
"Move the Olympics!" "Germany Must Be Told!"

Charles Clayton Morrison and Liberal Protestant Christianity's Support of the 1936 Olympic Boycott Effort

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In the two-year period leading up to the 1936 Olympic festivals in Garmisch-Partenkirchen and Berlin, Germany, a growing controversy centered in a number of nations on the appropriateness of holding these festivals in that country, given the policies of the National Socialist, or more commonly known, Nazi government. It had become apparent that the regime was imposing increasingly harsh laws restricting the rights of people of Jewish origin within Germany. More specific to the Olympic Games and sport in general was the fact that Jews were, by 1934, being denied membership in private sport clubs, the primary avenue in Germany for developing elite athletes, and that Catholic sport clubs also were being dissolved. Moreover, International Olympic Committee (IOC) rules and policies were being violated by early pronouncements that non-Aryan athletes would not be allowed on the German Olympic team, and by actions taken to replace existing German members of the IOC and the German Olympic Committee with party members. Finally, members of the Protestant Christian clergy, churches, and organizations who did not sign on to acknowledge allegiance to the Nazi party and its policies were also harassed, beaten, and imprisoned, and, in the case of youth groups, including sport clubs, disbanded.¹

As news of these bigotries in Nazi sporting practices as well as a growing number of discriminatory policies in other areas of German society became known, many in the United States and in other nations began to question the propriety of sending a team to an event that was also becoming a major propaganda tool for the Nazi party. Most vocal in their opposition to American participation were various organizations within the Jewish and Roman Catholic communities. In addition, individuals both inside and outside the two most prominent amateur sport organizations in the United States -- The Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) and the American Olympic Committee

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(AOC) -- vociferously argued the case for moving them to another nation or boycotting them altogether. While the most frequently stated argument was based upon apparent violations of the *Olympic Charter*, the major underlying theme for many, including the religious community, was the flagrant denial of basic human rights that was becoming increasingly prevalent within Germany.²



While there has been significant scholarly coverage of the efforts to stop the Games from being held in Germany, limited attention has been given to documenting the role, or lack thereof, of the various religious denominations and leaders in this movement. Richard Mandell, one of the most prominent scholars of the 1936 Olympic Games and author of the acclaimed book, *The Nazi Olympics*, devotes fifteen pages to a discussion of the boycott effort, but aside from noting the Catholic affiliation of one prominent player and the work of two or three Jewish organizations, makes only one reference to any role played by the numerous Protestant Christian denominations or non-denominational periodicals, and includes a single quote from the American Catholic magazine, *Commonweal*.³ Allen Guttman in his book, *The Games Must Go On*, does mention editorials appearing in *Commonweal*, and the liberal Protestant periodical, *Christian Century*, as well as the Catholic War Veterans organization and several prominent Catholic politicians, including James Curley and David I. Walsh of Massachusetts and Al Smith of New York.⁴ Guttman, Kestner, and Eisen cite similar instances in a work entitled, "Jewish Athletes and the 'Nazi Olympics.'"⁵ For the most part, however, attention to the Protestant Christian role in the entire episode has been neglected.

The relationship of the liberal wing of American Protestant Christianity to the boycott effort can profitably be examined through the editorial stance of Charles Clayton Morrison, owner of the highly influential, *The Christian Century* magazine. While other American liberal Protestant Christian leaders such as Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Dr. S. Parks Cadman, Rev. George Gordon Battle, and Dr. Mary G. Wooley, were vocal in support of the boycott effort and served on the Committee for Fair Play in Sports,⁶ it was Morrison's journal that devoted the most space to the issue. Reviewing articles and editorials appearing in *The Christian Century* and other publications, as well as the over-all theological and political philosophy of the liberal or "modernist" wing of Protestantism, this study examines the following questions: Why did Morrison, through the pages of his liberal, non-denominational journal, choose to focus attention on the effort to move the Games from Germany? How did it fit with the "social gospel" that had guided liberal Protestantism for the preceding half-century and especially with the growing pacifism and emphasis on nurturing international relationships? Given the widespread, anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic sentiment prevalent within much of American Protestantism during the 1930s, were Morrison

and his colleagues reflecting opposition to such sentiments or were they motivated more by the Nazi assault on all Christian opposition within Germany? Finally, how representative were they of American Protestantism in general?

The Protestant periodical that appears to have had the most to say about the proposed boycott was *The Christian Century*. In the August 7, 1935 issue there appeared a full-page editorial entitled, "Move the Olympics!" This was immediately followed by editorials in the issues of August 14 and 28.⁷ One year later, preceding, during and following the conclusion of the Games in Berlin, three additional articles and editorials appeared, all speaking to the view that the Nazis, as predicted, achieved much propaganda value from the festival. How and why did this single journal come to involve itself so heavily in this one event?

The owner and editor was Charles Clayton Morrison, an ordained Disciples of Christ minister in Chicago who had purchased the small, struggling denominational magazine in 1908. Originally a periodical aimed largely at the Disciples' denominational constituency in terms of editorial and news content, *The Christian Century*, in 1916, expanded its coverage beyond its traditional Midwest roots and broadened the readership to a national and interdenominational base. The masthead now included the statement, "An Undenominational Journal of Religion."⁸

Morrison, originally from the small town of Jefferson, Iowa, was called to the Monroe Street Christian Church in Chicago around the turn of the twentieth century. During and immediately following his undergraduate years at Drake University in Des Moines, Iowa, he had begun his ministry as preacher at a larger church in Perry, Iowa. His new church, near the University of Chicago, brought him in contact with the community of scholars at the Divinity School of that institution. Particularly influential were such distinguished Disciples leaders as Herbert L. Willett, a staunch supporter of the, then controversial, higher biblical criticism, and Edward Scribner Ames. A centre for the "modernist" movement in Protestant Christianity, the University and its Divinity School proved to be an intellectually stimulating place for the young Morrison. At this time, Willett was a regular contributor and one of several editors of the struggling *Century Magazine*. After a few years, Morrison realized a long-time dream by enrolling in the Graduate School, but instead of entering the Divinity School, he opted for the Department of Philosophy, led by John Dewey. He shared the reasoning for his decision in his unpublished memoirs: "I had a theory that the problems of theology originated in philosophy, and I wanted to get to the bottom of things."⁹ According to one writer, it was perhaps here, that the young minister and journalist identified a "...permanent interest in exploring the relationships between religion and its surrounding culture, with the result that a unique feature of the *Century* came to be its openness to articles on topics – political and literary, for instance – that did not commonly appear in religious publications."¹⁰

Over the next several decades that surrounding culture would provide rich territory in which to indulge this interest. World War I, the League of Nations, the World Court, prohibition, racial injustice, capitalistic excesses of the 1920s and economic depression of the 1930s, the rise of fascism in Germany and Italy, America's entry into World War II, the birth of the United Nations, and the beginning of the Cold War; all these and more found their way into the pages of *The Christian Century* between 1916 and 1950. Through all of this the *Century* became a leading voice of liberal/modernistic Protestantism in the United States. Convinced of the wrongheadedness

of World War I, and especially of its support by most of the Christian leaders at the time of America's entry into that conflict in 1917, liberal Protestant pastors and theologians embraced the League of Nations and pacifism.¹¹ Morrison, through the pages of his magazine, helped to lead the movement and devoted countless words to supporting efforts at international cooperation and religious ecumenism, especially among Protestant denominations. Given this perspective, the founding of the Federal (later National) Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches naturally garnered his support. A significant portion of the liberal movement within the mainstream Protestant denominations also embraced socialism as a counter to what was seen as rampant capitalism and disregard for the poor and dispossessed. The coming of the Great Depression only strengthened this position.¹²

Morrison also spoke out forcefully for racial justice and against the Ku Klux Klan and other voices of bigotry in the 1920s and 1930s, i.e., Father Coughlin, Henry Ford. Liberal Protestantism was particularly cognizant of the presence of anti-Semitism in the United States. Numerous articles were published that were not only favourable to Jews but encouraged continual dialogue between Christians and Jews. The founding of the National Council of Christians and Jews in the early 1920s was met with obvious pleasure in the offices of *The Century*. Overall, the record of Protestant leadership and publications was positive in terms of relationships with and respect for their Jewish brothers and sisters.¹³ This was all the more remarkable in the face of a great deal of anti-Semitism and racial bigotry in the country as a whole, including rank-and-file churchgoers. For instance, the Klan itself was made up primarily of those who would identify themselves as practicing Protestant Christians. And occasionally, anti-Jewish statements would appear in a mainstream Protestant publication. For instance, one Methodist minister, in a brief 1935 essay in *The Richmond Christian Advocate*, while hastening to establish that he was in no way condoning "...the anti-Semitic [*sic*] activities of the German people," nevertheless devoted the remainder of the piece to blaming the "characteristics" of the Jews for most of their problems. He summarizes his case with the following:

More than two-thirds of their history has been a continuous record of what has been called oppression and persecution. This is a well known fact which I think makes it impossible to attribute their misfortunes over a period of near four thousand years and in many lands to the intolerance of any particular form of religion, or to the character of any particular people; and furthermore, should lead us to suspect that the character and conduct of the Jews themselves, must be responsible for the most of their troubles.¹⁴

Writing in a similar vein a few years earlier, a weekly contributor to the *United Presbyterian* wrote, "Where he [the Jew] predominates in a community he is said to be as a rule intolerable as a neighbor. He is offensive in his almost total lack of thoughtfulness and consideration of the rights of others. His children are as a rule utterly lawless."¹⁵ While such biased pieces occasionally appeared in the mainstream Protestant press during the 1920s and 1930s, they appear to have been infrequent and the overall tone of respect and support was usually strengthened by calls for brotherhood and increased dialogue and interaction.¹⁶ It was within this context that Morrison and his staff chose to speak out in support of either moving the Games from

Germany or boycotting them.

It is not surprising that Morrison's first editorial statement on the subject in the August 7, 1935 issue promoted the idea of moving the Games to another country rather than staging a boycott. Given his position toward peaceful confrontation and organizations promoting international cooperation throughout the post-World War I era, moving the games would be seen as a non-military means of sending a message to Germany while not interrupting the Olympic Games as a movement for promoting international goodwill and friendship.¹⁷ In reviewing the known outrages against all religious faiths within Germany, the editorial was quick to caution against U.S. government interference while at the same time acknowledging the need for the nations of the world to speak out against such atrocities:

So deeply have Americans been stirred by these recent outrages that there is a general and spreading feeling that if nothing is done to express revulsion and moral condemnation while these malignant forces vent their evil upon innocent Jewish, Protestant and Catholic people, our own ethical sense will be stultified. This action cannot, of course, be taken by the government. Whatever the provocation, there must be no infringement of the rule against official interference in the internal affairs of another nation.¹⁸

The emphasis on non-governmental involvement by the United States and others, of course, was the expression of a fear that such a move would almost inevitably lead to war. Moving the Games, Morrison suggests, would not only send a message to the Nazis and the German people that the rest of the world condemned the persecution taking place inside its borders but would also ". . . preserve the nature of the games." The column continues: "The games are supposed to promote international friendship by an exhibition of sportsmanship and fair play. Fair play in Germany! Can anyone who reads the press dispatches take stock in that?"¹⁹ Convinced that the Nazis planned to make political capital out of hosting the Olympic Games, Morrison concludes:

To let the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish youth of Germany know that the outside world is not indifferent to the persecution being inflicted upon them, and to let the nazi [*sic*] leaders know of the horror with which their brutality is regarded, let the athletic authorities of America move to take the Olympics from Berlin! A move of this sort made in this country will be followed in other countries. It will have immediate moral effect inside Germany. It should, therefore, be made without delay. Germany must be told!²⁰

Throughout the editorial, Morrison refers to the persecution and discrimination affecting Jews, Catholics and Protestants. As a Protestant clergyman, he would have a natural concern for his fellow believers in Germany. But as a proponent of basic human rights as well as of ecumenism among all Christians and Jews, his wording is consistent with his liberal theological philosophy.

Building upon this theme, a second article in *The Christian Century* the following week focused attention upon an editorial in the Roman Catholic paper, *Commonweal*, which appealed to American Catholic athletes to boycott the Olympics if they were not moved from Germany because of the discrimination that the Nazi govern-

ment had been practicing against Catholic youth organizations.²¹ Again, Morrison points to the Protestant interests as well when he writes, "The argument is absolutely sound. A government that suppresses all youth organizations except those that it controls, and permits athletics only as an instrument of statecraft, does not have the spirit of sport in it. Catholic athletes should stay away. So should Protestant athletes, for the same reason. Protestant youth organizations also have been banned; but even if they had not, the treatment of the Catholic youth should be enough to keep all Christians from permitting themselves to be used for a nazi [sic] carnival."²²

In a third editorial two weeks later, Morrison underscored the news that the Austrian government would not permit its athletes to compete and that the Pennsylvania posts of the American Legion had ". . . sent a resolution to the Amateur Athletic Union demanding that America refrain from giving this inferential endorsement to the nazi [sic] conception of good sportsmanship and fair play."²³ Continuing, he urged readers to begin a letter writing campaign to sports editors of newspapers and to local AAU affiliates urging their delegates to pass resolutions in favour of either moving the games or boycotting them. These resolutions could then be forwarded to the national body which had already gone on record agreeing that the Nazis had, in fact, met the requirements of non-discrimination regarding participation in the Games. Nevertheless, he felt that the one way they might be forced to back down would be by an overwhelming expression of public opinion. He optimistically felt that ". . . such an expression seems to be in process of formation."²⁴ Letter writing was an often-used tool of Morrison and the other activist members of liberal Protestantism and it was only natural for them to again rely upon a familiar weapon, naive as it might be in the face of the forces arrayed against them. After all, this was a group that regularly flew in the face of popular winds.



This was the last of the editorials or articles regarding the Games published in the pages of *The Christian Century* until September 2, 1936, when a piece entitled, "Germany in Olympic Dress," appeared under the by-line of Sherwood Eddy, noted author and speaker, international evangelist for the YMCA in Asia, and confirmed pacifist during the 1920s and '30s.²⁵ Eddy saw ". . .internationalism as a fundamental part of Christian responsibility."²⁶ In a page and a half report, Eddy described the scene in Berlin from his perspective on the eve of the Olympic festival, noting especially how: "All Berlin was decorated with gay flags and surging with crowds for the Olympic Games, on which some forty million dollars have been spent, so the nazis [*sic*] were on dress parade, trying to make the best possible impression. In general, things were somewhat better and outwardly more respectable than last year, with less violence for the time being."²⁷ However, following an analysis of several aspects of German political and cultural life, he concludes, "The nazis [*sic*] may boast of their propaganda at the Olympic games, but they would not take down their Jew-baiting *Der Sturmer* even during this dress parade month. It is the most poisonous and pornographic, the most false and filthy sheet, the most shameless and disgraceful weekly that exists upon our planet. It is a symbol and a brand of shame upon the German government and people."²⁸



The final comment by *The Christian Century* on the subject came in a brief front-page editorial on October 14, 1936 under the heading, "Mr. Brundage Comes Marching Home." Here, Morrison vented his obviously pent-up rage on the person he considered a chief American apologist for the Nazi regime:

Avery Brundage has returned to the United States. Amid controversy he took an American team to the Olympic games in Berlin. Amid more controversy he kept it there. And now he comes back, apparently determined to produce still more controversy. For Mr. Brundage returns as an ecstatic nazi [*sic*] admirer. Last week the American-German Bund (it was the Friends of New Germany until the intimacy of its relations with Dr. Gobbels' [*sic*] propaganda ministry was revealed) held a celebration in New York. The German ambassador was there. The mayor of Stuttgart was there. But neither the ambassador nor the mayor, despite their homage to Hitler, received such an ovation as Mr. Brundage. It is to nazi [*sic*] Germany, Mr. Brundage declared, that America must look to learn how to deal with its problems. [He said] "We, too, if we wish to preserve our institutions, must stamp out communism. We, too, must take steps to arrest the decline of patriotism." No wonder that after Mr. Brundage finished, his auditors, in transports of joy, sprang to their feet to sing "Deutschland uber Alles" and the Horst-Wessel song! Our readers will recall that, when the question of American participa-

tion at Berlin was under discussion, *The Christian Century* opposed such participation because it believed that the nazis [*sic*] intended to use the Olympic games to spread nazi [*sic*] doctrines outside Germany. Mr. Brundage now proves that the suspicion was well-founded.²⁹

Morrison and his staff at *The Christian Century* continued over the next five years to speak out on Nazi atrocities while at the same time urging a neutral stance for America concerning the looming European and Asian wars. They continued to urge their readers, especially those who were members of the clergy, to keep these issues before their people, and for the various denominations to speak out publicly against support for Germany and on behalf of those religious leaders and parishioners of all faiths who were resisting Hitler's policies. The neutralist message continued right up to the final issue prior to Pearl Harbor. Following that momentous event, Morrison reluctantly accepted the reality of war, calling it the "unnecessary necessity."³⁰ For the duration of the conflict, the magazine concentrated on a message of building a permanent post-war peace and to begin that process by avoiding the demonization of the common people in the enemy nations, including racial phobias, discrimination,³¹ and "...to hold at bay the demon of imperialistic ambition."³²

Conclusions

Based on his published views in *The Christian Century*, it is clear that Morrison's focus on the Olympic Games of 1936 was consistent with his social gospel and modernist theological leanings which honoured basic human rights, encouraged an ecumenical spirit that recognized the brotherhood and sisterhood of all people regardless of faith tradition, and urged the creation and strengthening of structures for international cooperation, diplomacy and justice, which included the League of Nations, the World Court, and, of course, the Olympic movement. Throughout his campaign to either move the Games from Germany or to boycott them, Morrison never criticized the movement itself but, instead, urged it to be true to its own charter in terms of fair play for all.

An examination of the numerous editorials appearing in *The Christian Century* over a period of many years reveals a steady commitment to fighting anti-Semitism and encouraging ecumenical relationships and cooperation across all religious boundaries, including Judaism. This was consistent with the positions espoused within most of mainstream Protestantism in spite of occasional anti-Semitic statements appearing in the publications of these groups. Therefore, overall, on this issue *The Christian Century* writers and mainstream Protestant leadership were of one accord when it came to supporting human rights in the face of what was happening in Nazi Germany. From a post-World War II perspective Morrison's belief that the German government might reform itself out of embarrassment if the Games were moved or boycotted might seem hopelessly naive. However, based upon liberal Protestantism's own embarrassment from enthusiastically supporting America's involvement in World War I only to conclude afterward that the government had misled the people, Morrison and others were reluctant to believe the very worst stories about the National Socialist leadership in the 1930s and therefore, were of the opinion that they might be persuaded by world opinion to change their ways. In other words, they had

great faith in the phrase, "Germany Must Be Told!"

End notes

1. For a fuller discussion of Nazi sport policies and Olympic dilemmas see the following: Richard D. Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971); Arnd Kruger and William Murray, eds., *The Nazi Olympics: Sport, Politics, and Appeasement in the 1930s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Allen Guttmann, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Allen Guttmann, "The 'Nazi Olympics' and the American Boycott Controversy," in P. Arnaud and J. Riordan, eds., *Sport and International Politics: The Impact of Fascism and Communism on Sport* (London: Spon, 1998); Alfred E. Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games: A History of the Power Brokers, Events, and Controversies that Shaped the Games* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1999).
2. The Nazi violations of human rights directed at the Jewish population included official decrees such as those restricting civil service employment and access to education as well as the unofficial acts of street violence. For a full description of these violations and the world's reaction to them, the following sources are helpful: Robert H. Abzug, *America Views the Holocaust, 1933-1945: A Brief Documentary History* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999); David S. Wyman, *The World Reacts to the Holocaust* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry, 1932-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1990.
3. Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, p. 77.
4. Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), p. 72.
5. Allen Guttmann, Heather Kestner, and George Eisen, "Jewish Athletes and the 'Nazi Olympics,'" in Kay Schaffer and Sidonie Smith, eds., *The Olympics at the Millennium: Power, Politics, and the Games*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000).
6. The Committee on Fair Play in Sports was formed in 1935 with a membership of 46 persons for the purpose of building a case for removing the 1936 Olympic Games from Germany or boycotting them, and as a response to the American Olympic Committee's pamphlet, *Fair Play for American Athletes*. On October 24, 1935, the Committee, with a significant number of Christian clergy and denominational college and seminary presidents from across the United States, released a statement along with a pro-boycott pamphlet entitled, *Preserve the Olympic Ideal*. For further discussion of these two publications see, Mark S. Dyreson, "America's Athletic Missionaries: The Olympic Games and the Creation of a National Culture, 1896-1936," Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Arizona, 1989, pp. 796-799.

7. In the summer of 1935 the release of Olympic tickets for sale was accompanied by continued controversy over the boycott issue. *The Commonweal* and *Christian Century* articles were published in August. With the American Olympic Committee (AOC) on record in support of participation in 1934, confirmation of American participation in Berlin hinged on the Amateur Athletic Union voicing its support at its annual convention in December, 1935. As it turned out, Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), which certified the amateur status of American Olympians) support was not necessary as Brundage, the American Olympic Committee's (AOC) president, reached an agreement with Henri Baillet-Latour, the IOC President, that negated the need for the AAU's certification process. Without the AAU's support, however, the AOC's fundraising efforts would have been complicated, thereby perhaps limiting the size of the U.S. contingent. See Stephen Wenn, "Deathknell for the AAU: Avery Brundage, Jeremiah Mahoney and the 1935 AAU Convention," *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 13 (December, 1996), pp. 261-289.
8. Linda-Marie Delloff, "Charles Clayton Morrison: Shaping a Journal's Identity," *The Christian Century*, January 19, 1984, p. 47.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Following WWI, as news about the battlefield horrors of that conflict became known and as historians began to identify the factors leading to the war with conclusions that no single aggressor nation could be legitimately identified, liberal Protestantism (including most mainline denominations) felt betrayed and moved rapidly toward a more pacifist, and definitely a more diplomacy-based position related to international conflict. For fuller discussion see the following: Randall Balmer, *Grant Us Courage: Travels Along the Mainline of American Protestantism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Elizabeth Bounds, *Coming Together/Coming Apart: Religion, Community, and Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Paul A. Carter, *The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1954), Robert Moats Miller, *American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1958); and, Gary Dorrien, *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Idealism, Realism, & Modernity, 1900-1950* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003).
12. For extensive documentation and analysis of liberal Protestantism's socialist leanings of the 1930s and its responses to the Great Depression see: Miller, *American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939*; Carter, *The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel*, and, Dorrien, *The Making of American Liberal Theology*.
13. Miller, *American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939*, p. 296.

14. Fred G. Davis, "The Nazis Drive Against The Jews," *The Richmond Christian Advocate* (October 3, 1935), p. 8.
15. H. H. Marlin, cited in Miller, *American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939*, p. 294.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 296.
17. Ironically, three years earlier, on the eve of the 1932 Olympic Games of Los Angeles, and with past U.S. domination and American fan jingoism in mind. *The Christian Century* editor satirized, "As promoters of good will the Olympic games [sic] of the past have been about equal to a second-rate war. So far as we know, no one has been killed yet at one of these athletic love feasts. Well, Let's Hope for the Best," *The Christian Century*, August 3, 1932, p. 949. Given its pacifistic leanings, such a stance by the journal is not surprising. The change of heart in 1935 may have reflected recognition of the growing threat of Nazi Germany and the visibility of the Games as a peaceful means to thwart Hitler's propaganda efforts.
18. "Move the Olympics!" *The Christian Century*, August 7, 1935, p. 1007.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 1008.
21. "Rising Protest Against Olympics at Berlin," *The Christian Century*, August 14, 1935, p. 1029; and, "The Olympic Games," *The Commonwealth*, August 9, 1935, pp. 353-355.
22. "Rising Protest Against Olympics at Berlin," *The Christian Century*, August 14, 1935, p. 1029.
23. "Protests Continue Against the Berlin Olympics," *The Christian Century*, August 28, 1935, pp. 1075,1076.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 1076.
25. In 1939 Eddy abdicated the latter position, joining theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr in accepting the "just war" position.
26. Harold Josephson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), p. 244.
27. Eddy Sherwood, "Germany in Olympic Dress," *The Christian Century*, September 2, 1936, p. 1154.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 1155.
29. "Mr. Brundage Comes Marching Home," *The Christian Century*, October 14,

1936, p. 1347.

30. "The Unnecessary Necessity," *The Christian Century*, December 17, 1941, pp. 1565-1568.
31. "What Shall the Christian Do?" *The Christian Century*, May 6, 1942, p. 582.
32. Mark G. Toulouse, "The 'unnecessary necessity': The CENTURY in World War II," *The Christian Century*, July 5, 2000, p. 726-729.