point reads: "The Church is to proclaim that the nations are interdependent, and that they must all have equal access to the resources of the earth." Following logically upon this, the eleventh point declares that "the

Church will proclaim that no people can claim the right to rule over another people, and that the dominating purpose of colonial administration must be to prepare colonial peoples for self-government." ¹

Another point might be added to the list.. It might have been stated that Jesus commanded His disciples to go out into the world to preach the Gospel of salvation through the redeeming blood of Christ, not the social gospel of man's inherent goodness.

Some leaders of the Federal Council felt that the proposed World Council would not go far enough. Ivan Lee Holt, a president of the Federal Council, said that "the Protestant churches must first unite. Then a Catholic Protestant church could meet the Greek Catholic church and the Roman Catholic church and work out a plan for a World Christian Church. That ought to come some day; and we have conferences and groups at work on plans which are influential."² The Federal Council now has two Eastern Orthodox bodies within its membership. Unionism knows no end.

Within North America, apart from the movement toward a World Council, the Federal Council has been engaged actively in furthering a merger of eight "interdenominational agencies" of the non-Roman churches in the United States and Canada.

MERGER The agencies involved are the Council of Church Boards of Education, the Federal Council, the Foreign Missions Conference, the Home Missions Council, the International Council of Religious Education, the Missionary Education Movement,

¹The points are listed in The World Council Courier, March, 1943

²Quoted Post, op. cit., p. 40

the United Councils of Church Women and the United Stewardship Council. The merger is to be one only in work. The name of the new organization is planned to be "the North American Council of the Churches of Christ."

The North American Council is to have four divisions to do all the work of the agencies which have merged: the divisions of church and community, of Christian education, of home and of foreign missions. These divisions are to "develop the basic philosophy and programs to be carried out by all the country's non-Roman churches, no matter what denomination."¹ These are rather sweeping plans.

H. M. Griffiths observed of the proposed organization that it "will not be the embodiment of underlying, dynamic forces. It will rather be a simple continuation of the present Federal Council, somewhat enlarged--an organization created by the 'top men' of various denominations, who agree among themselves as to necessity, form and function from adjacent Olympian heights, quite without reference to any popular demand."² Will this characterization be justified by events?

Dr. E. Stanley Jones, who took a leading part in the sessions at Cleveland in 1942, suggested another plan of union entirely different from that embodied in the proposed North American Council. His plan envisions each denomination giving a certain portion of its unity and simply becoming a branch of the one Church of Christ in America. Dr. Jones proposed a very simple doctrinal basis. "Any branch that

¹Milwaukee Sentinel, December 27, 1942

²Christian Beacon, December 31, 1942

will confess that 'Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the Living God,' may become a member of the Church of Christ." That would leave the door open to union with everybody who could make that confession, including the Roman Catholics. If the Roman Catholics will confess that 'Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the Living God,'--and they do--and would acknowledge themselves as a branch and the others as branches of the Church of Christ, then there is no reason why there should not be any union with them." ¹

It will be interesting to see whether the Federal Council will ever attempt officially to bring about a union of the type suggested by Jones. The spirit of the Federal Council would not be opposed seriously to such a reorganization of Christendom, provided the Federal Council could be the head of that body of which the various churches would be "branches." Such a plan, however, would almost of necessity result in doctrinal indifference and even open hostility to the Gospel of the crucified Christ.

We see then that the Federal Council is very much interested in all movements toward uniting the churches, be these movements of local, state, national or international scope. Their interest would be commendable, were it not that they are striving for false ends through false means. The final goal of the Council is a great machine calculated to bring in the kingdom of God of the social gospel by moral and social regeneration rather than to effect the salvation of individual souls from everlasting damnation.

¹Ibidem, December 24, 1942

The Federal Council finds it necessary in the interest of its social gospel program to cite large numbers of followers. Frequently, in its zeal to attain a certain end, the spokesmen of the Council will grossly exaggerate the number of those whom they represent. Already in 1913 Shailer Mathews as president of the Council sent a letter to the president of the United States, the Senate and the House of Representatives, in which he implied that the Federal Council was truly representative of the 16,000,000 who formed the constituency of the Council at that time. He employed this size as a means of bringing pressure to bear upon our government to recognize the Republic of China.¹

In 1920 the Federal Council claimed to represent 20,000,000. The purpose then was to influence the government the government with respect to the Mexican problem of the time.² In its 1931 Handbook of the Churches the Federal Council claims to represent 22,000,000,³ and the 1941 Church Management Directory claims a representation of 23,000,000 for the Council.⁴

The numbers thus frequently quoted do not give a true picture of the Federal Council. Comparatively few of the 23,000,000 know actually what is going on and how they are being represented. The Federal Council itself recognizes that this is the case, and is making a systematic attempt to

¹Vol. 2, The Church and International Relations, published for the Federal Council, p. 25

²The Presbyterian, January 1, 1920

³p. 161

⁴p. 77

bring about fuller understanding between its leadership and constituency. This may be merely for the purpose of gaining larger control over the churches, rather than to gain the viewpoint of the members so as to be more truly representative, but at least the effort shows that the leaders of the Council themselves know that their claims to represent so and so many millions of Protestants are not true.

It is possible to understand that the Council does not intend to work any injustice when it claims to present its viewpoint as that of all the members within it, but the situation becomes a trifle clearer when the Council presumes to represent all of Protestantism. The Council has done this. It is through such claims that the Council exercises control over religious radio, to mention an example. The 1931 Handbook of the Churches speaks of American church leaders, when they go to Europe, as representing "not simply one denomination, but, through the Federal Council, the evangelical forces as a whole."¹ That claim cannot justify itself from any viewpoint.

One wonders sometimes why the leaders of the Council feel constrained to cite such large figures, and make such comprehensive claims. The reason has already been indicated; it is to get government assistance to carry through its own program of the social gospel. Behind this is misunderstanding of the true nature and work of the Church of Christ. Only thus can we account for the statement of Cadman that "the day

¹p. 163

is past when any realm of our economic, industrial, social, political or international life will be regarded as outside the sphere of responsibility of the churches." The organization which hopes to exert any considerable influence in such realms must be prepared to claim a large backing. The social gospel does not operate with the power of the Holy Spirit, but with an inborn tendency of man to stand in open-mouthed awe before anything great, stupendous, colossal, in size or numbers. The social gospel operates with the natural tendency of the politician to yield to the will of the majority. By quoting a large following, the Federal Council exerts a power and influence not actually its own.

The claims of the Federal Council have been challenged, by individuals, denominations and organizations. The Reverend John McComb of the Broadway Presbyterian Church of New York was quoted thus in the New York Times, December 12, 1938:

"The Federal Council is in no sense representative of American Protestantism. It only represents those who use the church as a means to meddle in politics and dabble in sociology. The Council is actually a closed corporation that frames its own policies and is not accountable to those denominations that contribute to its support."²

The Presbyterian for January 1, 1920, wrote:

"It seems to us that it is time that the Federal Council and the Church and the nation should remember that the Federal Council does not represent the 20,000,000 Christian people, or anyone else, in matters of civil government... It is presumption for this body not only to assume representation, but to undertake to speak for all Christian citizens in matters of foreign policy and to give the Government instruction therein. It is nothing short of dangerous interference

¹1930 Handbook of the Churches, p. 7

²Quoted Missionary Monthly, January 1939, p. 8

for this unauthorized body to disseminate opinions and judgments among the nations having sensitive and serious diplomatic questions under consideration... It seems to many that this Council has gone to the limit, has become meddlesome and presumptuous, and may do harm if not properly restrained..."

The article just cited calls attention again to the true policy of the Federal Council, the policy of the social gospel, and indicates the way in which the social gospel would work out its purpose. Another article in the Presbyterian brings out the non-representative character of the Federal Council, and shows that the policies of the Council are really those of a small Modernistic group alone. Dr. Donald M. Grant wrote in the Presbyterian for April 23, 1931:

"When has the Federal Council ever submitted any question of national or international importance to its constituency...for whom it so authoritatively speaks? And yet, did not the Federal Council, in that same year (1927), issue a letter of congratulation to the Nationalist Movement in China? When was that submitted to the 'Church bodies'?... To be specific, when has the Federal Council's latest pronouncement, that on 'Birth Control,' been submitted to the General Assembly?... And yet the Administrative Committee is presumptuous enough to declare that it represents 20,000,000 church members."

The questions on which the Federal Council sought to influence the government are outside the realm of the churches, but not outside the realm of the social gospel.

The Naval Intelligence Bureau in 1936 indicted the leadership of the Council as being "a small radical group which dictate its (Federal Council's) policies."¹ This is an indictment on two points: first, that the leadership of the Council is radical; second, that the policies of the Federal Council are dictated and are therefore not representative.

¹New York American, January 25, 1936

The refusal of many bodies to join the Federal Council is stronger refutation of the claims of the Council. The Federal Council does not number half of American Protestantism within its constituency,¹ and is representative of only a small part of those within its membership. Thus the claims of the Council are proved to be dishonest.

One might ask why more of the churches do not join the Federal Council, so that the Council would be truly representative of American Protestantism. They cannot join because they cannot accept the Modernistic religion and program of the Federal Council. It is also the Modernism which prevents the Council's being truly representative of those within it already.

The Modernism of the Federal Council has brought various counter-movements into being. One of these is the American Council of Christian Churches, organized in 1941. This organization considers the Federal Council to be the mouthpiece of Modernism, and, accordingly, states definitely in its constitution a summary of the "great evangelical doctrines," as opposed to the Federal Council basis of "divine Lord and Savior." Because of the Modernism of the Federal Council, the American Council makes disavowal of the other body one of its conditions for membership. Moreover, the American Council claims to be carrying the fight to the Federal Council in its drive for restoration of the Gospel to its proper place in the church.

¹Evangelical Action, p.43

Another counter-organization is the National Association of Evangelicals for United Action, formally organized in Saint Louis on April 7, 1942. The purpose of this organization is to protect the rights and interests of "the great body of evangelical Christians" which is not truly represented by the Modernistic Federal Council.¹ The Association is working on a positive program in the fields of evangelism, relations with government, national and local use of radio, public relations, preservation of separation between church and state, Christian education and freedom for home and foreign missions.² It organized on a definite theological platform, beginning with the inspiration and infallibility of the Bible and ending with the spiritual unity of believers in Christ,³ in order to keep Modernism from its ranks. This organization is, with the American Council and other protesting persons, groups and denominations, living testimony both to the Modernism and the non-representative character of the Federal Council.

Calm, unruffled by the storm of protest which is brewing, the Federal Council continues to strive for its aim of a world church and world authority, an aim expressed in the following citations from Federal Council literature:

"We urge that Christian people in all lands make every possible effort to bring about a world political organization..."⁴

¹Evangelical Action, pp. 43, 102f., 118f.

²Ibidem, p. 104

³Ibidem, pp. 102-3

⁴From statement at Philadelphia Conference, Quoted in "The Federal Council Speaks..."

And another:

"The Christian forces of the world...should next declare...the corollary: that there must be a world authority to which alone the necessary aspects and degrees of sovereignty can be ceded by nations..."¹

The "world authority" would be a world council of churches; the "authority" governing the churches would be--the Federal Council.

We wish to conclude this paper with two words of our Savior:

"My kingdom is not of this world..."
John 18,36.

"Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you..."

Matthew 28, 19-20.

That is the work of Christ's Church, to bring in His Kingdom to the hearts of men, through the preaching of the Gospel of the Crucified Christ.

Lord, let Thy Kingdom come!

¹"The Federal Council Speaks" quoting a pamphlet published by the Federal Council in 1938.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL
OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
(1952 revised)

Preamble

Whereas, in the providence of God, the time has come
when it seems fitting more fully to manifest the essential
unity of the Christian churches of America in Jesus Christ
in their divine Lord and Father, and to promote the spirit
of fellowship, service, and cooperation among them, the
purpose of the International Conference on Federation attempted
in 1947-48, to hereby recommend the following Plan of
Federation to the constituent bodies represented in this confer-
ence for their approval;

APPENDICES

I. For the preparation of work that can be better done in
unity, there is proposed a Council to be hereby established
whose work shall be the Federal Council of the Churches of
Christ in America.

II. Constituted bodies shall be entitled to representation on
this Federal Council by their approval of the purpose and
Plan of this Federation.

III. The object of this Federal Council shall be:

- I. To address the spiritual and ethical
needs of the Christian Church.
- II. To bring the Christian bodies of America
into united service for Christ and the
world.
- III. To encourage doctrinal fellowship and
mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life
and religious activities of the churches.
- IV. To secure a larger combined influence for
the message of Christ in all matters
affecting the moral and social condition of
the people, so as to promote the application
of the law of Christ in every relation of
human life.
- V. To assist in the organization of local
branches of the Federal Council to promote
its aims in their communities.

IV. This Federal Council shall have no authority over the
constituent bodies adhering to it, but its practice shall be

APPENDIX I

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL
OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
(1932 Revision)

Preamble

Whereas, In the providence of God, the time has come when it seems fitting more fully (to manifest the essential oneness of the Christian churches of America in Jesus Christ as their divine Lord and Saviour, and to promote the spirit of fellowship, service, and cooperation among them,) the delegates to the Interchurch Conference on Federation assembled in New York City, do hereby recommend the following Plan of Federation to the Christian bodies represented in this Conference for their approval:

Plan of Federation

1. For the prosecution of work that can be better done in union than in separation a Council is hereby established whose name shall be the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
2. (Christian bodies shall be entitled to representation in this Federal Council on their approval of the purpose and plan of the organization:)
3. The object of this Federal Council shall be:
 - I. (To express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian Church.)
 - II. To bring the Christian bodies of America into united service for Christ and the world.
 - III. (To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the churches.)
 - IV. To secure a larger combined influence for the churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life.
 - V. To assist in the organization of local branches of the Federal Council to promote its aims in their communities.
4. This Federal Council shall have no authority over the constituent bodies adhering to it; but its province shall be

limited to the expression of its counsel and the recommending of a course of action in matters of common interest to the churches, local councils and individual Christians. It has no authority to draw up a common creed or form of government or of worship, or in any way to limit the full autonomy of the Christian bodies adhering to it.

5. Members of this Federal Council shall be appointed as follows:

Each of the Christian bodies adhering to this Federal Council shall be entitled to three members, and shall be further entitled to one member for every 100,000 of its communicants or major fraction thereof. Alternates may be chosen and certified to the Council in the same manner and to the same number as members to fill vacancies caused by the death, resignation, or permanent disqualification of members. Such alternates may also attend sessions of the Council in the absence of members and exercise all powers of members as temporary substitutes during such absence.

6. Any action to be taken by this Federal Council shall be by the general vote of its members. But in case one-third of the members present and voting request it, the vote shall be by the bodies represented, the members of each body voting separately; and action shall require the votes not only of a majority of the members voting, but also of the bodies represented.

7. Other Christian bodies may be admitted into membership of this Federal Council on their request if approved by a vote of two-thirds of the members voting at a session of this Council, and of two-thirds of the bodies represented, the representatives of each body voting separately.

8. The Federal Council shall meet once in every two years and the term of service of the members or their alternates shall be two years or until their successors shall be appointed. Special meetings may be called by the Executive Committee.

9. Section a. The officers of this Federal Council shall be a President, a Vice-president, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee, who shall perform the duties usually assigned to such officers. Vacancies in the representation of any denomination on the Executive Committee may be filled by the Executive Committee on nomination by the other representatives of that denomination on the Executive Committee, until the denomination itself shall provide otherwise.

Section b. The General Secretary and other secretaries of the Council except the Recording Secretary shall be chosen by the Executive Committee, which shall have authority to fix their duties and their salaries, and they shall aid in organizing and assisting local Councils and shall represent the Federal Council in its work under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Section c. The Executive Committee shall consist of two representatives from each of the constituent bodies, preferably one minister and one lay member, and one additional representative for every 500,000, or major fraction thereof, of its communicants, after the first 500,000, who may be either a minister or lay member, together with the President, the Vice-President, and the Treasurer. The Executive Committee shall have authority to attend to all business of the Federal Council in the intervals of its meetings and to fill all vacancies, except that it shall not have power to make any amendments to the Constitution or to the By-Laws. It shall meet for organization at the call of the President of the Council immediately upon the adjournment of the Federal Council, and shall have power to elect its own officers.

Section d. All officers shall be chosen at the biennial meetings of the Council and shall hold their offices until their successors take office.

Section e. The President, the Recording Secretary, and the Treasurer shall be elected by the Federal Council on nomination by the Executive Committee, but nominations may be made from the floor of the Council by any member at the time of election.

Section f. The members of the Executive Committee and their alternates shall be elected by the Council upon nomination by the representatives in attendance of each of their respective constituent bodies.

10. The expenses of the Federal Council shall be provided for by the several constituent bodies.

11. This Plan of Federation may be altered or amended by a majority vote of the members, followed by a majority vote of the representatives of the several constituent bodies, each voting separately. Amendments to this plan shall be reported officially to the several constituent churches.

BY-LAWS

(As adopted in 1908 and Amended
in 1924 and 1932)

Article I. Enrollment

The Recording Secretary and the Secretary, or Secretaries for administrative service, or a Committee, to whom this duty may be assigned by the Executive Committee, shall make up the roll of the members in the Council from the certificates of the proper officers of the bodies composing the Council, and no one not thus certified shall be enrolled. The Council shall determine any question arising as to the validity of the certificates.

Article II. Quorum

A quorum consists of two or more delegates from each of a majority of the bodies entitled to representation.

Article III. Officers

Section 1. The officers of the Council are a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer and secretaries for administrative service, and such associates and assistants as the Executive Committee may appoint.

Section 2. The President, the Vice-President, the Recording Secretary and the Treasurer shall be elected at each regular meeting. The Secretaries for administrative service shall be elected by the Executive Committee.

Section 3. The President and the Vice-President are not eligible for immediate reelection.

Section 4. (a) The President shall preside at meetings of the Council and of the Executive Committee; or, in his absence, the Vice-President. In the absence of both a chairman pro tem shall be named.

(b) The Executive Committee shall appoint the chairmen and the members of the various departments and committees.

Section 5. The Treasurer, the Secretaries and such officers as the Executive Committee may appoint shall be subject to the direction of the Executive Committee.

Section 6. The Treasurer shall give such security for the faithful performance of his duties as the Executive Committee may direct.

The Executive Committee shall have power to appoint such other fiscal officers as it may deem advisable and to designate their respective relations and duties and the bond which they shall give.

Section 7. Each officer holds office from the time of his election until the next regular meeting, and until his successor is elected, except that the Treasurer hold office until the close of the fiscal year.

Section 8. Officers elected by the Council are during their term of office ex-officio members of the Council.

Article IV. Executive Committee

Section 1. All members of the Executive Committee shall be communicant members of Christian bodies adhering to the Council.

Section 2. A quorum shall consist of fifteen members representing at least five denominations.

Section 3. The following shall be invited to attend meetings of the Executive Committee for consultation and advice but without the right to vote:

- a. Chairmen of departments who are members of the Executive by appointment of one of the constituent bodies.
- b. Two representatives of the group of fully organized and recognized state and local councils of churches, nominated by the Association of Executive Secretaries.
- c. Those persons, not to exceed twelve, who may be nominated, one each, by such agencies of organized Christian cooperation as may, by action of the Executive Committee, become enrolled as in affiliated, cooperative or consultative relations with the Federal Council.

Section 4. The Executive Committee shall determine the budget of the Council and all its departments and committees.

Section 5. The Executive Committee shall meet monthly except as otherwise determined by its own action.

Article V. Committees

The Council may appoint Committees on Enrollment, on Law, on Business, on Nominations, on Resolutions, and on such other matters as it may from time to time determine.

Article VI. Departments

Section 1. The Council, or the Executive Committee, may establish Departments and standing Committees to further the general purposes of the Council within specified fields of activity.

Section 2. The Departments and Standing Committees shall be subject to the Executive Committee and shall report to it at least twice a year.

Section 3. The chairmen and the members of departments and standing committees shall be elected by the Executive Committee. Whenever a department or committee operates in a field in which corresponding national denominational agencies exist, the Federal Council's department or committee may invite official representatives of those national denominational agencies, approved by the Executive Committee, to sit with them as corresponding members. All departments shall include, as corresponding members, representatives of state and local federations of churches, designated by the Association of Executive Secretaries.

Section 4. The departments and standing committees shall be accorded initiative and liberty of action in their methods and undertakings; but no utterance of any department or committee shall be made public until it has been approved by the Executive Committee. On the request of five members, representing at least three different denominations, action on any

proposal shall be deferred until after discussion at the next meeting after the one at which it is presented.

Section 5. All members of departments shall be members of Christian bodies adhering to the Council.

Article VII. Meetings

Section 1. Regular meetings of the Council shall be held biennially on the first Tuesday in December, unless otherwise voted by the Council or the Executive Committee, at such place and hour as may be determined by the Executive Committee.

Section 2. Special meetings may be called by the Executive Committee to consider only such matters as may be specified in the notice of the meetings.

Section 3. A postpaid notice mailed to the delegate and addressed to his last known place of residence shall constitute a notice of the meeting.

Article VIII. Amendments

These By-Laws may be amended at a regular meeting of the Council by a two-thirds vote of the members present and voting, provided (1) notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a preceding meeting of the Council, or (2) such amendment shall have been recommended by the Executive Committee.

APPENDIX II

DEPARTMENTS AND COMMITTEES
OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL
(1941)

Field Department

Department of Evangelism

Department of International Justice and Goodwill

Department of the Church and Social Service

Industrial Division

Commission on Marriage and the Home

Commission on Religion and Health

Department of Race Relations

Department of Relations with Churches Abroad

Department of Research and Education

Department of National Religious Radio

Commission for the Study of Christian Unity

Commission on Worship

General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains

Commission on Religious Work in the Canal Zone

Women's Cooperating Commission

Committee on Foreign Relief Appeals (Joint with Foreign
Missions Conference)

Committee on Town and Country (Joint with Home Missions
Council)

Commission on Public Relations

PERIODICALS

Federal Council Bulletin

Information Service

Interracial News Service

APPENDIX III

NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP OF FEDERAL COUNCIL (1940)

<u>Group</u>	<u>Religious Body</u>	<u>Membership</u>
Baptist	Northern Baptist Convention*	1,543,976
	National Baptist Convention	4,046,840
	Seventh Day Baptist General Convention	6,876
Brethren	United Brethren in Christ	421,689
Congregational	Christian Churches	11,049,679
Disciples	Disciples of Christ	1,658,966
Episcopal	Protestant Episcopal Church	1,996,434
	Reformed Episcopal Church	9,000
Evangelical	Evangelical Church	244,278
	Evangelical and Reformed Church	658,571
Friends	Religious Society of Friends (Orthodox)	68,000
Lutheran	United Lutheran Church (consultative)	1,611,778
Methodist	The Methodist Church	7,377,487
	African Methodist Episcopal Church	650,000
	African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church	414,244
	Colored Methodist Episcopal Church	365,000
Moravian	Moravian Church of North America	37,601
Orthodox	Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Church **	61,043
Presbyterian	Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.	1,971,364
	Presbyterian Church in the U.S.	532,135
	United Presbyterian Church	187,470
Reformed	Reformed Church in America	<u>163,135</u>
Total Membership in the United States		25,075,462
Canadian	United Church of Canada (affiliated)	<u>711,712</u>
Total		25,787,174

* Includes Free Baptists

** Ukrainian Orthodox Church joined Council December, 1942

APPENDIX IV

RADICAL ORGANIZATIONS SYMPATHETIC TO THE FEDERAL COUNCIL¹

1. **METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE:** "An organization" according to its Bulletin, "which seeks to abolish the profit system in order to develop a classless society based upon the obligation of mutual services"--which is a polite way of describing Communism. Its Social Questions Bulletin laments even the fact that "professional patriots are seeking laws to prevent even the discussion of the overthrow of government by force and violence." One of its joint-Secretaries was Winifred Chappell who served, at the same time, on a national Communist Campaign Committee and signed a manifesto endorsing the Communist platform. In public addresses and in published articles, she advised the Youth of America to join the Army in order to be able to sabotage the Nation's defenses from within! She is now an instructor (sic) in a Communist College. The other Secretary, the Rev. Harry F. Ward, alien-born Marxist leader, was, until recently, chairman of both Communist American League for Peace and Democracy and the Communist-defending American Civil Liberties Union. Ward has long been regarded as the Chief of Staff of the friends of Communism in America. There is no subversive movement in this country in which he does not wield an influence. Bishop Francis J. McCormell is president of the Federation.

2. **SOCIALIST PARTY:** Standard dictionaries make no distinction between Socialism and Communism, insofar as ultimate ends are concerned. Socialists seek to take over the government by legislative means, if possible, resorting to a throat-cutting revolution only as a last resort. Many Communist leaders of today got their training in the Socialist Party. Socialists and Communists cooperate in many specific activities on a United Front basis. Norman Thomas, former clergyman, and perennial Socialist candidate for a major public office, has, for years, worked in close harmony with the Federal Council of Churches officers in non-church movements. Earl Browder, General Secretary, Communist Party, explains: "The program of the Socialist and the program of the Communist Party have a common origin in the document written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1847-1848, known as the Communist Manifesto. There is no difference, so far as the program is concerned, in final aim. The difference between the Socialist and Communist parties are gradually being eliminated, and one unified Socialist or Communist movement is emerging."

¹The material presented in this appendix is taken verbatim from a pamphlet by A. Cloyd Gill (1940), and contained in the files of Dr. Theodore Graebner of Concordia Seminary, s.v. "Federal Council." The material is intended to give a brief view of the radical organizations with which the Federal Council is in some way inter-connected.

3. **FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION:** Radical-pacifist group using Christian terms to spread communistic propaganda. Circulated petitions for and played a leading role in bringing about the recognition of Russia in 1933. Is a section of the ultra-radical War Resisters International which, according to its literature, "believes a new social order can and will be established...it believes these changes can be accomplished by revolutionary uprisings... Every War Resister desires to take part in the struggle." Is a branch of International Fellowship of Reconciliation, which says "we must work for a radical reorganization of society" and insists that "the class war is a fact." The American branch was set up by Norman Thomas, Harry F. Ward, etc., in 1917. Propagandizes for "left wing Christianity" and against military training and National Defense.
4. **LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY:** Militant Socialist; for 35 years headed by Robert Morss Lovett, who has been active in Communist organizations, and has said that if America again "goes to war" that: "I shall take no part myself and shall do my best to defend others who take a similar stand." The LID propagandizes for "a new social order, based on production for use and not for profit." It has joined forces with the Communist Party and set up the American Student Union which was a merger of the student section of the League with the Student section of the Communist party. Its position best expressed by Paul Blanchard, former field secretary, who said: "I am sometimes ashamed that I am an American. Yes, I am red and pretty red...the things that happened in Russia are bound to happen in America. The working class must have more power. They can't get that power unless they take it from somebody else. We must honestly try to abolish the superstition of patriotism. I am an American only by accident of birth."
5. **ANTI-DIES COMMITTEE BLOC:** A United Front of Communists, Socialists, radical clergymen and educators has, ever since its formation, waged a relentless campaign against the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities. The Anti-Dies "bloc" has assailed the committee with a continuous barrage of abuse through petitions, radio protests, mass meetings, etc. Failing to kill the committee, the "bloc" has attempted to "smear" individual members of the committee and to nullify the results of its good work. Examine the names in the center of this chart and learn who among the Federal Council of Churches leaders have cooperated with these groups. Rev. Theodore (Dr.) Graebner, President (sic) of Concordia College (sic), a distinguished clergyman, testifying before the Dies Committee, said that the Federal Council had "meddled incessantly in political affairs, invariably sponsoring the ideals of radical groups." The Federal Council, meeting in Buffalo, in biennial session, sent a statement to the Dies Committee denying the allegation, saying such a statement "grossly misrepresent the spirit and activity of the Council." To date, the Council has NOT approved of the Dies Committee.

6. **PEOPLE'S LOBBY:** Its slogan, according to its officers is: "To balance consumption and production by eliminating profit." Benjamin C. Marsh, executive secretary of People's Lobby, writes: "Its program includes: Increased taxation of the rich; socialization of ground rent and reduction of interest rates as steps toward the elimination of profits; public ownership of banking, natural resources, transportation, communication and all basic industries; government marketing and government housing corporations; international cooperation through increased freedom of exchange and allocation of national resources and raw materials." This program is in accord with the Socialist-Communist system of Russia.
7. **COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM IN EDUCATION:** Cooperate with Socialist and Committee groups in waging relentless campaign against ROTC and military training in schools and colleges. Received \$12,400 from the "Red" Garland Fund to propagandize against military training in schools. Many of its officers are officers and leaders of the Federal Council of Churches. This group is listed by Walter S. Steele, in testimony before Dies Committee, as one of the "International Sections of World Revolutionary Youth Movement," along with Young Communist League, American Student Union, World Youth Congress, etc. It opposes National Defense work of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Reserve Officers Association, etc.
8. **UNITED CHRISTIAN COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY:** A United Front movement, sponsored by leading Socialists, Communistic and radical leaders in the churches. Its purpose, according to its official statement, was "to draw together the different left wing groups into a United Front Movement." Under guidance of leaders in the Federal Council of Churches, the new group has, since its formation, four years ago, in Columbus, Ohio, grown into a powerful organization, with nine sponsoring groups. It now is known, in some circles, as the "Red Christian Front." Under guidance of leaders one of its manor activities in 1940 was a militant campaign against the Dies Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, and to impede the efforts of the Committee to expose Communist and subversive individuals and organizations.
9. **WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE:** American affiliate of the revolutionary Socialist-Communist War Resisters International. Its pledge for enrollment says: "I declare it to be my intention never to take part in war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, whether it be by bearing arms, making or handling munitions, voluntarily subscribing to war loans, or using my labor for the purpose of setting others free from war service." One of its slogans is: "To unite men and women who have determined to give no support to any war, irrespective of the reasons." The League cosponsors numerous Communist-controlled movements and programs of Communist-dominated organizations.

10. **AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY:** This organization was set up on instructions from Moscow and formerly was known as the American League Against War and Fascism. It claims to have disbanded early in 1940 at the time it was said "to speak for" 7,500,000 "Americans." Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, one of the League's original vice-chairmen, testified before the Dies Committee, under oath, that the League was a "transmission belt" for Communist propaganda. The Dies Committee later branded it a Communist organization. Bishop Francis J. McConnell was a contributor to its official magazine and his daughter was director of its Women's Department. Rev. Harry F. Ward, close associate of Bishop McConnell, was national chairman of the League.
11. **NORTH AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO AID SPANISH DEMOCRACY:** Originally set up by the American League for Peace and Democracy, as a subsidiary. Its purpose was to spread propaganda and raise money for the Communist forces in Spain. Later, the committee became the clearing house for the numerous groups organized in the United States in the interest of Red Spain. Bishop McConnell was chairman of the Committee which, according to records of the State Department, raised millions of dollars for Spain's reds and their activities. Officers and members of the Federal Council who cooperated with the Committee and served as "window-dressing" for many of its activities are shown on the accompanying chart.
12. **CHURCH LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY:** An offshoot of the League for Industrial Democracy. Distributes LID literature, in addition to its own. "We are people" says its own executive secretary, the Rev. William B. Spofford, "who are classed all the way from liberals to Communists." the CLID is a radical pressure group operating within the churches to agitate against Constitutional government and to promote a social order patterned after that of Soviet Russia. Its statement of principles says: "We face a world in revolution. We believe that the Church is ready and anxious to discover how it can best be useful in forwarding the New Order...we intend to assist in recruiting candidates for the ministry as shall enter it with desire for socialized leadership." Dr. Spofford, in the past, has served as Acting Chairman of the Communist American League for Peace and Democracy, during the absence of Dr. Harry F. Ward. CLID field secretaries function at the same time in the same capacity for the ALP&D and the United Christian Council for Democracy. Dr. Spofford was a signer of the radical manifesto, of the Church Socialist League, calling for a "complete revolution of our present economic and social disorder," etc. This League was absorbed by the Church League for Industrial Democracy.
13. **NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION:** Set up by radicals, in 1932, to propagandize "the new social order"; to give active cooperation to strikers, at the same time seeking the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system. Its directing personnel and National Committee is composed almost

exclusively of Socialists and Communists. Writing in its official organ, one of its officers says: "It is no longer a question of the need of revolution; the question is as to the method of bringing the revolution to pass...the work of revolt will have to be carried through a trained and disciplined group who will know how to function in a Lenin-leadership when the hour of opportunity comes. Our concern is to build the understanding leadership from those who are ready to talk business and digest the strong meat of direct revolutionary preparation." The official organ also said: "...in areas of class warfare we feel that the innate reverence of the average policeman for the religious habit will protect our own heads from his blows, and so, we place ourselves in the place of greatest danger, we can also by that very act, protect the workers."

14. **EMERGENCY PEACE CAMPAIGN:** Daily newspapers of April 19, 1936 said: "A two-year 'mobilization for peace,' directed by a united front of many of the nation's leading Communists, Socialists, pacifists and radicals will be launched this week." Such was the beginning of the so-called Emergency Peace Campaign which owed its success largely to support given by the Federal Council of Churches and scores of the Council's members. Numerous Communist organizations, such as the American Student Union, whose campus strikes were financed by the Emergency Peace Student Union, gained in prestige and numbers by such intimate association with outstanding churchmen. Field workers for the Peace Campaign were trained at a Communist College. Scores of clergymen, many of them Federal Council members, preached 'inspired' sermons, for the Campaign, for an honorarium.
15. **AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS:** The Congress, as now constituted, was set up by the Communist Party and its stooges, and is under their domination. It is a major section of the Communist-led World Youth Congress. It follows, without deviation, the policies of the Communist International, and publicly boasts, through its officers, that some of its members are Communists. The so-called "brain trust" of the American Youth Congress are, in the main, officers either of the Communist Party or the Young Communist League, or both. When the World Youth Congress met in the U.S. in 1938, with the American section as host, many officers of the Federal Council of Churches were on the board of sponsors and one Federal Council executive, made the opening remarks. Junior Hadassah, Jewish young people's group (20,000 members) publicly branded the American Youth Congress as Communist-controlled and withdrew (May 1940) as an affiliate.
16. **AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION:** "A supporter of all subversive movements; its propaganda is detrimental to the State," said a New York Legislative Committee on Subversive Activities. A Congressional Committee identified the ACLU as being "closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 per cent of its efforts are on behalf of Communists." A Massachusetts Legislative Committee reported "the propaganda of this organization is dictated and dominated by Communists and Communist sympathizers." The ACLU, for 20

was headed by Dr. Harry F. Ward. It still has Communists as members, though it is publicly conducting a purge to eliminate Communists from its official board. However, Roger W. Baldwin, who has written, for publication, that "Communism is the goal" remains as its director. Study the list of Federal Council of Churches members and officers, in this chart, and note that several of them are associated with the American Civil Liberties Union. In fact, the charge has been made, so often, that the ACLU and FC had an "interlocking directorate" between its governing boards, that the Council has been forced to make a public denial.

CROSS SECTION STUDY OF 60 FC OFFICERS, LEADERS AND MEMBERS, AND A FEW OF THE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE USED THEIR NAMES AS OFFICERS, MEMBERS OR SPONSORS.

(Numerals following names refer to organizations above).

Roswell P. Barnes - 3,2,9,11,13,14,15
Albert W. Beaven - 13,14
Hugh Chamberlain Burr - 2,3,6,11
Edgar F. Blake - 10,11,16
W. Russell Bowie - 3,5,9,11,12
George A. Buttrick - 3,11,14
Samuel McCrea Cavert - 9,11
Allan Knight Chalmers - 2,3,7,11,13,14
Winifred Chappell - 1,3,4,10
Jerome Davis - 2,3,4,5,6,9,11,13,14,15,16,8
Dorothy Setzer - 4,7,11,15,14
Ralph E. Diffendorfer - 1,3,11
Sherwood Eddy - 2,7,9,10,11,13,14,16
Harold E. Fey - 2,3,8,13,14,16
Charles K. Gilbert - 4,12
Henry A. Atkinson - 6,15
L. O. Hartman - 1,10,11
Hubert C. Herring - 2,4,11,13,16
Emily Hickman - 10,15
William Lloyd Ines - 5,10,11,15
Ivan Lee Holt - 11,14
Lym Harold Hough - 13
Paul Hutchinson - 1,2,4,11,13,16
Samuel Guy Inman - 11,14
Edgar DeWitt Jones - 10,11,14
Clarence W. Kemper - 2,11
John W. Langdale - 2
John Howland Lathrop - 2,3,5,7,16
Henry Smith Lieper - 5,15,16
Halford E. Luccock - 1,2,3,5,9,11,13
Harry W. Laidler - 2,3,4,6
Eduard C. Lindeman - 3,5,6,9,10,11,15,16
J. Howard Melish - 2,11,12
Charles Clayton Morrison - 9,11,13,14,16
Abraham J. Muste - 3,4,7,9,13,16
James Myers - 3,6,8,12,16
Francis J. McConnell - 1,2,5,6,4,8,9,10,11,12,13,16..

Reinhold Niebuhr - 2,3,4,6,8,9,10,11,13,14
G. Bromley Oxnam - 1,3,9,11,13,16
Kirby Page - 2,3,4,7,9,13,14,16
Albert W. Palmer - 3,9,14
A. Clayton Powell - 3,5,10,11,15
Vida D. Scudder - 2,4,5,12,16
Robert W. Searle - 3,11,13,14
Guy Emery Shipley - 5,10,11,12,13
Ralph W. Sockman - 3,14,15
Mary Kingsbury Simkovitch - 11,12,15
William B. Spofford - 2,3,5,10,11,12,16,8
Alva W. Taylor - 6,13,14
Worth M. Tippy - 1
Ernest F. Tittle - 1,2,3,4,11,13,14,16,9
Henry P. Van Dusen - 2,9,13
Walter Van Kirk - 9,14,15
Harry F. Ward - 1,3,10,11,16,8
Luther A. Weigle - 9,11,13
L. Hollingsworth Wood - 3,9,13,16
Herbert L. Willett - 2,9
Mary E. Woolley - 3,5,9,11,15,16
Winifred Wygall - 2,7,13,15
