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THE BEST AND WORST OF TIMES



THE UNITED STATES ARMY CHAPLAINCY 1920-1945





THE BEST AND WORST OF TIMES

THE UNITED STATES ARMY CHAPLAINCY

1920—1945

by

Robert L. Gushwa

Volume IV

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FOREWORD

This volume is one of a series of five prepared by various authors, designed to be useful and instructive regarding the long history of the United States Army Chaplaincy. The emphasis throughout is on how Chaplains did their ministry in the contexts of both war and peace. The series seeks to present as full and as balanced an account as limitations of space and research time permit. The bibliography in each volume offers opportunities for further research leading to detailed studies, articles, monographs, and perhaps even volumes regarding persons, developments, and events of the period concerned. No attempt has been made to express any specific point of view or to make policy recommendations. The contents of each volume represent the work of the individual author and do not represent the official view of the United States government.

An effort has been made to make this volume as complete and factual as possible. In the light of new information and developments, there may be modifications required concerning the material, interpretations, and conclusions presented. Such corrections, additions, and suggestions as readers may have are welcome for use in future revisions; they should be addressed to:

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Chaplain Robert L. Gushwa, a Regular Army chaplain of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., is the writer of this volume. Chaplain Gushwa was born and educated in Indiana. He served as pastor of civilian congregations in Kentucky, Florida, and Ohio, before entry on active duty in 1964. He has served at Fort Eustis, Virginia; Fort Bragg, North Carolina; Fort Benning, Georgia; Fort Wadsworth, New York; and overseas, in Germany and Vietnam. He has been awarded the Bronze Star with V device and Oak Leaf Cluster, the Meritorious Service Medal, the Army Commendation Medal with second Oak Leaf Cluster, and the Master Parachutist Badge.

PREFACE

Charles Dickens wrote in *A Tale of Two Cities*:

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way. . . .¹

Written in 1859, these words characterize and give the title to this volume. The twenties, thirties, and forties were the best and worst of times for America and the times were reflected in the ministry of the chaplains.

"The decade of the twenties is the most sharply defined decade in American history" wrote Sydney Ahlstrom.² The decade was marked by war at one end and depression at the other. Chapter I, "From World War to Market Crash," describes the ministry of Army chaplains, and the growth toward an upgraded professionalism within the institution during the period.

The 1930's, whether seen as the Great Depression or the New Deal, had no precedent in United States history. Chaplains ministered not only to the small peacetime Army, but also to young men in the Civilian Conservation Corps in a new opportunity for expanded service. Fear, hunger, and desperation became facts of life as privation spread across the country. Part of the nation was committed to pacifism, isolation, and indecision, even as war clouds gathered. Others saw a revival of spirit, a nation of rugged individualists pulling together with a sense of urgency that took on a religious aspect. Chapter II, "Marking Time While Preparing, the 1930's," chronicles the chaplains' ministry in that decade.

On 7 December 1941 America was thrust into the war she sought to avoid, yet for which she was preparing. From less than 200 in the twenties, the number of chaplains on active duty reached nearly 9,000 during World War II. It was a time of unprecedented opportunity for service, accomplished amidst the death and destruction of modern warfare that culminated in the ushering in of the atomic age. It was indeed the best and worst of times. Chapters III and IV describe the defensive and offensive stages of World War II. The division of material into two

chapters reflects not only the military situation, but a difference in the focus of ministry as it applied to training, and later combat settings.

• The approach used is chronological. While decades of history are artificial measurements, there is evidence that the decades discussed fell into discernible patterns, markedly different from one another. Further, a conscious attempt has been made to show what was happening in the country, how it affected the Army, and in turn how that affected the ministry of the chaplain. The people to whom the chaplain ministered, the milieu in which he found himself, the events, and the popular thinking and interpretation of those events, varied greatly from decade to decade. The chaplain's role in the 1920's was not the same as in the 1970's.

An institutional history of the chaplaincy could be written "from the top down," as though the significant events controlled from the top, by the Secretary of War, the large denominations, the Congress, and the Chief of Chaplains, and managed to filter down to the individual soldier through his or her chaplain. Such a history may some day be written. But this is not it. The historical facts as uncovered in my research simply do not support the view that "top" people, gifted with prophetic foresight, planned ahead for the exigencies of war, or deeply felt the spiritual needs of soldiers and devised an adequate plan for recruiting, training, and equipping chaplains to minister. The use of the term "corps" when applied to chaplains of this period was a troublesome term, without official status. Like "Topsy," it just grew. Comparing the institution of the chaplaincy to the artillery, infantry, or armour branches is to compare apples with oranges. Their corps histories are shaped by strong commanders, strong leadership, tested principles, "vested interests" in intra-service rivalries for money, equipment and importance. The concept of humility is foreign.

An alternate view of the history of the chaplaincy is to write from the bottom up, a "grass roots" view as seen through the eyes of the chaplains who ministered to men bored to death at isolated camps and training areas, frightened at embarkation points and battlefields, sick and injured in hospitals and aid stations, isolated in stockades and prisoner of war camps. Counseling in scrounged offices, preaching in chapels made out of packing cases, hitchhiking from camp to camp and site to site when no official transportation was provided, mimeographing "hymnbooks" at their own expense, watching line officers zoom past them in rank while they went through the war without a promotion—indeed, in some cases embarrassed by the fact that they had to have rank at all—these men represented a different perspective and history than the view from the top.

The chaplaincy of this period was not a proud corps with distinguished graduates of West Point leading it to glory. Sometimes unwanted, unappreciated, misunderstood, and viewed with either suspicion, or a smile, in some quarters, and as unnecessary in others, the chaplaincy was a branch like no other in the Army. It had few measurable yardsticks to determine its effectiveness. Its members viewed themselves as clergymen in uniform rather than as professional soldiers. The branch insignia on their uniforms were not weapons, but symbols of love and peace.

As a chaplain passed a group of trainees who were being harangued by their sergeant, the sergeant paused and said, "Men, there goes a chaplain. He is your friend. Your only friend." Perhaps only friends of the "friend" can truly appreciate the uniqueness of this history. The approach of this volume is grass roots. The story of the branch is that of individuals ministering to other individuals in loyalty to God and country.

The volume does not concentrate on American history, although it is impossible to write about chaplains and ignore the climate of events that surrounded them. Certainly this book is not a military history nor theological history of the thinking in American churches, synagogues, and seminaries. It does not pretend to be exhaustive to the point of detailing what each chaplain contributed in his corner of a global dispersion; many survivors of this period will look in vain for their names, or even a mention of their unit.

The book is not an apologia to justify the chaplaincy as an institution. There are no "muck raking" exposés, no debunking of those no longer around to defend themselves. Neither is there an attempt to add glory to the record, for it is strong enough to stand on its own.

The purpose of my study is to look at the ministry of Army chaplains during three diverse decades. Note the word "ministry." What did chaplains do? What did they consider to be their role? How were they seen by others? What were their problems and successes? Who supported them? Who opposed them and why? How did the chaplains adjust their presentation of the ancient gospel to the modern world? Sometimes they succeeded beyond their own knowledge. Sometimes they were apparently unaware of the events sweeping around them. At times they were prophetic, and on occasion selflessly heroic. Looking at past events with the detachment of more than fifty years, as the story began, to a diminishing perspective of thirty years as it ended, may make the participants seem naive, and the historian brilliant in his hindsight. But the recurrence and reemergence of what seem almost cyclic questions may shed a humbling light on what we are about now, in spite of the comment that the only lesson history teaches is that it teaches no lesson. My purpose then, to borrow a seventies

phrase, is to tell it like it is, or failing that, to at least try to tell it like it was. As Gore Vidal in a New York Times interview said “In a way, I have nothing to say, but a great deal to add.”³

When Dwight D. Eisenhower served as President he said, with a good deal of military experience on which to base it, “. . . the consecration, the diligence, the courage and the resourcefulness of its chaplains is part of the Army’s proudest tradition.”⁴ To the chronicle of that tradition I am happy to add this volume.

I am grateful to many individuals who helped contribute to the following pages. Many retired chaplains shared their experiences through questionnaires, interviews, and correspondence. Appreciation is extended to the personnel at the National Archives. The Washington National Records Center, The Presbyterian Historical Society, The New York City Library, The Office of The Army Chief of Chaplains, and The Library of the command and General Staff College. Individuals who were especially helpful and deserve to be singled out for thanks include: Robert Spurrier Boege of the Library of Congress; Chaplain (COL) Dick J. Oostenink, USAR, Librarian of the United States Army Chaplain Center and School; Chaplain (LTC) James H. Young, who prepared extensive research files for this volume; and Chaplain (COL) Earl F. Stover, whose guidance on research techniques was invaluable. Chaplain (COL) William E. Paul, Jr., edited, proofread, conferred and guided about, and contributed to this volume immeasurably. Finally, thanks to Mrs. Rita A. Harris, for typing and retyping the manuscript. And to the Composing Room staff: Mr. Joseph De Fazio, Mrs. Ana M. Buther, Miss Connie Hanlon, and Mrs. Paula McShane.

Fort Wadsworth, New York
28 October 1977

Robert L. Gushwa
Chaplain (LTC), USA

PREFACE FOOTNOTES

¹ Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972), p. 1.

² Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 895.

³ *New York Times*, 24 February 1976, p. 30. Interview by Alvin Shuster.

⁴ Rosemarian V. Staudacher, *Chaplains in Action*, (New York: Farrar, Strauss & Cudshay, 1962), p. 12.

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CHAPTER I

From World War to Market Crash—The 1920's

The Mood of the Times

"The decade of the twenties is the most sharply defined decade in American History. Marked off by the war at one end and the depression at the other, it has a character of its own—ten restless years roaring from jubilation to despair amid international and domestic dislocation," wrote Sidney E. Ahlstrom.¹ He said conservatives viewed it as the Jazz Age, a time of corruption and excess; liberals saw it as an order dominated by business men that was bankrupt; religiously oriented critics saw it as a tragic display of obscurantism, superficiality, complacency and futile conflict. Furious controversies, great debates, and wild fulminations were the order of the day. And nearly all of this conflict was part of the nation's religious history, either because the churches were active participants, or because events impinged on church life.²

Catching the mood of anger that pervaded the period Lucien Price wrote, "Those flush years 1919 to 1929, had been angry years. People, even people who had been poor and then found themselves with more money than they had ever expected to have in their lives, were discontented."³

People had margins of ease, leisure, and convenience which past training didn't prepare them to use constructively. They were bored, disappointed, and finally bitter. In the newspapers, magazines, and books of the period, writers delighted in firing broadsides of criticism. Times were never so flush. Few observers of the international scene predicted war. Yet people were angry. What ailed them? Price contended they lacked something to live for more important than themselves, their families, property, and occupations—they lacked, in one word, religion.

Cynicism prevailed. A generation of youth saw its idealism exploited and betrayed by World War I. Education became more important than religion. The church didn't save the world from war. Perhaps education

See footnotes at end of chapter.

could. For the first time in history a great nation tried to educate, not alone an elite, but the whole mass of its people.⁴

After each war anti-militarism and pacifism have affected popular thinking. The memory of the most recent war, fought with modern weapons, led to the belief that it was “the war to end all wars.” It was a firmly held conviction that war was now so devastating and terrible that no enlightened people would consider it as an instrument of foreign policy. Military preparedness, therefore, was an alien concept. The Army was on its own, without popular interest or support.

Effects Upon the Army

Soon after the armistice of November 1918 the War Department urged Congress to establish a permanent Regular Army of nearly 600,000 and a three month universal military training system that would allow for rapid expansion of this force to meet the requirements of a new major war. The Congress reflected the mood of the American public and rejected these proposals. *American Military History* states, “It was hard to believe that the defeat of Germany and the exhaustion of the other European powers did not guarantee that there would be no major war on land for years to come.”⁵ Although the possibility of war with Japan was recognized, American leaders assured themselves that such a war, if it happened at all, would be primarily naval in character. Hence, there was no need for a large Army. The fundamental factor in the military policy of the United States for the next twenty years was reliance on the Navy as the first line of national defense.

America’s decision not to join the League of Nations, and therefore to reject participation in an active and co-operative world security system to maintain peace, was another basic factor that determined the character and composition of the Army between world wars. The principal concern of the War Department at this time was manpower to fulfill even the limited peacetime mission assigned to it. Salaries were low, minorities were consciously segregated, the economy was expanding, the demobilization from World War I was rapid. Manpower was a more keenly felt need than materiel. The belated production for World War I left huge stocks of equipment on hand.⁶

Demobilization, Occupation, and Immediate Duties

Planning for demobilization began only a month before the end of the war. With the end of the fighting almost all officers and men in the Army became eligible for discharge. In the first full month of demobiliza-

See footnotes at end of chapter.

tion the Army released about 650,000 officers and men, and within nine months it released nearly 3,250,000.⁷ At the end of the war there were 2,363 chaplains; within 6 months the number on active duty dropped to 1,200, and a short time later to 125, the number of Regular Army slots. Of the 125 on active duty in 1922, 33 were overseas. Only five were authorized for Air Service fields. The authorization at the time granted one chaplain to 1,152 military personnel. Compared to other branches the reduction of chaplains was a bit slower because many commanders requested their retention overseas for morale purposes, and the hospital ministry to the wounded was too essential to be curtailed. There were only thirty Regular Army chaplains before World War I, so that retention of 125 in peacetime was a new record level. By the end of 1919 the active Army was reduced to a strength of about 19,000 officers and 205,000 enlisted men and was again a Regular volunteer force.⁸

At home during 1919 and 1920 Army forces continued guarding the border of Mexico, required by revolutionary disturbances in that country. The lack of National Guard forces (not yet organized) meant that the active Army also supplied troops on numerous occasions, until the summer of 1921, to help suppress domestic disorders. Most of these disorders arose out of labor disputes and race conflicts in a restless postwar America.

Overseas, a newly activated United States Third Army moved into Germany on 1 December 1918, to occupy territory between Luxembourg and the Rhine River around Coblenz. Nine divisions participated in the German occupation during the spring of 1919. An Army regiment, sent to Italy before the end of hostilities, participated for four months in the occupation of Austria. In Germany, American troops had no unusual difficulties with the populace and soon after the peace conferences ended in May 1919 the occupation forces were rapidly reduced. They numbered about 15,000 at the beginning of 1920. The occupying force was gradually withdrawn, and the last thousand troops left for home on 24 January 1923.

A force of 10,000 under Major General William S. Graves had many trying experiences in Siberia, to which they were dispatched to rescue Czech troops and curb Japanese expansionist tendencies. They were withdrawn in April 1920. After the withdrawals from Russia and Germany, the only Army forces stationed on foreign soil were the garrison of about 1,000 men maintained at Tientsin, China, from 1912 until 1938, and a similar force dispatched from the Philippines to Shanghai for five months in 1932.⁹

See footnotes at end of chapter.

Reorganization

The National Defense Act of 4 June 1920 was a sweeping amendment of the National Defense Act of 1916; it served as a watershed between the old and the modern Army, and governed the military until 1950. Until 1920, military leaders pressed for a Regular Army that could be quickly expanded; instead, Congress established three components of the Army: the professional Regular Army, the civilian National Guard, and the civilian Organized Reserves (Officers' and Enlisted Reserve Corps).

The components were to be so regulated that they could contribute their appropriate share of troops in a war emergency. The act acknowledged the actual practice of the United States throughout its history—maintaining a standing peacetime force too small to be expanded to meet the needs of a great war, and depending on a new Army of civilian soldiers for large mobilizations. The change recognized by the new act made the training of civilian components a major peacetime task of the Regular Army. Principally for this reason the Army was authorized a maximum officer strength of 17,726, more than three times the actual officer strength of the Regular Army before World War I. The act also provided that officer promotions, except for doctors and chaplains, would be made from a single list, a step that equalized advancement opportunity throughout most of the Army.¹⁰

The act provided for the continuance of all branches established before 1917 and added Air Service, Chemical Warfare Service, and a Finance Department. The Tank Corps was absorbed by the Infantry.

The strengthening of the General Staff under General Pershing as Chief of Staff in 1921, his reorganization of the War Department into five divisions—G-1 (personnel), G-2 (intelligence), G-3 (training and operations), G-4 (supply), and a new War Plans Division that dealt with strategic planning and related preparations for the event of war—further determined the shape of things to come.¹¹

The field forces in the continental United States were put under the command and administration of nine corps areas; those overseas in Panama, Hawaii, and the Philippines, under departments similarly organized.

Reflecting the popular emphasis on education already referred to, the Army put far greater emphasis on that as a means of preparedness than ever before. The United States Military Academy, The Reserve Officer's Training Corps, The Citizen's Military Training Camps, thirty-one

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special service schools providing branch training, and the forerunners of the Command and General Staff College, the Army War College, and the Army Industrial College, attested to this interest.

As sweeping as this new Defense Act was, the Congress never fully funded its cost, appropriations leveling off at \$300 million a year, or about half the cost of fully implementing the act. Manpower levels were similarly short circuited so that actual strength was far below authorized strength. Strength leveled off at 12,000 commissioned officers and 125,000 enlisted men until 1936.¹²

The “Organized” Chaplaincy

While the rest of the Army was reorganizing, the chaplaincy got organized for the first time. Chaplain Paul D. Moody, son of the famous evangelist Dwight L. Moody, served as an assistant to Bishop Brent in France. Brent was then in charge of chaplain work in the AEF. Chaplain Moody wrote of the problems of trying to organize the work of the chaplains. “The association of these men was the association of peas in a bag. Each was independent of everyone else and answerable only to his commanding officer who might, and again who might not, be sympathetic with the idea of the chaplaincy.”¹³

General Pershing’s plan to organize the administration of chaplain affairs in 1918 was to have an administrative chaplain’s office in his headquarters. Pershing invited Bishop Brent, who was in France as a special agent for the Young Men’s Christian Association, to work out a plan of organization for the chaplains under his command. Bishop Gwynne, Deputy Chaplain General of the British forces, visited headquarters and explained the British Army system. Several of its features were adopted in the American plan.¹⁴

General Pershing favored the formation of a Chaplain “Corps” with Brent as its head. Brent convinced him that a better plan was the appointment of a permanent executive committee of chaplains to study conditions and make direct recommendations to the general. “It is significant,” wrote Honeywell “that this committee included a Catholic chaplain, a clergyman of a Protestant church with the episcopal plan of organization, and one of a body which follows the congregational system.”¹⁵ Their duties included assignment of chaplains to units and installations in the European Theatre, visits to chaplains in the field, investigation of situations affecting the moral welfare of troops, and supervision of the Chaplain’s School in France.

See footnotes at end of chapter.

Brent, as chairman of the group, was frequently called the Chief of Chaplains of the American Expeditionary Force. He used this title himself in 1924, and it is inscribed over his tomb at Lausanne. Following the war this system of administration was modified and continued among occupation forces by the senior chaplain of American forces, Edmund Easterbrook.

Brent's assistant, Chaplain Moody, stated this was the first time in the history of the American Army that any attempt was made to organize the work of chaplains. However, the three-man board overseas had nothing whatever to do with the chaplains in the United States, "who remained for the most part as unorganized at the end as they were at the beginning of the war."¹⁶

Lack of organization caused or failed to correct other problems. Chaplains did not command or control the others in their profession. Command support was essential to any program in a unit or at a post. If it was lacking there was literally nowhere a chaplain could turn for help, and no one to whom he could appeal. Chaplains felt that they should not be rated by other chaplains. Chaplain George Waring feared such an arrangement would hamper individual creativity and cause friction. (His concerns are detailed in Volume III of this series.) Professionally, a chaplain was capable of a more penetrating evaluation than any other officer. Chaplain Roy J. Honeywell told of a chaplain who challenged a low efficiency rating with success on the ground that the rating officer was not competent to evaluate him since the officer had never heard him preach. One colonel frankly said, "Chaplain, I have given you a high efficiency rating because I suppose you have been performing your duties, though I have no idea what you are supposed to do."¹⁷

The chaplain was orphaned from his denomination. He was regarded by his ministerial brethren as having "left the ministry." The supportive role of endorsing agencies, chaplain associations, professional magazines, public relations with local ministerial associations, interdenominational cooperation and problem solving guidance, and retreats aimed at the needs of the military pastor, were yet to come.

Promotion, which meant so much in the Army, was very slow. Promotion meant greater authority and more pay, and chaplains, as men of the cloth, were theoretically disinterested in such things—so it was thought. They could hope for no grade above major. There was no chaplain school, career development, graduate study program, nor clear regulation covering duties and responsibilities. Additional non-chaplain duties

See footnotes at end of chapter.

were still expected of them. The pressure to consider themselves officers rather than clergymen was constant. They became of necessity regimentally minded, with small inducement to feel responsibility outside their own regiments, or posts.¹⁸ A Catholic chaplain at one post might “swap services” with a Protestant chaplain at another nearby post, but it depended on local arrangements. There was no one directing a plan of religious coverage from the top.

The gains of organization in France did not apply to chaplains outside the AEF. The rapid demobilization following the Armistice led to a rash of morale problems—even to the extent of riot and mutiny.¹⁹ In the period of transition and turbulence from wartime to peacetime, chaplains showed more interest in the problems of their men than in organizing themselves. Chaplain Emerson E. Swanson was one among many who gave special lectures and instructions to men being discharged. He wrote:

I addressed the men who were being discharged during the month regarding their future work as citizens and their relation to the Army. I regard the work of getting men back into civil life in the right frame of mind as of very great importance to the nation.²⁰

Paul C. Dubois said, “all men discharged . . . have attended a lecture on the significance of their service and the duties of citizenship.” Some chaplains included vocational guidance information in their counseling. An attempt was made to cooperate with home churches in setting up programs to welcome back the men who served their country.²¹

When the shooting stopped in Europe, the churches, once supportive in furnishing chaplains to the Army, wanted them back immediately.²² Since churches indorsed their clergy to the Army they regarded them as “on loan” during the national emergency, and expected them back. And, like soldiers everywhere after a war, the chaplains wanted to go home. Few saw a future for themselves in a military career. Their pessimistic look at the future was not without foundation in fact. Fast promotions were a part of every war, but not one chaplain was promoted during the entire period of World War I.²³ Insignia of grade was removed from the uniform of chaplains. The argument was that they were “commissioned” by the Lord to preach and a commission from the Army was unnecessary. Pershing and Brent believed that if chaplains did not wear the insignia of grade, enlisted men would feel closer to them. Only after long years of service could a chaplain expect to be a captain, and existing law allowed no higher grade than major.²⁴ Even Bishop Brent was not commissioned as a chaplain, but as a major in the Adjutant General Corps. Pershing

See footnotes at end of chapter.

asked that he be made a lieutenant colonel, but “administrivia” prevented it.²⁵

Agitation for change was building for some time. One senior chaplain, William Y. Brown, wanted a central administrator for all chaplains as early as 1863. But George Waring feared it in 1912.²⁶ It was an idea whose time finally came. The change, the organization and institutionalization of the chaplaincy, was brought about by pressure from a number of sources. The three-man board, already referred to in the AEF, made recommendations for the future of the chaplaincy. The value of supervision was so successfully demonstrated that it became a part of the “lessons learned” atmosphere after the war. General Pershing pushed for reorganization. After World War I and II there was a quickening of interest in how much “spiritual damage” had been done to the nation’s youth. Churches, concerned educators, and parents raised questions as to the adequacy of the spiritual ministry afforded to the men in the Army. The President, and the Secretary of War, through committees of concerned religious leaders, focused on the chaplaincy.²⁷

The Chief of Chaplains

A Senate bill recommended a commission of three, representing the major faiths, to administer chaplain affairs. This was changed in conference to provide for a single chief of chaplains. The Capper Bill became law on 4 June 1920. It dealt with the reorganization of the Army and created the position of Chief of Chaplains:

One chaplain, of rank not below that of major, may be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to be chief of chaplains. He shall serve as such for four years, and shall have the rank, pay and allowances of colonel while so serving.²⁸

A special committee of religious leaders recommended two candidates, and John Thomas Axton, a Congregationalist, was chosen. His reputation as an administrator had been firmly established during the war when he served in the New York Port area. He administered the work of philanthropic, social, and religious organizations serving the troops embarking for Europe. Axton was a natural born “scrounger” on behalf of his men. When a civilian ship was pressed into convoy duty it was found to be seaworthy, but barren; Axton came up with everything from deck chairs and games to magazines and flowers. A recreation hall, soldiers club, visitors’ lounge, and other conveniences materialized under his direction. Highly praised by commanders, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for his work. His management career began at

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the age of eighteen when he attended the international convention of the Christian Endeavor Society; he maintained a lifelong interest in the organization, and directed its work in the Army during World War II. He served for nine years, 1893–1902, as general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association. It was his administrative ability and excellent reputation of nearly twenty years service as an Army chaplain that made his selection and confirmation a good choice. He began his duties as Chief of Chaplains on 15 July 1920. He was reappointed in 1924 and served a second four-year term.²⁹

Axton was born 28 July at Salt Lake City, Utah. He attended public school there at Hammond Hall Academy. In June 1901, he was ordained a minister of the Congregational Church. Chaplain Axton began his military career on 25 July 1902, when he was appointed a chaplain in the United States Army with the grade of captain.³⁰ He served in the Philippines, on the Mexican border, and in various posts in the United States.

Chaplain Moody felt that from the establishment of the Chief's Office dated much of the improvement within the chaplaincy. Institutionalization was not a word totally to be feared as chaplain duties were more clearly defined by regulations, official publications, and doctrine. The chaplain was freed from serving as canteen officer, postmaster, and athletic officer. While still answerable to his commanding officer, he had the satisfaction of being under sympathetic supervision of more experienced men in the chaplaincy to whom he could look for guidance and direction, and in some cases, protection in the discharge of the ministry which was peculiarly his.

The supervision of chaplain activities by a central administrator benefited the chaplaincy as a whole. The practice was extended to lower echelons. Chaplains with important administrative functions were placed in the headquarters of such territorial organizations as corps areas and military districts, and of divisions and higher tactical units. They had their place in the National Guard and organized reserves, and later, when the Civilian Conservation Corps was established, a measure of supervisory responsibility was placed upon the senior chaplain in each district. The fear of sectarian bias seldom materialized. Chaplain Honeywell wrote, "What a chaplain of a widely different faith said of one administrator might have been said of most others: 'He leans over backward to avoid any favoritism to his own group.'"³¹

During eight years as Chief, Axton, an articulate spokesman in his Senate committee appearances and staff writings, established the Office

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of the Chief of Chaplains, fought the battles to have insignia of grade returned to the chaplain's uniform, and to increase the size of the chaplain branch, presided over the significant growth in numbers of chaplains in the Officers' Reserve Corps, and initiated the practice of visits to the field by the Chief. During his administration chaplains were better trained, equipped, assigned, and administered. The Chaplains' School Class Bulletin of 1926 referred to him as "a most loyal friend and promoter of the Chaplains School from its inception, and much of its success is due to his interest and support." The Bulletin also revealed that his son, John Thomas Axton, Jr., author of a brief history of the chaplaincy, was a chaplain instructor on the faculty of the school that year.³²

The Chief's Office at first included three chaplains, three Army field clerks, and several civilian employees loaned by the Adjutant General. (A.S. Goodyear, one of the Army field clerks, served in the Chief's Office until his retirement after World War II in the grade of Colonel.) The office grew in size and complexity, but a pattern for efficiency, later singled out for commendation by the Chief of Staff of the Army, was established.

Axton officiated at the burial of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington National Cemetery on 11 November 1921. At a dinner in the Cosmos Club to recognize the twenty-fifth anniversary of Axton's Army service, a testimonial signed by three hundred reserve chaplains was delivered, and read as follows:

As chaplain of the Reserve Corps, we extend to you, on the occasion of your 25th anniversary of service with the Army, an expression of our loyalty and friendship and our deep appreciation for all that God has enabled you to do, for our nation, for the men of the Army and for your fellow Chaplains, a service which you have ever rendered with unselfishness and consideration for your associates.

At the same time he was handed, on behalf of these chaplains, an order for a 1928 model Buick sedan.³³

The testimonial dinner reflected the regard in which he was held by fellow chaplains. Sectarian and dictatorial fears were laid to rest. Chaplains were familiar with the Scriptural injunctions against lording it over others, and remembered, "And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant."³⁴ An experiment had worked not only because it had the force of law, but because the personality of the man chosen was to move with deliberate caution for the chaplaincy. It is also a revealing look at an earlier and simpler society, before gifts were forbidden and relationships more formalized. After retirement, Axton served as chaplain at

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Rutgers University until his death.³⁵ He was not only the first Chief, he was one of only two who were reappointed for a second full term.

Chaplain Axton was succeeded by Edmund Pepperell Easterbrook. Appointed Chief on 7 April 1928, he served until his retirement for health and age on 22 December 1929. Although he was Chief for less than two years, another chaplain said of him, "What he was, rather than what he did, was his contribution."³⁶ Easterbrook was born in Torquay in Devon, England, on 22 December 1865. He attended school in England and graduated from Torquay Public College. The western shire of Devon looks out upon both channels and the wanderlust has long infected her people. Easterbrook's mother was born on board a sailing vessel, so it was not surprising that in early manhood he looked for a new home beyond the sea. He attended Drew Theological Seminary in New Jersey, served three pastorates in New York, and became a member of Troy Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, North. From July 1898 to the following April he served at home or in Cuba as chaplain of New York volunteers. This experience impressed him with the opportunities available to chaplains in serving soldiers in peace and war. He was appointed a chaplain in the Regular Army 31 January 1900.³⁷ He served twice in the Philippines during the insurrection there, at various posts in the United States, including thirteen years in the Puget Sound forts (Flagler, Worden, Casey, etc.) and was ordered to Europe in the summer of 1918. He succeeded Bishop Brent as the AEF chaplain and continued in that position throughout the occupation.

The wanderlust continued to be an enjoyable part of his character. He wrote articles and lectured to the troops on his travels through Palestine, Egypt, and Asia Minor, Australia, Tasmania, Japan, and the Philippines. He studied and spoke Spanish, considered himself a good hospital chaplain, and served as post librarian and superintendent of schools for enlisted men and their dependents. He organized entertainments, including a minstrel troupe. His character building lectures fathered the Character Guidance program.³⁸ Two memorial windows in the historic Church of the Centurion, Fort Monroe, Virginia, were presented to the church and garrison by Easterbrook's five children in memory of their parents.³⁹

Julian E. Yates succeeded Chaplain Easterbrook 23 December 1929. Chaplain Yates was born at Williams Mills, North Carolina, 23 October 1871. He was educated at Wake Forest College, North Carolina, where he earned the degrees of A.B., and A.M. He gained the degree of Th.B.

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from the University of Chicago. Yates was appointed a chaplain 13 March 1902. He served in the Philippines and France; and at Forts Leavenworth, Terry, McHenry, Howard, Hancock, Adams, Stuart, Eustis, Myer, and Oglethorpe in the United States. His duties in Europe and at Fort Myer caused one statistically minded biographer to point out that Chaplain Yates held the record for interments; 1,614 in Brest, and 2,902 at Arlington. He wrote a training manual under Axton's direction, *The Chaplain, His Place and Duties*, and was responsible for the Army's efforts in the assembling of *The Army and Navy Hymnal*. During his administration as Chief, the reserve section was steadily increased and greatly improved in esprit de corps, The Chaplain's Association was launched, and *The Army Chaplain* magazine began publication.⁴⁰

Further Steps Toward Organization

A proposal that the chaplains be established as a corps was favored by General Pershing. Advanced by the War Plans Division in 1917, it was approved by the Secretary of War, but Congress took no action at that time. A bill to establish such a corps passed the Senate in 1920, but this provision was voted out of what finally became the National Defense Act of that year. Subsequent legislation used the phrase "Corps of Chaplains," and this could be interpreted as establishing the corps by implication. So could an act of 21 November 1941 "to constitute an Army Chaplain's [sic] Corps with a brigadier general as Chief" had not the specific provision for a corps been deleted from that part of the bill governed by the enacting clause. (The officer Personnel Act of 1947 and the Army Organization Act of 1950 leave no doubt that the chaplains no longer constitute a corps, if they ever did.)⁴¹ Unlike all other corps, chaplains held no command positions and the need to be organized even into a branch met with resistance. The question involved certain practical considerations. It had been urged for years that an enlisted branch of the Chaplain's Corps be established so that assistants might be especially trained for this service as a career.

Pershing, in his capacity as Chief of the Army, in 1923 called a number of the nation's leading clergymen to a Conference on Morale and Religious Work in the Army. In greeting the members of this conference he said:

This conference has been called with the hope and expectation that you leaders in the churches and welfare organizations will aid us in devis-

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ing and carrying forward an intensified program for the Army along moral and religious lines—a program the whole purpose of which shall be to keep soldiers true and strong and steady.⁴²

This statement not only reflected the concern of parents, educators and religious leaders mentioned earlier, but it put emphasis on the role of the chaplain as one who steadied the soldier to do a soldier's job. The conference made a number of specific recommendations which included the continuance of a Chaplain School, publication of a manual for chaplains, a study to be made of equipment needs, the building of chapels, and the organization of a chaplains' corps so that every soldier would have the services of a chaplain. In reference to the status of chaplains, it recommended:

That the Congress of the United States so legislate that the grades in the Chaplain's Corps shall include the rank of colonel, and that advancement be placed upon an equality with other noncombatant branches of the Army. Also that the grade of Chief of Chaplains be in accordance with the heads of the other departments of the military service.⁴³

The conference commended the War Department for initiating the periodic visits of the Chief of Chaplains to military installations and urged that the various denominations establish an intimate working relationship with their respective chaplains and give them whatever moral and other support might be feasible.⁴⁴ Ultimately, most of the conference's recommendations became realities. The interest of churchmen in their clergy in uniform had far reaching implications. Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish leaders again and again lobbied on Capitol Hill for a stronger chaplaincy. Closer association of endorsing agencies led to higher standards and requirements before an applicant was approved to the Army as a chaplain.

Reserve and National Guard Chaplains

A development ranking in importance with the creation of the Office of the Chief of Chaplains, was the establishment and development of an effective reserve program. This was suggested as early as 1917 by the Surgeon General.⁴⁵ From earliest times militia chaplains were locally chosen, many of them for a single year, though some were reappointed. The rule that only those Federally recognized could be called into Federal service established high standards for chaplains of the National Guard. They were encouraged to apply for a parallel commission in the Officers' Reserve Corps.⁴⁶

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The first chaplains to receive reserve appointment were 100 students of the Chaplain School who graduated after the Armistice. Chaplains of the National Army who had served in the war were invited to apply for commissions in the Regular Army or Officers' Reserve Corps. By 1925, over 1,100 accepted Reserve commissions.⁴⁷ Their commissions had to be renewed every five years and retention and promotion depended on continued training through correspondence courses and summer camps.

Those chaplains who had not served on active duty were required to be college and seminary graduates between 21 and 60 years of age. In 1931 the upper limit was reduced to 35.⁴⁸ The Chief reported that procurement was hampered by this change. Mobilization plans of 1925 called for a goal of 1,870 Regular Army and Reserve Chaplains, a goal which was not reached. Axton blamed both the reduction in age and the pacifist movement for this failure. Writing to the Adjutant General to raise the bar on age, he said:

In view of the pacifist tendency of many leaders of religious work it seems especially resirable that when outstanding clergymen are anxious to express . . . approval of national defense plans . . . by identifying themselves with the organized Reserves, no bar to appointment should be raised until such time as the complete number required by mobilization plans has been reached.⁴⁹

The Chief didn't emphasize the importance of training clergymen for instant service in the event of national emergency; if he had, whether his arguments would have been more effective is a matter for conjecture. The wisdom of having a ready reserve pool of chaplains was not revealed for another decade. There simply was no record of such contingency planning, doubtless because it was alien to the thinking of the period. In the early 20's it was believed that aggressive militarism must surely be a thing of the past. Eisenhower told of the reaction among industrialists when he tried to suggest contingency planning to them: "It was difficult to arouse any interest at all. There was not going to be a war, they felt."⁵⁰ This widespread feeling made adequate training for Reserve chaplains a problem. Among them were bishops, professors, secretaries of boards and agencies, and pastors of large and small parishes. Most of them were busy, and some found it all but impossible to be away from their pastoral duties for many days at a time. It was a matter of choosing priorities, and the immediate, pressing needs of the pastorate won out over preparations for defense that appeared unnecessary.

Since some reservists were graduates of the 1918 Chaplain School, and some had no active duty time, minimum training requirements were

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established for those who would remain eligible for assignment and possible active duty. A training plan developed in the Chief's office contemplated 2 weeks of summer training camp duty each year. But the nation also had its priorities, and funds were seldom available for all who wished to attend; some even volunteered to serve without pay. Many Regular chaplains conducted brief schools for Reserve chaplains near their stations; but the chief agency for the military education of chaplains of the reserve components was the correspondence course developed by the Chaplain School and administered by the corps areas and comparable units.⁵¹

Selection and Appointment

Clergymen seeking appointment as chaplains in the Regular or Reserve components were required to be indorsed by some authorized ecclesiastical body. The first legislation requiring such indorsement was the Act of 17 July 1862. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America established the General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains early in World War I, and it continued to be the coordinating body and indorsing agency for much of protestantism. The Military Ordinariate, and the Jewish Welfare Board performed similar functions for Catholic and Jewish applicants. AR 605-30 gave specific guidance to applicants:

Practically every denomination has a commission or committee or individual with authority to act in cases of this kind. These agencies now of record are as follows:

a. For the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Army and Navy Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

b. For the Roman Catholic Church, the Chaplain Bishop, Catholic Army and Navy Chaplains, Ordinariate, 110 East 12th Street, New York City.

c. For Jewish rabbis, the chairman of the Jewish Welfare Board, 352 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

d. For the Unitarian Church, the president of the Unitarian Society, 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

e. For the Christian Scientist Church, Committee on Publication of the First Church of Christ, Scientist, 236 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.

f. The General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Woodward Building, Washington, D.C., functions as the liaison agency for all denominations not mentioned above.

To comply with the law a candidate must obtain, through the appropriate agency, the official approval of his denomination before he may

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be considered for appointment in the Army. Failure to do this will mean delay and possible rejection, making way for other applications that have been filed in the proper way.⁵²

Applicants then appeared before an Army board which reviewed their indorsements and qualifications, and selected the best qualified for commissions. At first this was a responsibility of the Adjutant General's office, but selections were transferred to the Chief of Chaplains' office due to the complexity of the "quota system" within denominations. In selecting clergymen for service as chaplains, the primary objective was to provide satisfactory services of worship and other religious observances for the greatest possible number of military personnel. Based upon the religious census of 1916, 98.2 percent of any authorized chaplains were divided among 22 religious bodies determined by each group's membership figures. The remainder were divided up among churches too small to qualify for a chaplain space in the Army. The small number of Regular Army chaplains required their selection from the larger denominations, but appointments in the Reserve Corps were made without reference to quotas. The quotas were revised regularly on the basis of the latest census.⁵³

Chaplain George Ford, Secretary of the Chaplain School, saw selection as the most urgent need in upgrading the quality of the chaplaincy. He said:

We got men whom you could tell would never make it in the chaplaincy. They lacked common sense, a sense of humor, and the ability to mix with soldiers in a free way. If soldiers found out they could upset a chaplain by using profanity they would increase it in his presence. There are things you had to overlook, and things you could not. Knowing which was which made all the difference. Many of these clergymen were good moral men, but they couldn't relate to soldiers. Better selection processes would have made a stronger chaplaincy."⁵⁴

The Chaplain School

Chaplain training had a specific meaning within the Army. The Army did not teach men to be clergymen; that was the responsibility of the seminary, the pastorate, and the requirements of the individual denominations. Army schools for chaplains, doctors, lawyers, and other qualified professionals had the responsibility of training civilian professionals to become Army professionals. How to wear the uniform, march, and salute; customs of the service; organization and chain of command; the use of special equipment; responsibility for those of other faiths; func-

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tioning within the institution; these were the training tasks of the service school for chaplains.

For many years chaplain training consisted of placing new chaplains in the office of an experienced colleague for the first few months of an initial assignment. The new chaplain was not assigned to the experienced man, nor was there any "commander" relationship between them; it was simply a form of on-the-job training. It was a hit and miss proposition, narrowly limited, and seldom gave new men the balanced introduction to their duties that later assignments required.

In November 1919 a board of 5 chaplains, including 3 who were active in training during the war, convened in Washington to consider training plans. This group recommended the establishment of a permanent school to conduct a 5-month basic course twice each year and to develop an advanced course later. Its stated purposes were to train chaplains to serve men of other denominations; prepare them as Army officers so they could mingle with others on an impartial level; save them from embarrassing blunders by teaching them Army regulations and customs; prepare them to serve as defense counsel through familiarity with military law; let them learn from more experienced chaplains; rub elbows with those of different faiths; help "rid individuals of mannerisms and defects"; standardize activities on a high level; and give chaplains an appreciation of the military institution and its history.⁵⁵

Orders for implementing the board's recommendations were issued by the Adjutant General on 28 January 1920, and the school opened at Camp Grant, Illinois, on 15 May with a staff of 5 chaplains, 10 other officers, and a student body of 15, a ratio of one to one.⁵⁶

Chaplain George B. Ford served as the school's first secretary. He was graduated from Niagara University with the class of 1908, entered St. Joseph's Seminary at Dunwoodie and was ordained to the priesthood in the archdiocese of New York in June of 1914. He served as a curate in Monticello and New York City, and entered the Army in 1918.⁵⁷ In February of 1976, at the age of 90, an interview revealed that he was amazingly clear in his recall of events, names, and the flavor of the times.

He recalled reporting to Camp Grant, where the Commanding General handed him a check for \$10,000 and told him to go to Marshall Field in Chicago and buy the furniture, desks, and equipment necessary to set up the school! Obviously the requirements of paper work have changed in the past fifty-plus years.

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There was a chaplains' school of sorts during the war, in France; later, one was set up in the United States. Both were intended as "quick-fix" remedies to wartime problems. The 1920 school was the first peacetime school. All chaplains commissioned since 1 January 1913—except graduates of the wartime school—were eligible. AR 350-150, 20 September 1920, outlined the course of study and provided that the commanding officer of the post be commandant, and a chaplain selected by the War Department serve as director. Twenty-one subjects were named in the curriculum, a total of about 280 hours of instruction.⁵⁸ Physical Training and Map Reading were two of the student "favorites" recalled by Chaplain Ford. "The training days started at 6 A.M. and continued until 10 P.M. The men were kept busy."

His opinion of the school was that :

We (the faculty) learned a lot after the first year. Some of the courses, like equitation, were useless. Most of the courses were taught by line officers who were fine men, but knew nothing about the chaplaincy. To offset that we invited prominent clergymen from the community to address the students, but they knew nothing about the Army. What was needed was a way of imparting practical, applicable, common sense to men with good intentions but no experience. The new men welcomed the school, but those who had been in awhile, and were ordered to return, resented it.

Correspondence shuttled back and forth between the Director and the Chief of Chaplains concerning modification of the curriculum. More practical work, related to the chaplains' everyday duties, and more instruction of chaplains by chaplains resulted as continuing sessions "educated" the faculty. The course was expanded to 6 months in 1922. Later sessions were about three months long, and the last two did not exceed six weeks.⁵⁹

The school remained at Camp Grant during four sessions but was moved to Camp Knox, Kentucky, in the summer of 1921. The odyssey of the chaplain school (some 14 moves to the present) was begun. The next move was to Fort Wayne, Michigan, in the autumn of 1922. After three sessions there the school moved to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Five sessions were held there.

So few chaplains could attend that the course was offered only once each year, and biennial classes were proposed. Six students attended in 1926, 2 the next year, and only 1 was available for 1928. Two chaplains and 20 officers of the Command and General Staff Schools gave the instruction, and the commandant declared it a waste of energy for so

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many to "shadow box with one student." The director recommended that the school be closed unless more students could be obtained. One Regular and 11 Reserve chaplains attended a short term in 1928. Though the chaplains stationed at Fort Leavenworth were considered the faculty of the school for years and worked on extension courses, instruction for resident students was not offered again. Eleven sessions of the peacetime school were held and a total of 189 students attended. At least 20 of these were Reserve chaplains.⁶⁰ What caused the demise of the Chaplain School? Commanders were often reluctant or unwilling to be without a chaplain in their unit for the number of weeks or months required to attend the school; that was one reason why the length of the course continued to be cut. There was an underlying current of nonsupport that raised the question of why chaplains needed a school, since they were already trained clergymen. Training funds were scarce and other branches viewed the school's resources with envy. Finally, the chaplain branch was small—only 125 chaplains were on active duty—and retention was not a problem, so that few new chaplains were coming on active duty. Reserves would have "saved" the school, but the decision was made to train them by correspondence rather than in residence. This soon became the only mission of the school until it was reactivated in World War II.

An added benefit of the school, when it was in operation, was fellowship for chaplains. Scattered thinly and widely throughout the Army, the School gave them an opportunity to meet and know one another to compare experiences, and to be exposed to men of other faiths. The real genesis for ecumenism among Army chaplains was in those friendly contacts. Chaplain Ford said:

"One of the things I tried to do was to get the Catholics and Protestants to talk to one another. During breaks between classes Catholics talked to Catholics and Protestants to Protestants. I tried to mix them up a bit . . . a mission in which I was only partially successful"; however feeble, it was a beginning.

Other Training

Section 127a of the National Defense Act of 1920 authorized the assignment of officers to civilian schools as students. Twenty-five chaplains studied in some civilian school during the period from 1923–41. Authorization was one thing and funds another. Shortage of funds hampered the effectiveness of the program, but the Chief of Chaplains was able to negotiate an arrangement with the University of Chicago and the

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Catholic University of America by which he could send men to these institutions for only \$60 a year. Originally, four men each year, new to the Army, were selected to go; but a later Chief changed the policy on the grounds that such training would be more valuable after a chaplain had served several years with troops.

Chaplains selected were ordered to Fort Sheridan, Illinois, or Fort Meade, Maryland, three months prior to the opening of the appropriate university, depending on their denomination. There, under experienced chaplains, and through a correspondence course from the chaplain school, they were instructed and supervised; they also were assigned preaching duties on the post.

The plan was met by mixed reactions. Some students of extremely conservative background were greatly distressed and upset by the ultra-modern instruction, causing one Chief of Chaplains to observe that they became confused and did not remain long enough to think their psychological and spiritual problems through to an intelligent conviction. Another Chief added that he saw little evidence of enhanced usefulness in the later records of men who took these advanced studies. Many who attended, however, declared they were greatly benefited by this schooling and earnestly recommended continuation of the policy. From 1923 to 1941, 25 chaplains, including Harry O. Frazer, Maurice W. Reynolds, and Elmer C. Tiedt, had the privilege of postgraduate study.⁶¹

The correspondence course developed by the Chaplain School became the main method by which Reserve chaplains were trained. This course as first presented in 1924 included Practical Duties of Chaplains, American Political Institutions, Military Sociology, and six common subcourses prepared by other branches. In 1929 a more comprehensive course was divided between subjects appropriate for the study of first lieutenants and those intended for captains. For several years a list of books on psychology, government, and military history was recommended for reading by chaplains of field grade; one requirement for promotion to the grade of lieutenant colonel was a certificate that at least six of these works had been read.

Those responsible for course development felt long courses discouraged home study. A decision was made that subjects requiring more than 30 hours be subdivided, with 20 hours considered ideal. Lessons requiring 3 hours of work were substituted for shorter ones in the belief that this would be about the time most students would devote to study in an evening. During the 18-year life of this extension course, 85 percent of the

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men enrolled were commissioned in the Reserve, 14 in the National Guard, and four-tenths of one percent in the Regular Army. The remainder were civilians or enlisted men of one of these components.⁶²

Several local schools for Reserve chaplains were held by active duty chaplains at their posts. One at Fort Monroe in 1927 had a curriculum that covered customs of the service, military writing, staff procedures, religious education instruction, first aid, and physical fitness.⁶³

Activities of Chaplains

What did chaplains do from day to day in the particular units to which they were assigned? How did they view their role in the military, and how were they perceived by others? In the preceding volume in this series, *Up From Handyman*, Earl F. Stover wrote that General Pershing got credit for pushing the chaplaincy "up from handyman." Their earlier duties were so ill defined that chaplains were employed during the week as post gardeners, laundrymen, commissary officers, or counsels for the defense during courts-martial. The worst abuses were overcome by Pershing's insistence that chaplains be allowed to minister as clergymen, not handyman.⁶⁴

Beginning in 1920, chaplains' monthly reports were sent through channels to the Chief's Office rather than to the Adjutant General. This enabled Axton to monitor what duties the chaplains were involved in and make stronger recommendations to protect them. An example was War Department Circular No. 42, 1921, entitled "Duties of Chaplains." It stated that chaplain duties were closely analogous to those performed by clergymen in civilian life, but added the duties of school teachers. Axton stated that in Hawaii five sevenths of the chaplains' time was used up in non-religious duties, and that it would do no good to ask for more chaplains under such conditions, but instead chaplains must be protected by regulation to spend their time at their proper ministry. In 1923 he proposed a revision to the regulation (AR 60-5) which clearly defined chaplains' work and permitted fewer loopholes. The successful revision read:

Chaplains will be employed on no duties other than those required of them by law, or pertaining to their profession as clergymen, except when an exigency of the service . . . shall make it necessary. Chaplains are not available for detail as post exchange officers or as counsel for the defense in courts-martial.⁶⁵

This regulation, developed by Axton, included chaplain authorization (1 to 1,200 officers and men), the work of the Chief of Chaplains, reports, appointment, duties, status, chaplains' school, permission to at-

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tend conventions, funds, responsibility of commanders in relation to chaplains, sabbath observance, the chaplain's flag, and graves registration.⁶⁶

Under Axton's direction a 1926 Training Manual, "The Chaplain, His Place and Duties," contained an elaborate diagram of activities. (Appendix A.) Although directives defined their duties, most chaplains found themselves assigned to tasks that had little relationship to their training. Chaplain Benjamin Tarskey at Brooks Field in 1920 was post librarian, morale officer, exchange officer, and in charge of the Army Service Club. Chaplain Edward Branham at Luke Field, Hawaii, in 1924 was chairman of the athletic council, conducted the savings campaign, and organized the Mountain and Trail Club which emphasized hiking.⁶⁷

Some chaplains did not stand up to commanders regarding such tasks; others welcomed the extra duties as means of reaching the unchurched, or because they enjoyed the activities as hobbies. Still others were not clear as to what it meant to be a minister, priest, or rabbi in uniform, and in trying to be generally helpful became errand boys. Commanders ran the gamut from open hostility through barely disguised annoyance to enthusiastic support. AR 60-5 noted that "ultimate responsibility for matters of religious and moral nature devolves upon commanding officers." In spite of directives commanders were slow to give chaplains the support and guidance they needed. Generally, effective chaplain programs depended on interested commanders.

Chaplain Maurice W. Reynolds reported to the Commanding Officer, Major Ralph Royce, at Carlstrom Field. Royce said, "We're glad to have you, but what the hell does a chaplain do?"⁶⁸ Always there were men who rose to the challenge and knew what they were supposed to do. In Chaplain Maurice Reynolds' first 10 days at Carlstrom Field in 1920 he arranged for a Catholic priest to conduct Mass, set up a Protestant Worship schedule, began publication of a post newspaper, conducted Christmas services, and met with all personnel to explain his work. He started an evening service at which attendance rose to 200, and a guard-house service. Carlstrom then had a base population of only 490 officers and enlisted men and had been without the services of a chaplain for two years.⁶⁹

Chaplain Benjamin Tarskey enjoyed support from his commander and in his report of May 1929 said:

Our esteemed Commanding Officer, Lt. Col. Arthur G. Fisher, A.C., relinquishes this command the first week of June 1929. Advantage is taken of the present submission of the Chaplain Monthly Report to acknowledge the debt of deep gratitude to Colonel Fisher for his excep-

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tional interest and cooperation in encouraging and promoting the religious and moral training program at this station. He has not only generously aided our activities in every possible way but always by his personal attendance on practically every Sunday at our General Service has been a forceful example of leadership to the entire Command in religious and moral training.⁷⁰

Chaplain C. W. Branham wrote to the Chief of Chaplains in 1927:

The Commanding Officer of this field is anxious to have a good chaplain here. This is in direct opposition to the attitude we found when we arrived here when the adjutant was using the phone to inform Department Headquarters they did not want any "Blankety blank" chaplains at Luke Field. . . .⁷¹

Similar experiences characterized the entire chaplaincy; in some places enthusiastic support by the commander, and in other places disinterest, confusion, or hostility. Other factors also influenced the job a chaplain did. One wrote of conditions in 1929:

I am up against the toughest job I ever faced. . . . No married officers or enlisted men are living on the Post, and the enlisted men who live in the barracks have been so long without a chaplain . . . that they all . . . leave the Post on Sunday. . . . I am getting together a small nucleus of men who are . . . religious-minded. My first service had 12 men.⁷²

Within a few months he reported an average attendance of 300.

Chaplains conducted Sunday services of worship and in the somnolent atmosphere of Army installations in the twenties, reported good attendance at even hymn sings, Bible studies, and mid-week worship services. Evangelistic meetings, baptisms, weddings, and funerals were part of their pastoral responsibilities. While these events closely paralleled the civilian parish, Chaplain Maurice W. Reynolds wrote Chaplain Axton in 1921 requesting guidance about and the publication of directives on the customs of military weddings and funerals.⁷³

Chaplains visited their men in barracks, hospitals, shops, training areas, ranges, and stockades. They worked with the Boy Scouts, Red Cross, Salvation Army, Community Chest, and the PTA program. Lectures were an inevitable part of the chaplain program. Sex hygiene talks came into general acceptance after the war. Venereal disease took an alarming toll of casualties during the war years, and the peacetime Army was not indifferent to the effect of VD on efficiency. Many a pragmatic commander judged the efficiency of his chaplain on the rise and fall of VD statistics in the unit.⁷⁴

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In June 1928 there were only 120 chaplains in the Army, representing 19 denominations, but they conducted 18,890 services on military reservations with an attendance of 1,777,018 worshippers; that meant an average attendance at 13 services for each member of the Regular Army that fiscal year.⁷⁵ The figures for other years of the period showed these to be typical. While they did not reflect who went how often, they showed that each chaplain conducted an average of three worship services per week.

The Chief of Chaplains reported in 1927, "There are many successful Sunday Schools in the Army with a membership of from 35 to 100 and reports of post chaplains indicate that post personnel cooperate enthusiastically in carrying on this important work."

The average weekly attendance in 1926 for some of these was as follows:

Schofield Barracks, Hawaii	248
Fort Bragg, North Carolina	174
Fort Monroe, Virginia	158
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas	135

The post population in the twenties was quite small. There were no large housing areas for dependents, and married noncommissioned officers and soldiers were nearly a rarity. Regulations forbade the marriage of men in the lower grades, and marriage against regulations was considered grounds for a bar to re-enlistment. So the Chief wrote, "When one considers the small number of dependents at most posts, this is a good record."⁷⁶

The religious education program was further hampered by lack of supplies, facilities, equipment, religious educators and anything remotely resembling a uniform curriculum. Sunday Schools met in mess halls, hangars, movie theaters, and one met in a PX. George F. Rixey (later the first Deputy Chief of Chaplains) visited the class and found the children chewing gum and eating candy. "Where did you get it?" he asked. "George (his son) gave it to us." "Where did he get it?" the chaplain inquired. The children replied in a chorus: "He hit the jackpot." Slot machines were allowed in the PX, and his son got lucky. But gambling did not seem a proper activity for Sunday School children and Rixey solved the problem by having the machines removed and punch cards substituted in their place. These could be put away during the Sunday School hour. Chaplains used imagination to overcome the difficulties and shortages that faced them in the accomplishment of their mission.⁷⁷

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Educational Duties

The training manual for chaplains stated:

an "expressed desire of the Government, in the case of enlisted men, to return them to civil life at the termination of military service better equipped for the ordinary duties of citizenship than when enlisted . . . While a chaplain is not ordinarily available for detail as recreation officer, athletic officer, or educational officer, he may easily be contributory to all of these. This status as defined in Army Regulations No. 60-5 clearly indicates his obligation to render such advice or assistance in all these realms as may be calculated to contribute to the moral or character-building values of each."⁷⁸

Lectures were commended to chaplains as a promising field, when adequate study and care were bestowed upon them. Geography and history were considered good topics, especially for troops on foreign soil. Chaplain Edmund Easterbrook, later Chief of Chaplains, was a good example. He organized a church, Sunday School, and Bible class in the Royal Palace at Coblenz that continued until occupation forces were withdrawn in 1923. He often used illustrations and worked in facts about the area that were of historical note, and gave lectures on the history and geography of the area. Fisher and Cohee did the same in Tientsin, China.⁷⁹ Probably the most famous lecture of this period was Alva J. Brasted's "The Great Building," which he delivered more than 400 times. Once more than 11,000 men in Hawaii gathered in an amphitheatre to hear it.⁸⁰

The first record of motion pictures being taken in the Army was by a chaplain. (He was later reprimanded for selling them. It was interpreted as unauthorized moonlighting.)⁸¹ Chaplains introduced motion pictures as a teaching tool in both religious education and the secular educational duties required of them. They used slides and phonographs to support discussions and lectures and were innovative in using radio and post newspapers as further avenues to reach the unchurched. In an earlier day, when sharp lines between religion and education were not finely and distinctly drawn, chaplains lectured and taught classes on citizenship and patriotic themes, current events, and sociological subjects with religious references and illustrations sprinkled amply throughout. Attendance at classes was voluntary. Clubs for dramatics, reading, and debate were sponsored and encouraged. Education was considered to be character building and knowledge good in and of itself.⁸² The educational role of the chaplain continued unchallenged even into World War II. Black chaplains, or white chaplains assigned to what were then called "colored" units, spent much duty and off duty time teaching the illiterate to read

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and write. Remedial classes in mathematics, geography, government, history, and other basic subjects gave the soldier a better grasp of his heritage, and more knowledge to face his future within or outside the military service.

Foreign Service

The 15th Infantry Regiment served from 1912 to 1938 in Tientsin, China. In the early twenties an able and popular man, Chaplain (Captain) Orville E. Fisher, the Protestant chaplain, became editor of the regimental newspaper, the *Sentinel*. His column, "The Chaplain's Notes," was a regular feature, and one of the most interesting; it doubtless earned him the editor's job. The "Notes" contained articles on the brain and its functions; on sports figures like a seventeen-year-old Chicagoan with more swimming records than any other—a slender lad named Johnny Weismuller; on history; on literature, with quotations from Shakespeare, Confucius, Milton; one on the value of a good name, which cited the case of Judge Landis, whose good name and reputation led to his selection as baseball commissioner—after the scandals—at \$50,000 a year.⁸³

The paper gave a good account of life on the post. A Mack Senatt comedy, "Are Waitresses Safe?" played at the recreation hall, which was where services were held. The theatre boasted a play, "A Virtuous Vamp." There was a skating rink, a full athletic schedule, including hockey (they were beaten by the Marines) and baseball, basketball, track and football. A notice in the paper announced: "Thursday night is Forum night. The chaplain will lead the discussion on current topics. This is not a private talk on his part but a free for all and open discussion. So load up your question ammunition and fire away." Other gleanings revealed that the Astor House Hotel loaned palms for Palm Sunday, that attendance was building, and that Sunday evening movies and singing were followed by a talk by the chaplain.

Little hints were scattered throughout the paper, such as, "You feed your body 21 times a week whether it needs it or not. Why not throw your soul a bone once a week even if it doesn't seem to be hungry. The poor thing may be too weak to make its wants known."

His sermon titles were printed in the paper and included catchy ones like, "The Biggest Lie"; "Jumping Frogs" (about jumping to prejudices with only partial information); "Can An Intelligent Man Be A Christian?"; "Old Trick—New Name"; and "The Bible Verse President Harding Kissed."⁸⁴

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Paragraph 3, Circular No. 42, War Department, Feb. 17, 1921 enjoined every chaplain to serve the moral and religious needs of the entire personnel of the command. Chaplain Fisher quoted it in announcing Jewish Passover services and Roman Catholic Masses on Palm Sunday and Easter. He then ran a long article on the history and meaning of Passover that was quite interesting. He also urged soldiers to attend civilian Catholic and Protestant churches in town. It was noteworthy that as editor he was listed as "Chaplain," but as business manager of the paper he was listed as "Captain" Fisher.⁸⁵

Pacifist and Constitutional Opposition

No new arguments concerning the Christian and the issue of war appeared in this decade. There were conscientious objectors and conscientious participants who could quote Scripture to prove the rightness of their position. People felt strongly about religion, and how and by whom it should be presented to men in the Army. The most vocal enemies and opponents of the chaplaincy in this period were not atheists and free thinkers, but fellow churchmen. As early as 1924, *The Christian Century* was demanding, "Get the Churches out of the Chaplaincy Business," its theme song until World War II. Charles C. Morrison, editor of the magazine, offered a resolution in 1924 that the Federal Council of Churches cease making itself a party to militarism by taking action to refuse the indorsement of any further chaplains for appointment to the Army or Navy.⁸⁶ Another *Christian Century* editorial appeared in October 1924 with the title "Christ or Caesar—The Chaplain's Choice." Commenting on the gains of the chaplaincy it said:

Why should the Federal Council "care" if the chaplaincy does revert back to the former "chaos"? It is none of the church's business whether it reverts or not, or to what it reverts. This is the war system's business; let the war system look to it! It is no more the business of the Christian church to train and furnish military chaplains than it is to train and furnish machine gunners and bayoneteers.⁸⁷

John M. Thomas, a Reserve chaplain and President of Pennsylvania State College, wrote an article for *The Chaplain School Bulletin* in 1925 in response to the growing pacifist sentiments within the church. He said pacifism was "an attitude based on ignorance of facts or refusal to consider conditions and tendencies which actually obtain in the affairs of the nations of the world. The cure of pacifism, therefore, is knowledge and information."⁸⁸ He went on to point out that to be unprepared for war is to invite war.

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By 1929 the churches' remorse for the excessive militarism shown during World War I led to a widespread commitment to dogmatic Christian pacifism, and the Federal Council of Churches greeted the United States Senate's consent to the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact with jubilation: "Let church bells be rung, songs sung, prayers of thanksgiving be offered and petitions for help from God that our nation may ever follow the spirit and meaning of the pact."⁸⁹ (The 1930's saw even stronger opposition on pacifist grounds and is treated in the next chapter.)

Attacks on the chaplaincy came from a second ideological point of view, the belief that the chaplaincy was unconstitutional. Since chaplains held commissions from the government and were paid from public funds, critics held they were in violation of the provisions of the First Amendment to the Constitution. They favored a civilian chaplaincy managed and supervised directly by the churches. Several times the Chief of Chaplains was prepared for action from The Commission on Chaplains of the Army and Navy, but the opposition never materialized in numbers sufficient to force a vote to change the system. It was an argument that was never adequately addressed, and would pop up again and again.⁹⁰

The Insignia of Grade Question

Another perennial question never fully resolved was the status of a chaplain as an officer. Chaplains were addressed as "Chaplain" rather than as "Captain" or "Major." This emphasized the functional role of the chaplain as a clergyman in uniform. But it was an officers uniform.

During World War I, General Pershing, Bishop Brent, Bishop McCormick, and other leading clergy thought that chaplains could be closer to their men without the insignia of grade on their uniforms. Special Regulations 41 and 42 were changed on 7 and 22 May 1918, at Pershing's direction, and the insignia of grade was removed from the uniform. Chaplains were directed to wear the cross on shoulder loops instead of grade insignia.⁹¹ This change was observed generally in Europe.⁹² Many chaplains in America knew nothing about it and continued to wear insignia of grade as before.

Some chaplains felt strongly that the removal of the evidence of grade was a mistake, and degraded the chaplaincy in the estimation of the soldier. Bishop Brent changed his mind on the question and suggested a compromise—one cross for lieutenants, two crosses for captains, and three for majors.⁹³ But the suggestion was never adopted. The controversy gained momentum when the Director of the Chaplain's School and two of his staff were removed because they refused to comply with the

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policy and recommended that their students protest it by writing Congress.⁹⁴

Axton opposed the policy at the time of its inception. Now as Chief of Chaplains, he was in a better position to be heard. He wrote:

The failure to provide insignia of rank for chaplains is the occasion for constant embarrassment of members of the corps and the irritations growing out of this are such as to provide a discordant note in and among an important group of clergymen, now numbering nearly thirteen hundred, who are chaplains in the three components of the Army. These men, many of them bishops and college presidents, are constantly urging this office to renew representation that has heretofore been made for the restoration to the uniform of some evidence that men in the corps, by reason of years of experience and exceptional accomplishments, advance in rank.⁹⁵

Good men can and do differ on how the mission of the chaplain should be accomplished in a military setting. Chaplain Daniel B. Jorgensen wrote:

The fact is that . . . an officer without rank did not fit into the military structure.

Further, it reenforced the old discrimination chaplains had suffered in being paid less than authorized by their grades. Though chaplains had the same financial obligations as other officers—sometimes greater because of their work—they had lower pay.⁹⁶

Brent's influence in the War Department was so great, even though he had returned to civilian life, that Axton needed his support to effect a change. In 1926 Brent wrote a letter to the Chief of Staff convincing him that a change was necessary. At the Chief of Staff's request a board met in the Adjutant General's office to consider the question. The Chief of Chaplains did his homework and brought to the meeting the results of a questionnaire sent out to active duty chaplains. Of the 126 chaplains questioned, 116 were emphatic in the opinion that insignia of rank should be worn; two were indifferent; and seven said they were satisfied with the present arrangement.⁹⁷

A sample of the answers on the questionnaire showed these statements entered in the record of proceedings:

"If a Chaplain cannot win the confidence and comradeship of his men while wearing insignia of rank, the mere concealment of the fact that he holds increased rank and will not enable him to do so." "Insignia of rank saves confusion and explanation." "If there is honor in holding rank and wearing evidence of that honor the chaplain is as much entitled to it as other officers." "Chaplains chafe under the very evident discrimination

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concerning rank and insignia of it.” “Increase in rank does not necessarily increase the distance between enlisted men and the chaplain. Quite the contrary.” “Officers of the line consider present arrangement a peculiar mistake.” “Give Army and Navy Chaplains equal consideration. The Navy Chaplains wear insignia of rank.” “The removal of insignia of rank, if carried to its logical end, would put the chaplain out of uniform altogether.”

“Without insignia of rank he is frequently mistaken for a welfare worker, many of whom have little or no standing among the soldiers.” “Misunderstandings, humiliations and absurdities have come into the life of the chaplains by reasons of the change.” “I favor no camouflage rank. Make it actual.” “The chaplain cannot carry his commission around and flag every passerby with it. His status should be read and known to all men at a glance.” “The only symbol the army is trained to respect is the insignia of rank.” “Rank and evidence of it contribute to respect and efficiency.” “Removal has lowered the standard of the chaplain in the eyes of the enlisted men.” “The enlisted man is not going to entrust his affairs to an officer who cannot be entrusted by his government with the emblem of his rank.” “It is a reflection on the intelligence of the men of the army to say the insignia of rank will keep the men away from the Chaplain.” “Nothing is lost by wearing the insignia of rank; very much is lost without it.” “If it has seemed that the insignia of rank was detrimental to the chaplain the fault was with the chaplain, not with the insignia.” “Without insignia of rank the Chaplain, like the poor field clerk, is more or less of a nonentity in the army.” “Some Bishops are naturally approachable and some are not; it altogether depends upon the personality of the man, not the absence of a Pectoral Cross or Braid and Buttons and this is equally true of Army Chaplains. The Naval Chaplain wears his rank; I have yet to hear it stated that the Army Chaplain is more approachable personage than the Naval Chaplain. The Chaplains of all other armies wear their rank, therefore, we must infer that the American soldier is different from his brother who joins the Navy and different from all other men in all other armies, in that he is afraid of a Chaplain, because, forsooth, he wears a couple of silver bars on his shoulder.”⁹⁸

The Board reviewed statements, listened to testimony, examined the procedures in foreign armies, and concluded on 19 March 1926: “It is recommended that the insignia of rank be restored to the uniform of the Chaplain. This recommendation is made in the belief that an immediate contribution to the efficiency of chaplains will result.” Chaplain Axton

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commented, "Many would be made happy and none unhappy by this move."⁹⁹

Not only was insignia of grade back on the uniform after a seven year absence, but a Congressional Act of 1926 also guaranteed for the first time in American history that chaplains were given the rank, pay, and allowances of their respective grades up to and including that of colonel. They were to wear their distinctive insignia—Latin crosses for Catholic and Protestant, and tablets with the Star of David for Jewish—on their lapels. This important legislation and its enactment gave chaplains a firm status in the service.¹⁰⁰

The question of chaplains wearing rank was tied to whether they should have it in the first place.

Pershing said in official correspondence:

Recommend legislation modifying laws reference promotion of Chaplains. Present law authorized the grade of First Lieutenant only except after long period of service. The duties of Chaplains both in front division and in hospitals have been most arduous and far exceed their normal duties in peace time. To secure greater efficiency it has been necessary to have supervisory chaplains in each division and in each corps as well as the larger hospitals. It is fitting that chaplains assigned to these duties should have rank commensurate with their responsibilities. Recommend for the present allowance of chaplains for the AEF under existing law one Colonel, eight Lieutenant Colonels, forty four Majors, 498 Captains and 900 or more First Lieutenants. I also recommend in view of the advancement of other officers of the regular establishment that an advancement of one grade for the period of the war be authorized for all Chaplains of the regular establishment. I consider prompt remedial action necessary as an act of justice to the many chaplains who have rendered conspicuous service.¹⁰¹

In his final report to the Adjutant General, Bishop Brent wrote: "Both in theory and experience the truth has been driven home that the chaplain must be an integral part of the military establishment which he serves if he is going to reach his highest effectiveness." Writing about "welfare officers" in the same report he said, "Experience seems to indicate that in many instances the chaplain was by long odds the best man for the place. Inasmuch as his rank was not that of a field officer, he was not eligible for the position. This is one out of many cases that could be cited of the necessity for rank for the chaplain as a facility."¹⁰² Many chaplains agreed that increased rank helped them to help their men; it facilitated their functioning in the system and on that basis increased their effectiveness.

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Further Relationships of Church and Chaplaincy

The chaplaincy organized with a Chief of Chaplains, regulations defined their duties, a school started, manuals and correspondence courses guided them in continuing training, their status as officers was established, selection procedures tightened, reserves organized, promotion and rank, pay and allowances stabilized along career lines, the beginnings of a branch awareness—if not the status of a corps—had been achieved. All of this increased the professional stature and competence of the chaplaincy and helped determine how it was perceived in the military.

The increased professionalism and status achieved by the chaplaincy was not a completely in-house matter. The churches wielded political power by their interest, support and recommendations that purported to represent the will of adherents by the thousands, or even millions; their actions had the effect of raising the standards of the chaplaincy and increasing its effectiveness in ministering to the Army community.

The Conference on Moral and Religious Work in the Army in 1924 was an example of church support. Part of their report stressed:

The purposes of our government in appointing chaplains and the place of religion in the Army has been misunderstood, because frequently a chaplain has been used simply to promote what is known as morale. The chaplain does promote true morale in the best possible way—by religious sanction. . . . When he is asked to promote morale first and religion afterwards, he is asked to be false to his mission.¹⁰³

Jorgensen stated, "This report had far reaching effect in defining the status of the chaplain and the position of morale officer was soon abolished." ¹⁰⁴

Chaplains sent reports to denominations on their activities. The denominations in turn drew closer to their clergy in uniform through retreats, conferences, and professional journals. The Army Chaplains Association was founded on 25 April 1925, to strengthen faith, morality, and understanding within the Army, to uphold the Constitution, and to promote justice, peace, and goodwill. It was composed of present and former chaplains of all components on a voluntary basis. The Chief of Chaplains said, ". . . in many ways this group has exerted intelligent and wholesome influence to improve the status and equipment of chaplains and enhance the effectiveness of their work." ¹⁰⁵ Positive support from religious bodies in favor of a strong chaplaincy was evidenced in the subcommittee of the Senate and House Committee on Military Affairs. Hearings on Senate Bill 2532 and H.R. 7038, "To Increase The Number of Chaplains In The Army" were held 16 April 1924.

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General Pershing and Bishop Brent were apparently responsible for working out a figure of one chaplain to 1,200 officers and men. That formula was never met during the period the AEF was active, but it was the bench mark on which requisitions for chaplains were computed. In 1924, with 125 chaplains and an Army strength of 137,000, the request was made by the Chief of Chaplains to reduce the ratio to 1 to 800.¹⁰⁶

The rationale behind this request was postwar discontinuance of the activities so faithfully carried out by volunteer patriotic and religious organizations during the war years. These tasks, including entertainment and athletics, became chaplain responsibilities in many commands. Civilian "Camp pastors" were phased out; in the judgment of one representative, Charles S. McFarland of the Federal Council of Churches' General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains, they were not a successful venture even as a stopgap measure under wartime emergency.¹⁰⁷ The CMTC program with its opportunities was an added and unanticipated responsibility. The educational role of the chaplain was as time consuming as individual efforts, abilities, and local conditions would bear.

Newly organized into a cohesive branch with a spokesman, the chaplaincy's timidity in its own behalf seemed to be overcome. Chaplain Axton went to the hill with quite a shopping list. He wanted a ratio of 1 to 800; the Chief to be a Brigadier General instead of a Colonel; reduction of the maximum age of entry on active duty to 58; creation of a corps of chaplain assistants; and an increase by 25 in the number of chaplains on active duty.¹⁰⁸ The complete transcript of the Subcommittee of the Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs 1924 hearing made interesting reading, and revealed a great deal about feelings toward the chaplaincy among church leaders, senators, chaplains' association officials, and others. There was also revealed a tendency to wander all over the parade field on the part of the politicians, who were so uninformed on what they were being asked to decide that their efforts to ask penetrating questions revealed their ignorance.¹⁰⁹ General Eisenhower once commented, "The War Department moves in a mysterious way its blunders to perform."¹¹⁰ The same could be said of the 1924 subcommittee hearings.

One congressman contended that chaplains would have greater influence without commissions. A Mr. Hull responded that there is a Chaplain Corps for the same reason there is a Quartermaster Corps. He asked why not have a businessmen's organization, and let them wear business suits instead of uniforms with no rank.¹¹¹ Mr. McKenzie could not see the

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need for more chaplains and said, “I live in a little town and I know something about the churches, and I know that the majority of young men either go fishing on Sunday or ride around in an automobile or take life easy out in the sunshine rather than go to church. . . .”¹¹² He was concerned about the type of chaplains being commissioned. He heard about clergymen whose preachments became so anti-war that they advocated removing mention of it from history books and getting rid of all public statues and markers that glorified war heroes in the public mind. “You aren’t commissioning men who want to tear down the Washington monument or Sherman’s statue, are you?” he demanded. He also tried to introduce “evolution” as a test question for commissioning chaplains, and quoted William Jennings Bryan’s words against the views “of that other fellow,” presumably either Clarence Darrow or the defendant Scopes, in the famous Tennessee trial.

More to the point of the hearings, Charles S. McFarland, of the Federal Council of Churches, testified that the President, the War Department, and the churches were in favor of the bill, and introduced a letter from President Coolidge. He also argued that denominations sensed discrimination against the chaplaincy in the fact that it was the only branch without a general as chief; that promotion of chaplains was slower than that of dentists and doctors; and conveyed to the military and civilians alike that religion in the Army occupied a low position.

Chaplain Axton testified on behalf of the 1,100 chaplains in the Regular Army, National Guard, and Officers’ Reserve Corps that the recommended changes would give their morale a real boost. He pointed out that if the nation wanted high caliber men it ought not to “put them where they can’t advance with their contemporaries.”¹¹³ By today’s standards advancement was unbelievably slow: less than five years in service first lieutenant; five to fourteen years, captain; fourteen to twenty years, major; over twenty years, lieutenant colonel; one chaplain could serve as colonel for four years while Chief of Chaplains.¹¹⁴

The proposed bill stated: “It is considered that to limit the rank of the chief of this branch to colonel, while all other chiefs of branches are major generals, is not in accordance with the place of religion in the Army nor with the value and importance of the moral and religious influences of the ministry in the Army, and in civil life.”¹¹⁵ It further pointed out that the Navy had fifteen chaplains equivalent in rank to Army colonels.

The bill did not survive the labyrinthine process of becoming law. It would have been expensive. It would have taken spaces away from line officers, and the War Department representative in attendance spoke

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against a chaplain being made a general on the grounds that he had never held command. Most of the provisions dropped out of sight in the full committee meetings as all of the other branches' requests were considered. The Act passed in 1926 gave chaplains equal pay and promotion opportunities through the grade of Colonel.

Citizens Military Training Camps

Considering the pacifist and anti-military feeling of the twenties, and the reluctance to spend money on military training, one of the phenomena that didn't seem to fit at first glance was The Citizens Military Training Camps. An unusually warm and uncritical reception was given to the program.

The CMTC had its genesis under Major General Leonard Wood, Chief of Staff, in 1913 at Gettysburg and Monterey. They were fore-runners of the ROTC program and endorsed by President Wilson for their contribution to physical health and character.¹¹⁶ In 1920 the Citizens Military Training Camps were authorized by Congress and opened in 1921. Popular approval saw them grow from 20,000 men in 1922 to 35,000 in 1925.¹¹⁷ Camps were open to young men aged 17–24 in a four year sequence, entitled, Basic, Red, White, and Blue. They attended four weeks each summer, and upon completion of four summer's training were eligible to take an examination which led to a Reserve commission. Mornings were spent in drill, afternoons in physical training, athletics, systematic instruction by lecture, conference, and discussion in the principles of good citizenship. Evenings were devoted to recreation, movies, concerts, amateur dramatics, dances, and indoor games. Physical examinations uncovered various health problems; remedial exercises were suggested along with minor treatment and referrals to doctors in home communities. The men were to spread the health and fitness gospel to every village and town. The program lasted fifteen years, spread to 51 Army reservations and trained 450,730 men. As usual, funding was a problem. In 1931, for example, there were 82,642 applicants but funds to take only 37,500 men.¹¹⁸

Since General Wood's avowed purpose was to “. . . awaken a slumbering people to a sense of present unpreparedness and inability to meet its soldier responsibility as citizens of a democracy . . .”¹¹⁹ not a popular message—why was the program so successful? The answer lay in the oblique benefits that accrued, to which the public could subscribe wholeheartedly. Theodore Roosevelt said, “The tent where boys sleep side by side will rank next to the public school among the great agents of democ-

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racy.”¹²⁰ The romanticism of nature and the presumed character building aspects of outdoor life, combined with the send-this-boy-to-camp syndrome were guaranteed, in the popular mind, to produce a good American. One government pamphlet characterized the program as “offering thirty days of out-door life at Government expense.”¹²¹

The part played by religion was not ignored in this training. George F. James, author of numerous books on the CMTC wrote, “Religion is the foundation of civilization. Services for men of every faith are held at appropriate times during the camp period, and candidates are urged to attend. Spiritual advice is never lacking. Chaplains have regular hours for individual conference.”¹²²

The chaplains were Regular and Reserve, usually with the Regular in charge. “Urged to attend” was interpreted in most places as mandatory chapel.

In a report to the General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains in 1927 one official stated: “In most cases the Sunday morning worship is now required. . . . The anticipated protest on the part of the boys have not been realized, and their general reaction may be indicated by the following testimony from one of them who wrote up their experiences for the camp magazine:

Compulsory church attendance was an order which seemed to many fellows the forerunner of an unnecessary ordeal. They received a surprise. The chaplains aroused so much enthusiasm that the services proved interesting to all and the sermons held everyone’s attention. The chaplains were on hand at all times and were always ready to help us.¹²³

When the question of compulsory church was raised by parents and press, Major General Charles P. Summerall, the commander of the CMTC, expressed no doubt about what should be done: “. . . the boys coming to the camps are sent by their parents and not by their ministers, and if the parents do not approve the young men can stay away.”¹²⁴ In the same speech he attacked those “renegades” who were teaching evolution, the denial of the divinity of Christ, and the Immaculate Conception. The *Citizen* published by C.M.T.C. trainees at Fort Washington, Maryland, said: “These religious services are just as much a part of camp curriculum as the military instruction and serve well the purpose for which they were designed.”¹²⁵ As the dust settled, Summerall announced that each recruit would attend the service of his choice, regardless of age, “unless he can present a written request from his parent or guardian that he be excused.”¹²⁶

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Charles S. McFarland, Secretary of the General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains, reported on five years worth of visitations to the camps by saying:

The authorities in charge show increasing recognition of the necessity for providing the thousands of boys who attend these camps with the best possible moral and religious influences, and this is shared increasingly by the administrative officers directly in charge of them. . . . A general and progressive improvement is noted year by year. The general tone and atmosphere of the camps is better. . . . This is especially true of the distinctively religious work. It is, for the most part, well organized. The chaplains visualize it more clearly. The provisions for it are more adequate and the results are apparent, although it must be said that there are instances where some commanding officers have not yet caught the spirit.¹²⁷

All was not sweetness and light, for the report went on to grouse a bit. "There is little point in the commanding officer telling us that he 'heartily encourages attendance at worship,' while he himself, during the hour of worship, sits in full view on his porch surrounded by the Sunday papers. Indeed about the only suggestion of protest on the part of the boys is in the form of a question as to why their officers do not participate in this as in other required service."¹²⁸

Other points of friction, perhaps inevitable, were alluded to. "There is still considerable room for improvement in some instances in the matter of hearty cooperation between the recreation officer, and the chaplain. There are some considerations in favor of making the Chaplain the Recreation Officer, as is frequently done in the National Guard." One chaplain complained that excursions were often scheduled during church, and weekend passes were too freely given. "It is hardly fair to the average seventeen year old boy to ask him whether he had rather go off in a boat or to church."¹²⁹

The report concluded with the recommendation that chaplains be assigned to ROTC camps as well, and underscored the need for a closer association between National Guard Chaplains and the Chief's office. It also commended the YMCA for their continued good work on Army posts.

The Chaplains conducted services in the camps, and performed educational duties in the area of citizenship. Chaplain Clifford P. Futchter gave twelve lectures on citizenship in a course later developed into *A Manual for Citizenship Training* for use in all the camps in 1927. The following year, the War Department published a manual entitled *Citizenship* which superseded the one by Futchter and suggested a director of

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training be appointed for each CMTC who would supervise company officers in giving lectures on:

1. The American Citizen
2. Inter-dependent Relationships
3. Character, The Great Asset of America
4. Great Americans and Their Achievements
5. Economic Development of America
6. Individual Initiative
7. Liberty and Independence
8. The Purpose of Government
9. Representative Government
10. Personal Responsibility
11. Self-Preservation
12. The American Flag ¹³⁰

Character building talks were considered part of the chaplains' responsibility and these talks and similar ones by other chaplains laid the groundwork for the later Character Guidance and Human Self Development programs.

Another duty that chaplains performed was counseling. If a young man was poorly motivated, homesick, a discipline problem, or troubled by family difficulties he was sent by his commander to see the chaplain. The chaplain was the man in the system who had time to listen. Many men sought out the chaplain on their own initiative to discuss questions of religion, morality, sex, and career guidance. These wide ranging contacts with men of widely divergent backgrounds brought chaplains into contact with large numbers of young men which enabled them to perform a ministry and receive invaluable training through experience.

Equipment and Assistants

Some men were able to get by with a blanket and a Bible for equipment. Prior to 1923 the only equipment authorized a chaplain was a blue flag with a white latin cross on it. This was used to mark the location of the chaplain's tent, and the place where divine services were conducted. Most services were held out of doors. Only 17 installations had permanent chapels. This was in marked contrast to what was happening throughout the United States—the greatest church building program in history.¹³¹

Chief Axton wrote to Chaplain Maurice W. Reynolds in 1921:

Our chaplains have suffered in their work from lack of facilities and from the era of depression that followed the world war but from reports covering the entire field we are encouraged to believe that the low point

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was passed long ago and we are going forward steadily to larger and better things.¹³²

In 1925 he offered to help any chaplain who planned to erect a chapel. But in the main his statements were wishful thinking in a nation tired of war and determined to cut military expenditure to the bone. In his seventh year as Chief, even Axton became discouraged and wrote to Chaplain Charles F. Graeser:

Of course we wish the government would make provisions for chapels at all permanent posts but I see no prospect of this being accomplished any time soon and therefore we are encouraging the communities near our posts in the belief that they have a definite responsibility to aid in providing houses of worship for soldiers.¹³³

Chaplain Benjamin J. Tarskey in the Canal Zone, received permission from his commander to raise voluntary funds to erect a chapel. The various fund raising features met with a generous response. But his request for authorization to erect a chapel met with flat refusal from the Secretary of War who replied:

The War Department expects Congress to provide appropriations for all necessary Army construction, and it is not considered desirable to accept private contributions for such purposes. Therefore, the request for authority to erect a chapel under the conditions stated in basic letter, is not favorably considered.¹³⁴

Chaplain C. A. Corcoran turned an abandoned building into a chapel in 1921. Tarskey "converted" an old mess hall in August of that year. Chaplain John N. McCann remodeled a temporary building into a chapel at Kelly Field in 1928. Other chaplains used gynosiums, theaters, and the open air.

Equipment took a turn for the better when a new Table of Equipment in 1923 authorized each chaplain "one field desk, regimental, containing a portable typewriter; one folding organ; 300 song books, religious and patriotic; chests as containers for books." "For semipermanent camps the following is authorized by Table V, Circular 324, War Department, 1921: One assembly tent; 4 tables, folding; 32 benches, folding (or chairs folding). Not to exceed one tent with tables and benches, or chairs, will be issued to each organization to which a chaplain is assigned."¹³⁵ The flag continued to be an item of issue and was described as of blue bunting, 2 feet hoist by 3 feet fly, with a white Latin cross, 1 foot 6 inches in height, with arms 3 inches in width, in the center. "This flag will be used for field service only, and silently proclaims the progress of a divine service or the

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presence and location of the chaplain, who usually occupies a tent not far from the headquarters of the unit with which he is serving.”¹³⁶

There was no description of a Jewish Chaplain's Flag because there was no Jewish Chaplain on active duty between the close of World War I and the build up of forces in 1940. The religious population of the Army in this period contained so few Jewish personnel that no rabbi was interested in the chaplaincy, although Jewish chaplains were authorized and had been since the Civil War. The history of Judaism in Europe was such that they perceived soldiers as instruments of the enemy. A military career was not an option chosen by many Jews. Families encouraged sons to enter nearly any other line of work.

Religious tracts were very popular items during the war and immediately after, and were provided by the churches under varying arrangements. Motion picture projectors, record players, slide projectors, stationery (for writing the folks back home), and books and magazines were frequently found in the chaplain's tent. There was great variety in how they were obtained and maintained. Sometimes unit funds and property were used, or organizations like the Red Cross, YMCA, and local churches provided equipment or funds. At other times the chaplains reached into their own pockets to provide for the men.

Army Regulations No. 60–5 directed the “detail of such needed assistants to chaplains as may be deemed desirable and practicable.” Translated into popular usage this gave the chaplain a “hunting license” to select a man best qualified for the position; he then conferred with the man's immediate commander as to availability for the position, after which the paper work was submitted. The manual gravely pointed out how serious the matter of selection was. It left the chaplain to his own devices as to how to pry a good man loose from an unsympathetic commander.

Memorials of World War I

The chaplaincy of the 1920s was directly influenced by lessons learned in “The Great War.” The events of the decade were acted out within the shadow of that event. Several specific events memorialized the sacrifices of World War I chaplains. The Federal Council of Churches issued a Chaplain's Medal as an “expression of appreciation by the churches” to the 1,600 Protestant chaplains who served in the Army and Navy during the war. The same medal also went to President Wilson, Secretary Baker and Secretary Daniels.¹³⁷

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Secretary Weeks sent four chaplains to France in 1922, to the Ceme-terial Section of the Quartermaster Corps, for duty in the American National Cemeteries in France. Their main responsibility was to hold appropriate religious services at the reinterment of those who were moved to American cemeteries, and to minister to "the hundreds of Americans who are visiting the last resting places of their departed ones."¹³⁸

Father John J. Sullivan, chaplain for the Aviation Corps in France during the war, and known as "the original flying parson," flew around the country visiting the parents of aviators for whom he performed the burial service in France. This unique mission was permitted by a special order from Major General Mason M. Patrick, head of the Army Air Service.¹³⁹

The Chaplains' Cenotaph, a memorial tablet of bronze, containing the names of 23 chaplains killed in World War I, embedded in a large stone shaft, was unveiled on 5 May 1926 at Arlington National Cemetery. Paid for by voluntary funds raised within the ranks of the chaplaincy, the cenotaph was unveiled with proper ceremony presided over by chaplains John N. McCormick, Jason N. Pierce, Morris S. Lazon, and Francis P. Duffy.¹⁴⁰ (Father Duffy became the most famous of World War I Chaplains, and a statue in his memory was erected at Duffy Square in mid-town Manhattan.)

A Chaplain Is Pardoned

The Prophet Nathan confronted King David with his sin. The question was often asked whether chaplains confront the system, or were so concerned with favorable efficiency reports that they knuckled under pressures to conform. Most chaplains who felt they could not validly minister quietly resigned. Chaplain C.A. Corcoran in 1922 applied for separation because he had "become more or less ennuied with the military life." Axton in indorsing the request wrote, "If he has become ennuied with military life, he may well be spared."¹⁴¹

A more spectacular confrontation came in the person of Franz J. Feinler. Chaplain Feinler was convicted on 18 specifications of treasonable behavior during World War I. Feinler was born in Germany and entered the Army as a chaplain in 1909. He was sent to France, but "on account of statements attributed to him showing German sympathies"¹⁴² was returned to the US. Intentions to courtmartial him were dropped and he was sent to Hawaii. There he was accused "of having uttered treasonable language and with having endeavored to dissuade men in the army from taking part in the war against Germany." He was tried,

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convicted, and sentenced to 15 years at hard labor. He was paroled after three years confinement, and one year later President Harding pardoned him and restored his citizenship.¹⁴³

Minorities

The Army in this period simply mirrored current public attitudes on the subject of minorities. The consciousness of ethnic rights had few champions even among the minorities themselves. Reasonable research uncovered no evidence that chaplains of this period spoke a prophetic word to the system. Their sermons and printed articles contained colored dialect stories that demeaned them as well as their listeners.¹⁴⁴

The pattern established in previous wars reasserted itself, namely, when manpower needs were critical the minority soldier was acceptable; the danger past, he was unacceptable and culled out. In World War I there were 400,000 blacks in the Army, 1,300 of them officers. Two decades later, on the eve of the Pearl Harbor attack, there were five black officers in the entire active Army. Three of them were chaplains. Eli Ginzberg stated 3,600 Regular Army enlisted men were black, representing two per cent of the total;¹⁴⁵ Charles C. Moskos states that 5.9 per cent of the total Army was black.¹⁴⁶ While the authors do not agree on the exact percentage they are in agreement that the number did not reflect the national population picture or the Negro potential for service. Between 1920–1940 one black, Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., graduated from West Point.

Black American troops were rushed home from France. When French Marshal Foch questioned the policy, Major General Bullard sent word to Foch that he could not be responsible for what the Negroes might do to French women if allowed to remain.¹⁴⁷ Upon coming home black soldiers were ordered off trains and busses, forced to strip off their uniforms and medals. Seventy blacks were lynched in the first year after the war, including ten soldiers, some still in uniform. Fourteen blacks were burned publicly.¹⁴⁸ Until the National Guard was organized, Regular units were called out for race riots in many cities. A War Department letter of 12 July 1923, provided for use of Negroes in an emergency on a limited scale. It specified "No Negro troops are to be mobilized in the States of Texas."¹⁴⁹ The thought about blacks for the next two decades was: 1. They were inferior. 2. They failed in combat in World War I. 3. There would be serious problems of discipline and public relations because of friction between blacks and whites if units were integrated.¹⁵⁰

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There was concern among the chaplains to learn Spanish. Whether this was due to border duty along the Mexican boundary, or the Spanish still prevalent in the Philippines, or to minister to minorities, was not determined. At the Chaplains' School in 1922 eleven Regular chaplains studied Spanish in a class taught by another student.¹⁵¹ Perhaps it marked a concern to reach out to those of a different background.

There was concern by chaplains for individual soldiers, and they were viewed as proper subjects of their efforts at evangelism. There was social concern for families. One chaplain devised a plan to pay the wives of irresponsible servicemen two thirds of the soldier's salary. It was rejected. Another chaplain tried to protect his men from "moon shiners"; and in another case, from local law enforcement officials who discriminated against soldiers.¹⁵² As an institution the chaplaincy failed to stand back and view the Army as a system that needed ministry and institutional evangelism. Perhaps it was too newly organized to think in terms of collective "clout." Traditionalists in other branches failed to grasp the significance of the airplane and tank. The social gospel in civilian churches was viewed with suspicion in this period, and in the Army as well. The feeling was that clergy should stick "to their preaching." Whatever the reasons, and however widespread the failure to grasp the problems of minorities and minister to the institution, the chaplaincy did not seize the opportunity.

Evaluation

The 1920's saw the Army Chaplaincy get organized with the establishment of the office of the Chief of Chaplains, and other supervisory chaplains at the various levels of command, that exerted professional leadership over those in their own profession. This was in sharp contrast to the regimental parochialism that hampered individual chaplains from gaining perspective on the problems of ministering in and to the peculiar institution of the US Army. Regulations, circulars, and training manuals defined the duties of chaplains as clergymen rather than handymen. Promotion policies were brought into line with other branches and the status of chaplains was placed on a firm footing. The selection process by the denominations was tightened and the churches, through various board and agencies, grew closer to their previously orphaned chaplains and found ways to support and encourage them both individually and collectively. Some of that support found its way into legislation.

The Chaplain School was founded; though it did not last, it marked a concern for training that would see the school revived and become an

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important part of professional development. Equipment and assistants were furnished to chaplains to do their job, but still had a long way to go before either could be termed adequate. The shortage of chapel facilities hurt the chaplains' program. The Reserve program was organized and continued to have an impact on the chaplaincy through conferences, reports, professional journals, extension courses, and summer training. Much had been accomplished, but many of the developments were embryonic beginnings; some would grow, some would suffer reverses, and others would disappear altogether.

The report of the General Commission for 1927 evaluated the changes seen. "When one compares the present status of the army chaplaincy with the old days, there is ample ground for gratification and encouragement. This is due, of course, to many causes, among them the exigencies created by the war."¹⁵³ The report stated that there was much yet to be done, but "the chaplains are of a higher efficiency, have better equipment, have higher recognition in the service, better support from the church bodies, and are rendering finer service than was possible, even to the noblest of the former chaplains, many of whom became really great chaplains, despite the limitations imposed upon them." This advance was seen in many posts in the gradual establishment of an office for the chaplain, in the building of chapels, and in the provision of the War Department for "the ultimate building of a chapel on every post," according to the report.

Church attendance varied and in some cases was almost negligible. The chaplain, like many a pastor in civil life, rendered his service in large measure by other ways than pulpit exhortation.

The report closed with two recommendations: "Ministers should take a much more decided interest in the Army Posts near them. The chaplain sometimes feels estranged from his own brother ministers." While McFarland, the Chairman of the Committee, found the chaplains' problems much the same as his brother ministers, the assumption that the chaplains' duties could be just as well performed by an outside civilian priest or minister was not a correct one. "Army life is necessarily different from ordinary civilian routine and the chaplain had to know and share that life, including its privations, to be accepted."¹⁵⁴

Jorgensen wrote:

"The work of chaplains between the wars, their personal dedication to God and country which led them to render significant service in spite of meager physical resources—changed the attitude of the Army toward the chaplain and his duties."¹⁵⁵

See footnotes at end of chapter.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

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⁷ *Ibid.* p. 407-8.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 406-7 and Daniel B. Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917-1946*, (Washington, D.C.: Office Chief of Air Force Chaplains, 1961), p. 50.

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¹⁷ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 200.

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³⁰ "Col. John Thomas Axton, Former Chief of Chaplains," *The Army Chaplain*, October-November, 1934, Vol. IV, No. 2. p. 5.

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³⁴ Matthew 20:27, Holy Bible, King James Version.

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⁴¹ Honeywell, *Chaplains of The United States Army*, p. 201–202.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 50

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 50.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁴⁶ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 202.

⁴⁷ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 52.

⁴⁸ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 204.

⁴⁹ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units, 1917–1946*, p. 52.

⁵⁰ Dwight David Eisenhower, *At Ease*, Reader's Digest Condensed Book, Volume III, (Pleasantville, New York: The Reader's Digest Assn. 1967), p. 147–148.

⁵¹ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 206–7. Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units*, p. 52. This course is discussed under the title "Other Training" in a later part of this chapter. Further training for Reserve Chaplains came with the development of the Civilian Conservation Corps and is presented under that title in the next chapter.

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⁵³ Honeywell, *Chaplains of The United States Army*, p. 215.

⁵⁴ George B. Ford, interview, 10 Feb. 1976, New York City.

⁵⁵ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 204.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁵⁷ Ford, interview, and Bulletin; Commencement number, Chaplain's Service School, 13 December, 1921, Camp Knox, Ky., Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 4.

⁵⁸ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 204.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 204.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 205.

⁶¹ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains To Army Air Units*, p. 56.

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⁶³ *Ibid.* 207.

⁶⁴ Stover, *Up From Handymen, The U.S. Army Chaplaincy, 1865–1920*, (Washington: Office of The Chief of Chaplains, 1973).

⁶⁵ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Visits 1917–1946*, p. 63.

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⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 64.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 63.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 64–65.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 55.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 57.

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⁷³ *Ibid.* p. 66.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p. 67.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* p. 64.

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⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p. 76.

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⁸⁷ Edward A. Simon, *The Influence of The American Protestant Churches on the Development of the Structure and Duties of The Army Chaplaincy, 1914–1962*, Thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, 1963, p. 53.

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⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁹⁰ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 59.

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⁹² Ford, interview.

⁹³ Letter, undated, Box 4, Bishop Brent Collection, Rare Manuscripts Division, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

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¹⁰⁵ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 212–213.

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- ¹³⁰ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 67.
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- ¹⁴⁷ Lee Nichols, *Breakthrough on The Color Front* (New York: Random House, 1954), p. 37.
- ¹⁴⁸ John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery To Freedom* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 4th edition, 1974), p. 357.
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- ¹⁵¹ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 204.
- ¹⁵² Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 76.
- ¹⁵³ McFarland, Report To The General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains, 1927, p. 12.
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CHAPTER II

Marking Time While Preparing, The 1930's

The New Deal

In the 1930's optimists viewed the period as "The New Deal", and pessimists regarded it as the time of "The Great Depression." Following the 1929 stock market crash in America and a worldwide depression, the 1920's did not just go away, they burst like a champagne bubble and left America with a hangover. Scarcity of funds, pacifism, isolationism, concern with internal affairs and the economy, all had an effect on the Army and its chaplaincy. The chaplaincy started to become organized, modern, and professional, but it was nearly strangled in its cradle ten years before its greatest opportunity and challenge, World War II.

Sydney E. Ahlstrom wrote: "Fear, hunger, and finally desperation became the inevitable facts of life in an emergency that had no precedent in United States history."¹ Across America and across class lines spread privation. Men stood in bread lines, selling apples on street corners, sleeping in subways and parks, even in city incinerators to keep warm. Armies of homeless youth and adults roamed the land while relief agencies ran out of money and morale and had to stand helplessly by while thousands suffered. Violence erupted in some communities where men chose to steal rather than watch their children starve.

Lucien Price wrote of this period, "The eight years from 1931 to 1939 in the United State were an epoch at once of hope and apprehension."² Apprehension dated from the Japanese attack at Shanghai, February 1932; hope, since our own people were regaining confidence in themselves. The nation had been through a world war and an economic collapse, through an era of disenchantment, bitterness, and negation; had rallied, was learning how to work together for social reorganization which would gradually shift gears from excessive individualism to a moderate collectivization. Our labor movement was revitalized.

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Two discoveries in opposite directions were made: we were wasting natural resources at an alarming rate, with dust bowls, share-croppers, squandered oil deposits; and at the same time there was a growing realization of the immense power and strength of the nation, the United States became a world power, like it or not, prepared or not.

Perceived after the events, signs and patterns were clearly discernible, but at the time people were confused and asked, "Whither?" Manners and mores that changed rapidly in the 1920's, which made the period a nightmare for conservative rural America, showed no signs of "getting back to normalcy." Despite the Depression, urban civilization continued to make its conquests. The World War I song that asked, "How you gonna' keep 'em down on the farm after they've seen Paree?" was a migratory anthem.

The times seemed out of joint. Millions were hungry but the government destroyed livestock, and plowed corn under, WPA workers leaned on their rakes, while famous bank robbers and racketeers made crime pay. The automobile changed traditional ways of living and loving. Sabbath keeping lost ground. The repeal of Prohibition was a great blow to the self confidence and pride of conservative Protestant churchmen. Even FDR's fireside chats failed to comfort some who believed that only drastic reversals could save the country from aliens and radicals.³

Frank Buchman, leader of the Moral Re-Armament (MRA) group was strongly anti-communist, but friendly toward fascism. He thanked God for Adolf Hitler, who "built a front line of defense against the Anti-Christ of Communism."⁴ By the election of 1936 foreign policy issues returned to compound domestic difficulties. Japan began the occupation of Manchuria in 1931, and by 1936 extended its control in China proper. Mussolini assumed power in Italy, and in 1936 felt strong enough to conquer Ethiopia. Hitler rose to power in Germany even before Herbert Hoover left the White House, and in 1936 occupied the demilitarized Rhineland. In the same year the Nationalists brought civil war to Spain.⁵ But America tried not to notice. Intellectual neutrality among the harsh alternatives of rising dictators, communism, or stricken democracies, was impossible.

In the face of these developments the churches reacted in a wave of pacifism that demanded withdrawal of chaplains from the Army and reduction of armed forces, condemned war as a sin, and made no provision for inevitable conflict. The Oxford Union peace pledge gained countless signers in the colleges and universities; The Fellowship of

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Reconciliation flourished, especially in the seminaries, and prominent clergymen vowed never again to support "the war system."⁶

Two contradictory assumptions were held: that civilized nations would not resort to war; and that America could ignore the aggressions of the dictators with a clear conscience. As the world situation darkened, the pacifist consensus began to weaken. The question was, collective security, or nonintervention. As late as 1940 Roosevelt campaigned on a pledge to keep our boys home.⁷

The church in America did not know what to make of these events. The response was confused, halting, divided, and uncertain. Optimism and despair, vacillation and blind dogmatism, according to Ahlstrom, were more extreme in the Protestant churches than in American society as a whole.⁸

Rock Bottom for the Army

The military could only reflect the mood of the country. And what was the Army like? William Manchester wrote, "those were dog days for professional soldiers."⁹ It took twenty-two years to climb from captain to major. Sheer boredom nearly drove Eisenhower to the point of resigning. Patton had been a major since 1919. He passed the time riding horses and won four hundred ribbons and two hundred cups. The U.S. Army was the sixteenth largest in the world, behind Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Spain, Romania, and Poland. Privates were paid \$17.85 per month. When the forces patrolling the Mexican border, protecting U.S. possessions overseas, and committed to desk work, were accounted for—MacArthur had 30,000 troops left—fewer than the force King George sent to tame the rebellious American colonists in 1776. In a crisis the Army could have fielded 1,000 tanks, all obsolete; 1,509 aircraft, the fastest could fly 234 mph; and a single mechanized regiment, organized at Fort Knox in the spring of 1932, led by cavalymen on horses which wore mustard-gas-proof boots. There was one sedan in the entire Army.¹⁰

The Pacifist Tempest Grows

The plight of the nation's economy dominated the events of the thirties. Economic history and military history were inextricably bound to one another. The size of the Army, training, planning, equipment, and priorities were determined in large measure by scarcity of funds. By itself, the state of the economy posed no threat to the chaplaincy; but combined with a growing pacifism that had started in the twenties; and gained momentum and volume in the thirties, the threat to the life of

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the chaplaincy was real. The Army was cut to the bone, and even some of the bones were severed. Continued attacks on the chaplaincy from pacifist elements of the churches had a direct effect in military circles. Many military leaders felt that chaplains were not wanted by an influential segment of the religious world and were inclined to overlook their needs in favor of more pressing demands. General Craig, Army Chief of Staff, was an astute politician keenly aware of the relationship between public opinion and military strength. Craig was convinced that the churches were against chaplains. He pushed for a reduction in force of chaplain strength.¹¹

At the same time the Superintendent at West Point told the Army G-1 (Personnel) that he felt a Regular Army Chaplain did not have enough education or ability for the position of chaplain at the Academy, and retained a civilian Episcopal clergyman. The Superintendent shared the opinion promulgated by pacifists that only those clergymen volunteered for duty who were not qualified for the civilian ministry or who had gotten into trouble. The idea that chaplains were clergymen who "couldn't make it on the outside" continued to be an evaluation they labored to dispell, even to the present.¹² The modern chaplaincy, if out of its infancy, certainly was beseiged in its adolescence by earnest attempts to end its life altogether. The *Literary Digest* in 1933 reported:

The Padre bent down to hear the dying soldier's prayer. . . . But there will be no more of that if a movement afoot to ask the churches to withdraw chaplains from the Army and Navy succeeds.

The withdrawal was proposed to the trustees of the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance for International Friendship, which met recently at Atlantic City, "as an expression of the Church's abhorrence of war."¹³

The churches remorse for the excessive militarism shown during World War I led to a widespread commitment to dogmatic Christian pacifism. The Federal Council of Churches greeted the United States Senate's consent to the Kellog-Briand Peace Pact with jubilation. Much of what was written and said after that revealed a real sense of corporate guilt. (After Lincoln was assassinated there were sermons about the evils of theatre going. When President Kennedy was shot, many a memorial service attempted to make the worshipper feel guilty, a part of the climate of hate, as though the nation pulled the trigger, not one man—who carried to his death the reasons for his act.) Somehow in the public mind or the clergy's, the church became responsible for World War I by not

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stopping it. Such was the apparent reading of the times, and the way out was to have nothing to do with the "war system."

The Baltimore Southern Methodist said:

There is more talking through the middle of the ministerial hat on the subject of war and disarmament than upon any topic which is to the fore today. During the late world conflict, everyone, even ministers had militaristic leanings, and many of the preachers now shouting loudly for peace at any price were then thundering death and destruction at the Germans, and were retailing tales of 'atrocities' which every college freshman know were being manufactured in quantity lots by French, British, and American propagandists.¹⁴

Ashamed of the general attitude of the ministry during the World War, and often astonished by the extravagant statements on the part of those who were there to proclaim the gospel of the Prince of Peace; the pendulum swung the other way. As if in revulsion against the mud and blood era, the movement calling for disarmament, ". . . has been pushed to an extreme wherein men shout that 'all war is murder' and would tag such men as George Washington and the signers of the Declaration as guilty of their brother's blood."

In 1930 Peter Ainslie, pastor of a Baltimore church, spoke out against Army chaplains in a sermon concerning the basically unchristian nature of war. He declared ". . . the position of the Army chaplain is in reality a wicked anachronism, and should be abolished." Ainslie concluded, "There is no more justification for being a chaplain in the Army or Navy, than there is for being a chaplain in a speakeasy."¹⁵

The Reverend Dr. Jason Noble Pierce was pastor of the First Congregational Church, in which Ainslie's controversial sermon was preached. He wrote a letter to Ainslie picked up by the press, in which he said the United States and its churches were "maligned" by a statement that World War I was carried on by Christian nations; that responsibility for it rested upon the Christian Church; and that churches and nations were indifferent to right or wrong, but solely concerned with winning the war. "You referred to chaplains praying that their soldiers might shoot straight and kill all the enemy possible," he said. "My testimony as the senior chaplain of the Second Division, A.E.F., is that I never made and never heard such a prayer. Chaplains cared for the wounded and dying, both friend and foe." Pierce said that as president of the national organization of chaplains of the military services, he did not know of a chaplain who did not hate war and who did not "work and pray for peace."¹⁶

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Chaplain Yates, the Chief of Chaplains, was also present for Ainslie's sermon and called it "pretty trying medicine." After listening to it he went to his office and wrote a "spirited reply," which he did not send. "I got my sentiments off my chest and upon more sober reflection did not deem it necessary to add my voice to that of Dr. Pierce other than orally."¹⁷ The New York Herald Tribune denounced the sermon "as a blatantly outrageous slander on the chaplains."¹⁸

In 1933, at the meeting of the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance for International Friendship at Atlantic City, Ainslie made a proposal to refuse to authorize clergymen to serve as chaplains in war or in peacetime. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War under President Wilson, answered his proposal by testifying to the value of the chaplains' ministry in peace and war and said that the chaplain was as needed for the spiritual life of a regiment as "the clergyman is to the moral needs of a community."¹⁹

In 1931, Kirby Page sent a questionnaire to 53,000 of the 100,000 clergymen in the United States and received 20,000 replies to the question about willingness to serve as chaplains. Jorgensen wrote:

Seventeen percent (3,500) said they would not. The *News* of Indianapolis, Indiana referred to these as 'The Page Army' and said the pool proved that chaplains were available. It is interesting to note that Page did not send the questionnaires to Jews, Catholics, Lutherans, Southern Baptists, or Southern Methodists, none of whom had joined the peace parade.²⁰

In 1934 the Newark Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church voted against any member of the conference serving as an Army or Navy Chaplain. The Disciples of Christ, in their national convention at Kansas City in October 1936, voted to withdraw from the General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains and petitioned the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to disband it. The General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church also withdrew from the Committee in the same year. To complicate the picture of church support and nonsupport, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and the National Baptist Convention of America both picked the year 1936 to become members of the Committee.²¹

At a symposium held in a Brooklyn church, participants discussed the question, "Why do the radicals wish to abolish army and navy chaplains?" Pastor William Carter, a Reserve chaplain, said "It might be caused by radicals' desires to be against everything old, against religion and against patriotism." S. W. Salisbury, later Navy Chief of Chaplains,

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was then stationed at the Brooklyn Navy Yard; as a participant in the symposium, he came closer to the heart of the matter with a suggestion that the opposition arose from ignorance of the chaplains' duties.²²

Hardly an issue of *The Army Chaplain* or the *Christian Century* appeared in this decade without setting forth the two opposing positions. As a result of this opposition the chaplaincy had to struggle against an adverse public opinion which influenced military leaders. Brasted said that his "biggest problem as Chief of Chaplains was with the ultra-pacifists."²³

The opposition to the chaplaincy was based on five major points:

1. Churches should stop recommending ministers for the chaplaincy because the war system was against the Gospel.

2. The Committee on Chaplains should be abolished, for it represented a contradiction to the Church's stand against war.

3. Chaplains should not wear the uniform or distinctive military insignia, have rank, or be paid by the government because officer status hurt his relation with both officers and enlisted men.

4. The chaplaincy violated the principle of separation of church and state.²⁴

5. Chaplains were given additional duties which kept them from their ministry and held them captive to efficiency reports so that they were not free to prophetically confront the system.

Those who stood by the chaplaincy held that:

1. To be unprepared for war invited rather than deterred it.

2. While renouncing the horrors of war, they felt a responsibility to minister to those caught up in it.

3. Rank, uniform, and status were not for the benefit of the individual chaplain, but to facilitate his better serving all men of the unit to which he was assigned. It gave him a professional relationship to the men and the use of military channels for helping them.

4. The churches controlled their ministers in uniform, not the Army. Rarely was a chaplain asked to do anything that violated this principle, and still more rare was the chaplain who knuckled under.

5. Chaplains, more than anyone else, agreed that their duties should be spiritual, not military.²⁵

As a result of increasing criticism the Executive Committee of the Federal Council requested the Research Department to make a study of the chaplaincy, and questionnaires were sent out to all chaplains. At the same time the General Committee made its own study. Both were completed in two years, and reported to the Executive Committee in the spring

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of 1936. Joseph R. Sizoo, Chairman of the General Committee and author of its report, brought certain realities to light. He pointed out that no matter what differences of opinion were held, all were in essential agreement on the need for providing spiritual ministry to servicemen. He questioned whether or not the denominations could provide the salaries, housing, transportation, medical care, and retirement benefits which were provided by the government. The report concluded, "Protestant Christianity by continuing this Committee does not endorse war, or become part of the war system. It simply determines that an adequate spiritual ministry shall function while the service is maintained."²⁶ Theology was determined in the end by the reality of economics.

In 1938, a follow up report recommended removal of rank and "continuous study" of the chaplaincy. It also declared that a plan to replace military chaplains with civilians was impractical.²⁷

There was a belief among chaplains that they were not understood or appreciated even by their own denominations. The chairman of the Committee wrote a letter to all chaplains commenting on "the feeling that the chaplain and the ecclesiastical groups which he represents are drifting apart."²⁸ The Chief of Chaplains felt the answer was to present a realistic picture of the chaplains' work. The church felt that the chaplain was a "captive"; and in Brasted's opinion the chaplains needed to let their supporters know that this was not the case. He wrote, "We should take advantage of every opportunity to present our work to civilian congregations and to make it clear that the Army chaplain is not handicapped in promoting the Kingdom of God and His righteousness."²⁹

The chaplains wanted practical help in another direction. Chaplain Carpenter wrote in 1937:

Someday I hope to have the experience and pleasure that could be mine were some civilian minister to write that one of his congregation was entering the Army, and commending that individual to the care of the chaplain for spiritual and religious needs. These soldiers talk so often of home, home churches, Sunday School teachers, their home ministers. There is so much of real worth that could be accomplished in cooperative efforts between the civilian minister and the Army chaplain to bring God's kingdom closer to the lives of the men in khaki.³⁰

The churches did move closer to their chaplains. The events in Europe, which threatened to involve the nation in war, reduced opposition to the chaplaincy. The focus became, not whether to have a chaplaincy, but how the churches could best support a ministry to men in the military.

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Besides the church, or a vocal part of it, which spoke for the pacifists movement, there were many others. The Veterans of Foreign Wars campaigned for 25 million signatures to convince Congress of the need for neutrality legislation. Among college students, military pacifism was something of a cult. Dr. Gallup reported that his latest poll showed 90% would fight only if America were invaded, and 10% said they would fight if America were not invaded. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg swore never to send American boys to war under any circumstances. Senator Borah declared that it was all hysteria, manufactured, artificial, bluff and jitterism. The Lone Eagle, Charles A. Lindbergh, told radio audiences that Americans should not be misguided by foreign propaganda into believing that "our frontiers lie in Europe." He felt that it was a quarrel arising out of the errors of the last war, and America should not get involved.³¹

The country's military establishment continued to shrink during Roosevelt's first term, until America had fewer soldiers than Henry Ford had auto workers. When the President visited Oahu a military exercise was staged in his honor. The spectacle turned into a travesty; half the trucks and seven of the twelve tanks (World War I models) broke down in front of the startled commander in chief.³² Dean Acheson quoted the old chestnut about American's lack of military preparedness, that God looks after children, drunkards, and the United States of America. Pacifism was a hope that helped prevent military preparedness.

A Reduction in Force Contemplated

Army planners looked at chaplain spaces and came up with a plan that would have annihilated the corps. A May 1932 issue of the Army and Navy Journal carried this report:

"Virtual disintegration of the Chaplain corps of the Regular Army is threatened if the reductions contained in the Army Apportion Act are carried out. According to a study prepared by the War Department affecting all arms and services, the Chaplain corps, under the proposed reduction of 2,000 officers, will lose the services of 80 chaplains, approximately 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ percent of the present authorized strength of the corps. . . ." ³³

The plan called for age-in-grade retirements of first lieutenants at age 35. Because of college, seminary, and pastoral experience, the average age of chaplains coming into the Army was thirty or more. They had to serve five years in grade as a first lieutenant before becoming eligible for promotion, which meant they were almost automatically retired. "The retention of 40 chaplains . . . would be nothing short of a farce, and the

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belief has been expressed by representative clergyman that it would be justifiable to remove the corps altogether rather than retain a membership so hopelessly inadequate to the need.”³⁴

The article went on to list the names, denominations, and stations of those who would be axed under the plan; included were Colonel Julian E. Yates, then serving as Chief of Chaplains; Lieutenant Colonel Louis C. Carter, the highest ranking black chaplain; and Lieutenant Colonels Alva J. Brasted and Gynther Storaasli, destined to become future Chiefs of Chaplains in the Army and Air Force. It was a reduction in force (rif) to end all rifs. Fortunately reason prevailed, and the plan was shelved; in large part because of developments within the Civilian Conservation Corps, and because General Craig had misread the real feeling of the majority of churchmen who supported a ministry to the military. (See footnote 11.)

The CCC and the Chaplaincy

The most significant event of the decade for the Army chaplaincy was the development of the Civilian Conservation Corps (the CCC). More chaplains were on active duty with the CCC than with the Army. The number of Regular Army chaplains remained constant at 125, while more than 300 Reserve chaplains each year served the CCC during its zenith. The usual period of service for a Reservist was eighteen to twenty-four months. In the ten year period the CCC lasted, hundreds of chaplains received invaluable training; working with large numbers of men in camps, with a cross-section of American youth more varied than in a local parish. The CCC was not designed to save the chaplaincy, but it certainly helped. Public opinion backed the idea that something needed to be done about the economy and youth. CCC planning included a religious ministry by Army chaplains.

John A. Salmond wrote that the CCC was created to meet two immediate needs:

In the chaos of depression America, almost two million men and women had abandoned all pretense to settled existence and had simply taken to the road, traveling in freight cars or on foot, sleeping in caves or in shanty towns, aimlessly drifting in search of vanished security. Among them were 250,000 young people, ‘the teenage tramps of America’ as they were sometimes called, all . . . wandering the land looking for a future. The need to rescue them was critical.³⁵

Even those who stayed off the road could not find jobs. Figures of unemployment among young people indicated that in 1932, of those

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between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four who were in the labor market, one in four was totally unemployed; a further twenty-one percent worked part time.³⁶ This was an American crisis. The government could not afford to ignore their plight.

The second immediate problem was not people, but land. Forests once covered 800,000,000 acres of the continental United States, but by 1933 were reduced to 1,000,000 acres of virgin timber. The destruction of the forests was followed by soil erosion. Three billion tons of the best soil washed away from fields and pastures each year. By 1934 a sixth of the continent was gone, or was going. Sections of the Great Plains were turned into a dust bowl.³⁷

The Civilian Conservation Corps was thus, in one sense, a catalyst, and in another, a response. Through it a new President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, brought together two wasted resources, the young men and the land, in an attempt to save both. Of all the New Deal agencies, the CCC was Roosevelt's most personal creation, and his most successful.³⁸

The President directed the four Secretaries of War, Labor, Interior, and Agriculture to meet, which they did on 15 March 1933. Their planning determined that an enrollee would be paid one dollar per day; if he had dependents, he was required to make a monthly allotment to them. No age limit was set, and there was no provision against married men made at that time. All enrollments would be voluntary.³⁹

Salmond wrote that it was agreed "the Army's role would be confined to collecting the selected men, clothing them, giving them a physical examination, conditioning them for about two weeks, and then transporting them to the various camps." The Army's Chief of Staff, General Douglas MacArthur, definitely stated that he contemplated "no military training whatsoever." The country would have opposed that, and the Army regarded the CCC as a diversion from its primary mission of winning the country's wars. The Department of Agriculture would take over the actual work of reforestation, conservation and construction projects. By March 24, though the CCC Bill itself was still in committee, the General Staff had drafted complete regulations governing the Army's role in the establishment and maintenance of the Corps. The regulations included the division of the country into nine Corps areas for administrative purposes.

The Army was ready, but the Department of Agriculture wasn't. When the President disclosed his timetable and the huge number of men he wanted in the program, the Department simply lacked the needed personnel, funds, equipment, and expertise. The Army took over the

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program in an expanded role: “to assume under the general supervision of the Director, complete and permanent control of the CCC project.”⁴⁰

The President signed the bill on 31 March 1933, issued Executive Order number 6101 on 5 April, and the Corps began its official existence. As things worked out, enrollees were officially between the ages of 18–25, single, and willing to send between \$22 and \$25 of their \$30 per month to their dependents. In actual practice seventeen-year olds were admitted. Executive Order number 6129, 11 May 1933, authorized the enrollment of 25,000 WWI veterans. On 14 April 1933 the provisions of the Emergency Conservation Work program were extended to 14,400 American Indians. By July 1942, 88,439 of them had participated in the program and “were happy to be able to compete in this work with the white man.”⁴¹

The Army accomplished the largest peacetime mobilization of men the United States had ever seen. 1,300 camps were built, and within three months 274,375 men were at work. Their duties included emergency work in fire fighting, flood control, and relief work as a result of tornado, hurricane and blizzard.⁴²

Robert Fechner, Director of Emergency Conservation Work, stated that “Roosevelt’s Tree Army,” as it was dubbed by the popular press, was created not just to grow trees, but to build men. In the same way, the CCC was seen as an agency to strengthen the morale of the male youth of the country, to build character, to snatch each one from what Chaplain E. R. Baublitz described as the “toboggan of idleness and laziness and consequent physical and moral degeneration, and set him in the way to new and wholesome growth of physique, mind and character. Indeed there is ample testimony for stating that many thousands of American young men have thus been saved from the ranks of professional bums and moral derelicts all too commonly found in our larger towns and cities.”⁴³ Whether Chaplain Baublitz was aware of it or not it was that army of potential bums and derelicts that inadvertently “saved” the chaplaincy. By the mid-thirties 300 chaplains, Regular and Reserve, were on duty with the CCC.

Alva J. Brasted, the Chief of Chaplains during the build up of the CCC wrote:

It has been my good fortune to be closely associated with the religious work of the Civilian Conservation Corps since this movement began . . . for nine months as District Chaplain of 62 camps and since December 23, 1933, as Chief of Chaplains, supervising the religious work of all these camps as well as that in the regular army posts. To

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go about the country visiting the C.C.C. personnel, giving character building lectures, holding conferences, hearing our religious work discussed by those who are doing it, gives me a thrill and happiness which neither tongue nor pen can express.

I speak not only for myself but for all our chaplains when I say that the most remarkable experience any man can have is to help these boys in their personal problems, and to direct them in the way of right thinking and right habits, in a word to help them develop in character and to become more like the men they want to be and ought to be.⁴⁴

The purpose of the religious workers in the CCC was to conserve and to develop that character which is the hope of men and nations. As time permitted the CCC chaplain promoted athletics, educational work, and all good wholesome recreational activities; but believed that of all factors strong to advance the cause of character building, religion was the most potent. Brasted wrote, "The chaplain is in the camps to direct men to Him whom God has appointed to be the leader and commander of men."⁴⁵

Chaplain William R. Arnold, while at Fort Bliss, was asked by the general in charge of the CCC district including Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico to provide religious coverage for the camps. Arnold requested call-ups of Reserve chaplains; meanwhile, he himself attempted to serve 20 camps, traveling 2,000 miles per month. Richard Braunstien, (1st Lieutenant) Chaplain Reserve, working in the Binghamton District, wrote an article called "The Circuit Rider Returns," in which he said, "The soul of Francis Asbury marches on . . . The CCC Chaplain makes history repeat itself in its best moods."⁴⁶

One day Arnold, a Catholic, met a fellow priest at a railroad station and asked what he was doing in that part of Texas. Jorgensen wrote:

He said that he had come for his health. Arnold persuaded him to enter the reserves and help with CCC work. He volunteered, accepted a commission, and served 20 camps with distinction. When Arnold became Chief of Chaplains, he persuaded the priest to apply for a Regular Army commission. However, the report of his physical examination was marked "insufficient masticating teeth," for the priest had 19 instead of the 20 required. When Arnold brought the matter up to the Surgeon General and to General Marshall, he was told, "It's up to you." Arnold replied, "He's one of the best. I want him to serve men as a chaplain—not bite them."

The priest was Terence P. Finnegan, who became Chief of Air Force Chaplains in 1958. He and many others who served with distinction in World War II entered military service by way of the CCC program.⁴⁷

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When Brasted became Chief he requested permission to visit CCC camps throughout the United States and Hawaii. "He said there was a difference between knowing a chaplain—his work and problems—from his reports or from personally visiting him in the field. General MacArthur and General Drum approved the plan, and Brasted took to the road. On one trip alone he put more than 15,000 miles on his car." In 1936 Brasted stated in his annual report that he traveled "24,000 miles in 36 States, the Canal Zone and Puerto Rico . . . More than three fourths of this mileage has been covered without expense to the Government."

After he retired and had attained the age of 82, he said of that experience:

I will never forget visiting the camps in the Rockies—seeing the sunset as it can only be seen in the mountains, the coming of dusk, then the evening service with the men gathered around a camp fire. There was a holiness and grandeur in this experience which is difficult to describe; it must be experienced.⁴⁸

The CCC made itinerant ministry imperative. While the Chief requested the same ratio of chaplains to men as that of the Army, 1/1,200, that was considered too expensive. Many civilian ministers, priests, and rabbis served camps without pay; still, chaplains were spread thin. Few camps were really large; mostly, the men were in small work camps. Chaplain Paul Giegerich for example, from 1936 to 1940 never served less than 12 camps, each with 200 men, scattered over a dozen counties in Pennsylvania and Maryland. As a circuit-riding priest in uniform he drove his own car over many miles of treacherous back roads, averaging 100 miles a day. He had no assistant. His equipment: an overnight bag and a mass kit.⁴⁹ More than one chaplain took a homesick or disturbed young man along on these trips. After shoveling snow drifts, passing out hymnals, and sweeping up a recreation hall, his personal problems seemed much less acute.⁵⁰

One chaplain wrote:

My camps are in the mountains and separated by great distances. The driver of the government car which had been placed at my disposal was a CCC boy. Near the end of summer after traveling many thousands of miles together, the boy broke out one day with these words: "Chaplain, I wish I could be like you. You do not speak as I do. I have been in your home and as you talk with your son and your wife I have noted that your words and conversation are entirely different from anything I have ever known. I have always thought it smart to use rough vile language. But I see my mistake and I should like to talk and act like you."⁵¹

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Another chaplain in the same state told about a boy who came into the CCC from a home where he was often beaten, kicked, and half starved by a cruel and brutal stepfather. The chaplain said, "There is no reason to doubt the truth of his story." This boy who never knew kindness and love from his father learned the characteristics of true fatherhood from his chaplain and company commander. The chaplain said, "This is our challenge. We must play father to all these boys. There are some boys here who never knew what it meant to have a loving father. Let us show them what a real father can be to a boy. Let us advise them and train them and let them see what they have missed; and help them to make up in some measure what they have lost."⁵²

Chaplain Wilfred A. Munday, in sub-zero weather, drove with a clergy friend to notify relatives of the death of their son. The family lived 100 miles northeast of Bemidji, Minnesota, with no phone connections. The clergymen arrived, over icy roads, at two o'clock in the morning; after a heartbreaking half hour with the family, they fought a snowstorm all the way home, where they arrived at six a.m. "This is but one of many incidents in the life of a chaplain with the CCC in northern Minnesota; but we would not willingly exchange duty in the Chippewa Sub-District for any other location in the country."⁵³ A Vermont blizzard marooned one chaplain in a remote camp. With miles of road to be cleared before any vehicle could travel, he continued his rounds on snow shoes. Such conditions eventually brought casualties. Isaac F. Jones, injured in a motor accident while touring his camps, died on 21 December 1936. John Marvin Dean died in November 1935 while on duty in Virginia and was buried in Arlington.⁵⁴

Rabbi Solomon Jacobson was a contract clergyman in the Ft. Sheridan, Illinois, CCC District, and a representative of the Jewish Welfare Board. He wrote about the importance of religion in the CCC for the Jewish enrollee:

Here is a young man entering into camp. It may be the first time that he has ever been away from home. He harks back within himself to his family circle, to his coterie of friends, to his accustomed place of worship. A nostalgia overwhelms him for his wonted surroundings. What a relief to him when he uncovers in the camp a religious hour to sweep him into courage and a firm grip on himself! When he meets someone to whom he can confide his heart! . . . Or here is a young man who has been in camp for a number of months. He has become so thoroughly established in the routine of camp life and at the same time he has been so long removed from active participation in what goes on outside of camp that he hesitates, or fears, to think of the day when he will bid farewell to

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his barracks and will have to plant his stakes elsewhere. But how often has such an enrollee drunk deeply from the waters of a religious service . . . a guiding sentence . . . and from such a contact . . . been stimulated with purpose and confidence reborn to enable him to step out and carve his niche.⁵⁵

Jacobson suggested that work with Jewish personnel differed from that with other religious groups in at least 3 ways: 1. Relatively small numbers, sometimes only one to a camp. 2. Visiting periods did not coincide with the Sunday time usually set aside, and a weeknight after duty was best. 3. More reliance on small, informal, flexible services, religious instruction classes, and discussion sessions.⁵⁶

When the CCC program began there was the usual temptation to use chaplains as educational officers and athletic directors. Many taught classes in everything from English Composition to Dramatics; others demonstrated athletic ability, or lack of it, as another way of getting close to the men. But gradually the emphasis was more and more on that of the clergyman in uniform. Additional duties were taken up voluntarily by the talented and interested; but for the most part, chaplains were spread too thin to be anything more than clergy. Commanders seemed to get the message and chaplain after chaplain commented in reports or journals that they received outstanding cooperation.

One chaplain said, "I have never had better cooperation in any church than I have in the C.C.C. The officers cooperate and give me a clear field. I feel that I am a minister of Jesus Christ and am treated as such. This does not mean I ignore the social element. I develop this as opportunity permits."⁵⁷

Brasted wrote, "The chaplain in the C.C.C. is just as much a pastor as when he was engaged as the pastor of a church. His interest is the soul welfare of all the persons belonging to the companies he serves, and it is good psychology and in accordance with God's word and experience to say that probably the most effective work that the chaplain does is accomplished through personal contacts. It is the personal touch that does most good."⁵⁸

About the personal touch one chaplain wrote, "We do not leave camp without special permission from headquarters. We are expected to visit work projects and, as occasion offers, take lunch with the men at side camps and at work. It is believed that such visits, if not of a nature to interrupt the workers, make for easier contacts. They certainly afford the chaplain opportunity for gathering materials for lectures and talks.

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No church committee has ever suggested to me as tight or rugged a program as that which we try to follow as C.C.C. chaplains.”⁵⁹

One chaplain observed, “While it can not be said that the boys of the C.C.C. are irreligious, a considerable percentage are not members of any church. In the district I serve, about 55 per cent of the enrollees are not church members. Taking the C.C.C. as a cross section of a large segment of the public, it becomes evident that the chaplains face a huge task before they as much as bring America to the feet of Christ. I frequently wonder how so many un-churched men could come from our over-churched communities.”⁶⁰

A variety of approaches were used. Some wrote. Chaplain Alfred C. Oliver, Jr., of the Regular Army, and Chaplain Harold M. Dudley, of the Reserve Corps, collaborated on editing *This New America*, a book on the CCC.⁶¹ The Honorable Harry H. Woodring, Secretary of War, said of this work: “The editors of this book have captured the spirit of the Civilian Conservation Corps. No one can read this book without voicing the gratitude of the republic to the President who so happily conceived and so successfully carried out this great undertaking.”⁶²

Others lectured. Intriguing titles showed the roots of the later Character Guidance Program. Some lectures were about “Foxes,” how little traits may spoil good character; “Spiders,” a habit is like a spider’s web; others were entitled, “As a Man Thinketh,” “America and the Sword,” “A message to Garcia,” “Lincoln,” “Lincoln’s Religion,” “Washington and His Rules of Conduct,” “Moral Laxity,” “The American Home,” “Ten Resolutions Based Upon The Ten Commandments,” “Preparations for Easter,” and other patriotic, moralistic, and character-building themes.⁶³

“Tri C Men” was a popular youth movement in the camps. It promised no organization, no pledges, and no dues. Also popular were “Sunday Clubs” which tried to get men to go to church and sometimes sponsored attendance contests among the companies. The Holy Name Society also flourished with its primary emphasis upon men cutting down on profanity.⁶⁴

Movies were a popular form of entertainment, and important visual aids in educational or religious programs. Many chaplains used the new tools in imaginative ways. One used his camera to take movies of the men at work and play, then showed them in a recreation hall just before church; it really worked as an attendance builder. A chaplain wrote:

The screen has been a very great help to me in both the religious and secular field. I have a personal investment of close to \$400 in equip-

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ment for visual instruction. There is a Victor Steroptican and a set of 181 colored Bible slides which I use quite regularly in the winter in connection with my religious work. I also use song slides and find that the boys like to sing from the screen. My 16mm projector serves a useful purpose, in addition to the educational program of the camps, through the showing of educational films, most of which are secured free of charge; it serves also to increase the attendance at religious services which I hold after the films are shown.⁶⁵

Under Brasted's capable direction and continued interest, involvement of chaplains in the CCC grew until, by its fifth birthday on 5 April 1938, Reserve chaplains provided almost five times as many religious services as those conducted by Regular Army chaplains.⁶⁶ The authorized strength of Regular Army chaplains was 125, but 338 Reserve chaplains were called to active duty in 1936 to serve the CCC. (For those interested in a statistical picture of services, etc., see Appendix B.) Important work was provided for 2,242,000 men, about 1,800,00 of them between 17 and 21 years of age. Individuals remained in camp an average of 9 months.⁶⁷

Chaplain Roy J. Honywell wrote:

What this experience did for them in physical and mental development or in the growth of character is beyond computation by any human system of statistics. What it did for the Reserve chaplains was equally intangible but very real. They learned how to adapt themselves to an infinite variety of situations and to carry on their work without many aids which they would have considered indispensable in a civilian parish. They came to know a body of young men who were more representative of the youth of the country than any group in any home church. These factors may have outweighed even the formal training program of the Army when they were called to cope with the perplexing exigencies of war.⁶⁸

Richard Braunstein a Reserve chaplain, first lieutenant, wrote of the CCC chaplain: "He comes closer to the literal dictum of St. Paul about being 'all things to all men' than any particular Sky Pilot you might name. . . . He must be helper to all creeds, colors, tongues. He meets those who see eye to eye with him and he contacts many who fail to see—or refuse to see." And obliquely referring to the pacifist controversy surrounding them he added:

It is the duty of the chaplain to take the message to Garcia. He is under orders. A little more discipline in the ranks of the ministry, a little more inclination to obey, a little more consecration and hardship among those who frown upon the uniform and who condemn the Army, a little more of the Army background and gumption in all branches of civilian

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life and the kingdom of God would be nearer to our thought and living. . . 'A soldier is more than a man who carries a gun.' . . . Milton said, "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." The C.C.C. is the Peace Army.⁶⁹

No experience of the Army chaplaincy could be looked on with more satisfaction than its service to the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Perhaps Ahlstrom best caught the mood of the times when he wrote, "Yet amid the fallen idols a many sided revival of the spirit also occurred. Realizing that the whole country was in trouble, Americans gained a new kind of national self-awareness. Mutual distress drew people together."⁷⁰ As people rediscovered each other many Americans found a new sense of solidarity and purpose; laborers, farmers, small business men, the aged, and many others banded together. This sense of urgency took on religious overtones.

The men who participated in CCC, and received the chaplains' ministry were also caught up in this spirit, revealed in such comments as the following:

"It slowly dawned upon me as to the full significance of my part in the reforestation program," wrote Ray Johnston at Camp P-56 Durbin, West Virginia. "I was actually acting in the capacity of 'keeper,'—pledged to protect those trees from the dangers instigated by my thoughtless fellow man. I was overwhelmed by the mere thought of being a benefactor and yet that is exactly what I was. I was doing my humble part in a gigantic program to restore to our great continent that which God gave us but which a too enterprising man had taken. I was helping to make it possible, through the building of passable roads, for that man to see the greatness of God's handiwork with the hope that he might see how small and ordinary he was beside it. . . . Yes, I was truly a benefactor."⁷¹

Joseph Paul Jurasek wrote from Coram Montana, "The Army discipline is something wonderful also. Many slow careless, easy-going boys have been taught to handle matters with surprising efficiency. When they return home there will no longer be scattered caps, muddy tracks on the floor or newspapers on the rug for their mothers to worry about."⁷²

One New Yorker broadened his perspective. William T. Miraglia observed from Nacher, Washington, "In being sent out West, I outgrew the narrow idea that New York was the center of the universe. I learned that as far as the United States of America is concerned, there is but one people, whose sufferings, toils, and happiness are strangely akin."⁷³

"I'm not a great flag waver . . ." said James A. McMillen, at Camp Morgan, Malta, Ohio, "but when a government has treated you right,

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you hate to see a lot of discouraged people sitting around believing that the old Ship of State is scuttled. . . . To have a proper respect for the government, a man must be a part of it. A jobless man is seldom a patriot.”⁷⁴

Harold H. Buckles wrote from Wyoming, “I was pretty low. It had been two years since I had a real job; I had thirty five cents, a brave and charming wife, and two pretty sweet little boys; and everything I had touched in two years had phooeyed out. The C.C.C. was . . . a last hope. . . . I shall hate to leave the boys who taught me that Christ was not all wrong about the human race.”⁷⁵

Problems of the CCC and Its Demise

Being one of the many new departures of Roosevelt’s first 100 days, the CCC drew criticism. William Green of the AFL said the CCC smacked “of fascism, of Hitlerism of a form of Sovietism.”⁷⁶ Pacifists were bothered by it. When CCC boys were used to clean up Camp Pike, Arkansas, it was seen as “war preparation that may indicate the intention of the United States to rush headlong into what they consider the impending conflict in Europe.”⁷⁷ The Army opposed continued participation in the CCC because it diverted attention, money, training and personnel from its primary mission. General McArthur asked that the responsibility be taken over by reserve officers. There was also a morale problem in the ranks because the CCC boys were paid more than Army privates.⁷⁸

A very large flaw was the virtual exclusion of minorities from the CCC program. The act of 31 March, 1933 which gave the CCC legal existence, contained this clause: “That in employing citizens for the purpose of this Act, no discrimination shall be made on account of race, color, and creed.” The intention was clearly to protect the rights of blacks to join the CCC organization, but the clause did not insure them full benefits from the newly created agency.⁷⁹

Black unemployment rates were double the national average in 1933. Georgia’s director of the CCC, John de la Perriere declared that, “. . . there are few negro families . . . who need an income as great as \$25 a month in cash.” John C. Huskinson of Florida reported, “on the basis of merit no negroes have yet been selected for the CCC.”⁸⁰ The Army was segregated, and in taking over the CCC old patterns and myths prevailed. Many communities were afraid of large numbers of black males being stationed outside the town. Sexual fears for their wives and daughters, and charges of intoxication, peppered the letters of protest received by the director.⁸¹ In some cases, to ease racial tension, CCC

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camps were moved into local Army installations. Of the 2,500,000 men who served in the CCC before it went out of existence, 200,000 were black.⁸²

Chaplains commented on reports and in articles that there were peculiar differences in ministering to black enrollees; their music and worship practices were uniquely their own, and remedial education courses received greater attention. Chaplains also spoke up for blacks in the CCC in a public relations way, as being trustworthy members of society, and that the nearby white communities had nothing to fear from them. But black consciousness, integration, social protest and action, was not a part of the record, nor would it be for more than two decades to come.

Millions of trees were planted. Millions of men found work. An economy started to recover. The chaplaincy received invaluable training and gave immeasurable service. On 5 June 1942, the House voted against funding the CCC program further, and authorized \$500,000 for its liquidation. On 26 June the Senate confirmed the House action and the program was no more. The economic crisis that created the CCC was over, employment was full, and the nation needed its manpower for war rather than conservation. The CCC was no longer needed.

Natural Disasters

Among the most unpleasant aspects of the mid-1930's was the weather. During this period the Mississippi, Ohio, Potomac, Tennessee, Delaware, Connecticut, Missouri, Susquehanna, Columbia, Allegheny, and Merrimack Rivers flooded cities and towns. The Ohio River flood of 1937 was the worst in the nation's history; it destroyed the homes of a half-million people. Floods and windstorms claimed the lives of 3,678 persons. Winters were uncommonly bitter; Kansas, in the summer of 1936, recorded almost sixty days of 100 degree heat. Prolonged drought and high winds combined to remove the topsoil of much of the Middle West in what were called "black blizzards."⁸³ In 1938 the most destructive hurricane in American history struck New England and Long Island, the first since 23 September 1815. The American Red Cross reported 700 killed, 1,754 injured, and 63,000 who lost their homes. President Roosevelt sent 100,000 men from the Army, Coast Guard, and the WPA, to aid the victims.⁸⁴

Because the Army responded to these disasters, so did their chaplains. As a result of the Ohio River flood some 1,200 refugees were concentrated at Fort Knox, Kentucky. Chaplains Elder and Wennermark ministered

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to them with religious services and all manner of welfare work. The Fort Knox Chaplain's Auxiliary rendered outstanding service under the leadership of Mrs. Daniel Van Voorhis. Chaplain A. F. Vaughn, Barksdale Field, Louisiana, raised about a thousand dollars for flood relief.

At Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, a concentration point for trucks and truck drivers, Chaplain W. B. Zimmerman devoted a great deal of time arranging entertainment for these men. The Army Chaplain reported that F. R. Arnold, a Reservist from Cincinnati, Ohio, "conducted many hundreds of interviews with individuals who were heartbroken over what had happened to them, persons facing rehabilitation with all their belongings destroyed. More than 2,000 refugees were brought to the building where Chaplain Arnold had his headquarters. Many refugees had fled from their homes with nothing more than they wore."⁸⁵

Chaplain H. G. Vorsheim Jr., Portsmouth, Ohio, was pastor of one of the city's congregations whose church buildings remained above water. The congregation and its neighbors volunteered their services and fed and cared for the refugees as they came out of the water. Meals were served the first day of the flood. Vorsheim ordered supplies to feed 200 for two days and drove through water to purchase 450 pounds of meat to feed them, but the 200 increased to 400 while he was gone. Clothing was also provided, and religious services were held daily in the Central Presbyterian Church throughout the flood period of two weeks.⁸⁶

Chaplain C. Q. Jones, Army Reserve, on duty with the CCC reported for flood duty at Maysville, Kentucky, and was given the task of supervising Military Police. Jones got the evacuation traffic straightened out, set up security, and then rode with rescue boats for several days.⁸⁷

Chaplain D. R. Covell, National Guard, organized the relief work of almost eighty Episcopal congregations scattered through southern Ohio. Working days and many nights over a period of seventeen days, Covell wrote, "In times of emergency, as well as many other times, may I a member of the cloth say that, 'there is nothing like the Army.'" A. L. McKnight, a Reserve chaplain of Louisville, Kentucky, organized the students of Louisville Baptist Theological Seminary for rescue work. They helped rescue, innocate and house more than 6,000 people. McKnight said "If it had not been for my training received in the chaplaincy, I would not have directed this work as I did. By this work I feel that there has been created a greater appreciation among the Faculty and Students . . . for the chaplaincy."⁸⁸

Chaplain G. F. Hyde rendered a detailed report covering two weeks of service at Wynne, Arkansas; where he served a refugee camp of 2,500,

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and at Harrisburg a refugee camp and hospital of 500, along with the base hospital at Vaundale, with some 80 patients. It was his sad lot to conduct many funerals of persons who lost their lives in this disaster.⁸⁹

Chaplain Thomas P. Bermingham, with the CCC, ministered at Cairo, Illinois, securing a vast amount of supplies for sufferers and rendering innumerable other services. A report said, "He was going both days and nights."⁹⁰ On 14 February he celebrated a Thanksgiving Mass at St. Joseph's Church "All available space in the church was occupied." The report continued, "Chaplain M. M. D. Perdue, Reserve, at Owensboro, Kentucky, with the aid of assistants in his church collected and distributed hundreds of articles in the way of clothing to colored refugees, and assisted families in evacuating their homes, collected and distributed money to refugees, ministered to the sick in hospitals, etc."

Chaplain Perdue said that, "The greatest return was to note that in the presence of alarm, when human agencies were of no avail, that men gained a new respect for the majesty and power of God, as compared with human frailty. Though a major disaster, as we think of things material, the flood was a veritable spiritual blessing."⁹¹

A disaster of another sort was mentioned by Honeywell, "One chaplain spent a month with 1,800 men on an island in Lake Superior fighting a stubborn forest fire. His message was doubly welcome amid the clouds of smoke."⁹²

Chapels

Throughout this period successive Chiefs of Chaplains were aware of the need for chapels, and attempted to gain funds for them. Money was tight, and the Chief's Annual Report of 1932 pointed out that troop housing and hospitals had priority over chapel building; he urged chaplains to be innovative in providing places of worship, and using whatever buildings could be scrounged and converted. Unfortunately, at the same time that one Chief tried to move the keepers of the purse to provide building funds, chapels at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, and Fort Sheridan, Illinois, which were destroyed by fire in 1931.⁹³

During the 1930's several chapels were built from WPA funds. Though legislation precluded use of WPA funds for national defense, Harry Hopkins, Administrator of the WPA, asked military leaders for their recommendations on urgently needed construction; based on the rationale of providing work for the unemployed, runways, barracks, and other buildings, including a few service clubs and chapels, were constructed. Nine chapels were under construction in 1934-35. The

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chapel at Randolph Field, Texas, was dedicated on 2 September 1934, in a ceremony conducted by Post Chaplain George McMurray.⁹⁴ The Langley Field Chapel was dedicated 16 June 1935, while Ralph W. Rogers was Post Chaplain. Of Tudor Gothic design, it was built at a cost of \$110,000 including the organ. Chaplain Brasted in his address said: "The success of a chaplain depends in no small measure upon having a plant altogether adequate for the promotion of his entire character building program. These fully appointed and most beautiful houses of worship which have been recently built and dedicated are a contribution of inestimable value to our moral and religious work."⁹⁵

When Arnold became Chief, he arranged for coordination of chapel plans so they would have the written approval of his office before being released to contractors. He wrote Chaplain Griffin in August 1938, "We have already headed off some monstrosities."⁹⁶

The April 1935 issue of *The Army Chaplain*, featured a cover story on the construction of new chapels at Fort Bragg, N.C.; Langley Field, Va.; Randolph Field, Texas; Fort Sill, Okla.; Presidio, San Francisco; Fort Benning, Ga.; Fort Myer, Va. and Fort Lewis, Washington.⁹⁷

In most places chaplains had to "make do" with recreation and mess halls, hangars, and whatever could be scrounged. Chaplain Frank L. Miller was instrumental in transforming a building into a chapel at Luke Field, Hawaii. Ernest W. Wood did the same with a school room at Mitchell Field. The ladies of the post made curtains from parachutes. Charles F. Graeser showed his ingenuity and sense of humor, when he wrote to Yates in 1930:

Prior to being turned over to me, this building was used as a shop in which a paint material known as "dope" was spread on the airplane wings, and hence was known in the vernacular of the Post as the Dope Shop. Far be it from me to maintain that it might not properly be called that even yet, despite the fact that I have the Post Chapel sign on the front. . . . The surrounding buildings are various structures in disarray, and all stages of disrepair. . . . This together with the fact that we are located extremely far from quarters and barracks, does not work to religious advantage.

Yet in these surroundings Graeser built up a flourishing Sunday School and a worship service with an attendance of 300.⁹⁸

Institutional Developments and Setbacks

The 1920's saw the chaplaincy get organized. The 1930's were marked by the institution reacting to outside events. The Depression,

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the lack of funds, pacifism, the creation of the CCC, the responses to natural disaster, and the growing signs of war in Europe, were not programmed. They occurred outside the scope of the Chief of Chaplains Office. The institutional picture was not an orderly growth toward programmed goals. They were setbacks and defeats.

The Chaplain School closed for lack of students. Existing in name only, the school continued to mail out extension courses, but did no resident training. The status of chaplains' assistants continued to be a hit and miss process of "body snatching." Precious little help in the way of training manuals, directives, and supplies ever reached the chaplain in the field. In 1933 several chaplains recommended the hymnal be revised to include "more songs appropriate for Sunday School . . ." but this project was not completed until World War II.⁹⁹ In spite of the regulation stating that commanders were responsible for religious services of their commands, Jorgensen wrote: "Wright as late as 1938 was able to say that he had been in the service over 20 years and had never preached in a chapel." Congress wouldn't appropriate funds for chapels, and chaplains were not allowed to solicit funds without War Department approval. By 1939 only 17 permanent chapels had been built at Army posts in the history of our country.¹⁰⁰

Religious coverage was a serious problem. Many posts did not have the service of a chaplain, practically none had both Protestant and Catholic coverage, much less Jewish chaplains.¹⁰¹ Although the ratio of one chaplain to 1,200 officers and men looked good on paper, Chaplain Silas E. Decker's experience was typical in that he served a total personnel of 3,700 including dependents at Langley Field in 1938.¹⁰² Chaplain supervision of those in their profession did not carry much weight. In 1936 regulations forbade chaplains from evaluating other chaplains on Officer Efficiency Reports. Fears of sectarian prejudice still hampered even the Chief of Chaplains from doing more than giving advice. Supervision was approached cautiously.

When arrangements for providing religious coverage were made it was handled on a local level. It depended too much on the personalities of the local chaplains. A Catholic chaplain and a Protestant chaplain assigned to posts nearby one another might swap "services." In 1934 the Chief of Chaplains wrote Claude S. Harkey, at Brooks Field, suggesting a coverage plan, but the wording could hardly be called forceful or directive in nature:

Possibly we wrote you, unofficially of course, suggesting the possibility of taking some responsibility for Protestant work at Kelly Field

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and Chaplain Martin at Kelly in turn assisting in the Catholic work at Brooks.

Of course, we in this office have nothing to say about administration in the different posts. . . .

A conference between Martin and Harkey under the supervision of the Corps Area senior chaplain resulted in no coverage. During a period of illness for Harkey, a Staff Sergeant Blair conducted services at Brooks.¹⁰³

The Chiefs had their hands full warding off attacks, and hanging on to what had been gained. While the number of chaplains on active duty increased, and a competent ministry was given, no great strides forward occurred in the institutional life of the chaplaincy. There were no new plans for mobilization beyond those of the twenties; and a test of that limited objective, a goal of 1,870 chaplains, failed. The thirties atmosphere on most Army posts was somnolent. A false sense of security, provided by two oceans, lulled the country and its military establishment.

The Chiefs of Chaplains

Julian E. Yates became Chief of Chaplains in 1929 and served until 1933. Alva J. Brasted was Chief from 1933–1937, and William R. Arnold from 1937–1945.

Chaplain Yates was born at Williams Mills, North Carolina, 23 October 1871. He graduated from Wake Forest College, North Carolina, with an A.B. degree, then an A.M. degree; he earned a Th.B. degree from the University of Chicago. He was a member of the Baptist Church North.

Appointed a chaplain, in the grade of captain, on 13 March 1902, he was first assigned to Fort Leavenworth with an artillery unit. In May of the same year, he sailed for the Philippines and was assigned to Passay Garrison, Manila, with the 14th and 15th batteries, Field Artillery. He returned to the United States in December 1904 and was assigned to Fort Terry, New York. In 1907, he was transferred to Fort McHenry, Maryland. There he served as librarian and conducted schools for enlisted men in addition to his pastoral responsibilities, a common practice during that period. He next served a brief tour at Fort Howard, Maryland, and then at Fort Hancock, New Jersey. He served at Fort Washington, Maryland and Fort Adams, Rhode Island. In August 1917 he sailed for France, again with artillery, and stayed until 1919.

Upon his return from overseas he served at Camps Stuart and Eustis, Virginia. On 8 May 1919 he was promoted to major, temporary, and

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on 27 October was ordered to duty in the War Plans Division, War Department, as Assistant to Officer in Charge of Moral Training.

In this period "temporary" meant temporary, and on 13 March 1920 he reverted to his regular rank of captain; he was promoted to major again in June of the same year. In October 1920 he was ordered to duty in the office of the Chief of Chaplains; he served there a little over one year, then became post chaplain at Fort Myer, Virginia. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel and detailed to the Chief's office as executive officer. From there he went to Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, as post and regimental chaplain, 6th U.S. Cavalry. On 23 December 1929, he was appointed Chief of Chaplains, with the grade of colonel.¹⁰⁴

During his incumbency as Chief, the Annual Report noted that the reserve section was "steadily increased and greatly improved in esprit de corps." The Military Chaplains' Association began, and a periodical, *The Army Chaplain*, appeared. Training was revised to include post-graduate study at the University of Chicago or at the Catholic University of America. The *Army and Navy Hymnal* came into being as a result of his efforts while on duty with the War Plans Division.¹⁰⁵ In 1931, the Annual Report revealed that correspondence and paper work increased considerably as a closer relationship with the denominations developed. It was reported that due to the pacifist controversy "religious leaders look to the Chief . . . for official information and explanation . . .," which increased the mail to "approximately 507,696 pieces per annum."¹⁰⁶

On 23 December 1933, Chaplain Alva J. Brasted became the fourth Chief of Chaplains, the second Baptist to hold the office. He was born at Findley's Lake, New York, on 5 July 1876. He graduated from Des Moines College in 1902, and from the University of Chicago Theological School in 1905. He was appointed a chaplain, first lieutenant, in the Regular Army in 1913 and assigned to the Coast Artillery, Fort Hancock, New Jersey. In 1914 and 1915 he served at Fort Screven, Georgia. From 1916 until 1919 he was regimental chaplain with the 8th U.S. Infantry in the Philippines and in the AEF. After the World War, Chaplain Brasted served at Camp Lee, Virginia, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, and then returned to the Philippines as hospital chaplain at Sternberg General Hospital. Back in the United States he served at Fort Logan, Colorado, and Fort Snelling, Minnesota.

He was faced with the task of providing ministry to the newly organized CCC and traveled extensively visiting Army posts and CCC camps. A noted lecturer, he continued the emphasis upon moral talks to

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the men. After evening talks he was delighted to autograph the Bibles and New Testaments the men brought.¹⁰⁷ Under his capable direction the number of chaplains on active duty nearly tripled.

The Chief's Annual Report of 1934 revealed 200 reserve chaplains in forestry camps. There were three black chaplains on active duty, 1,200 Reserves; the average age of active duty chaplains was 49 and, "The corps is presumed to be in rigorous health. Only four of its numbers failed to meet the physical requirements of the medical examining board during the year." The length of the tour for foreign service was cut from three to two years, which the Chief pronounced "very salutary." 53,844 *Army & Navy Hymnals* were distributed to the CCC along with 40,000 Testaments and 250 Bibles from the American Bible Society. The Chaplains' Aid Association sent one Douay Version to the library of each camp.¹⁰⁸

Under the heading, "Morale of Chaplains," The *Army and Navy Register* quoted him as saying, "Morale is exceedingly high. . . . The chaplains are hardworking, contented, and happy and not easily stampered by salary cuts, cessation of promotion, and rumors of elimination. These adverse situations and menaces, however; cannot fail to work as a great detriment to morale should they persist."¹⁰⁹

Chaplain Brasted was a delightful man who took many things seriously, but never himself. He once visited the Chief's Office and picked out an assignment that was considered the worst on the list. He accepted it as a challenge; others, hearing about it, thought he had been punished and wondered what he had done wrong.¹¹⁰ Soldiers felt free to bring their problems to him. One complained of sore feet, and Brasted's wife wrote, "So Alva went with him to supply to get a better-fitting pair of shoes."

He brought the only tuxedo he had ever owned while Chief of Chaplains as he was expected to wear it to White House functions. The Chief's office was in the Munitions Building on Constitution Avenue, and his wife said he went off to work with the eagerness of a boy going out to play. He retired, came out of retirement to serve on active duty during World War II, and retired a second time on 30 September 1943. His life is the subject of a biography entitled, *Soldier of God*, written by his wife Evelyn.¹¹¹

Chaplain William R. Arnold succeeded Brasted as Chief of Chaplains in December 1937. Because his career as Chief of Chaplains spanned nearly all of World War II he will be discussed at length in the next chapter.

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Activities of Chaplains

Some historians have pointed out that history is not only events, but people. Amid the economic, political, and ideological forces that shaped the nation, the Army, and the chaplaincy; individual chaplains went on doing their day to day ministry throughout this period.

Chaplain (LTC) Edward L. Branham at Fort Sill was made, not a chief but an Indian. Mike Bigcow an elder of the Comanche Tribe, presented Branham with an Indian headdress, which signified acceptance into the tribe. Branham was also christened "Swave-Ex-Sap-a-Na," (Soldier of the Cross.) The unusual ceremony was held 29 October 1936, and honored Branham for his work with the Indians. Native dances and songs were presented by very small Comanche Indian students of the Fort Sill Boarding School. Elder Bigcow then addressed sixty members of the Kiwanis Club, with Robert Coffey translating:

People it makes me glad to see you and causes a feeling of friendship in my heart when I meet you as brothers. . . . Our forefathers have taught us to be brave, honest, and truthful. With the guidance of such men as Colonel Branham the Indians have seen the light of hope.

Branham responded that he had enjoyed his five years of work with these "100 percent Americans" and expressed pleasure about his induction into the tribe.¹¹²

While supervision was not strong, that was interpreted by some as a good thing, in that it gave individuals more freedom to express their own creative ministries. Those ministries were taking new forms. Chaplain Ivan L. Bennet of Fort Monroe, Virginia, started a garrison church. A group organized, took in members, granted letters of transfer to other churches, and were "organized on the basis of a program of activity rather than upon a unity of creed." Annual Reports revealed that the practice spread and was approved. Jorgenson wrote, "The reason that this organization with so much promise declined and practically disappeared is that there was no centralized guidance for its implementation and operation. Also, chaplains were careful to avoid any organizational plan which would even appear to set up a government church. Some civilian pastors denounced it as such. . . ." ¹¹³ Roy Parker, at Fort Riley, Kansas, sponsored an attendance contest with a local church to see who could get the largest turnout for church. It built attendance from 100 to 300.¹¹⁴

Some expanded their ministry through writing, or developed a radio ministry. Alva J. Brasted, Fort Logan, Colorado, conducted broadcasts over station KFXF in Denver. "Among especially interested radio fans

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who listened in were the patients of Fitzimmons General Hospital.” C.C. Nelson was doing the same thing at station KSL, Salt Lake City, Utah, and claimed 150,000 listeners; musical numbers were supplied by the National Guard Band of his regiment.¹¹⁵ writers included Lyle Douglas Utts, who wrote a brochure “The Land of Counterpane,” which was described as “very helpful to people in suffering and distress”; Edwin Burling wrote about the activities of 200 chaplains who went to summer camp (CMTC) in the early thirties. Hal C. Head described life aboard the Army transport, Republic.¹¹⁶ Nathaniel L. Jones wrote *Where Cross the Crowded Ways*, a book of sonnets that appeared in 1936.¹¹⁷ R. Earl Boyd became the editor of *The Army Chaplain*.¹¹⁸ A number of other chaplains edited regimental or post newspapers to increase their outreach. Henry N. Blanchard, Carlisle Barracks, served as editor of the post newspaper, *Esprit de Corps*.¹¹⁹ Some were students. Milton O. Beebe, P.C. Schroder, J.H. August Borleis, and Hudson B. Phillips were in the graduate study program at the University of Chicago.¹²⁰

Some chaplains felt that their best preaching was deeds rather than words. They helped soldiers in many practical ways. Chaplain A.C. Oliver, Jr., arrived at his station in Tientsin, China, with ten mail bags full of comfort kits for the men of the 15th Regiment. They were provided by The Women’s Christian Temperance Union.¹²¹

Chaplain E.J. Griffith stepped in to help his men in a very practical way at Fort Meade, Maryland. The Second Tank Regiment was disbanded and the component parts transferred to other posts. Involved in the transfer were thirty-three enlisted men, in grades too low to qualify for government transportation of household goods or family travel allowances. With the approval of the commander, Griffin raised funds through contributions, entertainments, and appeals to charitable organizations. When the 34th Infantry moved into the tank regiment’s place, and the lower grades were required to rent quarters off post, Griffin worked with the ladies of the post to set up a Post Welfare Organization, including a clothing exchange for children.¹²² Young men went to CMTC in the summer. Chaplains accompanied them and found short cuts to demonstrate their concern. Chaplain Burling wrote, “one of the chaplains’ activities most appreciated by the young men was the establishment of banks, which provided not only for the safe deposit of money, but also for the care of other valuable personal articles. This depository was generally located in the chaplain’s office, where, also, stamps and stationery could be procured and letters mailed. The advantages of such arrangements are so obvious as to need little comment.”¹²³

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Some chaplains were travelers, whether for duty or for relaxation. Chaplain N.A. Jones accompanied the 31st Infantry on the "Shanghai Emergency."¹²⁴ Ignatius Fealey flew by China Clipper to Manila to attend the Eucharistic Congress in February 1936. N.M. Ylvisaker had a forty-five minute audience, his second with the King of Norway.¹²⁵ *The Army Chaplain* reported:

Major General William G. Everson, pastor emeritus of the First Baptist Church, Muncie, Indiana, and present Chief of the Militia Bureau, seems to have more than justified the appellation given him by the press of the country as "The Flying Parson." Since assuming office fourteen months ago General Everson has traveled 87,485 miles or more than three times around the earth.¹²⁶

They held public worship. Church parade was used in many camps. The troops were marched to church, often led by mounted officers. Old photographs show that it was a rather formal affair. In CMTC it was required of all trainees except those excused by written request of parents. Burling said, "no unfavorable criticism of this formation has come to the War Department, and the practice is fast being recognized as the best solution of the public worship problem . . . Field masses in the open air, impressive services in natural arenas and bowls, crowded meetings in large halls with addresses by prominent divines as well as instrumental and vocal renditions by talented musicians, were reported from every part of the field."¹²⁷

The Close of a Decade

In 1939 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, USA, declared: "We hold that war is a violation of human personality and is repugnant to the Christian conscience, and we repudiate it as a means of settling international disputes . . . as Christians we pray for God's guidance in our own thinking and for His guidance of the constituted authorities in the United States in order that our nation be not drawn into the maelstrom of foreign strife."¹²⁸ The churches in America still hoped they could influence American foreign policy sufficiently to keep us out of what was called by many, "Mister Roosevelt's war." Careful reading of history shows the events leading to war were out of the church's hands, and Mr. Roosevelt's as well. British and French appeasement failed to satisfy Hitler's territorial demands. American unpreparedness and public opinion led Japan, Germany and Italy to misread the nation's will to fight.

Events already set in motion drew the United States closer to the maelstrom. Munich sealed the fate of Czechoslovakia. Hitler declared

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that his ultimate goal was: “die ganze Welt” (the whole world). On the Maginot Line squatted the cooped-up French Army. German civilians called Hitler’s waiting game Sitzkrieg, “sit-down war.”¹²⁹ Americans convinced themselves that the Japanese had their hands full in China. Manchester commented that the 1930’s, which had begun with a cry for bread, ended with a yawn. There was no great land battle this time, nor even a sizeable border skirmish. It was a time in American history when international challenges were about to replace domestic problems. The world held its collective breath and waited for the next move.¹³⁰

Evaluation

The chaplaincy not only survived attacks from friends and foes within and without the military and church, but continued to grow in strength and numbers as Reserves were brought to active duty with the CCC, and for short periods of emergency due to natural disasters. The newly found professional standing and military training of chaplains suffered some reverses. Supervision was still too cautious. The imagination, inspiration, and hard work of chaplains in this period gained and held a place of grudging respect within the Army. Annual Reports of the Chief of Chaplains showed that the ministers to the military provided regular opportunities for worship despite the lack of chapels already discussed. Their use of audio-visuals, character building lectures, educational opportunities, better and more professional expertise in counseling through the incorporation of the insights of psychology, added to the traditional pastoral roles of the past. Chaplains, in professional magazines shared a growing belief that they belonged in the Army, and were not just tolerated.

Institutionally, the largest failure of the chaplaincy in this period was the lack of contingency plans for selecting, training, and mobilizing large numbers of chaplains in the event of war. The ratio of chaplains to officers and men had been fixed by law. Apparently it was assumed that as the Army expanded the chaplain’s branch would simply activate the Reserves. Since there were only 125 Regular Army chaplains, and over 1,000 in the Reserves that seemed a sufficient pool of talent from which to draw. Of 100,000 clergymen polled, only 3,500 answered that they would not serve as chaplains.¹³¹ There had been distressing clues earlier. The mobilization plans of 1925 called for a goal of 1,870 Regular Army and reserve chaplains, a goal which was not achieved.¹³² No one was planning for a need of 9,000 chaplains. (After all, the Air Corps was only training 150 pilots per year.) As a result of this thinking only one chaplain

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in ten who served in World War II had been in the Reserves or the Regular Army prior to Pearl Harbor.

Like the rest of the Army, there was a small, well trained, experienced group of chaplains who had weathered the "dog days" of the thirties. They ministered in place to millions of the nation's youth in a period that tried not only the American economy, but its character as well. Jorgensen wrote, "By their dedicated efforts they shaped the chaplaincy for the greatest task it should ever encounter; World War II."¹³²

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER II

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³ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of The American People*, p. 925.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 926.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 926.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 92. Also: Roy J. Honeywell, *Chaplains of The United States Army*, (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 1958), p. 203.

⁷ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of The American People*, p. 930.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 931.

⁹ William Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream*, Volume 1, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), p. 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4-5.

¹¹ Daniel B. Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917-1946*, (Washington, D.C.: Office of Air Force Chaplains), p. 58.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁴ Ministers and War, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. II, No. 2, October 1931, p. 2.

¹⁵ Edward A. Simon, The Influence of American Churches on The Development of the Structure and Duties of the Army Chaplaincy, 1914-1962, A Thesis, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey, 1963, p. 58.

¹⁶ Minister Resents 'Slur' on Chaplains, *The New York Times*, 16 April 1930, p. 14.

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¹⁸ Simon, The Influence of American Churches on the Development of the Structure and Duties of the Army Chaplaincy, 1914-1962, p. 58.

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²³ Jorgenson, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917-1946*, p. 58.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60-61.

²⁷ Simon, The Influence of American Churches on the Development of the Structure and Duties of the Army Chaplaincy, 1914-1946, p. 61.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

³¹ Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream*, p. 151.

- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 245.
- ³³ *The Army and Navy Journal*, Vol. III, No. 4, May 1932, p. 496.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps 1933–42; A New Deal Case Study*, (Durham, N.C.: University Press, 1967), p. 2.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17–26, and 42.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- ⁴³ E. R. Baublitz, The C.C.C. As An Agency For Character Development, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, July 1937, p. 10.
- ⁴⁴ Alva J. Brasted, Chaplains and The C.C.C., *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, July 1936, p. 8.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶ Richard Braunstien, The Circuit Rider Returns, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, January 1937, p. 6.
- ⁴⁷ Daniel B. Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Air Force Chaplains, 1961), p. 52–53.
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- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.
- ⁵⁰ Honeywell, Chaplains of the United States Army, p. 211.
- ⁵¹ Brasted, Chaplains and the C.C.C., p. 8.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 8.
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- ⁵⁴ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 212.
- ⁵⁵ Solomon Jacobson, Working With Jewish Enrollees, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. IX, No. 2, October 1938, p. 52.
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- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.
- ⁶¹ Alfred C. Oliver, Jr. and Harold M. Dudley, *This New America*, (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1937).
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- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- ⁶⁶ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 53.
- ⁶⁷ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 211–212, and Annual Report, Chief of Chaplains, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, January 1937, p. 12–13.
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- ⁶⁹ Braunstien, The Circuit Rider Returns, p. 6.
- ⁷⁰ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, p. 920.
- ⁷¹ Ovid Butler, *Youth Rebuilds* (Washington, D.C.: The American Forestry Association, 1934), p. 63.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 66.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 166.
- ⁷⁶ Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream*, p. 101.

⁷⁷ Work at Camp Pike Condemned, *The Army and Navy Register*, Vol. XCVIII, No. 2885, 9 November 1935, p. 383.

⁷⁸ Editorial, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. V, No. 3, January 1934, p. 2

⁷⁹ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, p. 90-91.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 92-93.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 93-101.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁸⁴ Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream*, p. 151-152, and 243-247.

⁸⁵ Chaplains on Duty Aid Flood Victims, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, April 1937, p. 5.

⁸⁶ Authors note: I was pastor of this church, Central Presbyterian, in 1960; the memory of these events was very much alive, and the older members of the congregation told of how people slept on pews for the night.

⁸⁷ Chaplains on Duty Aid Flood Victims, p. 5.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹² Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 211.

⁹³ Annual Report of the Chief of Chaplains, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. III, No. 3, January 1932, p. 4.

⁹⁴ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917-1946*, p. 74.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁹⁷ New Post Chapels, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. V, No. 4, April 1935, p. 1, 3-5.

⁹⁸ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917-1946*, p. 72-74.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 75.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 75.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* p. 64.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* p. 51.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 52.

¹⁰⁴ The Retiring Chief of Chaplains, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. V, No. 4, April 1934, p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Chief of Chaplains, Julian E. Yates, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. I, No. 2, October 1930, p. 3.

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¹⁰⁷ Col. Brasted named Chief of Chaplains, *New York Times*, 12 December 1933, p. 2-6; A Message from the Chief of Chaplains, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. V, No. 4, April 1934, p. 5; and Character Building Lecture, the Army Chaplain, Vol. VII, No. 1, July 1936, p. 17.

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¹¹⁰ Evelyn Brasted, *Soldier of God.*, (New York: Carlton Press, 1971), p. 37.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62-90.

¹¹² Chaplain Becomes "Soldier of the Cross" In Commanche Tribe Indians, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, January-February 1937, p. 7.

¹¹³ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917-1946*, p. 70.

¹¹⁴ Attendance Contest, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, April 1937, p. 13.

¹¹⁵ Notes, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. II, No. 3., January 1931, p. 15; and What the Chaplains are Doing. *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. III, No. 4, p. 14.

¹¹⁶ Hal C. Head, The United States Army Transport Republic, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. III, No. 3, January 1932, p. 7.

¹¹⁷ Chaplain Nathaniel L. Jones Writes Book of Sonnets, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. VII, No. 1, July 1936, p. 15.

¹¹⁸ The Army Chaplain Has New Editor, *The Army Chaplain*; Vol. VII, No. 4, April-May 1936, p. 2.

¹¹⁹ Notes, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. I, No. 3, January 1931, p. 15.

¹²⁰ Army Postgraduate Instruction, *Army and Navy Register*, Vol. XL, No. 2671, 3 October 1931, p. 321.

¹²¹ What the Chaplains are Doing, *The Army Chaplain*, p. 13.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ Burling, the C.M.T.C. As it Was Reported, p. 5.

¹²⁴ *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. II, No. 4, April 1931, p. 10.

¹²⁵ Chaplain Flies to Orient, the Army Chaplain, Vol. VIII, No. 3, January 1937, p. 10; and King of Norway receives Chaplain Ylvisaker, same issue and page.

¹²⁶ Notes, *The Army Chaplain*, p. 15.

¹²⁷ Burling, The CMTC. As it was Reported, p. 5.

¹²⁸ General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church, Pamphlet, 1939, Document number AC 75625, p. 4, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

¹²⁹ Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream*, p. 248.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 79.

¹³² *Ibid.* p. 79.



Figure 1. The Chaplains' Cenotaph, Arlington Cemetery, commemorating World War I chaplains Who Gave Their Lives. By courtesy of the General Committee on Army and Navy chaplains.



Figure 2. The General Commission on Army-Navy chaplains 1923. Courtesy of Presbyterian Historical Society.



Figure 3. William R. Arnold, Chief of Chaplains—the first chief to wear stars, and the Wartime Chief during World War II. Photo by US Army Signal Corps.



Figure 4. The “Mobilization” Chapel. Photo by US Army Signal Corps.



Figure 5. Interior of the Mobilization Chapel. Photo by US Army Signal Corps.



Figure 6. Dedication of the First Mobilization Chapel at Arlington Cemetery. Left, Chaplain William R. Arnold, Center, General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the US Army. Photo by US Army Signal Corps.



Figure 7. Chapel Initiatory, Arlington Cantonement, VA, 27 July 1941. Photo from Office of Constructing Quartermaster, by F. G. Wells.



Figure 8. Soldiers attending Religious Instruction in Mobilization Chapel. Photo by US Army Signal Corps.



Figure 9. Dudley Summers' Painting of "The Four Chaplains" aboard the Transport Dorchester. Photo courtesy of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

CHAPTER III

World War II—From Pearl Harbor Through The Dorchester

Beginnings

On 1 September 1939 Germany invaded Poland. France and Great Britain responded by declaring war on Germany. Radio brought these events to the American people with an immediacy and intimacy never before experienced. "This nation will remain a neutral nation," Roosevelt announced in a fireside chat on 3 September, "but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well."¹

The country was sharply divided between isolationists and interventionists. Those who wanted to intervene and those who didn't were, for the most part, sympathetic to Britain and France. Roosevelt was committed to their support in every way short of an actual declaration of war. He was convinced that the United States could stay out of the war and have a generation of peace, but he knew the price; the next generation of Americans would have to fight alone against overwhelming odds.²

Lincoln said you could do anything with public opinion, and nothing without it.³ "To serve the public faithfully and at the same time please it entirely is impossible," said Benjamin Franklin.⁴ But even a divided public approved of building America's defense forces. George C. Marshall, a Brigadier General, was sworn in as Chief of Staff as a full general on the day Poland was invaded. Poland fell in 17 days. America's Army was smaller and weaker than Poland's. The danger and the lesson were clear. The President declared a limited national emergency and authorized increases in the Regular Army and National Guard. The Army concentrated on expanding its Air Corps, making its regular forces ready for action, and providing divisions with full and modern equipment. In April 1940 the first genuine corps and army training maneuvers in American military history took place, involving 70,000 troops.⁵

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The successful German seizure of Denmark and Norway, followed by the quick defeat of the Low Countries and France, were grave threats to Great Britain and forced the United States to adopt a new and greatly enlarged program for defense in the spring of 1940. By September the Army was planning a force of a million and a half. The National Guard and the organized Reserves were called up; the first peacetime draft of untrained civilian manpower in the nation's history, provided for by the Selective Service and Training Act of 14 September 1940, was instituted. The Army doubled in size during the last six months of 1940. In 1941 the Army received \$8 billion for its needs, more than the combined total of the preceding twenty years.⁶

Steps Toward War

America was providing arms to Britain and France. In September 1940 the United States exchanged fifty overage destroyers with Britain for offshore Atlantic bases; the President announced that henceforth production of heavy bombers would be shared equally with the British. The foreign aid program included the Lend-Lease Act of March 1941, which according to *American Military History*, "swept away the pretense of American neutrality by openly avowing the intention of the United States to become an 'arsenal of democracy' against aggression."⁷

The Germans invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 and three days later American troops landed in Greenland to protect it against German attack. American forces moved into Iceland as well. In October the Navy was fully engaged in convoy-escort duties in the western reaches of the North Atlantic, which led to undeclared war between German and American ships.⁸

In the Pacific the possibilities for war steadily increased. In late July 1941 the Japanese moved large forces into what later became South Vietnam. The United States responded by freezing Japanese assets and cutting off oil shipments to Japan. (Oil was critical for Japanese naval forces.) Reinforcements were sent to the Philippines. In September the Japanese tentatively decided to embark on a war of conquest in Southeast Asia and the Indies; they planned to try to immobilize American naval opposition by an opening air strike against the naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Manchester observed, "When intense last-minute negotiations in November failed to produce any accommodation, the Japanese made their decision for war irrevocable."⁹

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Thinking Within The Church

Religious leaders of the past were upbraided for ability to read weather signs but inability to discern the signs of the times.¹⁰ In 1940 and 1941 neither the Church nor the State was overstaffed with prophets and seers. Joseph P. Kennedy, back from London, said talk about Britain fighting for democracy was “bunk.” John Foster Dulles said in November 1941, “only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy, or Japan contemplates war upon us”; Senator Robert A. Taft, commenting on White House displeasure over Japanese troops in Vietnam, said no American mother was ready to have her son die “for some place with an unpronounceable name in Indo-China.”¹¹

Distinguished clergy seemed determined to shoot at the wrong target. Harry Emerson Fosdick said the draft was immoral. Another clergyman predicted it would reduce American youth to “syphilis and slavery.”¹² Similarly, the Catholic magazine *America* fretted about prophylactics. “. . . The sale of contraceptive devices at Army posts, on orders from headquarters in Washington . . . brings out the purely natural and secular nature of the Army.” The article claimed the Army was interested in bodies, not souls. “They are in camp and many of them do not know why. . . . They are the sons and the brothers, most of them, of that eighty per cent of the American people who are determined that this country shall not be dragged into a foreign war.”¹³ An editorial opinion stated that one of the reasons the modern world was headed into chaos was “that the lives of the Saints have not been best-sellers Hand grenades will never bring lasting peace to the world, but the right sort of heroes enshrined in a sufficient number of human hearts will.”¹⁴

Writers in church publications worried about propaganda. Readers were reminded that World War I produced a deluge of propaganda of the atrocity story variety. This time, they warned, propaganda prepared for export to America as well as the domestic type would be based on alleged moral and religious grounds. “Certainly no civilized man can approve the principles which dictate the conduct of Hitler and Stalin; hence it will not be difficult to plead that it is the duty of the United States to supply money and armies to bring these men and their principles an an end.”¹⁵ Harold Gardiner was concerned about propaganda in comic strips.¹⁶ John Toomey wrote, “We Are Not Swayed By War Propaganda.”¹⁷ The Gallup Poll reported that Americans did not want to hear about war from their pulpits. The question asked was: “Do you

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think preachers and priests should discuss from the pulpit the question of American participation in the War?" 55% answered, "No."¹⁸

Morality in the towns surrounding the camps worried the clergy. One commanding officer said, "While the church groups are worrying about what the army may do to the boys, I am worried about what the towns near the camps may do to our army lads."¹⁹ A Methodist magazine warned, "The liquor traffic and the vice interests will be waiting for our sons when they go to camp."²⁰ And another warned that, "Methodists must see to it that the voice of the drill sergeant is not more imperative than the voice of the gospel."²¹ After the fall of France came the admonition: "There is a lesson for America in this experience . . . our chief job is to make America worthy of the divine benediction for there are some things—laziness, shoddy work, corruption, dishonesty, inattention to duty—which God himself cannot bless."²² With the world about to be engulfed in the flames of war, there were those who saw no further than making sure girls in camp shows were more fully clothed²³ or that we should stop buying silk from Japan. (Japan sold the United States \$13 million worth between 1 October and 15 December 1941.)²⁴

One effect of the social transformations wrought during the decades preceding the 1940's was a distinct decline in the relative moral force of the churches. Ahlstrom wrote, "They simply were not as important a factor in the molding of public attitudes as they had been in 1916. The pulpit and church press had lost their preeminence among the mass media."²⁵ Most conservative evangelicals were committed to being non-committal on public issues while modernists undermined the authority of the churches to speak on any issue.

This is not to say there were no prophets and seers. The Methodists launched a campaign in early 1941 to assist the churches located near Army camps to minister to soldiers by asking for "One Million From Eight Million."²⁶ A new magazine, *Christianity In Crisis*, appeared 10 February 1941 and regularly focused attention on the central issues. Its viewpoint was that American hopes for the future, as well as contrition over past misdeeds, must be subordinated to the urgent, immediate task. In this instance the immediate task was clear—defeat of Nazi tyranny. "If this task does not engage us, both our repentance and our hope become luxuries in which we indulge while other men save us from an intolerable fate, or while our inaction betrays into disaster a cause to which we owe allegiance."²⁷ The magazine reported the plight of Belgian Jews in concentration camps, the treatment of Warsaw Jews, and reports of pastors jailed in Germany. It called for the repeal of the Neutrality

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Act, calling it, "one of the most immoral laws that was ever spread upon a federal statute book."²⁸

During the 1930's a strong pacifist movement dominated much of American theology. Mainly it stemmed from a humanistic influence which saw man as inherently good, but institutions thwarted the struggle for advancement toward the kingdom of God: Institutions needed to be converted as well as individuals. Hence, war was man's greatest sin, and the way of salvation was to renounce it by nonparticipation. Education was the means to universal brotherhood and peace.

As events moved America toward participation in World War II church leaders realized that religion itself was a target. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was not a comic political theory. Churches protesting the liquidation of Jews in Europe were closed and their pastors imprisoned by Nazi authorities. Rival state religions developed. The myth of the Teutonic Superman and Norse gods arose. The Japanese had put a clamp on missionaries, native ministers, and congregations. Shintoism, revived under military control, demanded absolute obedience to the Emperor as a political and religious duty. The educated nations of Germany, Italy, and Japan, used the tools of progress for destruction against Manchuria, Ethiopia and Europe. The modern myth of man's goodness started to collapse. Increasingly, religious leaders had to face the question whether they could renounce a world of suffering. Was isolation moral?

As a result of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor Americans awoke to the massive irony of national consensus in the actuality of war. In a matter of hours the situation changed, what was confused became clear. The great debates were over. An "Army" of pacifists dwindled to about twelve thousand, or according to Ahlstrom, less than 1 percent of those who registered for the draft.²⁹ The churches shared the national consensus on war. Whether Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, they showed no reluctance to support the war effort. They provided chaplains; raised money and volunteers for war service agencies; distributed Bibles, prayer-books, and devotional literature; maintained contact with service personnel and counseled and aided those left behind. Ahlstrom wrote, "Even with the provocations which Hitler provided, however, the churches did not repeat the unrestrained capitulation to the war spirit which had left them disgraced after 1918. Many factors help to explain this change . . . In theological terms, Neo-orthodoxy is a large part of the explanation."³⁰

". . . Americans marched off to battle not so much with flying flags and patriotic oratory as with a grim, realistic determination to fight for the survival of the nation and its allies," according to Grosvenor.³¹

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The war taught that the liberties of minority groups—political or religious—are important to the liberties of all; that an attack upon one group or faith can be the prelude to the strangulation of all. This soul-searching problem shook church bodies across the nation, and the repercussions were to have far-reaching effects in American theology. A statement by Protestant leaders early in the war said:

We abhor war. But in the outcome of this war, ethical issues are at stake to which no Christian can remain indifferent. Totalitarian aggression must be halted or there will be no peace and order in the world. Our nation has faced that issue and made its choice. Adhering to our belief that it is the responsibility of Christians to make moral appraisal of the actions of governments, our consciences, as Christians, support that decision of our government.³²

The General Conference of the Methodist Church in May 1944 reversed its position on war and stated, "We are well within the Christian position when we assert the necessity of the use of military forces to resist an aggression which would overthrow every right which is held sacred by civilized man."³³ While it could not be simply defined, resistance against the evil of totalitarian government—even to the point of war—was seen to be the lesser of two evils.

Indorsing Agencies Prepare

Almost 100,000 civilians were commissioned directly into the US Army, and slightly less than half of these were doctors, dentists, and chaplains. Because of their professional status clergymen were exempt from Selective Service, commonly called "the draft," which began 16 October 1940. Those clergy holding commissions in the Officer Reserve Corps were permitted to resign them. Others like James Tull, called to duty as a reserve line officer from a pastorate in Frankfort, Ky., was later commissioned as a chaplain and served under General Chennault in China. Others came to the chaplaincy in similar ways.³⁴

In the summer of 1940 there were 137 chaplains in the Regular Army. Of about 1,000 Reserve chaplains, 770 were eligible for active duty, and 145 of them were serving with the Army and about 100 with the Civilian Conservation Corps. During the next few months many appointments were made in the Officers Reserve Corps, but a law of 22 September 1941 authorized temporary appointments in the Army of the United States (AUS). By the day of the Pearl Harbor attack, 140 chaplains of the Regular Army, 298 of the National Guard and 1,040 Reserve chaplains were on duty, a total of 1,478. For the chaplaincy the situation differed greatly from that of April 1917 when the country

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entered the first world struggle. On that occasion few preparations were made until after the declaration of war. The beginning of hostilities in 1941 found many training camps in operation and a substantial number of soldiers well advanced in basic training. There were half as many chaplains already on duty at the start of WWII as there had been at the conclusion of WWI. Nevertheless, the need for nine thousand chaplains during World War II made the prewar figure a mere fraction of what would be needed.³⁵ But the mechanism for turning civilian clergy into chaplains was in operation—more or less. And that “more or less” is a fascinating administrative story.

The chaplaincy as an institution was different from other corps and branches of the Army. There was no large school in civilian life that trained pilots, tankers, infantrymen, or combat engineers. (Even West Point could not claim to be such an institution). But the seminaries and rabbinical schools in America trained hundreds of thousands of clergymen who could become chaplains with no need of further training as clergy. Chaplains differed from the medical and legal branches in that the qualifications and quotas for the latter were administered by the draft boards. Only the chaplaincy had a civilian agency interviewing, selecting and indorsing men to the Army. The indorsing agencies for the three major faith groups were the Jewish Welfare Board, the Military Ordinariate, and The General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains.

The Jewish Welfare Board was a small, almost one-man operation until 1940. It was headed by Dr. Cyrus Adler, who died in April of that year; he was succeeded by Rabbi David De Sola Pool. By the time Selective Service was initiated 17 Rabbis held commissions in the Army. Chaplain Bernard Segal was ordered to active duty on 1 August 1940 and was assigned to Fort Dix, New Jersey, “the post which then and ever since has had more Jewish trainees than any other American military training center.” Segal became the first full-time Jewish chaplain since 1918, because the draft changed the religious make up of the Army. Chaplain Aryeh Lev came on duty in November and was assigned to the Office of the Chief of Chaplains, the first Jewish chaplain to receive such a high administrative assignment. By the start of the war there were 24 Jewish chaplains on active duty.³⁶

On 29 November 1939 Pope Pius XII appointed Bishop Francis J. Spellman (later archbishop and cardinal) to be Military Vicar for the United States with special jurisdiction over Catholic chaplains and men of the Armed Forces. The following month Bishop John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., was appointed Military Delegate to assist Archbishop Spellman

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in his military work. Two months after Bishop O'Hara's consecration the Chief of Chaplains, William R. Arnold, wrote:

The beneficial effects of his appointment are felt in all directions. I feel at ease with him for he was a boy in my parish before I came into the Army. I have always known and addressed him as John and later as Father John. Now, I must be careful not to presume. In my prayers, however, he is still John. God bless him.³⁷

The vigor with which Bishop O'Hara approached his work was revealed in a letter to General Marshall dated July 1941: "During the past year I have visited more than 150 Army posts and Navy Stations and the unfailing courtesy of the officers and men has made delightful a task that might other wise have proved impossible."³⁸ Bishop Spellman and O'Hara were happy choices and showed the importance the Catholic Church gave to the positions. The Military Ordinariate grew as no civilian diocese ever did: from 36 Catholic chaplains in the Army and 19 in the Navy in 1939, to more than 3,000 priests on active duty, assisted by more than 1,700 auxiliary chaplains, in 1945.

The General Committee on Army and Navy chaplains was reorganized in 1940 as the General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains; it was independent of the Federal Council of Churches under which the Committee was originally formed. The change allowed wider representation from among Protestant denominations, some of which were not previously affiliated with the Federal Council for reasons of theology and polity. The Commission served as a liaison between the armed forces and some 40 Protestant denominations. The chairmen during the war years were Dr. Rufus W. Weaver, Bishop Adna W. Leonard, Dr. William Barrow Pugh, and Bishop Henry Knox Sherill, and the directors were Dr. Paul Moody, Dr. S. Arthur Devan, and Bishop Edwin F. Lee.³⁹

The involved ecclesiastical indorsement procedure of the General Commission required three to four months, too long for the urgent demands of war. That fact and the unprecedented demand for Protestant chaplains led to development of denominational commissions that could give an indorsement within 19 days. Smaller groups cooperated with indorsing commissions of closely related denominations.

Qualifications Of Chaplains

AR 605–30, December 1941, required applicants for original appointment in the Regular Army to be—

- a. A male citizen of the United States.
- b. Between the ages of 23 and 34 years.

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c. Regularly ordained, duly accredited by and in good standing with some religious denomination or organization which holds an apportionment of chaplain appointments in accordance with the needs of service.

d. A graduate of both 4 year college and 3-year theological seminary courses.

e. Actively engaged in the ministry as the principal occupation in life and be credited with 3 years experience therein.

Appointments in the Army of the United States allowed the maximum age to be 55.⁴⁰

From the period of emergency that began 9 September 1939 to the surrender of Japan on 2 September 1945 a total of 9,117 chaplains served in the Army, 8,896 of them on duty during the period of actual combat. On the day hostilities closed, “V–J Day,” the total was 8,141 (Catholic 2,278, Jewish 243, Protestant 5,620). Counting a few who had not yet reported for duty, it was reckoned that the 8,171 in service or under orders in July of 1945 were the greatest number of chaplains who can be said to have served at any specific time during the war. The Army then numbered about 8,200,000 so that the proportion of 1 to 1,000 ratio asked by the Chief had almost been reached.⁴¹

Getting chaplains screened, indorsed, trained, equipped, assigned, transported, maintained, supplied, supervised, promoted, and replaced does not make for exciting tales to tell the grandchildren, but it was a necessary, grueling, thankless, herculean task that taxed administrative ability, imagination, flexibility, patience, and diplomacy. That it was done at all was amazing; that it was done so well was truly remarkable. General Marshall said at one time, “The Office of the Chief of Chaplains is the best run office in the War Department.”⁴²

To cope with the unprecedented growth of the Army and the branch, the Chief of Chaplains’ Office—which from 1920 to 1939 had only three chaplains and three to five Army field clerks and civilian employees—increased to about 26 chaplains and offices plus 125 civilian clerks. It was organized into the Personnel Division, Ground Liaison Division, Air Liaison Division, Technical and Information Division, Administrative Division, Plans and Training Division, and Miscellaneous Division. Colonel Goodyear, who was with the Chief’s Office from its inception in 1920, was the executive assistant and legal advisor. An officer in the Adjutant General branch, he was instrumental in preparing proposed legislation and regulations to bring chaplains to parity with other services.

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Thomas Griesemer served the Office continuously from 1935 to 1960 as a civilian (except for one year of Army duty as a major in Japan).

The 1936 religious census, published in 1939, was the basis for establishing the quotas of chaplains by denomination. (A denominational breakdown may be found in Appendix C). The Chief of Chaplains, William R. Arnold, spoke to General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, about lowering the ratio of chaplains to officers and men from the long standing 1 to 1,200 to 1 to 800. Although the recommendation never materialized Marshall promised that chaplains would be protected from extra duties so that they could devote full time to religious responsibilities.⁴³

Creating quotas and authorized spaces was a difficult administrative problem particularly when made with officers who had no conception of a chaplains program other than consoling the sick and wounded, and burying the dead. But spaces did not create faces. The Military Ordinariate was never able to supply the number of Catholic chaplains sought by the War Department. The ordinariate declared that half a million men did not have the services of a Catholic chaplain. Early in 1943 there were 1,284 on duty against a quota of 2,250. At the end of the war 88 percent of the quota, or about 5.8 percent of the Catholic priests in the continental United States were in the Army.⁴⁴

Negro churches were authorized 790 chaplains but only 174 were in service at the end of the war. While many black chaplains came to the Army from churches that were not listed as "Negro," the fact remains that only 22 percent of the quota was filled. Although it was the policy to assign black chaplains to black troops, obviously this could not always be done. The educational requirements for black ministers were modified in such a way that many ministers who were barred by previous regulations were able to qualify.

Christian Scientists, the Friends, Eastern Orthodox, and Mormon churches presented some problems to the chaplaincy. These organizations observe rites or emphasized principles so different from those classified as "Protestant" that serious questions arose concerning their ability to minister effectively to persons not affiliated with their respective groups. The question was important because the comparatively few adherents of these churches were dispersed so widely in the Army that a chaplain of any of these faiths would find it impossible to bring together any considerable number of coreligionists at any one time. Chaplains representing these churches were usually assigned to Army and theatre headquarters, so

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that they might have wide latitude to travel from one location to another, ministering to their men.

Language problems complicated religious coverage. In 1942 the War Department organized an all-Greek battalion and authorized a Greek Orthodox chaplain. Although the Chief of Chaplains asked Archbishop Athenagoras for a suitable candidate, almost one year passed before a man with the proper age and physical condition with a sufficient knowledge of the English language was found. A similar problem arose in 1943 when the 442d Infantry was organized. The Japanese Americans who composed the unit were largely Buddhist in faith. The Buddhist Mission of North America was unable to produce a qualified candidate. Later, a Christain chaplain of Japanese descent was assigned to this regiment.

Unless terminated sooner, these wartime appointments to the Army of the United States were to continue until 6 months after the end of the emergency.

The rule that chaplains must be male citizens was challenged in two particulars. When the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps was established, it was urged by an organization of women ministers and by individuals, that the training schools for these women and any large units in which they might be organized be served by female chaplains. A survey at the training camps showed that very few of the young women desired female chaplains. The matter was dropped. Many female ministers did become chaplain's assistants and directors of religious education. When the need for chaplains became acute, the citizenship rule was modified and the appointment of citizens of cobelligerent and friendly powers was authorized.⁴⁵

Day Of Infamy

Almost all official and unofficial Americans who expected war thought it would come from naval confrontations in the Atlantic. The *U.S.S. Kearny*, a destroyer, was attacked; two weeks later another destroyer, the *Reuben James*, was sunk in Icelandic waters, and with her over a hundred U.S. bluejackets. There was real war fever now all over the country, but the isolationists on the Hill remained unimpressed.⁴⁶

Foreign policy toward Japan according to Manchester was mismanaged, bungled, and ignored because the real threat seemed to come from Europe. But the Japanese felt boxed in, pushed, even forced to go to war under the hard line of Secretary of State Hull. (Politically he could get away with it because of racial animosity toward the Japanese.)

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General Walter Short and Admiral Husband E. Kimmel received alert messages and warnings that a Japanese attack on Hawaii was coming. They didn't believe it. Instead servicemen were given their customary Saturday evening liberty. No special guards were mounted on the United States Pacific Fleet—anchored in Pearl Harbor—94 ships, including eight battlewagons and nine cruisers. General Short ordered Army aircraft lined up wing tip to wing tip in the center of Hickam Field where they were easily destroyed by hostile warplanes.

At 7:02 A.M. in Hawaii a radar operator on Oahu reported the imminent arrival of a large force of aircraft. His superior officer told him to forget it. Using four types of aircraft, among them the Kawasaki, the Japanese attack was the worst military disaster ever to strike Americans. Casualty figures vary, but in one devastating blow American losses included: 3,400 casualties, including 2,402 service men and civilians killed, and 170 aircraft destroyed and 102 damaged, and all battleships of the Pacific fleet were sunk or crippled. Japanese losses were about 49 aircraft and 5 midget submarines.⁴⁷

For the Japanese it was a brilliant tactical feat. Politically it had exactly the opposite effect. Attacking without a declaration of war was considered treacherous, and the numbed American people reacted in outrage with a new and amazing unity of purpose. Gilbert M. Grosvenor wrote:

Reactions of anger, fright, confusion, and determination on that Sunday of shock carried over into the following days. Thousands of reservists donned uniforms and headed for mobilization centers; millions of others sought to enlist or waited for "Greetings" from their draft boards. From a nation of civilians, the United States once again turned into one of warriors and war workers.⁴⁸

The following Thursday Hitler and Mussolini declared war on the United States. Dean Acheson wrote, "At last our enemies, with unparalleled stupidity, resolved our dilemmas, clarified our doubts and uncertainties, and united our people for the long, hard course that the national interest required."⁴⁹

Combat Comes To The Chaplains

At 0755 that fateful Sunday morning Chaplain Terence P. Finnegan prepared for Mass. He stopped at Schofield Barracks chapel to get extra candles for service in the assembly hall. As he came in front of the little chapel, he saw the planes dive on Pearl Harbor and Hickam Field; they flew so low he could see the pilots. He drove his 1931 Buick in a mad

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dash to the artillery area to disperse the men assembled for Mass. His car was strafed on the way. Finnegan dispersed the men, but a bomb fell and killed six men as they took up positions. He said the last rites for the dead, drove to the hospital in an ambulance full of wounded men, and ministered there to the living and dying. More than 400 litters filled the hospital. In the afternoon he went out to a plane that crashed and burned, to pull out the broken body of the pilot and administer the last rites. He ate breakfast at 5 o'clock that afternoon and didn't get his clothes off for the next three days. Assigned to the 25th Infantry Division, he was the only Catholic chaplain who served the Schofield Barracks hospital.⁵⁰

Chaplain Alvin Katt at Wheeler field heard blasts on the flight line and saw P-40's melt like wax. Within moments men were dying, two of them members of his choir. He had a new cantonement type chapel, one of the first in the Pacific; a Japanese Zero strafed it with incendiary bullets, but miraculously it did not catch fire. Katt joined Finnegan and Chaplain Harry P. Richmond at the hospital, where they ministered to the injured and dying.

At Hickam Field, Chaplain Elmer Tiedt heard his four children rush in the back door and shout, "There are planes with red balls on the wings—all over the place—dropping bombs! Ships are burning in the harbor!" The senior chaplain's assistant was killed at the altar in the old wooden hangar used for a theater and chapel. Another assistant was killed while setting up a machine gun.

The base hospital was soon filled with casualties. None had dog tags, and the problem was how to offer prayer according to the individual's belief. Chaplains Sliney, Mullan, Patrick and Tiedt made every effort to serve each man according to his faith. Thrust suddenly into a combat ministry, Chaplain Tiedt had an extra burden to carry: in the confusion the Commanding General informed him that Mrs. Tiedt was dead, and offered to help with the children. Not until the next day did he learn that she was all right. Jorgensen wrote:

In those first troubled days the chaplains in Hawaii visited the sick and dying, set up a central clearing agency to check personnel records for bereaved women and children, set up a radiogram center to help men get in touch with anxious mothers, distributed cigarettes, candy, soap, razor blades, visited defense positions, and conducted burial services.⁵¹

Chaplain Harry P. Richmond, a Jewish Rabbi, remembered his feelings that day of infamy. He heard about the attack on the radio and

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rushed to the hospital where, “observing patients; some on stretchers on the floor, others on white sheets in beds, you knew that war, with all its unspeakable horror and terror was here . . . sooner than we dared to expect. . . . It was time for action, for ministrations, for help to those who were first in service and sacrifice for God and country.”⁵²

The War Time Chief

Jorgensen wrote that the religious program in the Army during this unprecedented period of challenge was headed by one of the most unusually qualified men ever to serve as a chaplain, William R. Arnold.⁵³ The historical record of his accomplishments demonstrated the accuracy of that evaluation.

Arnold was born 10 June 1881 in Wooster, Ohio,⁵⁴ and educated at St. Lawrence School, Muncie, Indiana, and St. Joseph’s College, Rensselaer, Indiana. His father was Swiss, and his mother Irish. He made the track, baseball, and football teams in school, and learned the trade of a tobacco stripper from his father, who was in the tobacco business. (As Chief he still proudly carried his union card.) He also worked as a water carrier for men toiling on the railroads, and later put in 12-hour days in the Muncie steel mills. His theological training was accomplished at St. Bernard’s Seminary, Rochester, New York. He was ordained a Catholic priest 13 June 1908. After ordination he returned to Indiana and fulfilled a secret longing by becoming a clown with the Hagenbeck-Wallace Circus during his summer vacation. He also beat the bass drum in the circus parades.

His entry into the service was not carefully planned, at least on his part. The Bishop summoned him to the office.

“How’d you like to be a soldier?” his Bishop asked.

“I don’t know,” Arnold replied.

“Well, you’d better find out,” said the Bishop. “I’ve been asked to recommend a chaplain and you’re it.”⁵⁵

He was commissioned a chaplain (first lieutenant) on 8 April 1913. His first assignment was to Fort Washington, Maryland, where he served until ordered to the Philippines in 1915. He then served at Fort Winfield Scott, California; Camp Taylor, Kentucky—where he was an instructor at the Chaplain School; Fort Hancock, New Jersey, from which he was sent as a student to the School at Fort Wayne, Michigan; Fort Leavenworth, where he became the Director of the Chaplain School. He served another tour in the Philippines, and returned in 1931 to Fort Bliss, Texas, where he was Division Chaplain, 1st Cavalry Division. In

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1937, he again became Director of the Chaplain School (which existed essentially in name only) at Fort Leavenworth; while there he was named Chief of Chaplains in that same year. He was the fifth Chief, the first Catholic Chief, and first to wear the stars of a Brigadier and then a Major General. He served eight years as Chief and presided over the largest number of chaplains ever to wear the Army uniform.⁵⁶

A biographer described him as big-framed, tough-muscled, graying-blond, with the mind of a practical fighting man and the heart of a Catholic priest. He spoke with vigor, certainty, and conviction. "We are at war with pagans, atheists, and Satan himself," he said. He reminded his chaplains that they were noncombatants, and should do nothing to jeopardize that standing; he also said, ". . . if there is need for him to defend his cause or himself in battle, let him take it as his duty. A dead chaplain is no good to his men."⁵⁷

With the personality of a leader, and the ability of an extremely competent administrator, he regularly wrote articles for church periodicals and secular magazines. On several occasions, in his unique position as the ranking pastor of the Army, he addressed the country on a nationwide radio hookup. He was fair-minded and far-seeing in his relations with the many denominations in the country. The Christian Science representative commended Arnold for his cooperation and flexibility in waiving requirements for a theological degree and public ministry so that their men could become chaplains. "It was pointed out by the Committee on Publication of the Mother Church that Christian Science has no seminary and no ordained ministers." (The Navy was inflexible on this point and only one Christian Scientist served as a chaplain in that arm during World War II.)⁵⁸ Bishop R. Bland Michell of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1941 quoted someone as saying, "If Chaplain Arnold had been in charge of things a few centuries ago there would have been no Reformation!" And the Southern Baptist magazine, *Commission*, said of him in November 1943, "No man could be fairer or more impartial in his dealing with men representing various religious bodies."⁵⁹

Chaplain Arnold was particularly skilled at speaking to parents in their concern for the spiritual welfare of sons and daughters in service. In the popular press and radio he assured them that Army chaplains would do the job entrusted to them. He was joined in a radio address by Army Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall, who said:

"Our corps of chaplains . . . is well organized and will be adequately equipped to provide religious services and training for all denomina-

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tions similar to those found in the average city parish. There should be no fear that any young man will suffer spiritual loss during the period of his military service, and on the contrary, we hope that the young soldier will return to his home with a keener understanding of the sacred ideals for which our churches stand.”⁶⁰

In 1940 the Secretary of War asked the Chief for a plan to meet the spiritual needs of the Army under the Selective Service Act. Arnold mentioned seven points that were to be of importance throughout the war: Procurement and Distribution of Chaplains; Training; Chapels; Cooperation with Church Groups; Publicity; Cooperation of Military Authorities.

He said procurement would be difficult but should be made on an equitable basis for the three major faith groups. He advised using a pool of chaplains to meet rapidly changing requirements. This was established in connection with the chaplain school. But the need was so critical the “pool” never got full enough to be of much value. Under training, he mentioned that a Plans and Training Division would be established in his office and that the Chaplain School would be reactivated for training new chaplains. He said cooperation with church groups was an important function of his office, not only in procurement of chaplains but in furthering the entire religious program of the Army. Publicity directed to the churches and the general public should promote understanding and cooperation.

In pre-war years Arnold protected the chaplaincy from the Army. Next, he had to protect it from the church. During his early years as Chief, Arnold insisted that the role of the chaplain was as clergyman. He emphasized the chaplain’s essential role as a man of God, and saw to it that their professional status was protected by regulation and strict accountability to those regulations through a report form that made it glaringly clear when a chaplain had been assigned additional duties by a recalcitrant commander. Early in the war Arnold insisted that the religious program in the Army should be under the direction of chaplains. Paul Moody, a reserve chaplain who had been appointed head of the General Commission on Chaplains, thought that he would be in charge of chaplain activities even as Bishop Brent, a civilian, had been in World War I. When this plan was brought to Arnold’s attention by General Marshall, the Chief of Chaplains said, “General, you have a chaplain organization.” That settled the issue.

In World War I prominent civilian ministers were sent overseas by civilian agencies, but at government expense, to conduct preaching mis-

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sions. Several prominent churchmen tried to effect this same program in World War II, but Arnold successfully resisted the attempt because it would have removed control of the religious program from the Army to an outside agency. The Chief's office approved those churchmen who did go.

Supervisory chaplains were appointed at theatre, army, corps, and division levels. They did not have command authority but supervised and coordinated chaplain activities, programs, services, coverage, supply, and assignments. Keeping the chaplaincy within the Army structure was one of the significant achievements in chaplain history.

Soon after he became Chief, the title of Monsignor was bestowed upon him by the Catholic Church. He was promoted to Brigadier General and finally to Major General.⁶¹ In April 1945 he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for service with great distinction in his 8 year tour as Chief; he was also designated Assistant Inspector General with duty relating to religious matters in the Army. His church then appointed him Military Delegate with the title of Bishop.⁶²

George F. Rixey was chosen by Arnold to be his Deputy Chief of Chaplains, and that position was advanced in grade to Brigadier General during the war. Rixey was a line officer in World War I, and then a chaplain. A Methodist with a wealth of experience, abundant energy and a keen mind, Rixey was an effective complement to Arnold. Arnold was succeeded in 1945 by Luther D. Miller, and Rixey by William D. Cleary.⁶³

The Chaplain School Reactivated

The Chaplain School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, graduated its last class in 1928. By 1940 "all that was left of the Chaplain's School . . . was the name, together with a fund of \$101.92, two hundred pounds of records, a library of fifteen books, and ten framed pictures of past classes."⁶⁴ In 1939 concern was expressed to train chaplains for a possibly imminent wartime ministry. On 11 December Major General H. J. Brees of Fort Sam Houston, Texas, who commanded the Eighth Corps Area, suggested in a letter to the Chief of Chaplains that new chaplains be given "a brief course of instruction upon entry into the service, which would tend to orient them and give them a more practical approach to their job when they join their station."⁶⁵ Correspondence on the subject was also exchanged with the Chief of the National Guard Bureau, the Secretary of War, and the Adjutant General. A plan was drawn up by Mr. Bruce Skaggs, Chief Clerk, Office of the Chief of Chaplains. Two

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days after Pearl Harbor the Chief requested the plan be put into operation.

Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana, was selected as the site. (Curiously the order read “Fort Benjamin Franklin.”)⁶⁶ Chaplain William D. Cleary of Fort Knox, Kentucky, the Armored Force Chaplain, was selected as the first commandant. Cleary was born in Tipperary, Ireland. He graduated from the Sorbonne in Paris, and the College des Irlandais, and was ordained to the priesthood of the Catholic Church at St. Sulpice, Paris, on 14 June 1908. He came to America and ministered as a curate in several parishes of the diocese of Brooklyn. In 1918 he volunteered as a chaplain, served in both the United States and with the AEF in Belgium and France and accompanied the Army of Occupation in Germany. Twenty years of service followed, including two tours of duty in the Philippine Islands.

On 12 January 1942 orders were issued to Chaplain Cleary and Chaplain Herman Riddle Page, who was selected to be Secretary of the School, to proceed to Fort Benjamin Harrison. Oscar W. Reynolds, Paul B. Rupp, Mylon D. Merchant, and Ralph C. Deibert were the chaplains assigned as instructors. On 2 February 1942 the school was activated. Seventy-five chaplains were in the first class. The sessions ran 28 days, with 200 hours of instruction in military organization, customs and courtesies, military law, graves registration, first aid, military administration, chaplain activities, and other subjects. (Complete schedule at Appendix D.) Outdoor periods included calisthenics, dismounted drill, gas mask drill, and outdoor map orientation. “Take cover!” became a familiar warning during hikes and meant that everyone “hit the dirt” as though in an actual air raid.⁶⁷

The school was officially designated the “Chaplain School” rather than the “Chaplain’s School” on 1 April 1942. Only four sessions were held in Indiana. Expanded mission requirements outgrew the facilities there, and several universities offered to house the school; Harvard’s offer was accepted. The school graduated its last class in Indiana on 10 August 1942 and began operation in Massachusetts 2 days later. The chaplains were housed in Perkins Hall. The Government paid the university about \$10.50 for each student who used the facilities. Being a part of historic Harvard University was itself a privilege. Each day the students passed the spot where, in an earlier day, the president of the college, a militia chaplain, led the troops in prayer on their way to fortify Bunker Hill. Drill was held on Soldiers’ Field, remembered in Lowell’s stirring “Commemoration Ode.” On their way to classes they passed along a

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street bearing the name of a distinguished chaplain of the Revolution, between buildings where Washington quartered his men and past the church in which he worshipped. Assemblies were held in the building dedicated to the memory of Harvard Civil War dead. Distinguished visitors to Harvard, while the School was there, included the Duke of Windsor, Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill, and military leaders of the United States and allied nations.

From 75 students per session to 450 required a large increase in faculty. Sixteen additional chaplain instructors were added to the school. Cleary remained Commandant for most of the war, and went on to become the second Deputy Chief of Chaplains. In the spring of 1942 Chaplain Page was elected to succeed his late father as Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Northern Michigan and left the Army. Temporary memberships were made available to faculty members of the Chaplain School in both the Faculty Club of Harvard University and the famed Hasty Pudding Club-Institute of 1770. The noted organist E. Power Biggs rendered a half hour organ recital each Sunday morning on the baroque organ at Germanic Museum. All in all, it was a cultural and social high water mark for the Chaplain School.

Unlike the Training School for Chaplains and approved Chaplain Candidates of the First World War, the weeding out of undesirable officers was not made a function of the World War II Chaplain School. In defining his policy in this regard the Chief declared: "The primary purpose of the Chaplain School is to train chaplains. Any undesirable officers attending . . . should be reported to the Chief of Chaplains with appropriate recommendation relative to their discharge."

Pathe News shot a film, "The Army Chaplain," at the school under the supervision of Chaplain Ralph C. Deibert. Sequences depicted the training of Army chaplains and used the class, faculty, and staff found there in December 1942. Rapid growth made for some initial awkwardness—six men were sometimes assigned to rooms meant to house two; incoming classes overlapped outgoing classes. By the summer of 1943 things were going smoothly and the length of the sessions was increased to five, then six weeks. Twenty-one sessions were held at Harvard. During 1944 the attendance decreased to less than 200. As military installations came to be less crowded, a decision was made to move the school to an Army post and stop paying rent to a civilian institution. In August 1944 the school was transferred to Fort Devens, Massachusetts, which made possible such realistic training as ship-to-shore landing and passage through an infiltration course. In July 1945 another move was made, this

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time to Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, where the Services of Supply were concentrating their schools. There the school remained for more than a year. Though each location had its advantages, summer heat in Georgia proved to be as real an impediment to training activities as the snow and frost of a Massachusetts winter.⁶⁸

During the first sessions of the school, chaplains were so urgently needed for duty with troops that men considered too old for such service were chosen as instructors. Only one chaplain on the first faculty was less than 56 years of age. Most of them were without combat experience since 1918, but some men from combat areas became instructors during the second year. An attempt was made to have a member of each large denomination represented on the faculty, and upon his transfer, a successor was chosen from the same denomination.

There were 8,302 chaplains enrolled in the 35 sessions of the school before the end of 1945 and 8,183 of them graduated. Of the 119 who did not complete the course, 55 were ordered away before the end of the first session. Some of the remaining 64 failed because of sickness or other emergency, but 50 were unsuccessful chiefly for academic reasons. A chaplain of the Free French and three from the Philippine Army took the course. In 1943 an advanced course was scheduled to train chaplains with experience for supervisory positions.⁶⁹ Chaplain Honeywell wrote:

“One of the most striking features of the wartime schools was the indiscriminate mingling of clergymen of many and diverse groups in preparation for common task of religious ministry. This can be appreciated only against the background of misunderstanding, distrust, and rivalry which has stimulated and perpetuated the divisions among religious groups. The close association of students living and working together brought a more adequate mutual understanding of beliefs and practices, of aims and motives. To some this better acquaintance was a revelation.”⁷⁰

How effective was the training? Hubert A. Allenby wrote: “My experiences at the Chaplain School have been a source of unfailing help Kindly say to all that we are by far better chaplains for their teaching in a month, than we could have been in years without their help.” Alpha H. Kenna said, “I profited greatly by the four weeks spent in the Chaplain School and I am grateful for having had the opportunity to attend. You who direct the school cannot know just how important your work really is. You would have to be in the field to observe the difference in the work of the man who has had no training at the Chaplain School and the work of that same man after he has completed the course.” Wright T. Moore

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said, "I hope you will not consider me presumptuous in stating an opinion. I believe that you have a very fine faculty, well selected and well trained for a most difficult task." Another, Edward J. Mattson, wrote: "They are men of excellent qualification. They are doing a fine job."⁷¹

Additional Training

Different combat arms have distinctive psychological problems which affect the chaplain's work. This was true especially of the Army Air Corps, where fighting conditions sometimes "tended toward recklessness or a degree of fatalism," according to Air Force historian Jorgensen. The Chaplain School allowed little time to cover such matters, so the Air Corps opened its own school at San Antonio, Texas, in June 1944; it gave two weeks of special training to chaplains who graduated from the Chaplain School and were selected for duty with air personnel. A parallel course was designed for enlisted men who were to serve as chaplains' assistants. Twenty-two sessions were held and 1,089 chaplains attended. Completion of the course was a prerequisite for assignment overseas. Twenty sessions of the enlisted course were held and all but 6 of the 945 students completed the course. Seventy-four were members of the Women's Army Corps.⁷² (Additional Air Corps developments affecting the chaplaincy are dealt with in the next chapter.)

From 1940 on there was a renewed interest in decentralized training. Chaplains near Boston met at Fort Banks every Tuesday morning for 10 weeks in the summer of 1942. One division provided two hours of instruction on Tuesdays and Thursdays for two months. Many of the schools on scattered installations used the Extension Course material after correspondence work was suspended early in 1942.

A school at Camp Blanding used imagination in its 1942 session. The school ended with an exercise in which all chaplains were provided maps and other equipment and required to coordinate their activities to actual troop movements and terrain. A salvage depot, collecting station, and provost marshal's post were established. Soldiers, tagged to indicate a variety of simulated wounds, were posted through a wide area, and the chaplains were required to find them and give proper treatment and disposition to all. This involved selecting a site and laying out a cemetery. Elements of play thrown in for good measure included evidence that some men were attempting to desert, and a gas alarm in the midst of operations. The final requirement was that chaplains submit burial reports and letters of condolence.⁷³

The Chaplain's Manual, first published in 1926, was reissued in 1937 and 1941 by the Chief of Chaplains Office. It was rewritten in 1944.

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Honeywell commented, “As the great majority both of chaplains and soldiers had been in the service too short a time for their civilian viewpoint to be radically changed, the manual was written by a Reserve chaplain with long experience in education in the belief that he would understand the mind of the citizen soldier.”⁷⁴

The Jumpers

The parachute padres of World War II were something of a “new breed” in the chaplaincy. The training they received in Jump School was physically punishing and exhausting. The fact that they were chaplains got them special treatment—in the wrong direction! Every sergeant who ever sat through a dull sermon felt called upon to even the score; while the hazing was good natured and well intentioned, the extra ache in the muscles was just as real as if the design were malevolent. Stories about training, running, being dragged by a chute, learning parachute landing falls, and pushups by the score, were revealed in several books and articles which remain entertaining and informative.⁷⁵

The story is told, perhaps apocryphal, that when Ike visited the paratroopers before their drop into Normandy, he asked a young soldier, “Do you like jumping out of airplanes?” “No sir.” came the instant response. “Then why do you do it?” Without hesitation the trooper replied, “Because I like being around people who like jumping out of airplanes.” Young, reckless volunteers needed chaplains too; the men with crosses on their helmets joined them.

Flying magazine credits Chaplain (CPT) Raymond S. Hall with being the first airborne chaplain. He took the regular five week training course, “and started the practice of having chaplains jump with their troops.”⁷⁶ Hall was a former rector of St. John’s Episcopal Church of Lowell, Massachusetts. In answer to a reporter’s “Why?” he replied, “It increases attendance at church, and the men can talk to me now.” There was a bond among those who wore wings. To really belong the chaplain had to jump.

“This is our chaplain” said a young paratrooper at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. The chaplain was Catholic, the parents of the soldier Methodist, and he himself was not affiliated with any church. But the chaplain was still his chaplain.

“... A chaplain, in the total institutional environment of the military, serves the entire military society rather than those of his own denomination alone. This is perhaps the most important difference between any

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institutional chaplaincy and the parochial ministry to a congregation of a particular denomination,” wrote Richard G. Hutcheson.⁷⁷

Donald R. Burgett, a young private, remembered his days at Benning on the drop zone. Having “successfully” completed his jump he was limping along toward the trucks when someone yelled, “Look out!” Almost overhead a man came hurling down with an unopened chute; it was pulled out of the pack tray, but remained closed. The jumper hit the ground a few yards away with a sound like a large mattress going floomp. Burgett went over to him and nearly fell over when the man opened his eyes and asked, “What happened?”

“Your chute didn’t open,” Burgett said.

“You’re kidding. Help me up, I’ve got to get going,” the man said.

“You’re not going anywhere,” a sergeant replied as a jeep pulled up, “except to a hospital.” The man protested that he had another jump that night. He tried to get up, but could only raise his head, then let it fall back. Then Burgett noticed crosses on his collar. “Who else but a chaplain could fall a thousand feet with an unopened chute and live? He had suffered a broken leg and internal injuries, but just how bad I never did find out.”⁷⁸

If one chaplain came down without a chute, another had a chute but didn’t come down. Alfred J. Guenette, formerly of the faculty of Assumption College, Worcester, Massachusetts, made a training jump with the Airborne Command at Camp Mackall, near Pinchurst, North Carolina; with a detail of troops, he attempted a jump from an aircraft over the Sandhills area. “His parachute pack caught on the door of the plane, and he was held fast about a foot and a half below the door.” The men inside the plane didn’t know about it, but other pilots saw him, radioed, and he was pulled inside; uninjured, he jumped again the next night.⁷⁹

The Army Builds Chapels

During the unprecedented mobilization for World War II the Army secured many things it had done without. Of the 160 posts that needed chapels only 17 had them prior to mobilization. In twenty-two years only \$969,542 was spent for chapels in the Regular Army. When church call sounded the men marched for services to theaters, mess halls, recreation buildings, tents, the parade ground or a clearing in the woods; in some cases they built chapels for themselves out of donated, salvaged, and scrounged materials.

President Roosevelt signed congressional bill HR-3617, Public 13, on 17 March 1941. It authorized construction of new chapels at a previ-

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ously undreamed of rate. The pen used was presented to the Chief of Chaplains. It was Arnold, George F. Rixey, John F. Monaham, and A.S. Goodyear who came up with a master plan to build 604 chapels at a cost of \$12,816,880 within six months.⁸⁰ (Built to be temporary and known as “cantonment” or “mobilization” regimental chapels, many are still in use and emotional attachment to them was deep and real. There are few chaplains who never used one of these buildings in their ministry to troops and dependents. One at Fort Benning, Georgia, was specifically designated of historical significance and to be preserved with Bi-centennial funds.⁸¹) At the time, the chapels gave a real shot in the arm to the chaplains, enabling them to have permanent places in which to develop a full religious program.

Simple dignity marked the outward appearance of the chapel; the construction was of clapboard on a wooden framework, set on a concrete foundation. Built with a slanting roof whose peak was 29 feet 6 inches high, the chapel was equipped with a steeple rising 23 feet above the roof. The building proper was 95 feet 7 inches long and 37 feet wide.

The interior was equally simple and attractive. The pews accommodated 300 downstairs and were built with slat backs and folding kneeling benches. The balcony, which seated an additional 57 worshippers or could be used for the choir, contained an electric organ.

The altar attracted the most attention. Designed to serve all faiths, it was movable and constructed to be adaptable to Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish services. Incorporated in the wall above it was an Ark to hold the Jewish Book of the Law. All of this was an innovation in Army chapels. The Quartermaster General, Edmund B. Gregory, said at the dedication of the first cantonment chapel: “There is nothing in construction that could stamp it as so distinctively American as this altar, because only in a free country could you find a church built to be used for worship by Catholic, Protestant and Jew alike.”⁸²

The first chapel in the building program was constructed at Arlington Cantonment, in a thinned-out apple orchard; it centered on and faced the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The initiatory Ceremony was held on 27 July 1941 and was attended by General Marshall, Chaplain Arnold, Major General Gregory, and other notables. The ceremony was broadcast over a nation-wide hookup by the Columbia Broadcasting Company. Wide publicity in the press followed. The question in the minds of many anxious mothers and fathers was: “What will the Army do to my son in terms of his faith?” The building of the chapels and publicity about them

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were intended to give a positive answer. Marshall said, "We are determined to have a clean army, morally and physically, and these chapels are a contribution to that end." Gregory said, "... no matter how well a man is fed and clothed or trained, he cannot be a real soldier unless he has within him a sincere belief in the way of living of the nation which he represents. Nothing will contribute more to that belief than the opportunity for every man to worship as he chooses."⁸³

To these chapels men could come for counseling, and at odd hours, for private devotions. Lonely soldiers sought permission to play the piano and organ, and spontaneous hymn singing helped many a young man through periods of loneliness and discouragement. These white wooden chapels so resembled the little country churches dotting the American scene that they were readily recognizable in a new environment. They drew men like a familiar magnet.

In addition to the cantonment or mobilization chapels, smaller posts and organizations got combined theaters, recreation buildings and chapels. They were designed for stations with from 300 to 1,000 troops. Another type which served as theater and chapel was designed for installations with 1,000 to 2,500 troops. (The cantonment was for regiments or units of 3,000.)

A simpler version, known as the theater-of-operations type, was built overseas. It measured 20 by 100 feet and was built at an average cost of \$7,000. By V-J Day there were 1,532 Army chapels in use in the United States. This number included 145 of the chapel-theater buildings and a number of permanent structures. There were 162 of the theater-of-operations chapels and 1,137 of the mobilization type located at 437 camps. The total cost of 1,299 buildings intended only for use as chapels was \$31,833,000.⁸⁴

These were the official government funded chapels. The unofficial chapels built by the men overseas were often triumphs of ingenuity and hard work. Pews were made from cocoanut plams cut into logs on the ground. Packing cases formed pulpits, mattress covers draped the altars, the roofs were often made of thatch, bamboo, corrugated tin, salvaged lumber, or the spreading arms of standing trees. Reportedly, the men showed greater interest in the chapels they helped*build. Altar appointments were made from shell casings, bomb fins, and other implements of war. Many a dedication service included the scripture: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks. . . ." (Isaiah 2:4.)

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Chaplains of World War II indicated that usually they had a chapel in the United States, but almost never once they were abroad. Kenneth W. Fristoe tells of building a thatched roof chapel in the jungles of New Guinea with the help of “Fuzzy Wuzzy” natives, and dedicating it on Mother’s Day with an attendance of over 400. Gerhard L. Belgium wrote of building a chapel in Recreation Park, Long Beach, California, “. . . in one day with Carpenter’s Union assistance.” Kenneth L. Ames wrote about “Arabs and jackasses strolling through morning worship” and Christmas eve communion services in a vault below an old castle in Italy. John R. Himies told of remembering “services in a barn in Holland with the altar on the back of a manure spreader. (It was clean.)” He also recalled going “from company to company, platoon to platoon in Bastogne, nailing a crucifix to a tree for church, hymnals and scripture in my big pockets, scarf on my neck, and having church for the Protestants while the Catholics kept watch. (The Protestants returned the favor for the Catholics.) One Sunday and Monday I had twenty-seven services.”⁸⁵ In Italy a chaplain used a stable. Other inspiring services were reported as held in wine cellars, an attic, a railroad station, a royal palace, a cave, and under the sky. Chaplains were often welcomed to churches in the countries where American troops found themselves. Examples are St. Paul’s of London and the Cathedral of Reykjavik. Chaplain James L. Blakeney, a nonconformist minister, broke a 900 year-old tradition when he preached Westminster Abbey on Thanksgiving Day 1942. He was assisted in the service by Furman E. Jordan and Maurice W. Reynolds.⁸⁶

Unusual worship sites were so numerous that they became the norm. In Miami Beach, Army Service schools were located in 275 hotels; a Sunday School was established in the gambling casino of the Cromwell Hotel; church services were held on the golf course, in theaters, and at Flamingo Park, with attendance from five to ten thousand at the Park.⁸⁷

Publicity of a sort was given to a “converted” chapel at Will Rogers Field, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Chaplain Elling E. Ramsey discovered that there was no chapel and no materials immediately available to build one. He got permission to use a discarded corn crib and an old chicken coop which were revamped by the men into a simple but serviceable chapel. Robert L. Ripley, of “Believe It or Not” fame, visited the field in 1943 and was so impressed with the job done that he featured it in a syndicated cartoon carried by newspapers all over the world.⁸⁸

Edward R. Fitzgerald built a chapel at Greenlawn Common, England, from the crates in which gliders were shipped. When asked what

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he would name it, he quipped, "St. Dismas. Everything in it has been stolen."⁸⁹

Howard Foran reported that his chapel was not a thing of outward beauty; nevertheless, he enjoyed good attendance. His colonel asked, "Chaplain, how do you get so many men at services?" The answer was, "My shoes wear out faster than my pants."⁹⁰ That conversation illustrated the prevailing view among chaplains and their congregations. Content was more important than form, basics did not depend on accoutrements. Worship existed where two or three gathered together. General Marshall was concerned that chaplains have the proper equipment to do their job but he also said, "A good chaplain does not require a church; a poor one will empty a cathedral."⁹¹ The annual reports of attendance figures from the Chief's office testified that there were indeed "good" chaplains on the job.

Wartime Ministry—Defensive Phase

What happened in the Army created the setting for the chaplains' ministry. After the period of rapid build up, the Pearl Harbor attack and early reversals in the Pacific, the Army was in a defensive posture before it could move to an offensive stance. It was a training Army, an enlarging and preparing Army before it could be a fighting Army. A brief look at the military situation helps focus the historical picture in which the ministry of chaplains was performed.

The Arcadia Conference in late December 1941 involved President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and their advisors. They faced a most disheartening global picture. In less than three weeks after Pearl Harbor the Japanese won Wake and Guam, Hong Kong was overwhelmed, and Malaya, Netherlands Indies, and the fortress of Singapore were threatened. On the western front there was fear that the Soviets would collapse within the year, and the British position in the Middle East was a question mark. In this difficult situation the allied leaders made a decision that shaped the future conduct of the war; the main effort was to be directed toward the defeat of Germany; Japan would come later. Operations in 1942 would be defensive and preparatory. Not until 1943 could the allies plan a return to the European continent; as it turned out, that plan was postponed.⁹²

Desperate efforts were made to bolster the defense of Hawaii, the Philippines, the Panama Canal, Alaska, and the U.S. west coast. However, the Philippines, Burma, Malaya, Thailand, French Indochina and the Malay Archipelago fell to Japanese forces by 6 May 1942.⁹³ Plans

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shifted to the defense of Australia in the Pacific. The Battle of Midway in June 1942 was one of the most decisive engagements of the war. Two months later American forces shifted from defense to offense by landing on Guadalcanal. Despite Arcadia's "Germany first" decision, 60 percent of the Army troops overseas were in the Pacific and the China-Burma-India theatre in July 1942.

On the other front, troops were deployed to Iceland and Ireland. Not until August was the U.S. Army Air Force in the British Isles strong enough to fly a single independent bombing mission over Northern France. Early plans for an invasion of Europe across the channel were shelved in order to give logistical aid to the British in Egypt; then the invasion of North Africa, which marked the end of the defensive phase in the European Theater, delayed the Normandy invasion for another year.⁹⁴ Training, preparation and limited deployment characterized the first year of the war for the Army. It was in this setting that chaplains ministered.

Some seminarians have been introduced to the concept of "occasional ministry," i.e., ministry determined by the occasion in which one finds oneself. From reports, diaries, questionnaires, and printed articles it was clear that the majority of chaplains in this period considered themselves primarily clergymen in uniform. They preached, baptized, prayed, observed the Lord's Supper, conducted weddings and funerals, made pastoral visits to the sick and the jailed, and counseled the troubled. These were their main duties. But the unusual "occasions" in which they found themselves shaped their ministeries in ways unknown to their civilian counterparts.

The absence of families as it affected religious education programs; the transience of military worshippers; daily close contact with troops in all their activities; the young age of some soldiers (Edward L. Elson claimed the first all-teenage division of draftees);⁹⁵ and the problems of older men uprooted from families and careers; the danger and loneliness of war; the reality that one cannot practice for emergencies, but must react without previous experience as a guide; all were factors that contributed to the concept of ministering to the occasion. Awareness of these factors led John R. Himes to say of his preaching in the Army, "Any sermon which does not make at attempt to speak to the congregation *where it is*, is either stupid or dishonest."⁹⁶ The mountain climber who responded that he climbed a mountain because it was there voiced the feelings of many a chaplain; they did what they did because they were there.

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After Pearl Harbor the chaplains in the Philippines were the first to face sustained combat with their men. On 8 December, 150 Japanese planes bombed Pampanga for two hours. While the airfield was bombed and strafed, Chaplain Joseph V. LaFleur went among the wounded and dying to offer prayer and help get them to the hospital. He stayed on Bataan with his men. With 750 other American prisoners, he was crowded into two holds of a Japanese ship. At sea the ship was hit by two torpedoes. The Japanese tried to kill the survivors. Lieutenant Joseph Coe reported that the last he saw of La Fleur, the chaplain was helping wounded men get out of the hold and on the deck. The Japanese shot at them and only two or three survived. La Fleur died as he lived, serving his men.⁹⁷

Chaplains Leslie Zimmerman, John F. Duffy, Matthew Zervas, John A. Wilson, Alfred C. Oliver, Ralph W. Brown, John K. Borneman and Robert P. Taylor were among those who distinguished themselves by heroism in the first days of the war.⁹⁸ Borneman went through dangerous lines to Manila at least twice before it fell to the enemy, in order to get messages from his men to their families. Brown, under fire, earned a Distinguished Service Cross for carrying the wounded from under the nose of the enemy. He said, "We made it to the hospital. I didn't think particularly about it until the thing was over. It was a job to be done." That note was sounded again and again by chaplains all over the world. *Time* magazine reported that Taylor "gave the most recent superb example of a chaplain's courage . . . in braving machine gun fire to rescue the wounded."⁹⁹ With the fall of Corregidor and Bataan, 21 chaplains became prisoners of the Japanese; within weeks, the total was 32.¹⁰⁰

The ministry among American prisoners of war in the Pacific was characterized by service under extremely difficult and cruel conditions.

Taylor was one of the chaplains on the infamous Bataan death march, from Bataan through the streets of Manila to a prison camp eight miles east of Cabanatuan. Taylor served as chaplain in the prison camp hospital where he ministered to more than ten thousand patients. In the summer of 1944 his compassion and self sacrifice led to the most gruelling and agonizing period of suffering and hardship in his life. He was caught smuggling food and medicine to the patients. "Carabao (water buffalo) caravans brought sacks of rice into the prison camp and that is how we smuggled in the goods," Taylor recalled. American prisoners of war who drove the carts established contact with the local Filipinos who loaded the rice sacks; the Filipinos hid medicine and foodstuffs, obtained from welfare workers in Manila, between the sacks. The drivers managed to slip the goods to Taylor. One day the guards caught them. As punishment

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Taylor was kept in torturous solitary confinement for fourteen weeks, in a cage so small he could neither stand up nor lie down. Later he was transferred to Japan by ship along with a number of other prisoners. American planes attacked them enroute; two ships sank and many POWs were killed. Miraculously Taylor survived the bombings, but was struck in the wrist and leg by flying fragments from bombs dropped by his own countrymen. "We finally got to Japan with about 450 of the 800 Americans we started with, and within a couple of months 250 of them died," Taylor remembered with sorrow. "By that time there were not many of us left."¹⁰¹

He continued to minister in the camp and conducted baptismal services for converts at night because the Japanese would not let them use water for this purpose. (Taylor became Chief of Air Force Chaplains in 1958.)

The Japanese attitude toward POW chaplains varied from place to place and changed for the better in time during the conduct of the war. At first the Japanese would permit no religious services, and viewed chaplains as propagandists; they required that sermons be submitted in advance for approval. James E. Davis was captured on Guam in December 1941, transferred to Zentsuji Prison Camp in Japan, and conducted services unhampered until the end of the war. Chaplain Alfred C. Oliver's experience was quite different. His neck was broken by a guard's rifle butt when he refused to tell how prisoners were obtaining help from friendly Filipinos. Of the 33 chaplains who at some time were in Prison Camp No. 1, Cabanatuan, 18 did not live to regain their freedom.¹⁰²

Chaplain Oliver, the senior chaplain, headed the chaplain organization and made religious assignments. A church was begun with a constitution and a declaration of faith. Members pledged themselves to the basic principles of Christian living, and to join a church in their home communities when they returned. A laymen's organization included ushers, deacons for serving communion, and visitors to assist in calling on the sick. The chaplains "grew" their chapels by planting papaya trees in one corner of the compound, with the permission of the camp commander; the trees grew quickly to a good height, and a thatch lean-to was erected over the altar. There were choirs, baptismal services, Bible studies; worship experiences included singing hymns copied on milk can wrappers. (The church kept records, which were buried to prevent destruction by the Japanese; after the liberation of the camp they were recovered and preserved among the archives of the Army.) A six-day chaplain conference was held, 6–11 September 1943 in which ways to increase usefulness

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were discussed, not only in the prisoner of war situation but in chaplain responsibilities to come, whether in war or peace. A number of proposals were considered and recommendations were made to the Chief of Chaplains as well as to leaders of various denominations concerning changes in administration and other matters which would improve the effectiveness of chaplain work. Several of those proposals were later adopted by the Army. On the Sunday nearest the Fourth of July one congregation sang "God Bless America"; it was warned that a repetition would be severely punished.¹⁰³

John Anthony Wilson, a Catholic priest from Celina, Ohio told of being put on a Japanese coal freighter with a Protestant chaplain Leslie Zimmerman and 1,200 American POWs. They sailed from Manila Bay to Maji, Japan, via Hong Kong, and were taken off the ship in Formosa where they spent two and one-half months. This 600 mile trip took 40 days. Finally they took another ship for 21 days before arriving in Japan. "It is hard to conceive human beings being treated so heartlessly by other human beings We were all more dead than alive upon arriving in Japan."¹⁰⁴

Wilson also told of another, larger ship with 1,800 Americans and two Catholic chaplains that left Manila; after 10 days at sea, it was torpedoed by an American submarine. It stayed afloat about three hours. Approximately half of the American POWs jumped overboard expecting to be picked up by Japanese destroyers. The Japanese took all the lifeboats and life preservers, ". . . our boys had precious few." The Japanese picked up their own survivors and left the Americans to their fate. Among the men sticking with the ship were the two priests, Thomas Scicina of Indianapolis and Walter O'Brien of San Francisco.

These two chaplains took up places, one fore and ther other aft, and heard confessions of all the Catholic men who came, then they ministered as best they could to the rest on board, praying and doing what they could to prepare the men for death which was inevitable. The ship broke up in about 3 hours and sank with all hands lost, including the 2 priests. As far as I know only about 12 men escaped death out of the 1,800. Some made it back to the US via China and Russia, they were picked up by a passing Japanese ship (not of the convoy) and placed aboard the ship I was on. I got the tragic details from 2 of these American POWs.¹⁰⁵

Specialized Ministry

In the early phase of World War II, a relatively small number of Army chaplains faced combat with their men, or continued in a pastoral relationship as detained persons serving American and Allied prisoners of

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war. For the great majority the setting of their ministry was determined by the key word: training. Chaplains were either in training themselves, at the Chaplain School, or with units in advanced training and on maneuvers; or they ministered to men who were in training, at basic advanced, service school, or line units. Still others were in specialized ministries to stockades, hospitals, troop ships, or at ports of embarkation. A "Chaplain Pool" was maintained for a time in connection with the Chaplain School. The rapid expansion of units made orderly assignment a difficult task and the "pool" was one way of having a supply of chaplains somewhere to draw upon. 100 were authorized, without consideration of grade.¹⁰⁶

One chaplain wrote that he still felt green in a red, white, and blue Army.¹⁰⁷ This characterized the feelings of many men as they went through that difficult adjustment process from civilian to soldier known as basic training. Chapel attendance in basic was often mandatory in practice, if not by regulation, unless chaplains who resented a "captive" audience worked out some other arrangement with the commander. Character Guidance lectures were mandatory training rather than worship services, and it was in this connection that a popular impression was given many churchmen that "all the chaplains do in the Army is give VD talks." The commander often considered the subject a responsibility shared by chaplains and surgeons. Percy Hickcox said, "It is the province of the chaplain to approach the subject from a moral and religious viewpoint. During training days all troops are addressed in sessions presided over by three officers—one of the line, the unit surgeon and the chaplain."¹⁰⁸ Some chaplains felt real qualms about telling men to remain chaste just before a medical officer gave instructions on how to protect one's self against venereal disease. The training day was long and hard, the approach deadly serious, even grim. A popular sign read: "The more we sweat in training the less we bleed in combat." Chaplains reported that their most time-consuming task came at the end of the training day, when GIs lined up for counseling until late at night. Correspondence with mothers, fathers, wives and girl friends was a significant aspect of their ministry; public relations became a concern of the Chief, and a daily routine for the chaplains of basic training units. The press clamored for stories and photographs of how the spiritual needs of soldiers were met in the daily activities of chaplains. The young soldiers, from diverse backgrounds, unaccompanied by dependents who trained at a given station only a few weeks, and faced an uncertain future, were of special concern to the public who referred to them as "our boys." The adjustments

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of older men were as difficult, but not as sympathetically perceived. These factors affected the kind of ministry chaplains performed. Steve P. Gaskins, Jr., said his sermons differed from those he had preached as a civilian pastor.

Because I was in a different situation I tried to direct my sermons to the point of need of men who were preparing to face death, who were moving on to face crucial situations at rather young and tender ages. It would have been criminal to preach sermons I had preached to wheat farmers out in Western Oklahoma who had seldom faced a crisis bigger than the success or failure of their annual wheat crop.¹⁰⁹

Other chaplains commented on relevance and brevity as characteristic of their preaching and counseling. The Army tended to discourage marriages in this period; earlier regulations forbade marriage for enlisted men in the first three grades and considered it a bar to reenlistment. During the war the soldier needed his commander's permission to marry; the uncertainty of the couple's future, confronted by a probable long separation, plus immaturity, hasty courtships, differences in religious background, lack of parental consent (and sometimes knowledge), made the paper work drag along, unless pregnancy was involved. One chaplain handled the situation with humor by posting the photograph of a beautiful movie star on the bulletin board with the caption "Unless the girl you want to marry is as good looking as this, don't see me."¹¹⁰

Chaplains in reception centers and basic training outfits were important in that they created first impressions of the chaplaincy for millions of service men and women. "Tell it to the chaplain" became a familiar phrase, and while said in jest, it reflected the accessibility of the clergy in khaki. Chaplains went through infiltration courses, gas mask drills, road marches; they frequented mess halls and made themselves visible at training sites, rifle ranges, and bivouac areas. Chaplain Calvert L. Kelly had a morale-boosting stunt he used regularly on long road marches. After nineteen miles of marching with full equipment, while everyone was exhausted and taking a break, Kelly got up, danced a jig, and asked if anyone was tired.¹¹¹

Robert A. Martin, a Southern Presbyterian, reported a specialized ministry at a "Work or Fight Camp" at Camp Ellis, Illinois. There were approximately fifteen thousand men in the camp, with only three chaplains. Ninety-five percent of the men were below the medical qualifications for entrance into the Army. "There were men with every physical defect possible for man: . . . nearly blind, entirely deaf; men with withered limbs, broken backs, . . . and psychos by the hundreds." Martin

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ministered to about five thousand men with less than a fourth grade education. "This camp was a stain upon the United States Government which allowed local draft boards to enlist men of such low physical condition." It remained open for only about six months, when pressure from the camp and the families of the men finally forced local boards to be more careful in their selections.¹¹²

Demonstrations of religious tolerance were seen as men of diverse backgrounds entered the service in large numbers. At Camp Robinson, Little Rock, Arkansas, a group of Jewish soldiers presented an unusual petition to the commanding officer; they requested duty during the Christmas holidays (1941) to permit more Catholic and Protestant soldiers to spend time with their families. Their example spread to other posts. At Fort Dix, New Jersey, Chaplain William T. Brundick said to Jewish soldiers:

Protestant and Catholic soldiers at Fort Dix are touched by the news that hundreds of Jewish soldiers here have voluntarily decided not to ask for Christmas furloughs in order to make it possible for a maximum number of Protestants and Catholics to be with their families on Christmas. Our sincere thanks to you.¹¹³

Thomas E. Foster, a Catholic chaplain at Amarillo Army Air Field, was to take twenty of his men to the Cathedral at Amarillo to receive confirmation. "Unfortunately at the last minute, I could not go, so two Protestant chaplains took the boys in to the cathedral, stayed for the entire ceremony, and brought them back in time for the next military formation."¹¹⁴ The Chief said, "This war is a different war." The aim of the enemy "is not the mere capture of land or material possessions, but the utter destruction of that spiritual wealth upon which the nations of democracy are founded."¹¹⁵ Chaplains and their congregations responded with an outpouring of ecumenism and tolerance that strengthened the spiritual wealth of America. Similar stories of interfaith cooperation occurred throughout the war.

Robert B. Chapman commented on the variety of tasks that come to chaplains in their extended ministry. "But anyone (and there are a lot of officers in the Army who fall into this class) who doesn't understand the chaplain's job will probably come to the conclusion that the chaplain is just an old busybody who is trying to make life as miserable and unhappy as possible for all those who have authority."¹¹⁶ But, leaves, furloughs, allotments, promotions; clashes with the top kick, KP duty, special details, supposed abuses by the commanding officer, or the medical department; failure to get a PX ration card, loans, Red Cross assistance—all such

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problems, along with almost anything else one could think of that would disturb a soldier's peace of mind and his ability to concentrate and train, found their way into the chaplain's office. And in the soldier's mind it was the chaplain who would hear his gripes and troubles and try to do something to help both the abused and the abuser.

The chaplains often "filled in" where entertainment, recreation, and sports facilities and personnel were lacking. They showed movies; made recreation facilities available; set up rooms with writing tables and stationery, games, ping pong tables; in some cases they worked with local churches, Red Cross, YMCA, Special Services, USO, and other civilian patriotic, civic, and religious organizations to put on clean camp shows and chaperoned dances. Sometimes chaplains were asked to do these things but often they voluntarily took on such responsibilities as an additional way of meeting and serving the personnel of the command.¹¹⁷ The style of ministry depended on the individual and his view of himself, his role in the military, and the situation in which he found himself.

One chaplain wrote in his monthly report, "On maneuvers I have used every opportunity available for getting acquainted with men and making myself useful as occasion offered, cashing checks, securing money orders, sending mail, procuring candy and cigarettes for men etc." And in another report he wrote, "I make myself available for errands."¹¹⁸

Gaskins wrote, "As long as members of my command were aware of the seriousness with which I took my ministerial station and as long as I evidenced personal integrity they wanted me to be the best minister possible."¹¹⁹

Chief of Chaplains William R. Arnold wrote:

If I were writing letters to the families back home, the one thing I would like to tell them is this—as far as religion goes—a boy is just as safe in the Army as at home. You know they say the devil finds things for idle hands to do. Well, the devil is out of luck in an Army camp. Hands, feet and head are pretty busy from reveille to taps.¹²⁰

What was true for the soldier was true for the chaplain. Most were so busy as clergymen that other duties were not required of them. Chaplain Arnold was so concerned about protecting his chaplains from secular duties that the monthly report form was changed to specifically address additional duties that were performed. As these reports traveled up the chain of command to higher headquarters, commanders got the message; and chaplains were encouraged to be clergymen in uniform with pastoral responsibilities as their duty.¹²¹

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One of the most unusual specialized ministries was assignment to a troop transport. In the period of the twenties and thirties chaplains often rode transports to the Philippines on a hit-or-miss basis as overseas replacements. On 30 July 1929 two chaplains were assigned to permanent duty riding transports. (Since there were five transports and only two chaplains, as the Chief's annual report said, "the system is not perfect."¹²² For the duration of World War II many chaplains found themselves permanently assigned to transports.

Emmet G. Jones must have felt more like a Navy man than an Army chaplain. He was on one of the last ships out of the Philippines in 1942 and spent the entire war on Army transports; he made 110 ocean crossings, including the invasion of North Africa. (He qualified as a gliderman in 1947, perhaps to gain wider experience in modes of travel.) His service may have set a record.¹²³ One chaplain was proud of his accomplishment on a single crossing. John O. Fisher, a Unitarian, reported:

"In convoy to England in 1944, with six other chaplains aboard (all Protestant) I held 15 Catholic services and 3 Jewish services by myself, while assisting at two of the three Protestant services held. For two days I was the only chaplain to report for duty. All others, including the transport chaplain, were seasick."¹²⁴

Interfaith cooperation on transports was the rule rather than the exception. Vernon P. Jaeger found himself the only chaplain on his transport and served all personnel. He wrote that "An insufficient number of Jewish men aboard to form a minyan developed an agreement that some Roman Catholic fellows offered to be a part of the service, providing the Jewish men would join them for the Rosary Benediction."¹²⁵

Chaplain Howard Benninghoff, a Christian Scientist, rode the *S.S. Marine Tiger* and commented on what it was like to live with 2,500 men aboard a ship four hundred and seventy feet long, fifty feet wide, and three decks deep for three to eight weeks at a time, with the temperature holding around ninety-five degrees Fahrenheit when in the South Pacific. All manner of problems developed—everything from requests for a certain record over the public address system to complaints about the food; from worries concerning loved ones at home to fears about forthcoming combat experiences—and were brought to the chaplain's office. Benninghoff reported that some days as many as three hundred men dropped by his office. "There was little time to talk religion as such, but living it in thought and deed as you answered the hundreds

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of requests gave more spiritual conviction than hours of theological argument could have afforded.”¹²⁶

A chaplain on one transport had the Chaplain's Flag hoisted during the service and used the loudspeaker of the ship. A destroyer drew alongside and held that position, with the men on both vessels listening to the service.¹²⁷

Special Service officers were assigned to transports late in the war; until then, the ships were one place where Army chaplains were not excluded from secular duties. Army Regulations 30-1155 and 55-355 specifically assigned them duties in the area of recreation and entertainment. One chaplain arranged microphones so men could participate in an amateur show without being at its location aboard ship; orchestras and athletic events—especially boxing matches—were organized; moving pictures, shipboard newspapers, and food treats were popular diversions. Lectures on the country to which the troops were going produced interested audiences. Former teachers were pressed into service to teach foreign language classes, history, geography, and remedial classes in English and mathematics. In nearly all of their efforts chaplains reported good command support. One officer said to his chaplain: “I am your commanding officer; you are the chaplain of this ship. Whatever you do, though it be right or wrong, I will back you up 100 percent; and if you are wrong, I will deal with you individually later.”¹²⁸

The Four Chaplains

The most famous World War II event in the history of the Army chaplaincy occurred aboard a troop transport, the SS *Dorchester*. One tribute said:

Thousands of uncounted deeds of devotion and gallantry by chaplains are recorded only in the annals of eternity. But others, like the self-sacrifice of four Army Chaplains on the sinking transport *Dorchester*, have become classics in the folklore of America. Clark Poling, one of the four, had written a letter to his father long before the *Dorchester* went down. In the letter he made the request: “I know I shall have your prayers, but please don't pray simply that God will keep me safe. War is dangerous business. Pray that God will make me adequate!”¹²⁹ He and the other chaplains involved were, indeed, adequate.

A memorandum from the Chief of Naval Operations stated: “The ship *Dorchester* was an Army transport of 5,252 tons with 751 Army passengers and 1,000 tons of cargo embarked. She was manned by a merchant marine crew of 130 men, although there was on board a Navy

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Armed Guard of 23 men. Dorchester in Company of two merchant ships, Biscaya and Lutz, under the escort of USCG cutters Tampa, Esconaba, and Comanche, was enroute from St. John's Newfoundland to Greenland. She was hit by one torpedo from U-456 at 0358, February 3, 1943, and sank rapidly by the bow."¹³⁰

The ship sank in twenty minutes, in the dark, in near freezing air and water temperatures. Of the 904 men on board, 678 were finally reported "lost in action." Among them were four Army chaplains, all First Lieutenants: Clark V. Poling and George Fox, Protestants; John P. Washington, Catholic; and Alexander D. Goode, a Jew.¹³¹

Clark Poling's father, Dr. Daniel Poling, a prominent churchman and editor of *The Christian Herald*, told of being "... in a hotel just off Grosvenor Square in London when the nine o'clock BBC newscast blared the story of a transport torpedoed and a few survivors picked up ... but briefly the announcer told of four chaplains of three faiths who heroically did their duty, gave their own lifebelts to enlisted men, and then praying together went down with the ship."¹³²

Within days the story began to emerge. Chaplains Edward J. Saunders and William S. Bowdern interviewed the helmsman of the Dorchester in St. John's Newfoundland and forwarded their report to the Chief of Chaplains.¹³³

Chaplain Herman H. Heuer, who worked in the Office of the Chief of Chaplains, stated that the message landed on his desk "and I was instructed to 'make a big thing of it.'"¹³⁴ But the American public made a big thing of it, for the story of the immortal four captured the imagination of the nation and became the most famous and commemorated incident involving chaplains in all of World War II.

There was some delay in the release of facts due to bureaucratic thoroughness and a reluctance to change the status of those "missing in action and presumed dead," to "lost in action." A form letter requesting clarification and enlightenment surrounding the deaths of the chaplains was sent to the 226 survivors. Their responses are in the National Archives in Washington, D.C.¹³⁵

Forty persons, under oath, revealed facts greater than the legend; they told of the round-the-clock ministry of faithful shepherds who visited the sick, led worship, and sang with the men aboard ship in informal gatherings before the fateful night.

They also told how "with utter disregard of self, having given away their life jackets to four men without them, the chaplains stood hand in hand, praying to the God they served for the safety of those men who were

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leaving the stricken ship on all sides of them. This is the picture engraved in our minds and hearts as the SS *Dorchester* disappeared beneath the waves.”¹³⁶

Many survivors told of how the chaplains quieted the panic of men frozen by fear at the ship's rail, whom the chaplains forced into boats and life jackets. They told of how they prayed with the men and spoke words of encouragement. Several saw them hand out life belts from a box; when those were exhausted, they took off their own and put them on enlisted men. They helped rig rafts out of timbers, cork, and other materials at hand. They were credited with saving many lives. One survivor, Richard McHale, said, “The sound of men in panic is worse than any woman's screams . . . hearing some calling for their mothers . . . it was awful.”¹³⁷ The chaplains convinced many to at least leave the ship, that there was a chance for rescue over the side.

Exposure to the cold killed many, and those lightly clad suffered most. One witness saw Chaplain Goode give his gloves to another man. After spending eight hours awash in a crowded lifeboat he was rescued. “Without the chaplain's gloves,” he said, “my fingers would have frozen stiff. I would never have made it. As it was, only two of us survived of the 40 who were on the boat. I owed my life to the chaplain who gave me those gloves.”¹³⁸

Those acts of heroism caught the imagination of Americans. The interfaith cooperation of the chaplains set an example for people pulling together for the defeat of common enemy. On 19 December 1944 the Distinguished Service Cross and Purple Heart were awarded posthumously to the next of kin by Lt. Gen. Brehon B. Somervell, Commanding General of the Army Service Forces, in a ceremony at the post chapel at Fort Myer, Virginia. Many honors followed; they included a commemorative stamp by the U.S. Post Office; an interfaith chapel at the Baptist Temple in Philadelphia; a painting by Dudley Summers, owned and displayed by the New York City Headquarters of the National Conference on Christians and Jews; a therapeutic pool for disabled veterans at the Bronx Veterans Hospital, New York City; “a Living Memorial of Good Books” at the York County, Pennsylvania, Library; an annual award by B'nai Brith in the four chaplains' memory; a memorial pool in one cemetery, and a 12 foot high statue of the Four Chaplains in another. Many books have told the story in detail.¹³⁹

On 18 January 1961 a posthumous Special Medal for Heroism never before given and never to be given again, was authorized by Congress and awarded by the President. Congress wished to confer The Medal of Honor

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upon the four, but was blocked by the stringent requirements for that award which included heroism performed under fire. The special medal was intended to have the same weight and importance as its more famous counterpart, the Medal of Honor.¹⁴⁰

A further footnote to history was supplied by Rabbi David Max Eichhorn, who was with Chaplain Goode and Chaplain James M. Liston, a Catholic, at Camp Miles Standish in Massachusetts. "I shared a chapel at Camp Croft, Spartanburg, South Carolina, with Father James M. Liston and we became very good friends. Like Alex Goode and myself, Jimmy Liston loved to play pinochle."

I was at the Army Chaplain School, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in December 1942. One evening during that month, Alex and Jimmy came in to Cambridge from the Boston POE to visit me. We had dinner together and then spent several hours playing our favorite card game. Both Alex and Jimmy had a premonition that the ships carrying them to their respective overseas destinations were not going to make it. Jimmy told me that he had contributed \$50 to a Boston church for masses to be said for the repose of his soul if he should be lost at sea.

On the February night that the *Dorchester*, bound for Greenland, went down with its four chaplains, another ship bound for Iceland and with the same convoy was torpedoed and sank. Chaplain James M. Liston was on that other ship and went down with it.

I am very glad to have this opportunity to let it be known that not four but five heroic chaplains died for God and country in the cold waters of the North Atlantic on the night that the *Dorchester* went down.¹⁴¹

The Growing Clarity of Role and Status

One of the greatest contributions to the status of the chaplain was the attitude of his commanding officer. An equally important factor was the chaplain's own perception of his role in the military. "Never before had such an appreciation of the chaplain's mission developed as in World War II," wrote Chaplain Daniel B. Jorgensen.¹⁴² Partly this appreciation was due to the excellent work done by chaplains between the wars, partly to regulations and directives, and partly to the spirit of leaders like Marshall, Eisenhower, MacArthur, Spaatz and Arnold. The top brass spoke of the war in spiritual terms, as a conflict of the forces of good and evil, light and darkness. Eisenhower said:

The Allied soldier sees himself as a defender of those great precepts of humanitarianism preached by Christ and exemplified in the way of life for which all true democracies stand. He sees this conflict as a war

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between greed and selfishness and love of power today typified in Nazism, Fascism and Shintoism.¹⁴³

General Marshall expressed his concern for the work of the chaplain when he said:

The same care has been displayed in the selection of chaplains that we exercise in the selection of troop leaders, and what is equally important, we are directing the same energetic supervision to the coordination and direction of the work of these chaplains as we give to the direction of the work of our tactical commanders. . . .¹⁴⁴

A letter to the Commanding Generals of all Air Forces in 1942 stated: "The Commanding General, Army Air Forces, is most anxious that all commanders recognize, accept and discharge completely their responsibilities for the moral and spiritual welfare of their officers and men."¹⁴⁵ It was said that those things get done that the boss checked on, and was interested in. After an inspection tour Major General E. S. Adams wrote: "All commanding officers I interviewed spoke highly of their chaplains and all chaplains were most enthusiastic in their praise for the fine spirit and cooperation they were receiving from those in authority." Chaplain Gynter Storaasli wrote in July 1941:

It's a tough blow to us old timers to have to sit at desks in these days and note, not without a tinge of envy, the marvelous response the younger chaplains in the field are receiving from everyone in and out of service. . . . It thrills even this old heart of mine to read the letters from chaplains . . . with nary a word of complaint about lack of cooperation.¹⁴⁶

In those instances where chaplains failed to receive cooperation it seemed that the problem was caused by commanders who believed in a get tough, no coddling, policy which emphasized the mission of combat arms to the exclusion of all other considerations. Some West Point graduates who had suffered through four years of compulsory chapel made it clear by their conspicuous lack of participation in worship that they "had enough." Sometimes the commander's faith was different from his chaplain's and caused friction. On the other hand, chaplains who failed to serve adequately either because of their immaturity, narrow sectarianism, or moral instability could and did prejudice any commander under whom they served.

One of the commonly expressed fears of clergymen was that chaplains would be told what to preach; that the traditional freedom of the pulpit would be compromised in the military service. Chaplain Aryeh Lev,

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in a booklet *What Chaplains Preach* presented a collection of sermon ideas from many chaplains, and commented:

What should the chaplain preach? He should preach religion! The chaplain is his own judge as to what that is and how it should be preached. No one can tell him what to say and what not to say. . . . Every chaplain takes an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States when he receives his commission and as long as he fulfills that pledge he is at perfect liberty to preach that which his religious training has taught him to say.¹⁴⁷

The chaplain had a non-combatant status. This created some problems and raised certain questions. Should a chaplain take part in training exercises such as small-arms firing or go on combat flying missions? In both cases the answer from the Chief's office was "no." The Judge Advocate General said:

If a member of the medical department or a chaplain should . . . use against the enemy arms . . . he would not only forfeit the protection to which he is normally entitled, but would commit a war crime for which he might lawfully be tried by the enemy and upon conviction be punished, even with death.¹⁴⁸

There is no record that the noncombatant status of the chaplain was seriously compromised during the war. (Toward the end of the war many chaplains "took prisoners" but as the record was examined these were flukes, and the chaplains were armed only with fountain pens, and were often more frightened than their prisoners.)

In the commander's view of the chaplain no role was more important than that of counselor. Whether conducted in an informal setting as the chaplain visited about the post, in the more formalized setting of an office, or in the hospital or stockade, the chaplain was sought for counsel by enlisted men and officers for a great variety of problems. The Chief of Chaplains repeatedly emphasized the responsibilities of chaplains in protecting the sacred relationship of the confession or the privileged communication made to a chaplain in counseling. He could not be called as a witness in a court-martial to divulge what he learned through counseling except with permission of the person involved. This confidential relationship encouraged men to bring "military problems" to the chaplain because they knew they would not be punished or disciplined. It encouraged them to bring their intimate personal problems because they could be assured of privacy. In some respects a chaplain served as an arbitrator between officer and enlisted men.

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Jorgensen pointed out that the counseling situation was one place where attention was paid to the individual. Because of the size of the Army, the tremendous organization of manpower and programs necessary to the prosecution of the war, the channels of communication, the demands of time, and the impersonality with which men may be ordered to their deaths, the individual was often lost in the machinery. In the chaplain he could find a confidant no matter what his rank, organization or problem.

The counseling load was very heavy. Chaplain William J. Clasby at Santa Ana Army Air Base reported that chaplains there conducted 1,500 to 2,000 interviews and conferences each month, and he personally had interviewed some 8,000 persons from March to December 1942. A study made in 1943 by the Army Special Services Division revealed that next to the commanding officer a far greater proportion of men went to see the chaplain than any other officer. In 1942 there was an average of 53 personal conferences a day for each chaplain in the Army. Another survey revealed that in the United States, 12 percent of all Army personnel consulted a chaplain in the course of a one-year period, and overseas 25 percent of the men had been counseled each year.¹⁴⁹

Personal and family problems accounted for the largest number of consultations. Homesickness, suicidal feeling, marriage, alcohol, sickness at home—the whole range of human experience came before the chaplain—but none were more distressing than those over which the serviceman felt he had no control. Particularly difficult were the “Dear John” letters, in which a wife or fiancée would announce, that she had fallen in love with someone else. Chaplain Gilbert Johnstone in New Guinea wrote a letter to the editor of the *Chicago Daily News* which appeared on page one under the title, “Cheating War Wives.” The scorching letter touched off a flurry of pro and con arguments by judges, social workers, clergymen, and service wives across the nation. On the other hand chaplains received thousands of letters from anxious families distressed about problems concerning their husbands, brothers, sisters, daughters and sons. Very often when the soldier failed to write home, the chaplain got a letter asking him to look in on “Johnny,” and this visit usually produced correspondence headed home.

Military problems, those concerned with adjustment to the military situation itself, was the second largest group. Chaplain Graeser wrote from Scott Field, words that could have come from any Chaplain anywhere:

Many of the men coming to this Post had been promised by the recruiting officer . . . that they would get to be fliers within six weeks or two months. . . . However when they get here, and find that they

See footnotes at end of chapter.

don't get within gunshot of a plane . . . but instead mow lawns, police up about the garrison . . . they feel they have been imposed upon. . . .¹⁵⁰

Chaplains often used some unusual counseling techniques not found in books. In one case Chaplain Joseph D. Andrew discovered that an unhappy private was failing in his ambition to become a military policeman because he couldn't ride a motorcycle. The chaplain a motorcyclist himself, went with him to a quiet road for a ride, diagnosed the difficulty, and helped him qualify.

The third largest number of interviews concerned religious problems. Chaplain James L. Blakeney told of one pilot in a tough spot who suddenly realized he didn't know how to pray. So, he simply kept repeating, "God help me; God help me; God help me . . ." until he fought his way out of enemy territory. When he reached home base he immediately sought the chaplain and said, "Look, Padre, I haven't much time, but can't you give me some quick pointers on praying? Boy, do I need it up there." Not all requests for religious guidance were as dramatic as this, but many a man facing the tensions and grim realities of total war found his own resources inadequate and turned to God for strength.

Another type of problem which caused some concern, and involved chaplains in unusual ways, had to do with problems of a moral nature. One chaplain found a package at his door containing \$1,555. On it was a note which said, "This money belongs to the party living at----- Street, Tampa, Fla. I have faith in the chaplain enough to know that it will be returned to the proper owner. Sorry the whole incident happened." The anonymous soldier had stolen the money, but he trusted the chaplain to return it.¹⁵¹ Stolen government property, and private property often found its way to the chaplain's office, on a "no questions asked" basis. At times a chaplain was not a passive receiver, but took the direct approach in reprimanding a soldier who had done the wrong thing. One private, after an interview with Chaplain Martin W. Baumgartner, remarked, "I would rather be busted to 21 dollars a month than have that chaplain give me another going over." However, he became a good friend of the chaplain and a regular chapel attendant.¹⁵²

Perhaps because the volume of counseling was so heavy there grew up a real concern to raise the standards of the counseling men received. Giving advice was rooted in antiquity, but counseling on a professional level was a more recent development for clergy, and the skill level varied tremendously among chaplains. The Air Chaplain in September 1943, said:

See footnotes at end of chapter.

One of the weaknesses of chaplains in the Air Forces is the fact that their personal interviews with the troops have not been as successful as . . . desired. For that reason a program for training of chaplains in counseling is considered advisable.

A conference was held between the Chief of Chaplains and Dr. Otis Rice of the Federal Council of Churches to set up a test counseling seminar at Drew Field, Florida. The seminar proved to be a success. Chaplain Theodore T. Leen gave a series of lectures on counseling and led discussions in which chaplains were urged to share their experiences without revealing confidential information.

A series of one day counseling seminars was sponsored by the YMCA-USO for chaplains, civilian clergymen near military installations, and USO officials. Names that would later become household words among pastoral counselors provided leadership in 80 to 100 seminars throughout the United States. Dr. Russel Dicks of Dallas, Texas, Dr. David Eitzen of the University of Southern California, Dr. Charles T. Holman of the University of Chicago, Dr. Carroll Weise, and Dr. Otis Rice provided leadership under the direction of Dr. Marion T. Creeger, and Dr. Seward Hiltner. The importance of counseling was also reflected in expanded instruction at the Chaplain School, and many chaplains did graduate work in this field after the war. Chaplain Joseph L. Shuler said:

The chaplain is the doctor of soul sickness just as the physicians and surgeons are doctors of the wounds of battle and disease. To the chaplain men go freely with the most intimate problems of their lives. The chaplain is their friend, their counselor and their companion—ready to listen to their troubles and to help them solve them.¹⁵³

In a speech to officers, General A. R. Bolling Jr. stated that there are three ways the commander can affect the outcome of a battle once it has begun: 1. Shift the fires. 2. Commit the reserves. 3. Be there.

The "Be there" school of leadership is cognizant of a factor that chaplains learned—there is a ministry in simply being present in the training areas, break areas, ranges, and billets. It would be erroneous to believe that chaplains sat in their offices waiting for the men to be sent to them. They visited their men wherever they were. Chaplain Williston Wirt said:

Where many a lad is hesitant about taking his troubles to a chaplain, in most instances he will eagerly respond to an inquiry about his progress in flying. . . . Then often it comes out—the problem over which he has been brooding: 'By the way, chaplain, there was something I had intended to speak to you about.'¹⁵⁴

See footnotes at end of chapter.

Visitation was viewed by many chaplains as pre-counseling. Others considered it a form of witnessing, of showing the cross or tablets. Whatever the chaplain's motives or interpretations, his presence among the troops was considered so essential to his ministry that the Chief of Chaplains directed that a chaplain should spend at least fifty percent of his time out of the office and among the men.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER III

¹ Maurice Matloff, *American Military History* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army, 1969), p. 417; and William Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream*, Volume one, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company 1973, 1974), p. 246.

² *Ibid.*, p. 244.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 245; and Matloff, *American Military History*, p. 418.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 421-422.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 422.

¹⁰ Matthew 16:3, Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version.

¹¹ Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream*, p. 267.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹³ Bodies But No Souls, *America*, Vol. LXV, No. 20, 23 August 1941, p. 546.

¹⁴ Hagiography, *America*, Vol. LXVII, No. 8, 2 December 1939, p. 4.

¹⁵ Paul L. Blakely, The Old War Propaganda and the Stream Line Model, *America*, Vol. LXII, 14 October 1939, p. 5.

¹⁶ Harold Gardiner, If Hatred Is Funny The Comics Will Kill You, *America*, Vol. LXV, No. 19, 16 August 1941, p. 516.

¹⁷ John A. Toomey, We Are Not Swayed by War Propaganda, *America*, Vol. LXV, No. 20, 23 Aug 1941, p. 542.

¹⁸ Carrying The War Into The Pulpit, *The Christian Advocate*, Vol. 116, No. 51, 18 December 1941, p. 1622.

¹⁹ War Camp Towns Face Responsibility, *The Christian Advocate*, Vol. 116, No. 1, 2 January 1941, p. 5.

²⁰ The Soldier's Game, *The Christian Advocate*, Vol. 116, No. 2, 9 January 1941, p. 49.

²¹ One Million From Eight Million, *The Christian Advocate*, Vol. 116, No. 3, 16 January 1941, p. 81.

²² Bernhard Ragner, The Fall of France, *The Christian Advocate*, Vol. 116, No. 26, 26 June 1941, p. 830.

²³ Paul L. Blakely, Civilians Can Help Keep The Army Clean, *America*, Vol. LXV, No. 20, 23 August 1941, p. 541.

²⁴ Does This Make Sense? *The Christian Advocate*, Vol. 116, No. 1, 2 January 1941, p. 5.

²⁵ Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of The American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 950.

²⁶ One Million From Eight Million, *The Christian Advocate*, Vol. 116, No. 3, 16 January 1941, p. 81.

²⁷ Reinhold Niebuhr, The Christian Faith and the World Crisis, *Christianity In Crisis*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 10 February 1941, p. 6.

²⁸ *Christianity In Crisis*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 10 February 1941, p. 8; Vol. 1, No. 17, 6 October 1941, p. 8; Vol. 1, No. 18, 20 October 1941, p. 1.

²⁹ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, p. 949.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 949.

³¹ Gilbert M. Grosvenor, *We Americans*, A Volume In The Story of Man Library (Washington, D.C.: The National Geographic Society, 1975), p. 406.

³² Daniel B. Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946* (Washington, D.C.: Office, Chief of Air Force Chaplains, 1961), p. 96.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

³⁵ Roy J. Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, 1958), p. 214.

³⁶ Louis J. Barish, *Rabbis In Uniform* (New York: Nathan David Publishers, 1962), p. 11; and Rabbi To Serve In Army, New York Times, 17 July 1940, p. 8:6.

³⁷ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 91.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 92–93.

⁴⁰ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 222.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁴² Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 90.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴⁴ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 218.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 218–223.

⁴⁶ Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream*, p. 285.

⁴⁷ The figures listed in the text are from Matloff, *American Military History*, p. 423–424, and are conservative figures. Jorgensen lists losses at: AAF, 152 of 231 planes in Hawaii, Navy, 87 of 169 planes, and 6,000 casualties; Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains To Army Air Units 1917–1946*.

⁴⁸ Grosvenor, *We Americans*, p. 406.

⁴⁹ Manchester, *The Glory And The Dream*, p. 317.

⁵⁰ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains To Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 84.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 84–85.

⁵² Harry P. Richmond, A Rabbi Recalls Pearl Harbor, *Opinion*, Vol. XIII, No. 12, October 1943, p. 24.

⁵³ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 214. Also, The Story of the Services of Supply, The Office Of The Chief Of Chaplains, 30 June 1940 to date, Files of USACHCS, Historical Office, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, NY, 1 December 1942, p. 9. Jorgensen states the total as 1,487 in *The Service of Chaplains To Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 86.

⁵⁴ Brief Historical Sketch, *The Army and Navy Chaplain* Vol. VIII, No. 3, January 1938, p. 82. Grady, however, has Arnold born in Indiana: Patricia Grady, The Chief of Chaplains, U.S.A., *The Army and Navy Chaplain*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, April–May 1943, p. 13.

⁵⁵ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 87.

⁵⁶ Grady, The Chief of Chaplains, U.S.A., p. 13. Also: Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 201. And: New Chief of Chaplains, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, October 1937, p. 42.

⁵⁷ Grady, The Chief of Chaplains, U.S.A., p. 13.

⁵⁸ The Christian Science Publishing Society, *The Story of Christian Science Wartime Activities 1939–1946*, (Boston, Mass.: The Christian Science Publishing Society, 1947), p. 167.

⁵⁹ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains To Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 87–89.

⁶⁰ William A. Arnold, We Are Strong In Spirit, *The Country Gentleman*, CXII, October 1942, p. 10.

⁶¹ 27 May 1941, Congress approved Brigadier General grade for Chief of Chaplains. Public Law 862, 78th Congress, 28 June 1944, approved two stars for the Chief, one star for the Deputy Chief. They were actually promoted on 7 December 1944. In a newsletter he reminded the corps that he was still to be addressed as chaplain not General.

⁶² Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains To Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 88–89. Also: Former Chief Appointed Military Delegate; *The Army and Navy Chaplain*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, July–August 1945, p. 19.

⁶³ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 90.

⁶⁴ History of USACHCS, A Chronicle of the United States Army Chaplain School During the Second World War: The First Two Years, files of the Historical Office, USACHCS, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, NY, p. 1.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁶⁶ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 243.

⁶⁷ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 112.

⁶⁸ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 244.

⁶⁹ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 113.

⁷⁰ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 252.

⁷¹ History of USACHCS, A Chronicle of the United States Army Chaplain School During the Second World War: The First Two Years.

⁷² Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 250.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁷⁵ J. Fraser McLuskey, *Parachute Padre*, (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1957.)

John G. Miller, *Saints and Parachutes*, (London: Constable Publishers, 1951).

Francis L. Sampson, *Paratrooper Padre*, (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press, 1950.) And an updated version including Korea by the same author: *Look Out Below* Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University Press, 1958.

H. F. Wade, *Parachute Padre*, Liguorian Pamphlets, Redemptorist Fathers, 1960.

Donald R. Burgett, *Currahee!*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967).

⁷⁶ Alfred A. Crowell, Parachute Parson, *Flying*, Vol. 33 No. 6, December 1943 p. 43.

⁷⁷ Richard G. Hutcheson, Jr., *The Churches and the Chaplaincy* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1975) p. 73.

⁷⁸ Donald R. Burgett, *Currahee!* p. 42.

⁷⁹ Dorothy Freemont Grant, *War Is My Parish*, (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1944), p. 18.

⁸⁰ War Department, Bureau of Public Relations, publicity release, 20 March 1941 files of the Historical Office, USACHCS, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, New York. Also: Office of the Chief of Chaplains, *The Army Builds a Chapel*, 27 July 1941, files of the Historical Office, USACHCS, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, New York.

⁸¹ La Voie Manor Chapel, January 1975.

⁸² Scott Hart, Army Chiefs Open Little Chapel In the Orchard, *The Washington Post*, Washington, D.C., 28 July 1941.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 266.

⁸⁵ James H. Young prepared a questionnaire for former chaplains serving between 1920–1945. This questionnaire will be referred to as the United States Army Chaplain Center and School (USACHCS) questionnaire and is on file by name of the respondent at the Historical Office, USACHCS, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, New York. In this footnote, questionnaires in order are from:

Kenneth Fristoe

Gerhard L. Belgum

Kenneth L. Ames

John R. Himes

⁸⁶ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains To Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 180. Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 273.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁸⁸ Bureau of Service to Military Personnel National Lutheran Council, *By Their Side*, (Washington D.C.: Bureau of Service to Military Personnel National Lutheran Council, 1947), p. 11.

⁸⁹ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplain To Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 242. By tradition the "good thief" on the cross was St. Dismas. His aide was invoked when chaplains stole food and medicine for their men who were prisoners.

⁹⁰ Dan T. Caldwell and B. L. Bowman, *They Answered The Call*, (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1952), p. 52.

⁹¹ Ellwood Cecil Nance, *Faith of Our Fighters*, (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1944), p. 190.

⁹² Matloff, *American Military History*, p. 427.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 431–435.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 438–440.

⁹⁵ Edward L.R. Elson, questionnaire 19 December 1974, Historical Office, USACHES, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, New York.

⁹⁶ John Robert Himes, questionnaire 22 October 1974, Historical Office, USACHCS, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, New York.

⁹⁷ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains To Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 85–86.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁰⁰ US Army Forces In the Pacific, *History of Chaplain's Activities in the Pacific*, Chaplains Section, GHQ, AFPAC, 1946.

¹⁰¹ Wayne Dehoney, *Disciples In Uniform*, (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1967), p. 101.

¹⁰² The figures of chaplain prisoners, deaths, etc. vary slightly with different sources. Some authors count Army, Navy and Air Corps chaplains together as a total figure. Others refer only to Army and Army Air Corps chaplains. See: Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 280–281. Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 280. U.S. Army Forces In The Pacific, *History of Chaplain Activities in the Pacific*, table "Prisoners of War."

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains To Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 280–281. Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 280.

¹⁰⁴ John Anthony Wilson questionnaire, 29 November 1974 files of The Historical Office, USACHCS, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, New York.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Termed officially, "Reserve Pool of the Chief of Chaplains," it was established with the school at Ft. Benjamin Harrison on 20 February 1942. The Reserve Pool was formally constituted "a chaplain Replacement Pool" on 23 February 1943, where it was co-located with the school at Harvard. The Commandant of the Chaplain School was the commanding officer of the pool. See: History of USACHCS, Letter, Adjutant General's Office, 23 February 1943, Historical Office, USACHCS. Also: The Story of the Services of Supply, The Office of the Chief of Chaplains, 30 June 1940 to date, 314.7, Historical Office, USACHCS.

¹⁰⁷ Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains To Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 126.

¹⁰⁸ Percy Hickcox, *Mine Eyes Have Seen*, (Boston, Mass.: The Mosher Press 1950), p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ Steve P. Gaskins, Jr., questionnaire, 12 December 1974, Historical Office, USACHCS, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, New York.

¹¹⁰ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 298.

¹¹¹ History of the Chaplain Section, 105th Evacuation Hospital, 31 March 1943 10 January 1944, Box 214, Modern Military Section, The National Archives, Washington D.C.

¹¹² Caldwell and Bowman, *They Answered the Call*, p. 63.

¹¹³ Comment, *America*, Vol. LXVI, Number 14 10 January 1942 p. 367.

¹¹⁴ Dorothy Fremont Grant, *War Is My Parish*, (Milwaukee-Wisconsin: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1944), p. 51.

¹¹⁵ William R. Arnold, We Are Strong In Spirit, *The Country Gentleman*, Vol. CXII, October 1942, p. 10.

¹¹⁶ Robert B. Chapman, *Tell It to The Chaplain*, (New York: Exposition Press, 1952), p. 37.

¹¹⁷ J. Gerard Mears, The Chaplains Swing Along with the Lads in the Camps, *America*, LXV, 16 August 1941, p. 515.

¹¹⁸ Owen W. Kerr, War Department Chaplain Monthly Report Form No. 3, February 1943, Washington National Record Center, Suitland, Maryland.

¹¹⁹ Gaskins, questionnaire, 12 December 1974.

¹²⁰ United States War Department, *The Soldier and His Religion*, Women's Interest Section, Bureau of Public Relations, (Washington D.C.: USWD, 1941, p. 1–2.

¹²¹ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 232, Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains To Army Air Units 1917–1946*, p. 123–124.

¹²² Extracts from the Annual Report of the Chief of Chaplains, *The Army Chaplain*, Vol. II, No. 3, January 1931, p. 7.

¹²³ Emmet Gaylord Jones, questionnaire, 16 October 1974, Historical Office, USACHCS, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, New York.

¹²⁴ John Ogden Fisher, questionnaire, 1 October 1974, Historical Office, USACHCS, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, New York.

¹²⁵ Vernon Paul Jaeger, questionnaire, 13 September 1974, Historical Office, USACHCS, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, New York.

¹²⁶ *The Story of Christian Science Wartime Activities 1939–1946*, (Boston, Mass.: The Christian Science Publishing Society, 1947), p. 174 175.

¹²⁷ Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, p. 276.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 302–304.

¹²⁹ Methodist Commission, *Chaplains of the Methodist Church in World War II*. (Washington, D.C.: Methodist Commission on Chaplains, 1948), p. 63.

¹³⁰ Memorandum from Chief of Naval Operations, OP-09B ser: 3716PO9B93 7 October 1970, Box: Office Management Division, decimal file 200.6 affidavits re awards for the Four Chaplains, Modern Military Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹³¹ Files of the Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Dec. 1944 "Four Chaplains," OCCH, Washington, D.C.

¹³² Daniel A. Poling, "Faith is Power For You," "Four Chaplains" file, The Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Washington, D.C.

¹³³ USACHCS questionnaire, Edward Joseph Saunders, 14 September 1974, Historical Office file, United States Army Chaplain Center and School, Fort Wadsworth, Staten Island, New York.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, Herman Henry Heuer, USACHCS questionnaire.

¹³⁵ Affidavits re: Awards for the Four Chaplains, Box: Office Management Division, decimal file 200.6, Modern Military Branch.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* Affidavit filed by Frank A. Benkler, Quartermaster, Merchant Marine Service, and signed by Fred Francis Bebler, Night Steward, and Juan L. Alejanaro, Gun Crew Messman.

¹³⁷ Richard McHale, *The Courier News*, Plainfield, New Jersey 19 July 1965, "Four Chaplains" file, Office of the Chief of Chaplains.

¹³⁸ Louis J. Barish, *Rabbis in Uniform*, (New York: Jonathon David Publishers, 1962). p. 286.

¹³⁹ Francis Beauchesne Thornton, *Sea of Glory*, (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1953).

Chester J. Szymczak, *When Time Stood Still*, (Philadelphia: Dorrance, 1956).

Joseph Chester, *Dorchester; Greenland Pioneer* published privately, 2001 S. 16th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1969.

Daniel A. Poling, *Your Daddy Did Not Die*, (New York: Greenbert, 1944).

¹⁴⁰ Certificate accompanying the Medal for Heroism signed by President Eisenhower and Secretary of the Army Brucker, 18 January 1961, "Four Chaplains" file, Office of the Chief of Chaplains.

¹⁴¹ Correspondence from Rabbi David Max Eichhorn to Chaplain (LTC) James H. Young, Historical Office file, United States Army Chaplain Center and School, Ft. Wadsworth, SI, New York. The list of casualties from the Chief's office puts Liston's death on 7 February, rather than 3 February.

¹⁴² Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units 1917–1946*; p. 149.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 96.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 146.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 149.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 149–50.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 147.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 147.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 196.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 76.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 198.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* p. 198.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 199.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 200.

CHAPTER IV

World War II—From Offense To Victory

The Military Situation—Offensive Phase

In 1943 the Army increased in size by 3 million men. The President put a ceiling on strength at 8.2 million. Manpower, production, and strategy moved the United States from defense to offense. 1.5 Million men were sent overseas in that year, more than two-thirds of the total deployed against Germany. The number of soldiers in hospitals during World War II seldom fell below 200,000, and in 1945 peaked at 500,000. In the course of the war, Army casualties totaled 936,000 battle casualties, including 235,000 dead, and an additional 83,400 nonbattle deaths. The Army's dead represented about 3 percent of the 10,420,000 men who served in its ranks during World War II.¹ The chaplain branch was third in combat deaths on a percentage basis, behind the Air Forces and the Infantry. From Pearl Harbor to 30 September 1945, there were a total of 478 casualties among Army chaplains.

Killed in action-----	63
Wounded in action-----	273
Prisoners of war (including 14 killed, 5 died)-----	57
Missing in action-----	3
Non-battle deaths (accident, disease)-----	82
<hr/>	
Total (including 164 deaths) ² -----	478

The high casualty rate among chaplains can be accounted for partly by the presence ministry, the “be there” school of thought reported at the close of Chapter III. Catholic chaplains, because of their theological framework, especially felt that their place was with the dying, and many of them were killed while giving the last rites. Protestant chaplains often felt that faith in the Lord gave men courage to face danger, and being

See footnotes at end of chapter.

“up front” was for them a logical extension of practicing what they preached. Jewish chaplains were less numerous and assigned to higher headquarters, and tended to be less exposed to combat conditions, nevertheless, the first Jewish chaplains in US Army history to die in war were killed in World War II.

The North African campaign from November 1942 through May 1943 marked the beginning of the offensive phase of the war against Germany and Italy. This was followed by the Sicily Campaign, July–August 1943, the Italian campaign, September 1943–May 1945, and the often-delayed cross-channel attack that landed in Normandy on 6 June 1944. On 15 August the Allies staged another invasion in southern France. Faced with entrapment by the advancing northern and southern forces, the Germans fell back toward their frontier.³ The total military collapse of Germany brought an entirely new set of priorities to the Army as it dealt with prisoners, displaced persons, refugees, civil government, occupation and war crimes. The chaplains were deeply involved in ministering in a changed setting.

In the Pacific the offensive phase began 7 August 1942 with the amphibious landings on Guadalcanal, followed by landings on Attu in May, and Kiska in August 1943. The encirclement of Rabaul began in June 1943 by way of New Guinea and the Solomons, continued with the assault on Bougainville in November, and was completed with the landings in western and central New Britain from March to May 1944. “Island hopping,” avoiding strong points, isolating them, and going on toward Japan characterized strategy in the Pacific to the end of the war. The 1943–44 China–Burma–India campaign in Southeast Asia bogged down “in a mire of conflicting national purposes.” The Philippines campaign began 20 October 1944 and continued through May 1945 in what was dubbed “mopping up” operations.⁴ The Atomic bombing of Japan, total surrender, the end of the war, the morale problems and separation of millions of soldiers from service brought additional challenges to the Army and its clergy in uniform.

Continued Administrative Developments

The most striking change in the organization of American military forces in recent years was the emergence of the Air Force, first as an autonomous division of the Army, then as a primary defense force on a parity with the Army and Navy. Balloons were used during the Civil War for observation only. The rapid development of the dirigible and of machines heavier than air gave both a considerable combat importance

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during the First World War, but the idea that they were useful primarily for observation and belonged in the Signal Corps was slow in yielding to broader concepts. Before 1941, the importance of air support of ground and sea forces was fully demonstrated through experience in the European armies. By the Act of 18 December 1941 the President was authorized to redistribute certain government agencies for the more efficient prosecution of the war; and on 28 February 1942 he ordered the reorganization of the Army into the Ground Forces, the Air Forces, and the Services of Supply. This arrangement was to be effective on 9 March and continue until 6 months after the end of the war.⁵

Several problems arose in the adaptation of the chaplaincy to the new organization. The nature of air combat quickly demonstrated the impossibility of chaplains flying with their men, and it was agreed that their normal place of duty was at the base. The Chief of Chaplains discouraged the training of chaplains as pilots, believing that it would divert time and interest from their primary duties. Air combat involved sudden dangers, swift action, instant decisions, dash, and daring. To meet them on a common ground of understanding it was considered important that chaplains considered for duty with airmen should be young, alert, and resourceful. Because the nature of the Air Forces was different from Ground Forces, the argument began to build for a separate chaplaincy.

To accomplish this, staff chaplains were authorized in the headquarters of all higher echelons of the organization worked out for the Air Forces. At the head was the Air Chaplain, with important administrative functions. Charles J. Carpenter assumed these duties on 28 July 1942 and performed them for nearly 3 years. On 6 April 1942 an Air Force liaison officer was established in the Office of the Chief of Chaplains.⁶ By March 1944 the Air Forces included 2,411,294 personnel, or 31 percent of Army personnel.⁷ Carpenter "expanded" with the Air Forces, rising from captain to colonel between July '42 and October '43. 1,925 chaplains were on duty with the Air Forces by the close of 1944.⁸

As the Ground Forces moved to an active combat role the questions surrounding chaplain supervision required answers. There were no officially designated staff chaplains until Maurice Reynolds, in 1940 assigned as a Corps Area Chaplain, demonstrated the value of this supervisory position. Up to this time senior chaplains were in several instances designated "Department Chaplain" or "Corps Area Chaplain" as an additional duty, but supervisory responsibilities were very limited and the positions had no official recognition. The Chief of Chaplains gave super-

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vision through review of reports and exchange of ideas through a Circular Letter to all chaplains. There were almost no staff visits to chaplains in the field because of lack of funds.

The status of supervisory chaplains to individual chaplains followed a pattern set by the Chief in 1941 when he said:

Regimental chaplains are not to be considered as assistants to the Division or Post chaplain. It is rather the senior chaplain who is to assist the regimental chaplain in working out the problems involved in providing an adequate program for complete ministry to their regiments.⁹

Gynther Storaasli, who succeeded Carpenter as Air Chaplain, gave a talk to supervisory chaplains in 1943:

In assuming the spirit of helpful service to the less experienced chaplains, we, who are called to function in supervisory capacities, will not only enhance the effectiveness of the local chaplain's work and thus contribute immeasurably to his usefulness, but we will more than justify the establishment of our supervisory positions, augment the usefulness of our sections in the military set up and thus improve the whole tone of the cause of God among the personnel we serve.¹⁰

Chaplain Reynolds was a bit more blunt when he said, "Any chaplain who takes offense at instructive criticism should get down on his knees and pray that his . . . judgment be broadened and his magnified sense of his own importance be made humble."

Through the Chiefs monthly Circular Letter, directives, conferences, correspondence, telephone calls, staff visits, the chaplains Monthly Report, War Department Form No. 3, and professional channels the supervision of chaplains by chaplains continued to develop. In September 1944 a Chaplain Evaluation Sheet was sent to all supervisory chaplains. It asked if the chaplain being evaluated should be invited to remain in service and the response was classified "Confidential."

Chaplains were expected to maintain discipline of three types, personal, church, and military. Personal discipline had to do with spiritual devotions, physical training, and good health habits that enabled a chaplain to face the tests of physical strain, fatigue, and illness. Church discipline was the recognition that chaplains are bound in their conscience by the same church rules regarding sacramental functions as they were in their civilian parishes. It was in this area, and that of military discipline, that commanders and supervisors were sometimes called upon to intervene.

Carpenter told his supervisors in 1943:

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If a chaplain makes a mistake, do not presume that this headquarters will shift the chaplain with his errors into some other command, thereby allowing him to continue his malfunction as a chaplain.

The most widely used method for handling disciplinary cases was that of personal counsel and reprimand by the commander and staff chaplain. Most commanders were willing to go "the second mile" to help a chaplain adjust to the military life and give him freedom to develop a good program. Another method was reassignment, but handling "problem children" in this method was often ineffective. Court-martial and board proceedings were used in some serious cases involving breach of military law or moral delinquency. The threat of such proceedings led some erring chaplains to "resign for the good of the service." One of the most convenient means for the release of a chaplain who did not truly represent his church was removal of the ecclesiastical indorsement, which automatically terminated his service.

By design from the Chief's Office, the Regular Army Chaplains were moved into supervisory positions, because of experience and the belief that they would be sticking around after the war and could gain expertise in administration that would be needed in a branch that would in all probability be much larger than it had been before the war.

In God We Trust

Leo Marx wrote that there is a fundamental way in which American life is unique. "I mean the pervasive, slow dying American belief in the nation's unique, not to say providential, destiny . . . the sense of mission that still permeates our lives, private and public, in the United States." Throughout American history, Marx contended, there is a sense that the nation is a new Israel. ". . . A sense of the sacred, and of being at the center, was transferred to American soil by the Puritans."¹¹ The belief in the rightness of their cause, the equation of God's will with the strategic and tactical plans of the United States Army were notes found again and again in chaplains' sermons, prayers, and writings.

A lad stood guard in the sun on a troop ship and was felled by sunstroke; he became ill to the point of death. His chaplain wrote of it, saying he bowed his head and asked the Lord to protect the boy, to give him life so he might continue with the great task before him, "O Lord, if it be Thy will, keep death from this ship. We are on a mission to destroy paganism and barbarianism before they destroy our democracy which, You know Father, comes from the teachings of Your son." He pointed out that they were ready to give their lives in the struggle to

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preserve on earth the Lord's way of life. A great struggle awaited them. "Spare us, then, this man, so he, too, may be able to strike his blow at the enemy. Amen." The soldier recovered.¹²

Another chaplain, Percy Hickox, reflected on the problem of the religious believer in uniform and wrote, "A final question concerning the soldier and his religion is that which inquires whether the chaplains are prostituting religious faith to the war machine. They are not." He felt that chaplains were free to preach their own convictions and were in no manner circumscribed in their utterances by the military situation in which they found themselves. He said that a true religious faith steadied the believer and held him with a sure anchor in shifting tides of life; and this was true whether the storm came in civilian or in military surroundings. "We do preach that the soldier who has a faith to hold him is therefore a better soldier in combat . . ." He believed that religion made a better soldier, for in the final analysis it was the quality of the soldier which was the final factor in battle. The government might provide him with the finest of weapons, but if he gave way to fearful apprehensions and threw them away, they were of no value. "I am happy that my contribution in the field of religion is a decisive factor in the war effort. I should still remain in the ranks of the chaplaincy if this were not the case; but my enthusiasm for my work is enhanced by the consciousness of a military mission which is also met in my work." He went on to say that because of these factors more than one commanding officer stated that his chaplain was the most valuable staff officer he had.¹³

"We have called you to do a terrible job," wrote Ralph W. Nelson, a philosophy professor. "The Nation called you . . . But by her prayers the church has participated in this call. She has prayed that you might have God's help in your appalling work." Nelson characterized wartime prayer as asking God to please aid the soldier to get the job done quickly, and with protection for our side; to get the job done with a minimum of suffering and danger to ourselves, and with a maximum of destruction to the foe. The implicit assumption was that our side was just, and that the allies were God's accredited instruments.¹⁴

This was evidenced in the religious life of the church and synagogue by special prayers for the success of the Normandy invasion. The Right Reverend Henry St. George Tucker, presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, wrote a special prayer to be offered in

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all the churches on "Invasion Day," and suggested that churches be opened for the use of the people. The prayer said in part:

O righteous and omnipotent God, Who, in their tragedies and conflicts, judgest the hearts of men and the purposes of nations, enter into this struggle with Thy transforming power . . . May there arise a new order which shall endure because in it Thy will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven. . . ." ¹⁵

Catholic Bishop William T. Manning issued a prayer for use during the invasion which said:

Grant, we beseech Thee, speedy victory to the forces of right and freedom for the sake of all mankind. Uphold, strengthen and protect those who are serving in our armed forces . . . And give us on the home-front faithfulness to do our part . . . " ¹⁶

The president of the Association of Reformed Rabbis, William F. Rosenbaum, announced that not only would his members take part in prayer services for the invasion when it came, but that beginning immediately they would pray at every service "a special prayer for the Allied men and armies." It asked:

Be especially with those who stand on the threshold of the great struggle against the forces of evil which is to liberate millions of our fellow-men in Axis-occupied lands from the darkness and dread of persecution. Be with them when they need Thee most in the hour of decisive combat." ¹⁷

Such attitudes were as much a part of history as the chronicling of events. They reflected the climate out of which the chaplains' ministry was performed in the midst of shot and the smell of cordite.

The Wartime Ministry—Continued

Training continued throughout the war and the ministry described earlier never ceased. But increasingly chaplains were involved in sustained combat with their men. The principal differences between chaplain activities in combat and those during training periods were that in combat, (a) chaplains operated on an irregular schedule; (b) the men were continually conscious of the possibility of death and were inclined to give more serious attention to religion; (c) the wounded became an important part of the chaplains' concern; (d) caring for the dead and assisting in graves registration was an added responsibility; (e) religious ministrations were conducted with a minimum of shelter and equipment. ¹⁸

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It was not only exposure to danger that made the life of a frontline chaplain difficult, but also the nature of his ministry, which made it almost impossible to return nightly to the shelter provided for him. One chaplain was said to live “like a gypsy.” It was said of him “. . . he is lucky if one night in seven he finds a cot or dilapidated bed to sleep in. Usually he has to bunk under a tent or in the open.”¹⁹ A summary of chaplain activities in the Pacific added climate as an enemy:

In many cases the chaplain’s efficiency would decrease after a year in the tropics. Many were returned to the States with broken health. Many were subject to serious skin diseases which were difficult to clear up under existing conditions.²⁰

Some broke down from overwork; others found the sensitivity of a pastor’s heart difficult to reconcile with the reality of war, and suffered from “nerves.” A supervising chaplain wrote, “One older man we are shifting because he cried when planes took off on a mission, and thanked God publicly when planes returned, saying publicly that he had not expected to see them return alive. We are placing him with ground engineers. Maybe that will bring him back to earth.”²¹ Men did not know when they would return from the war. There was no established date of return, but a vague term known as “in for the duration.” Regularly established rotation plans, and rest and recuperation programs were not a factor in the thoughts of men who headed toward Europe or the Pacific in 1943. Periods of relief or rest for the unit were not usually periods of rest for the chaplain; the counseling problems that could not be handled in combat were dealt with in “stand down” situations.²²

The chaplains were volunteers, and many actively sought combat duty—not because they thought they would enjoy war, but because they felt they could make a more effective contribution in ministering to men under such conditions. Yoder P. Leith was written up in *Yank* as a combat chaplain. One of his surprises was the “morale of the men was better in the combat area than to the rear. Everyone at the front ‘pulled together.’ ” Later he said of his experiences, “I was often in danger, and was once wounded, but I found none of these experiences ‘harrowing’—only ‘interesting.’ ”²³

The difference between heroic chaplains and those who also served as they stood and waited sometimes depended on “the luck of the draw.” Lewis H. Grimes, a Texas Methodist, wrote about a time when the Aid Station was split in two during an advance.

Both medical officers were with the other section. A warrant officer and I were with the other detail. It turned out, surprisingly, that our

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section met with the resistance that the other section expected. And I found that I could function throughout one night in an emergency situation as a fairly effective medical aid person.”

(He was more than an effective medical aid person, and went on to win the Legion of Merit; he wrote eight books, and served from 1949 as Professor of Christian Education at Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.)²⁴ Francis A. Cunningham, a Catholic priest, had a totally different experience. “Chaplains were supposed to be in short supply, but we went with our hospital for a whole year together without getting a single patient.” And another chaplain reported: “. . . They let 5 of us sit in the Port of Embarkation for 8 months.”²⁵

The experiences of some men were picked up by the press; the majority went unheralded. Leland L. Loy said he was shot at by the German 88, (a fearful weapon that appeared often in the memory of those recounting World War II experiences) blown out of holes by bombs, saw “men step on mines behind and before me . . . strafed, shot at by snipers . . . normal combat but the abnormal, never got touched, or wounded, just scared stiff perpetually.”²⁶ Some rose to prominence in an isolated moment, while others found that opportunity knocked on their door repeatedly. Earnest E. Eells, a Presbyterian from Virginia, became well acquainted with such summons to duty in Africa and France. On the beach at Salerno, when no one else appeared, he and Chaplain Schleede directed the traffic coming ashore and found the location of the proper unit for a bivouac. “Schleede deserved commendation for this as he was doing something out of his line of duty,” he wrote. Near Naples he crawled under an overturned medic’s supply wagon and rescued the medic and driver at great personal risk while gasoline ran over them. It was mentioned in the 100th Battalion history, but he received no award. Later, a chaplain he served with took a squad of German prisoners along the Volturno River, and “I took four German prisoners with their guard, a Hawaiian from the 100th Battalion, from a bridge over the Mussolini Canal . . .” that was about to be blown up. (Eells’ son, Lieutenant Colonel Calvin Edward Eells, won a DSC in World War II; another son, David, a lieutenant in the Korean war, won a Silver Star and Purple Heart; and a stepson, Robert W. Gallagher, a Navy lieutenant commander, was killed in action at Iwo Jima.)²⁷

Another chaplain who found repeated opportunities to demonstrate courage under fire was William E. King. In peacetime he served as pastor

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of the Maywood Baptist Church in Kansas City, Missouri. In war he was a pastor on the Sicilian front. During the battle of San Rosso Hill the body of an American soldier lay on the highway between friendly and enemy lines. The chaplain and three men took a jeep and drove down the highway to recover him. The Germans let the group reach the body and wrap it in a blanket; as they were lifting it into the jeep, an 88 opened up. King directed the men to take cover while he drove back to friendly lines through the enemy fire. In the dead man's pocket were five unopened letters from home, which the chaplain delivered to him in the front lines during the previous night.

A few days earlier Chaplain King was slightly wounded while carrying water to frontline troops attacking a hill. "The boys needed water badly, so I and a helper took it up to them. I put down a 5 gallon can when it exploded straight up. A piece of shrapnel grazed my right hand and cut a hole in my right trouser leg, while my companion was more seriously hurt. Near Caltagirone, King demonstrated under fire that he was ready to minister to both friend and foe, an experience shared by many chaplains throughout the war. As big guns and tanks slugged it out, King crawled to assist a German whose leg was fractured by machine gun bullets. He knelt behind a low stone wall, made temporary splints, bandaged the enemy soldier, and gave him water. He discovered that the German was flown there only the day before, and had been in the front lines just eight hours. "He patted my hand and looked his gratitude, saying afterward through an interpreter that he had been told Americans mutilated their prisoners."²⁸

James P. Galvin experienced the fact that war can have a fallout on the innocent, unexpected and tragic. He remembered a bomber on routine checkout flight that was caught in a storm over Wharton, England; it crashed into a tea cafe and a kindergarten, killed more than fifty, and horribly burned many.²⁹ He ministered to the survivors, helping them to find faith in soul-trying circumstances; it was not something that could be statistically reported, but it was part of the wartime ministry.

Midnight mass on Christmas 1943 found Edward G. Finnerty at Maison Blanche, Algiers. A French and British chaplain assisted, while a French group provided music which was soon drowned out by Italian prisoners of war allowed out of the stockade for the occasion. Some 2,000 French, American, British, and Yugoslav troops attended. The nativity scene used as a backdrop for the altar was painted by an Italian prisoner.³⁰ John T. Byrne wrote: "When Italian POWs became 'Friendly

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Co-Belligerents' attitudes changed. Only one POW remained adamant in his Fascism—you guessed it. He was a chaplain!"³¹

Many chaplains took prisoners, even though they were unarmed. Richard H. Chase captured four Italians at El Guettar. He had taken a detail of men to fetch the bodies of some soldiers killed high up in the hills. He was using five Italian prisoners with an American guard for this detail. Suddenly, three or four handkerchiefs appeared in a small wadi ahead. Four Italians rose with their hands in the air. "I'm sure grateful they weren't in a belligerent mood . . . or I would have looked like a sieve," he said. They were disarmed, searched, and added to the detail.³²

Chaplains sometimes found themselves on rosters, on a "one from each section" basis, as did Thomas E. Hayes. The roster was for duty at a traffic control point at a bridgehead over the Elbe. Hayes "rendered outstanding service by detecting and capturing three German officers who tried to pass him at the traffic control point in a captured American vehicle."³³

Supervisory chaplains had their problems in combat. As he looked down the roster of XVIII Airborne Corps chaplains "the boss" noted that: Robert M. Hennon was missing in action since Normandy; Ignatius P. Maternowski was killed in action; David W. Ryan was hospitalized with malaria; Matthew J. Connelly was hospitalized with an injury. Later John J. Verret was killed; Francis L. Sampson was captured; William B. Byrd suffered a broken back during a practice jump; Paschal D. Fowlkes was killed in action and George Crain wounded.³⁴ Not only did they have to fight for replacements, try to administer an ever changing roster in an ever changing locale, cope with constantly changing troop strengths; supervisory chaplains also found prisoners of war, displaced persons, starving civilian populations, national pastors, and the burial of the dead added to their concerns.

On the basis of experiences in World War I, official Army doctrine at the beginning of hostilities in the European Theater defined the battalion aid station as the chaplain's normal post of duty during combat. As exceptions to the general rule, Catholic chaplains were sometimes stationed at regimental collecting points where they could serve a wider Catholic population. Some commanding officers expressed the opinion that chaplains should be with the most forward elements. The value of such a procedure for morale had to be balanced against the fact that the chaplain could minister to only a very few men at most; exposed to unnecessary hazards, he potentially robbed his unit of all chaplain ministrations until he was replaced.³⁵

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Many chaplains demonstrated tenacity concerning their duties. William E. Capron broke his ankle and would have been replaced, but refused to leave, and held mass with his leg in a cast.³⁶ George B. Riddle was division chaplain with the 82nd Airborne Division. He was badly injured around the face and head in a glider accident. He refused evacuation, worked during the day, and spent evenings at the hospital as a patient. Finally an attack of malaria forced his return to the United States.³⁷

Charles Lynnwood Brown, a North Carolina Presbyterian, jumped from the lead plane on 15 August 1944 in the invasion of Southern France. He broke an ankle and was slightly wounded by machine gun fire. The French Red Cross rescued him and three days later he was in a hospital in Naples. A few weeks later, disturbed by reports of disaster to his regiment, he “escaped” from the hospital with the help of a nurse, caught the blood bank plane and rejoined his unit in combat.³⁸ Albert J. Hoffman lost a leg near Cassino, Italy. He was considered “the most decorated chaplain” and his combat exploits were written up in *Saturday Evening Post*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Life*, and, “There were also a couple of comic books that featured me, and one syndicated cross word puzzle.”³⁹ The decorations and publicity missed the fact that some of his best pastoral work was done when he was himself a patient. His ministry to fellow amputees was more meaningful because of his wounds, and his self effacing humility revealed a spiritual maturity and strength that carried many a young soldier past self pity to a new way of looking at life. He said “I’ve met the finest men in the United States. I’ve lived with them, worked with them and suffered with them, and I’ve seen them die.” Even though trained to be hard fighting men, he considered them incapable of hating the enemy. “They are a fine crowd, and I am proud to have been with them and to have kept them company.”⁴⁰

Others gave up a bit more easily. Michael B. Kaufmann, who commanded the 2nd Battalion, 60th Infantry, 9th Infantry Division, told of how they got rid of their chaplain, who was a “sin buster.” In England, prior to the Normandy invasion, English girls of the area were sometimes unofficially invited to the camp. The chaplain took real delight in ferreting out sin and would burst through the door of an officers’ quarters to confront a surprised couple innocently having tea. After complaints to the commanding officer were met with the objection that one could not interfere with the chaplain in his performance of duty, one captain decided to “get the sanctimonious SOB.” At a prearranged signal, female

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laughter was heard coming from one of the rooms; when the chaplain burst through the door, he found himself staring down the barrel of a cocked .45 caliber automatic pistol. The next day the chaplain asked for transfer to a medical unit, and his request was granted.⁴¹

Chaplain Joseph A. Gilmore, in the final battle for Rome, discovered that while he was ministering to the sick, a machine gun bullet from a strafing aircraft had pierced his pillow. When he tried to get some sleep he was awakened and summoned to the admissions tent of the hospital to care for incoming wounded. Another aircraft fired into the tent and nine men were killed, among them the faithful priest. He died while anointing an enlisted man. In the last moment of his life, "in his hand was found the cotton dipped in oil, ready to carry on his earthly work even until the God he served called him home." Gregory Kennedy said his Requiem Mass.⁴²

Milton O. Beebe served as the Mediterranean Theater Chaplain. In reporting to the Chief of Chaplains he wrote: "Father Pat Ryan is doing a good piece of work in the 5th Army. He runs a good office and administers the work of chaplains there splendidly. His associate, Chaplain Charles Brown is very effective."⁴³ (Ryan and Brown were both later selected to be Chief of Chaplains.) Upon the fall of Rome, 4 June 1944, services of Thanksgiving were held. On 6 June, at 11:00 A.M., Pope Pius XII held the first public audience since the beginning of the war. On the 11th Chaplain Ryan said mass at Santa Maria degl'Angeli on the Piazzzi Esedera. The deacon was a French chaplain, the subdeacon was British, the Sistine Choir of the Vatican sang, and 10,000 worshippers attended.⁴⁴ On 30 June the Pope held a private audience for American Catholic chaplains. He said:

"In this tragic hour of human history . . . you have hurried with eager, unselfish zeal in pursuit of souls that have been caught up in the maelstrom of war and thrown into the perils of battle and the temptations of a soldiers life. . . . No ordinary shepherds of souls are needed here . . . Your Bishops . . . have given of their best . . ."⁴⁵

1943 was remembered sorrowfully in the annals of American Jewish Army chaplains. Four Jewish chaplains died that year while in the service: Alexander D. Goode, the first Jewish chaplain killed in action in any of America's wars; Herman L. Rosen; Henry Goody; and Samuel Hurwitz. Aaron Paperman became the first Jewish chaplain to reach the continent of Europe, and held the first Jewish service in the former Nazi empire.⁴⁶ After the liberation of Lyons, France, on 15 September 1944, the Jewish Colony rededicated the synagogue. 1,500 Jews attended. The

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American Jewish chaplain and his assistant were invited and spoke at the service. "It was this Jewish synagogue that had been viciously desecrated by the German Army, having been vandalized according to plan and a big beer party staged in the place of worship."⁴⁷ David Eichorn held services in a synagogue in Luneville, France, on 26 September 1944, before the town was officially taken. The city was literally between the lines. Eichorn wrote, "This was probably the only time in American military history when soldiers got up out of their fox holes to go forward to worship . . ."⁴⁸

Chaplain Eugene E. Campbell, a Mormon, was headed for Fulda, Germany, to meet his headquarters unit. He was detoured by a destroyed bridge and as he traveled through two German towns he noticed that the citizens had white sheets hanging out. When he got to Fulda he found that his unit had not arrived. Questioned later as to where he had been, the officer in charge said, "Congratulations, chaplain, you just conquered two towns."⁴⁹

Several chaplains were not as lucky as Campbell and were captured by the enemy, either because they elected to stay with the wounded, or because they became separated from their own troops while working near the front. Eugene L. Daniel was one of the first chaplains captured, taken by the German Africa Corps in Tunisia, 16 February 1943. He stayed behind with wounded Americans and Germans when his unit was forced to withdraw. He was later awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for this action. (Earlier he won a Silver Star in the assault on Algiers.) The German officer in command of his captors wrote Chaplain Daniel a letter of commendation. The chaplain spent twenty-six months as a POW in Germany. He was allowed freedom to preach and minister to American and allied troops throughout his captivity.⁵⁰

Seven chaplains of the 106th Division were captured during a breakthrough at the Siegfried Line. The fighting was heavy for five days prior to their capture; the men had practically no sleep, and little time for eating. Harry W. Alexander took charge of collecting the wounded and surrendered with forty of them. He refused to leave the woods until he was certain no wounded were left behind. The next morning seven thousand officers and men, including the seven chaplains, were marched thirty-six miles without food then herded into boxcars, sixty men to a car, and shifted through railway yards in Germany for the next seven days. Bombed by American planes at Limburg, nine officers were killed.

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Four chaplains from the 28th Division were added to the prisoner total. On Christmas Day, services were held in every boxcar; even under such conditions of anxiety and uncertainty, the joyful music of Christmas carols filled the railroad station. A group of civilians brought a Christmas tree into the railway yard and sang "Away in a Manger." It was also the day the men received their first food—one Red Cross box per seven men. Three days later they were imprisoned at Bad Orb, Stalag 9-B. Breakfast consisted of a canteen cup of German coffee without milk or sugar. A cupful of thin soup—potato, carrot, turnip, beet, or pea—made up the noon meal. No evening meal was provided. A daily ration of one-sixth to one-tenth of a loaf of bread, two spoonsfuls weekly of sugar, margarine, and jerry jam completed the menu. The men lost from forty to sixty pounds in their one hundred and eight days as prisoners. Some chaplains held prayer meetings every night, "for the men were desperate for hope and assurance."⁵¹

Francis L. Sampson was probably captured the most times. He jumped in with the 101st Airborne Division in the invasion of Normandy, landed in a stream and located his chaplain's kit after the fifth or sixth dive. He stayed behind with the wounded, changed bandages, said prayers, and was cooking some hot chocolate for the wounded when German paratroopers appeared in the yard. He went out to surrender and was nearly shot, but a noncommissioned officer stopped his would-be executioners. Sampson said he was so scared that instead of the act of contrition, he said the grace before meals! He was allowed to stay with the wounded. An American counterattack freed him. On his next jump into combat, in Holland, he again landed in the water, a moat surrounding a castle. Nearly captured again, he went to Bastogne with his unit, and they were soon surrounded. He attempted to reach some wounded men and was captured again. Sampson's experience was similar to others: sealed in a train for six days without food or water, unexpected American bomber attacks, and religious services held under seemingly impossible conditions.⁵²

In the airborne invasion of Holland, Raymond S. Hall, Robert S. Scott, and Tilden S. McGee were captured.⁵³ John W. Handy, Jr., assigned to the 375 Engineer Regiment, was lost behind German lines with only his driver for company during the battle for St. Lo.⁵⁴

Chaplains have always shown a special concern for the sick and wounded. Again and again they did extraordinary things to minister to

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them and protect them as well. Gerard W. Taggart served with the 175th Infantry Regiment in the 29th Infantry Division. His units was:

“... subjected to heavy enemy artillery and machine gun fire followed by a violent counterattack, resulting in the surrounding of a building in which the medical detachment was treating casualties. After the enemy had mercilessly sprayed the aid station with direct machine gun fire, they then asked its personnel and wounded to surrender. In an attempt to protect the wounded, Chaplain Taggart emerged from the aid station building with his hands in the air but was met by withering enemy gunfire and grenades. After feigning death by lying on the ground under a pounding of concussion grenades, Chaplain Taggart waited until the enemy fire was temporarily subsided then withdrew into the building where for six hours he gave comfort and administered first aid to the wounded.”⁵⁵

During the Battle of the Bulge at Bastogne, roads were blocked by winter snows so that chaplains sometimes waded hip deep in snow to hold services.⁵⁶ Surrounded, facing an uncertain outcome, Charles V. McSweeney recalled, “. . . as we stood in the Huertgen Forest in a blinding storm of snow I heard one of the men sing out ‘Let’s get these men out of the hot sun.’ ”⁵⁷ Several priests reported Mass in the mud, and asked the men not to kneel because of it, but they did anyway out of reverence.

The Weather Prayer

Weather was always an important factor in war. One of the famous incidents in the 1944 Battle of the Bulge in Europe involved General George A. Patton and a prayer about the weather. Some controversy and confusion grew up around it “Even in *War As I Knew It* by General Patton, the footnote on the Prayer by Colonel Paul D. Harkins, Patton’s Deputy Chief of Staff . . . is not the true account of the prayer incident or its sequence.”⁵⁸ The words were those of Chaplain (Brigadier General) James H. O’Neill, Deputy Chief of Chaplains, written in 1950 to set the record straight. He was the Third Army Chaplain throughout five campaigns under General Patton. “I should have some knowledge of the event because . . . I composed the . . . Prayer, and wrote training letter No. 5 . . . an integral, but untold part of the prayer story.”⁵⁹

It all began with a telephone call to the Third Army Chaplain on the morning of 8 December 1944.

“This is General Patton; do you have a good prayer for weather? We must do something about these rains if we are to win the war.”

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O'Neill responded that he would have such a prayer within the hour. "The few prayer books at hand contained no formal prayer on weather that might prove acceptable to the Army Commander. Keeping his immediate objective in mind, I typed an original and an improved copy on a 5" x 3" filing card:

Almighty and most merciful Father, We humbly beseech Thee, of Thy great goodness, to restrain these immoderate rains with which we have to contend. Grant us fair weather for Battle. Graciously hearken to us soldiers who call upon Thee that, armed with Thy power, we may advance from victory to victory, and crush the oppression and wickedness of our enemies, and establish Thy justice among men and nations. Amend."⁶⁰

General Patton read the prayer and directed that 250,000 copies be printed and distributed to every man in Third Army. He also had quite an interesting conversation with his chaplain on the subject of prayer; Patton then directed him to put out a training letter to his chaplains—there were 486 of them, representing 32 denominations—on the subject of prayer. "We've got to get not only the chaplains but every man in the Third Army to pray. We must ask God to stop these rains. These rains are the margin that holds defeat or victory," said Patton.

On December 20, to the consternation of the Germans and the delight of the American forecasters who were equally surprised at the turn about—the rains and the fog ceased. For the better part of a week came bright clear skies and perfect flying weather—General Patton prayed for fair weather for battle. He got it.

"It was late in January of 1945 when I saw the Army Commander again. This was in the city of Luxembourg. He stood directly in front of me and smiled: 'Well, Padre, our prayers worked. I knew they would.' Then he cracked me on the side of my steel helmet with his riding crop. That was his way of saying 'Well done!' "⁶¹

Meanwhile . . . In The Pacific

The ministry of chaplains in the Pacific was essentially the same as their counterparts in Europe, but there were some differences. Frederick E. Kirker wrote, "The first thing of importance out here is physical fitness. This is a prime requisite for efficient service. One needs not only strength but endurance. This type of warfare brings out all of one's hidden defects."⁶² Climate was different. Not many chaplains in the American Army spoke Japanese; more spoke German. Many German prisoners of war and civilians were Catholic or Protestant; most Japanese were non-Christians, and the ministry among prisoners of war was therefore quite different. There were fewer chaplains in the Pacific and they were spread

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over greater distances. Because of island hopping tactics, sustained combat tended to be of shorter duration. After the initial Japanese victories in the Philippines, chaplains in the Pacific theater were not taken prisoner; however, those captured were prisoners for a longer period of time and under much harsher conditions than experienced in Europe. Overall, however, the similarities of the two fronts outweighed the differences for the ministry of most chaplains.

One of the important parts of ministering to soldiers and their families was correspondence. A family wrote in reply to a letter from one chaplain, a rabbi, "My husband and I want to thank you across the sea . . . we feel most contented with the knowledge that you are there keeping good watch over him, which means everything in the world to us."⁶³ Harry Richmond was the chaplain. He enlisted in World War I as a private, and became a first lieutenant chaplain; he came back on duty in 1940, and for months was the only Jewish chaplain in Hawaii. He gathered soldiers in his kitchen where his wife, Helena, cooked "latke" (pancakes) for homesick soldiers. He celebrated the first Passover in the history of Kauai in 1942.⁶⁴ Another parent wrote appreciatively of the chaplain's letters, "It is as if a lasting cruel storm is uprooting our lives, and every expression of human kindness and consideration is like a ray of sunshine and a little hope in the survival of the kinder and finer things in human life."⁶⁵ An unusual letter went to the Chief of Chaplains from a sergeant in the Solomon Islands, who pleaded with him not to transfer their chaplain. "He's the best second baseman on the island."⁶⁶

Vincent A. Cox organized and directed the first variety show ever held for the troops on Ascension Island. He called it "Rock Happy," since admission could be gained only by bringing a rock. William E. Capron started a *Daily News*, which included news of the world, current events on Ascension, and a history of the place. He also opened a library.⁶⁷ Charles H. Dubra, a black chaplain, was the first American chaplain to land in New Guinea. He served there two years during which he acted as adviser on Negro affairs, supervised coverage of Negro troops, and traveled extensively in carrying out his work. On 2 June 1944 he was awarded the Legion of Merit in recognition for this outstanding service.⁶⁸ George R. Yancey made it to the Tenth Air Force after only three months in service. "This unprecedentedly brief military background was accepted as adequate apparently because of the shortage of available Negro chaplains."⁶⁹

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Chaplain Tull, at Kunming, reported American cigarettes were almost nonexistent, even at the exorbitant cost of \$3.00 a pack. At Assam, Chaplain Zellner reported that American toilet tissue was being hoarded by the Quartermaster while American personnel were using British "sandpaper." "A Jap shell struck the warehouse and when the smoke cleared away, the wreckage and trees and bushes were festooned with garlands of American toilet tissue."⁷⁰

Americans had to look at their maps to find places with previously unheard of names. Chaplain William C. Taggart, then a first lieutenant, was awarded a Silver Star for gallantry in action between Djockjakarta and Djilatjap, Java, on 27 February 1942. "While troops were being evacuated from Djockjakarta . . . Taggart rendered valuable service in keeping together a seventy-five vehicle convoy traveling at night over unknown roads under strick blackout conditions. His efforts kept the convoy from becoming separated or lost and falling into enemy hands. A few days later, while enroute to Australia from Java, Taggart assisted in driving off an enemy reconnaissance plane which attempted to strafe the ship. Instead of taking cover, he supplied ammunition to the men operating the machine guns." After the incident he was cited for helping to care for sailors wounded in the Macassar Straits battle.⁷¹

Due to the efforts of missionaries there were native Christians in the Pacific. An American soldier in New Georgia sent a money order to his pastor in the amount of \$100.00 with the instruction that it be used for foreign missions. He said, "The success of this campaign depended upon the co-operation we received from natives . . . who a few years ago were savages. . . . A handful of missionaries risked their lives and sacrificed the comforts of home to teach these natives Christianity." He concluded that he owed his safety to them and looked upon the money order not as a gift, but a debt of gratitude.⁷² A downed flyer told of being rescued by fierce-looking natives who led him along ever more dark and dense jungle paths until he wondered if he had made a mistake in trusting them. He was greatly reassured when they began to hum "Onward Christian Soldiers."⁷³

Leon W. Hawley told of the beautiful wedding of a nurse and an officer in New Guinea. Female soldiers of the Women's Army Corps made the wedding gown from a parachute and the chapel was beautifully decorated with orchids.⁷⁴ Malcolm D. Hooker said, "I had a very interesting experience when I baptized the child of a man who had been in the underground movement in the Philippines; I did this in a civilian church in which that day I preached the sermon. The choir of my military group

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sang.”⁷⁵ Harold T. Grabau served as a hospital chaplain in India. He got military personnel involved in local mission projects, both Protestant and Catholic, to assist schools, orphanages, and the like, “to keep alive the spirit of Christian love and concern.”⁷⁶ Mert M. Lampson got a firsthand look at missions. “I visited, more or less regularly, with such groups in Kunming as the Lutheran sisters (Missouri-Synod), Southern Presbyterians and Wesleyan Methodists. Once, I talked to a deaf and dumb Chinese children’s orphanage, with the help of an instructor who used sign language.” He also made a 900-mile trip from Kunming to Myitkyina, through the Burmese jungle, to visit isolated engineer and signal corps troops. Most had not seen a chaplain for three to six months. He distributed funds to 16 Protestant groups in Kunming, including English Pentecostal, Church of England, and Wesleyan Methodist. Lampson himself was a Methodist.⁷⁷ As Patrick J. Ryan said, “We practiced it (ecumenism) before we knew the word.”⁷⁸

Chaplain Edwin L. Kirtley was an unusually gifted man with a talent for organization, ability to coordinate with others, and a knack for meeting the needs of the situation which extended his ministry far beyond “one on one” relationships. He served with the CCC from August 1937 to July 1940, and observed: “For me this was an excellent training period as a chaplain.” Later Kirtley organized a soldier choir and chorus, which presented “The Wizard of Ord,” a musical, in the Hollywood Bowl in October 1941, and in the San Francisco Opera House in November. He coordinated division-wide services in the Mojave Desert in 1942. He played football, basketball, track, tennis, bowling, and volley ball while in service, and promoted boxing teams. At Fort Ord, he organized the first major scale camp show for the armed forces. He originally arranged the show for his own 32nd Infantry Regiment, but Major General Joseph W. Stillwell showed command interest and support; he opened it up to the 7th Motorized Division and their dependents, so that 30,000 persons attended. Among the performers were: The Ritz Brothers, Jack Benny, Mary Livingstone, Rochester, Marlene Dietrich, Claudette Colbert, Carole Landis, Joan Blondell, Virginia O’Brien, George Jessel, George Burns and Gracie Allen. In combat in the Pacific he ministered to troops in the Battle of Attu Island. He translated the Marshallese Bible into a lexicon in English, and served as an interpreter for Marshallese in the Kwajalein operation. Asked what assignment he liked least after thirty years in service, Kirtley replied, “I liked every assignment which came to me. Each in its time and place was best. I consider each assignment a stepping platform to a higher and better service . . . I simply feel that

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they all fit into an almost complete picture of the fulfillment of one's ministry." ⁷⁹

Looking back, different people recalled different memories, John M. Brew recalled preaching at Mass in the Pacific while mothers continually nursed their children.⁸⁰ Tom K. Gabrielsen recalled getting ready for the invasion of Kiska; with casualties projected at 5,000, he wrote a letter to his family to be mailed "in case anything happened to me." ⁸¹ The Japanese left prior to the landing so there was no need to mail the letter. The unit was then sent to Kwajalein, and since they were to be on a transport thirty-eight days, Gabrielsen managed to get "about one ton of magazines and some additional books" aboard for the men to read. Einar Jorgenson "pasted the prayers for dying Catholic and Jewish men" in the flyleaf of his chaplain's field service book, along with some pertinent information concerning graves registration.⁸²

Elmer W. Heindl demonstrated that lightning could strike again and again for the same person. He received the Bronze Star with V device, the Silver Star, and the Distinguished Service Cross between July 1944 and July 1945. All of these awards were essentially for the same kind of action, but with varied degrees of daring, as interpreted by witnesses. He went out and brought in the wounded under sniper, machine gun, and mortar fire; risked his life to climb a tower to give first aid to the wounded; and in one case, was forced to take shelter in an open grave when a sniper opened up on a burial service in progress. His calm and cheerful presence on all occasions of combat "had the desired effect upon our men, and helped them successfully combat the enemy force." ⁸³

Sometimes chaplains demonstrated courage, not only against the enemy, but also against gruff, rough and tough commanders. Kenneth W. Fristoe was supposed to land on Morotai Island, in the Netherlands East Indies, with the last wave of troops. So many men and officers were disappointed that he would not be with the first wave that he asked for permission to join it, and the Chief of Staff approved. A "Duck" (amphibious vehicle) took him, his assistant, and their equipment to the landing craft just before it pulled out. "When the men saw the chaplain was arriving a rousing cheer, like one hears at a football game, split the air." He got the "urge" to hold a service for the men aboard, and learned that he would have to get permission from the ship's captain who, he was warned, was "a hard old salt."

I approached the captain's cabin with a bit of anxiety. When I knocked he invited me in with a gruff voice. I introduced myself and

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told him what I wanted to do. Without answering me he said, "What did you say your name is, chaplain?" I repeated my name. He asked, "Do you know Bill Fristoe in Santa Cruz, California, by any chance?" I replied, "I surely do. Bill Fristoe is my father and Santa Cruz is my home town."

It turned out that the captain owned race horses in Santa Cruz, and bought feed for years at the store where Chaplain Fristoe's father was manager. They talked for some time and the captain again asked what it was he wanted to do. The request was repeated and the captain replied, "The ship is yours, chappy. When do you want the PA system turned on?" At daybreak Fristoe conducted a service. A sergeant with a beautiful baritone voice sang "The Old Rugged Cross." The chaplain read eleven verses of Psalm 91, and offered prayer extemporaneously. When he said, "Amen" and opened his eyes, he saw that nearly every helmet had been removed. In a few minutes the landing craft moved out and the attack was under way. Not one man from this ship was lost.⁸⁴

Not everyone in the Pacific was in jungle heat; Alaska and the Aleutians, for instance, were cold. Chaplain Joseph Ware, a Christian Scientist, had a unique assignment. He was to find and serve the men of his denomination wherever they were in Alaska, and to conduct as many general Protestant services as time and circumstances permitted. He was invited to conduct a Christmas Day service at a communication system transmitting station high up on a mountain near Kiska. A lieutenant in a caterpillar tractor picked him up and they rode together through a terrific blizzard. "The outpost was completely buried in snow. Not a hut could be seen. We slid down a tunnel into the Quonset hut which served as mess and recreation hall." There, shut away from the storm, Christmas was celebrated.⁸⁵ Similarly, Chaplain Kenson Kennedy was given unlimited freedom to travel at large throughout the China-Burma-India theater. William F. Mullaly, "sensitive to all sorts of needs," in his first report mentioned a social gathering he arranged for unmarried officers in Karachi.⁸⁶

Albert A. Gordon arranged for Passover in New Guinea in a well attended session with ecumenical, interracial overtones. He planned a Seder celebration for a maximum attendance of 600 but one thousand came. It was held in the hospital mess. They used mimeographed Haggadahs, (the printed ones came the day after the service); he got Jewish cooks and former caterers to help; a Chinese friend baked; fresh vegetables were obtained by an Australian army captain Michael Perl, from some "Fuzzy Wuzzy" natives from New Guinea.⁸⁷

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Bertram L. Smith served with what were then designated colored units. He reported that in many outfits there were men called to preach.

I attended one of the evening services of a ten-day revival. The men came to it after finishing their duties. A mess hall was set up by the chapel. Three preachers had a part in the service. The preaching was fervent and good, the singing was excellent, the devotional element was real and deep. Surely good only would result from such a service.⁸⁸

That was not an isolated experience. Men often ministered to other men in the absence of a chaplain, or as an extension of the ministry of the chaplain. Many chaplains reported knowledge of a number of young men who were called to the ministry as a result of their army experiences. In some cases these men were closer to their fellow soldiers than the chaplain. Paul D. Moody reported the experience of a friend who was sobered and enlightened when, speaking to a group of soldiers, he sought their ideas as to the cardinal sins. He thought they would say gambling, drinking, impurity, and swearing. He was surprised when they laughed and answered: cowardice, selfishness, laziness, and carelessness. Sins of the flesh did not shock them as much as sins of the spirit.⁸⁹

Ario S. Hyams came to the Philippines in July 1944 after six months in combat in Holland, Belgium, France and Germany. His was the distinction of being the only Jewish chaplain to serve during combat operations in both Europe and the Pacific in World War II.⁹⁰

J. M. Bradbury, a Southern Baptist, normally used grape juice in Communion services. In Assam on one occasion it was necessary to use real wine. "The look on their faces was one of astonishment, when that hot wine hit their lips."⁹¹

Deeds of valor, unusual ingenuity and flexibility in accomplishing the mission, tenacity, warmth toward, and love of their men, characterized the combat ministry of the chaplains in World War II. Fleet Admiral Chester M. Nimitz gave an evaluation and perspective on that ministry when he wrote:

My own esteem for the chaplains is not so much based upon deeds of valor as it is of appreciation for their routine accomplishments. No one will ever know how many young men were diverted from acts of depression by a heart-to-heart talk with the 'padre'. . . . By his patient, sympathetic labors with men, day in day out, and through many a night, every chaplain I know contributed immeasurably to the moral courage of our fighting men. None of that appears in statistics . . . It is for that toil in the cause of God and country that I honor the chaplains most.⁹²

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“They Also Serve . . .”

Not all of the military ministry in this period was in a combat setting, nor were all the stories tales of daring. Chaplain Dier told of a lad who wrote home to his mother “that he was where the bombs were the thickest,” which was true—in a way. The soldier’s job was on the docks, unloading them.⁹³ Charles D. Rice conducted services for the 744th Railway Operating Battalion. One evening while the service was in progress at Montabrand, France, one of the operators thought that it would be a good idea to broadcast the service up and down the line for the benefit of the other stations. “All went well until someone up the line decided to plug the Dispatcher in on the service. Now anyone who has ever worked around a railroad office knows how much a Dispatcher, any Dispatcher, would appreciate having his official line obstructed in any way.” There was general agreement, following the language used, that the Dispatcher should have taken time out to go to church somewhere. That ended the broadcast.⁹⁴

In Northern Ireland chaplains of the 5th Infantry were in charge of twelve Christmas parties held for children 6 to 12 years of age. 3,000 attended; they included refugees from bombed areas, children whose fathers were in service, and others. Soldiers entertained; movies were shown, cookies, doughnuts, candy, and a chocolate drink were served; toys made by the troops, along with other gifts, were distributed; Carols were sung. Various chaplains attended civilian clergy meetings. Clarence Ford represented the Army at the Episcopal Consecration of the Most Reverend Eugene O. O’Dougherty as the new Bishop of Dromore. Clarence F. Golish addressed the Methodist conference of pastors and lay representatives from all the churches in Ireland.⁹⁵

A Presidential Committee reviewed religion in the service during World War II and said that the duties of chaplains included: pastor, organizer, counselor, missionary, military officer, and ambassador.⁹⁶ It was the latter that was significant in many areas. One priest said that some people were pessimistic about the religious life of soldiers overseas. Despite the fact that facilities for Mass and the sacraments were scarcely ideal, Catholic chaplains at the front were “few and far-between” yet, Gerald Rabe wrote, “English, French, and Belgian priests unanimously rave, ‘What good Catholics the Yanks are!’ For my part I feel that I have the Army to thank for a deep and abiding faith in American Youth which has been challenged as never before.”⁹⁷ Walter Daib told about a service in Germany where there were 160 civilians, and 105 soldiers pres-

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ent. The soldiers were delighted to hear the German Christmas hymns, and a special trio that sang. One German civilian told Daib the next day, "If those citizens, who left town with the Germans because they believed the German propaganda that the American soldiers were barbarians, could only have looked in on the service."⁹⁸ Chaplain Lawrence Hertzog, from Oklahoma, was commended for serving temporarily as graves registration officer. When he found the officer in charge of that section severely wounded he took over the leadership to get the men moving in this necessary work.⁹⁹

Training continued throughout the war, even though the experience of some included less than ideal conditions. John R. Himes remembered parachute training in the 101st Airborne Division in Mourmelon-le-Petit, France, a quickie course for men already in combat with the division. It consisted of "8 days of P.T., take you up and push you out five times, you're qualified."¹⁰⁰ Lyman C. Berrett walked 30 miles with his unit at Camp Polk, Louisiana, in twelve hours; he gave the credit to an Irish drill sergeant at Harvard who lectured the chaplain students on obedience, promptly marched them into the Charles River in water up to their armpits, left them standing for five minutes, then gave them about face and marched them out. He marched them until their new shoes dried; to their amazement, the shoes fit like gloves.¹⁰¹ When Masao Yamada was in training for combat duty at Camp Shelby, Mississippi, the newspapers picked up his story because he was the first Hawaii chaplain of Japanese ancestry to enter the armed forces. A Congregationalist, 36 years old, Yamada said, "God and guns will win the war for the United Nations." His earlier studies took him to Tokyo for seven years where he had a ringside seat during "the militarists' attempt to assassinate Emperor Hirohito and set up a strictly military government."¹⁰² A climate of suspicions surrounded Japanese-Americans, and their loyalty was questioned after the Pearl Harbor sneak attack; however, units of Japanese-Americans distinguished themselves in combat in Europe.

When a bomber crashed in flames in England, setting a fire to a two story brick barracks, Chaplain William J. Zink, a citation read, "with complete disregard for his own personal safety rushed into the building to search for trapped men. He was eventually forced to leave because of the dense smoke and fumes from the fire. Although his hands were burned he re-entered the building . . . with a gas mask and helmet in an attempt to reach a trapped man that he had located." He gave last rites to the

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men who were killed in the crash and assisted medical personnel in extricating bodies from the wreckage of the bomber.¹⁰³

The Ministry To Prisoners Of War

The Chaplains who worked with German, Italian, and Japanese prisoners of war discovered how deeply implanted was the ideology of their respective governments. As prisoners discovered the real nature of the enemy and the truth about how the war progressed, they became victims of a belief vacuum. The chaplains tried to lead them to religious faith. Several chaplains reported that wounded prisoners thought they would be killed, and learned through acts of kindness by chaplains that the captors could be trusted. Orlando V. Hayne told of a Nazi pilot who thought the medics were trying to poison him when they gave him plasma; Hayne was able to calm him down.¹⁰⁴ Albert J. Hoffman spoke German and was assigned the task of questioning prisoners in Tunisia. He felt his presence would insure proper treatment of the men. On the Italian front he saw a party of civilians come to kill a wounded German with their knives; Hoffman threw them out and set a guard.¹⁰⁵ Anton Egger, a German clergyman, was a prisoner of the Americans at Camp Maxey. When he returned to Innsbruck after the war he wrote a letter thanking the chaplains for their kindness. When he came in contact “with many who had to undergo the same misfortune of capture, but in other hands and at other places—I really learned to appreciate how fortunate I was.”¹⁰⁶

Albert R. H. Miller saw “Hitler’s Supermen” as ragged men and boys boarding a transport ship as prisoners. He reported mixed feelings: “It was a feeling of antagonism because of what they represented, of pity because they had been wounded and were prisoners of war, away from home and loved ones, even as we.” He saw them as proper subjects of evangelism. Miller felt that while they were prisoners they would be shown the advantage of democracy over dictatorship; of forgiveness over revenge. “The impressions they get of us while here will do more to educate them in the democratic way of life than a year’s lectures on the meaning of democracy.” He reported 85% of the prisoners attended service, the others being too sick.¹⁰⁷ John W. Handy, Jr. reported ministering to POW’s with the help of prisoner ministers.¹⁰⁸ Hiro Higuchi had an interesting and perhaps unique experience. 10,000 Japanese prisoners “came to service, not because of my message, but just to observe a Japanese-American chaplain preach in English, and a Caucasian minister interpret the sermon in Japanese.”¹⁰⁹ John O. Fisher reported that his

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Jewish assistant was of great value in working with German prisoners at the hospital. He was "fluent in Yiddish, which they took to be lousy German. But they understood it."¹¹⁰ Arthur J. Doege, a Missouri Synod Lutheran, wrote, "With hard work I had excellent attendance, instructions every night and nearly 1,800 baptisms. I had the confidence of men confined and was used by the CO to quell riots." He worked with German POW's at Camp Edwards from 1943 to 1945.¹¹¹

The Execution Of A Private

An event which went by almost unnoticed at the time was the execution of Private Eddie D. Slovik, ASN 39896415. Records of the Seventh Army Chaplain section showed that Slovik "was shot to death by musketry because of conviction by Courts-Martial for desertion to avoid hazardous duty." Carl P. Cummings, a Catholic chaplain, was assigned to look after the spiritual needs of the prisoner and the official report concluded: "The condemned man's composure at his execution gave evidence of the thorough preparation given him by Chaplain Cummings."¹¹²

Edward L. R. Elson, ranking chaplain of XXIst Corps, was sent by Lieutenant General Frank W. Milburn, "to attend as my representative and give me a full report."¹¹³ Chaplains Ralph E. Smith and Lloyd E. Langford were also witnesses.

Elson wrote thirty years later that it was the assignment he liked least in his military career.¹¹⁴ As a priest, Cummings did not feel responsible to challenge the legality of the sentence, but saw his duty and responsibility to prepare a communicant for death. Slovik also felt this was the proper relationship between himself and Cummings, and remarked that he was more fortunate than the men in the line, because he knew when he was to die and had time to make his peace with God. He attended confession and a private mass. On the day of the execution he appeared to observers to be the bravest man on the field. Cummings said later that for two thousand years the Catholic church had been supplying what Eddie Slovik needed on the day of his death. "From where else can a little man find strength?"¹¹⁵

The Last Mass Execution In The US

Even less publicized at the time than the Slovik case was the last mass execution in the United States, carried out at the United States Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on 25 August 1945. Werner Drechsler, a young German sailor from a submarine, cooperated

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with his American captors by providing military information when questioned. The other German prisoners found out about it but were moved to a different camp. Later Drechsler was sent to this camp to rejoin his fellow ship-mates. The other prisoners could not believe the Americans capable of such stupidity, and interpreted this as permission to take revenge on Drechsler, who in their view was clearly a traitor. They rushed him one night in his bunk, carried him to the shower room where they hanged him after a quick kangaroo court had "convicted" him. Seven prisoners were sentenced to hang for the murder of Drechsler and sent to Leavenworth.

Chaplain John Sagar and Chaplain George Towle became well acquainted with the condemned men. The execution of the sentence was delayed as plans to exchange them for American prisoners of war bogged down. Towle spoke excellent German, worked extensively with the prisoners and knew them better than anyone else. Richard Whittingham wrote of the ministry of Towle, a priest, "It was a meeting with someone who did not represent war or violence or punishment, someone who wanted to talk about . . . home and families, their feeling and ideas . . ." The men sensed that this was their first contact in several years with a milder, more civilized world. Besides bringing a humanitarian concern for their well being, Towle ministered to their spiritual needs and helped them face the facts of their impending deaths. On the day of their executions several of the prisoners publically thanked the authorities for the presence and ministry of Chaplain George Towle.¹¹⁶

Bibles In World War II

Bibles and Scripture portions played a large part in the ministry of chaplains, and many stories about Bibles form a part of the legend of World War II. A number of stories persisted about men whose lives were saved when a bullet struck their Bible and was embedded in its pages. An Army lieutenant wrote his sister in Pennsylvania about such an incident. "As I reached for my carbine, a shot struck me in the breast and blasted me down. Thinking I was dead, my pal . . . was amazed when I rolled over and tried to get up . . . I pulled that little Bible out of my pocket and . . . I looked at the ugly hole in its cover." It had ripped from Genesis to Psalm 91.

"A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee."

It was signed "Your loving brother, George," and appeared on the bulletin board at Patterson Field, Dayton, Ohio, in a California

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newspaper, and *The Army and Navy Chaplain*.¹¹⁷ The story, or similar ones, gained wide circulation and a Bible with stainless steel covers became popular.

Roger P. Melton found that reading the Bible, rather than carrying it, could have a good outcome. He was wounded in the throat by shrapnel. The metal fragment was so lodged that doctors feared to operate because of permanent damage to his voice. For a time he was unable to speak above a whisper. One Sunday afternoon sitting on his bed reading the Bible, the chaplain was seized with a fit of coughing. The fragment was spit out, and his voice returned. His only complaint was difficulty in reaching high notes while singing.¹¹⁸

A famous Bible story of World War II involved Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, a former race car driver, World War I flying ace, and later an airline executive. His aircraft went down in the Pacific, and Rickenbacker and his crew were adrift on life rafts for 21 days. Johnny Bartek, a crew member, had a New Testament, and watching him read it inspired all the men to become more familiar with the Scriptures. They held morning and evening prayers and passed the Book around, and each in turn found a meaningful passage to read aloud. The story is a fascinating one; a seagull landed on the head of one man in answer to their prayers for food and was quickly eaten; when they had no fresh water, rain came from heaven “against the wind” and quenched their thirst. One passage they read daily: “Therefore take no thought saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? . . . But seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you . . .” (Mat. 6:31–34 KJV)¹¹⁹

The story was given much publicity, and Bartek donated his Testament to the American Bible Society. This led to the development by that organization of “The Life Raft Packet.” The Gospel of St. Matthew in the King James Version for Protestants; the same Gospel in the Douay Version for Catholics; and the Psalms (Courtesy of the Jewish Publishing Society) for Jews, were sealed in waterproof containers and, through the War Shipping Administration, placed on every life raft and life boat of every merchant vessel. 145,000 of these packets were produced. An additional 40,000 New Testaments (complete) were placed in waterproof containers aboard aircraft and in survival gear. The American Bible Society felt these projects summed up the society’s basic purpose which, “seeks to supply the Scriptures effectively to persons who otherwise might not have them.”¹²⁰

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The biggest Bible story in terms of numbers and influence came as a result of a letter from a woman in Iowa to the President of the United States, ten days after the Selective Service Act became effective:

Ayrshire, Iowa

October 26, 1940

President Roosevelt:

I was recently reading how that King George of England gives a New Testament to every man who dons the uniform, with a testimony of his faith written in each one. Now I truly believe God will honor such faith and I believe that England as long as she honors God thus, will never be conquered.

I think it would be timely if our president would do likewise and place a Testament in the hands of conscripted men. Perhaps many would give their lives to Christ and the prayers of faith would save our country from war. It would be a God honoring thing to do and all Christians would support you 100% and you would reap eternal reward. I'm a great believer in prayer and in God and hope you are too.

Sincerely in Him
Mrs. Evelyn Kohlstedt
Ayrshire, Iowa

Such are the ways of the American system of government that this simple letter set in motion a chain of events that led to the government printing of eleven million Testaments for men in the armed forces. Every serviceman was furnished with a Testament if he desired it.¹²¹ The Protestant New Testament was the King James Version, the Catholic was the Stedman arrangement of the New Testament, and the Jewish Testament was a collection of readings selected by the Committee of Religious Activities of the Jewish Welfare Board from a Scripture version of the Jewish Publication Society of America.

On the flyleaf of each Testament was this foreward from the President:

The White House

Washington

March 6, 1941

To the Members of the Army:

As Commander-in-Chief I take pleasure in commending the reading of the Bible to all who serve in the armed forces of the

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United States. Throughout the centuries men of many faiths and diverse origins have found in the Sacred Book words of wisdom, counsel, and inspiration. It is a fountain of strength and now as always, an aid in attaining the highest aspirations of the human soul.

Very Sincerely Yours
Franklin D. Roosevelt

The postscript in each Army Testament had a message from the Chief of Chaplains:

Do you know your chaplain? This copy of the Scriptures should initiate and promote a warm friendship between you and your chaplain. He has studied the Word of God for years and uses it daily for his own strength and comfort, and for the instruction of others. His love for the Scriptures makes him your friend and guide. When he counsels you he speaks with knowledge and charity found in this little volume. A soldier who knows the Word of God and honestly tries to observe His laws is a man of power and influence among his fellows and exalts his military service to the high level of religious faith, courage and loyalty.

William R. Arnold
Chief of Chaplains

The American Bible Society, the Gideons, and the Pocket Testament League were the leading civilian organizations that distributed Scriptures. The American Bible Society gave Bibles and Scripture portions to prisoners of war and internees in the United States, supplied pulpit Bibles to Army Chapels, gave briefings and materials to the chaplain students at Harvard, and sent thousands of Testaments to Americans who were prisoners of the Germans and Japanese. 3,036 Bibles went to Chaplain Leigh Wright aboard the Queen Mary, for distribution to British War Brides. So close was the relationship of this organization to the chaplains that when rationing of paper was instituted by the War Production Board, additional paper was secured from the allotment allowed to the Chiefs of Chaplains of the Army and Navy. Paper was a problem since the American Bible Society printed New Testaments at the rate of 9,000 a day by November 1942. The Gideon Society supplied aroundt 25,000 a month. In 8½ years of the War Emergency Fund the American Bible Society supplied 2,909,355 Bibles, Testaments, and portions to POWs alone, at a cost of \$317,979.65. In

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1945 they distributed 2,749,074 Bibles, Testaments and portions to American armed forces personnel.¹²²

Other Literature

Devotional guides were popular during the war years. Alvin R. Nygaard's *Service for God and Country* was widely distributed. Alva J. Brasted's *Service to Servicemen* brought a comment from Chaplain Arnold that it was "worth its weight in gold." *The Prayer Book for Eastern Orthodox Christians* was published by the YMCA. *The Upper Room* was popular in a pocket edition and a quarter of a million copies went to servicemen in 1943. *The Christian Science Monitor* appeared on chapel reading racks. *Reveille*, a small paper slanted to servicemen, was inspirational and humorous. *Our Sunday Visitor*, *Link*, and many other denominational magazines and devotional guides were distributed by chaplains. Guidance from the Chief's office recommended careful monitoring of all literature, pamphlets and tracts to make sure that controversial material that attacked the faith of others was excluded. Dr. Marion Creeger of the YMCA-USO was visiting on the West Coast when he saw a woman distributing small copies of Sallman's "Head of Christ." He remembered an anonymous statement of Christ's life entitled "One Solitary Life," and a card was produced with the picture on one side and the text on the other. It became one of the most popular items and two and one-half million copies were distributed through chaplains and others.¹²³ •

The Hymnal, Army and Navy, and *The Song and Service Book, Army and Navy for Field and Ship* replaced the earlier hymnal that was in use for 20 years. Ivan L. Bennet was chosen by the Chief to head the project. 1,675 chaplains, clergymen and musicians were polled as to which hymns were the most popular. The hymns with the most votes were included. *The Song and Service Book* was intended for use in the field and each chaplain received 150 copies. By the end of the war 10,000,000 copies were printed. *Hymns From Home*, a leaflet which contained the words of 13 most-used hymns, was given to chaplains for use overseas. Each package of 5 leaflets contained one pamphlet with the music. Twelve packages were distributed to each overseas chaplain. One million copies were inserted in emergency ration cartons by the Quartermaster. The initial printing of 3 million copies in 1943 was soon exhausted and another printing of 2 million followed.¹²⁴

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Distinguished Visitors

American civilian clergy and public were concerned with the spiritual welfare of the citizen soldier. The desire of many prominent clergymen was to go and see for themselves how "our boys" were getting along. To give some order and control to this program of visitation, General Marshall made it clear that the Chief of Chaplains would be in charge of clearing visitors. He approved visits by a limited number of civilian clergymen selected by the General Commission on Chaplains, The Military Ordinate, and the Jewish Welfare Board.¹²⁵ Accordingly, some prominent clergy were invited by the President to tour the theaters of war and bring him a report.

Action This Day chronicled the 100,000 miles traveled by Archbishop Spellman in his visits to chaplains and troops. The book began as letters to his father, but later was published as a report to the people on how their sons, fathers, brothers, and sisters were doing. He left on 9 February 1943, after reporting to the President that he was vaccinated against cholera, smallpox, typhus, yellow fever, typhoid, paratyphoid, and tetanus. Spellman met with the British Prime Minister and reported, "Mr. Churchill said that he is a man of faith," who believed that the Almighty God saved England in several critical situations; he named the failure of the Germans to follow up on their success at Dunkirk, the calm sea which prevailed for the first day in many weeks at the time of the invasion of North Africa, and several other occurrences of like moment.¹²⁶ Spellman spoke at numerous chaplain conferences, celebrated Mass, and visited civilians and military of all ranks. He visited Europe again in 1944, and in 1945 made an extensive visit to Europe and the Far East.¹²⁷ He wrote of meetings with various chaplains, including William Walsh and Patrick Ryan in North Africa. "Nothing in my trip gives me greater pleasure than these informal visits with the chaplains—the fulfillment of the purpose of my journey."¹²⁸

Bishop Adna W. Leonard, Chairman of the General Commission on Chaplains, made a similar trip to visit chaplains and other military in Europe in April 1943. After visiting a number of installations in Great Britain, Leonard, escorted by Chaplain Frank L. Miller and in the company of General Andrews, flew to Iceland. As it attempted a landing in fog, the plane crashed into a rocky hill and killed all members of the party except one enlisted man. Dr. William Barrow Pugh, a chaplain in World War I, was chosen to succeed Leonard and arrangements were made for him to complete the tour planned by his predecessor. Deputy Chief of Chaplains, George F. Rixey, served as his military aide.¹²⁹

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Bishop John Andrew Gregg represented the Fraternal Council of Negro Churches of America in a visit of encouragement and inspiration. Accompanied by Chaplain John A. DeVeaux, Gregg made an extended trip through Australia and the Pacific, and later toured installations in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The color line was first encountered in Natal, where the law would not permit him to stay at a hotel. Trying to stay within the law, yet not embarrass a representative of the President, arrangements were made for him to stay in a hospital maintained by American Congregationalists. He delighted his hosts by a remark that it was appropriate for him to stay in a hospital because, after traveling around the world, he discovered he was suffering from "an incurable case of malignant pigmentation."¹³⁰ Bishop Gregg was impressed with the fairness with which he saw black troops treated, and was "delighted to see them operating machinery which heretofore they had no opportunity to learn to operate. Far from being broken and embittered by this army service, they are acquiring skills which will make them more useful citizens when the war is ended."¹³¹ His optimistic assessment of the treatment of black soldiers may have been naive, or cognizant of the fact that the folks at home needed reassurance in wartime more than they needed racial confrontation and discussion. The Bishop did not use this opportunity to confront the system.

The Jewish Welfare Board organized the Committee on Army and Navy Religious Activities with representatives of Orthodox, Conservative and Reform groups. Dr. Philip S. Bernstein, chairman of the committee, wrote: "The entire chaplaincy situation presents this paradox. Most of the men in the military services are Orthodox; most of the chaplains are Reform, most of the services are Conservative."¹³² Dr. Bernstein visited the Far East, and Mr. Walter Rothschild and Dr. Barnett Bricker visited Europe and North Africa. Their observations, and those made by other official visitors, led to improvement in Jewish coverage.¹³³

Other distinguished clergy visitors included Dr. Daniel Poling, Editor of the *Christian Herald* and President of the World Christian Endeavor Union; Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill, Chairman of the General Commission; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, President of the Federal Council of Churches; and Bishop Garber of the World Council of Churches.¹³⁴

Helping Agencies

The chaplains had help doing their jobs. The role of church indorsing agencies was discussed earlier, as was the work of the American Bible Society and other societies that furnished religious literature. *At His Side*

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was an extensive history of the Work of the American Red Cross overseas in World War II.¹³⁵ By 0755 on 7 December 1941 the Red Cross Canteen was operating at Pearl Harbor. 11,000,000 pints of blood, almost one pint for every man and woman in the armed services, was collected through the blood donor program. A statistically minded person calculated that for three years after Pearl Harbor blood was collected at the rate of six pints per minute.¹³⁶ The Red Cross gave stationery and "comfort items" to chaplains for distribution. Joint programs, facilities, and equipment were utilized at many posts. A Field Director said of Chaplain Charles I. Carpenter, for instance, that he "is friendly to Red Cross and keenly interested in our work . . . we have had his full cooperation at all times."¹³⁷ Sight seeing trips were organized by chaplains in conjunction with the Red Cross or Special Services. The presence of female Red Cross workers helped morale.¹³⁸

Similarly, the YMCA was a friend to chaplains, and many joint programs were worked out. The YMCA Film Exchange supported the chaplains with outstanding films such as "The World We Want To Live In," "Journey Into Faith," and others of a patriotic, religious, or entertainment nature. They supplied religious literature and invited chaplains regularly to hold services in their facilities.¹³⁹ The United Services Organization (USO) provided service centers in numerous military areas, and some denominations and individual congregations sponsored centers. The Holy Name Society, the Guardians of America, The Society of Christian Endeavor, and the Servicemen's Christian League, were programs used by chaplains to provide fellowship, devotion, evangelism and education.¹⁴⁰ Thousands of volunteer workers from churches and synagogues gave blood; became drivers, hostesses, and dancing partners; knitted scarves; served doughnuts and coffee; wrote letters; collected scrap iron and tin cans; bought war bonds and stamps; prayed for and talked with men and women away from home. They cared, and hung flags in the window with blue service stars that sometimes tragically turned to gold to signify the death of a person in service. Everyone knew "there's a war on," a popular wartime phrase, and most did something about it.

Chaplain's Assistants

Not until World War II were chaplain's assistants provided by regulation, and the regulation was followed in most cases as policy. AR 60-5 stipulated that the commanding officer would provide chaplains with assistants. Training Manual 12-427 classified the assistant as a clerk-typist (MOS 405) and most tables of organization provided for a tech-

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nician with a grade of 5; later, higher levels of command allowed higher grades. A continuing morale problem was the extremely able assistant who could not be promoted in his unit and remain as an assistant. Many, out of loyalty to the job, refused promotion.

The Chaplain's assistant was not the chaplain's orderly nor an assistant chaplain. His duties were to drive and maintain a jeep and trailer; typing, play the organ and lead a choir; carry a weapon to protect himself and his chaplain; set up the altar for Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish services, maintain records and prepare reports. The nature of the work required assistants who were intelligent, efficient, and of unquestioned moral stature. In many cases assistants were supplied who were the multi-talented persons of chaplains' fantasies. In other cases they were not provided at all, or were problem children, misfits, given to the chaplain as a challenge.¹⁴¹ Kenneth L. Ames said of his assistant, "His uniqueness was that he was in a sense my passport to the troops. He helped me to know intimately what they were thinking, their state of morale, etc. . . . He couldn't play an organ, had only a high school education, but he was a priceless asset to me."¹⁴²

Sometimes they felt apart from the men. Kenneth A. Connelly, Jr., a college graduate and talented musician, wrote home about "the common man" one meets in the barracks: "How can we expect an intelligently directed democracy in a nation where the average male adult finds his favorite reading in a comic book . . . beauty in hill-billy songs, burlesque and peep show magazines . . . philosophy in a bottle of liquor?"¹⁴³ Despite such observations Connelly's real concern for the men brought a commendation from his commanding officer, Colonel T. A. Pedley, Jr. and Connelly wrote of those in the Battle of the Bulge . . . "the boys in the foxholes are showing a heroism almost beyond belief in the face of the greatest suffering."¹⁴⁴

Sergeant Stanley T. Purdy was a twenty-five-year-old assistant for William F. King. King had so many close calls in combat that Purdy complained he aged twenty years, which made him forty five, "and too old for the Army." Purdy said "I thought driving a chaplain around was going to be an easy job."¹⁴⁵

Two assistants were killed on 7 December 1941, the first day of the war, as the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor.¹⁴⁶ A Jewish assistant in the XVIII Corps (Airborne) chaplain's section was killed when the vehicle he drove hit a mine in April 1945.¹⁴⁷ Specific statistics were not kept since the assistants were lumped together by military occupational specialty

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with all other clerk-typists. Beyond clerk-typist school, about the only training for assistants was on-the-job experience; there were a few conference-type schools, none exceeding one week. In 1944 the Army Air Force started a school in San Antonio which offered a two week course.¹⁴⁸

The definitive work on chaplain's assistants in the Army has not been written, though some literature is available.¹⁴⁹ One official report said:

Tribute should be paid to chaplain assistants without whose energy the chaplains could not have carried on. In addition to their regular duties they were carpenters, common stone masons, landscape engineers. . . . The good humor and patience of a chaplain's assistant were often a boon to the chaplain's morale.¹⁵⁰

One assistant who struggled with a folding altar, a portable organ, communion kit, hymnal chest, and public address system turned to his chaplain and asked, "Sir, didn't Jesus travel lighter than this?"¹⁵¹

Conscientious Objectors

The conscience of some men did not permit them to serve in the Army in any capacity. Civilian Public Service Camps were organized by the churches so that men could perform "work of national importance" approved by the Selective Service, such as reforestation, forest fire fighting, soil erosion control, and reclamation. The Congress did not pay anything toward this program, which grew to 50 camps and 8,000 men. Ninety percent of the money to operate the program came from the churches. The Society of Friends, Church of the Brethren and the Mennonite Church (historic peace churches) carried the heaviest responsibility for the program.

The courage of these objectors to war was demonstrated when they volunteered as "guinea pigs" for various medical and dietary experiments, and served as "smoke jumpers" (parachute fire fighters). A newspaper, *The Conscientious Objector*, was published in New York. A magazine, *The Compass*, was published by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. These organs carried news of CO camps at Coleville, California, Ambler, Pennsylvania, Seeley Lake, Montana, etc. These men were classified IV-E, and were considered in compliance with the law.

Men who reported for duty with the Army but would not bear arms were interviewed by chaplains; most were assigned duties as medics, where they distinguished themselves in combat by their aid to the wounded, often at the risk of their own lives. They could not be assigned as chaplain's assistants because the duties of that job required bearing

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arms. Others served in transportation, clerical, special services, and quartermaster jobs. Many counseling sessions resulted when these men were assigned guard duty and appealed to chaplains for help in their predicaments of conscience.

Popular Religion—Foxholes And Atheists

The crisis of war made many a man turn to fundamental faith in God in which he found strength and vision for the demands to be faced. Men confronting the possibility of death, caught up in a global war over which they personally had little or no control, realized they needed resources of faith which they had but slightly tapped before.

What did leaders and followers believe? How “real” was the religion of the soldier? Was there a turning toward or from traditional faith? How effective were the chaplains in their primary mission of bringing man to God and God to man? Was it Christianity and Judaism that were embraced, or a kind of blurred common denominator popular blend of faith and patriotism called “Americanism”?

A favorite saying in the period, “There are no atheists in fox holes,” was addressed by many chaplains in correspondence, interviews, questionnaires, and published books and articles. There was no wave of religious conversion to support this saying. Almost all the chaplains who addressed the subject observed that religious faith was not usually found in the stress of combat. Rather, religious teachings that men already had embraced were a source of strength, and the time of peril made more dramatic their calling upon them. There was a new awareness on the part of servicemen and women of the resources which religion had to offer, and a sensitivity to the cogency and relevancy of religious teachings to the peculiar environment of which they were a part.

While men attended chapel services, drew upon their personal resources of faith, and found a new depth of religious experience, this was not necessarily related to any denominational group. Dr. Dan Poling, one of the distinguished clergy visitors to the world’s battlefronts, said in December 1943:

On all the fronts where I have gone since August 1941 from England to North Africa, from South America to Egypt, India, and China, and in the camps at home, two things more than all others have troubled me, two things not good for America. First, positive bitterness against organized labor (perhaps I should write: against leaders of organized labor). Second, overwhelming indifference to organized religion.¹⁵²

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The reference to labor concerned the strikes at home in essential industries, when servicemen faced serious shortages of equipment—or the fear of such shortages. The second point made by Dr. Poling is not as easily identified in terms of cause and effect. Poling meant that men in the stress of combat sought fundamentals of faith, and they were not particularly interested in the organized church as such. He was concerned whether the civilian church would have a faith as vital as that found by men flying the lonely skies or fighting in the foxholes.

Gill Robb Wilson after his 1944 visit in England wrote, "No one could tell me what effect the war was having on the spiritual life of men. All were certain that the average member of a fighting crew took constant refuge in prayer. No one had ever heard an airman scoff at religion." And Air Chaplain Carpenter wrote, "I know of no minister . . . in the chaplaincy who was looked down upon because he was true to the ideals of his profession."¹⁵³

It is safe to conclude that there was no real opposition either in the service or the civilian community to the work of chaplains in World War II. Many soldiers embraced "popular religion" in the form of carrying a rabbit's foot or other good luck charm; wore religious medals which they endowed with only half thought, through beliefs; or adopted a fatalism reflected in "If your number is up, your number is up." Men carried Bibles in their pockets who never carried them before.

Feelings of God's presence and aid became a very common theme. Colonel Robert Scott wrote a famous war book, *God Is My Co-Pilot*. The story of Captain Eddie Rickenbacker's crash landing in the Pacific inspired three books, *Seven Came Through*, *We Thought We Heard the Angels Sing*, and *Life Out There*. In these books, and in many statements of personal faith there was a closeness to God, almost chumminess. One pilot said, "We still fly our raids with the firm faith that God is riding our ship—sometimes you can actually see and hear him." Technical Sergeant Joseph Monfort said, "I never felt as close to God as I did over there. It was every living, breathing moment of day and nite, and He would be there to 'just chew the fat' with me." Lt. Robert Trenkle said, "When I am in combat, I just call on God to look after me. There is nothing for me to worry about. All I have to do from then on is just do my job. If He wants me to come back, He'll get me through."¹⁵⁴

Many pilots and aircrew men felt they owed their lives to their faith in God. Captain M. L. Vinson of Houston, Texas, piloted a Flying Fortress on a raid over Germany. The plane was hit several times and there were at least two bad explosions inside the aircraft. Two engines

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were dead and the ship was wobbling badly and losing altitude. He ordered his ten shipmates to bail out, but at the last minute decided to bring the ship in although he would not allow his crew to take the risk involved. When he landed he said "The Man Upstairs brought me down. I talked to him plenty—and He must have heard me. You see the chips were down!" Clifford Anderson made a blind emergency landing at night when his own life and the lives of several civilians were at stake. He reported, "I never would have attempted a landing there in daylight—it wasn't humanly possible . . . The Lord did it for me."¹⁵⁵ Similar stories of rescue, deliverance and religious faith can be found in every theatre of the war.

The theological fine points of what happened to those who believed just as strongly and lost their lives, whether God does in fact ride in a machine whose mission is to rain down death from the skies, and whether God was on America's side, were not deeply examined. Neither did some see the incongruity in the story told by Chaplain Roy M. Terry, about the time he heard a terrific amount of profanity outside his chapel hut in North Africa; upon investigation he discovered the men were building an altar to surprise him. In many disciplines there is the authentic and the distorted—so it was with popular religion. Sometimes they were inextricably mixed.

The Final Days of War

As the war continued in Europe and the Pacific there were some changes in the Chief of Chaplain's Office. On 7 December 1944 a unique promotion ceremony took place. Chaplain George F. Rixey pinned the second star on Chaplain William R. Arnold, making him the first chaplain to hold the rank of Major General. Then Arnold reciprocated by pinning a star on Rixey, which established the grade of Brigadier General for the Deputy Chief of Chaplains.¹⁵⁶

On 1 April 1945 the War Department announced that Arnold, whose eight-year tour as Chief was soon to expire, was designated Assistant Inspector General in the Office of the Inspector General.¹⁵⁷ Chaplain (Brigadier General Luther D. Miller replaced him as Chief of Chaplains. Rixey also was moved to the Office of the Inspector General and replaced by the former Commandant of the Chaplain School, William D. Cleary. Cleary, a Catholic, served as Deputy to Miller, an Episcopalian. Thus the custom initiated by Arnold, that a Catholic Chief had a Protestant Deputy, and vice versa, was continued.

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Luther D. Miller had twenty-six years of service when nominated to be Chief of Chaplains; the last thirty-three months of that were in the Pacific as Sixth Army Chaplain. A native of Leesburg, Pennsylvania, a graduate of Thiel College in Greenville, Pennsylvania, and of Chicago Theological Seminary, he entered Army service in August 1918. Miller served in prewar China, Hawaii, Fort Sam Houston, and Columbia, South Carolina; in World War II, he served in Australia, New Guinea, and the Philippines.¹⁵⁸

While promotions were going on at the top there was some dissatisfaction a little further down the line. Promotion policy was unequal, especially overseas. Chaplains came on duty as first lieutenants and could be promoted to captain easily and quickly in the United States, but much more slowly in theaters outside the country. This caused morale problems when chaplain captains arrived from the States with less time in the Army than some chaplain lieutenants had in combat. By the end of the war, promotion to the grade of captain was usual for any chaplain who had served any length of time.

Grades higher than captain were reserved for those in supervisory positions. Promotion to field grade was dependent on serving in an authorized position division level or higher, calling for supervisory responsibilities over other chaplains. Overseas "spot promotions" could be given to chaplains assigned to such positions. What this meant in actual practice was that a chaplain assigned to a line unit calling for a captain would stay in that grade, perhaps throughout the war. But a chaplain might be assigned to a headquarters that expanded, and expanded again, so that a chaplain like Carpenter in the Air Forces went from captain to colonel in fifteen months! This led some wags to erect a sign in front of the officer's club:

Young colonels of the Air Force under 21 years of age will not be admitted to the bar unless accompanied by a parent.

Jorgensen stated:

Actually, staff chaplains had too wide an area for supervision and many company grade chaplains held staff responsibility. . . . To have doubled the number of field grade chaplains would have provided a better promotion program, closer supervision, and enhanced status.¹⁵⁹

Late in 1944 Chief of Chaplains Arnold selected the musical composition "Soldiers of God" as the official chaplain march. It was first introduced to radio audiences by Bing Crosby on his Easter broadcast over the NBC network. Jacob Sampson Payton said of it,

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"The official march is no more martial than 'Onward Christian Soldiers'. Its words breathe no lust for vengeance, no appeal to war and no glorification of war."¹⁶⁰ Words of the song follow:

Faithful to God,
We're serving on the battlefield today.
Embracing the cause of Righteousness,
We're marching on our way.

Soldiers of God,
We serve Him faithfully,
And march in His name thru thunder and flame
Wherever the "Call" may be.
Trusting in God,
His strength we lean upon,
As into the fight the Legions of Light,
The Soldiers of God, march on.

We are there, as the chaplains of the nation,
Ev'rywhere with our fighting congregation,
Serving the Lord,
And serving the cause of humanity.
Onward we go till victory is won,
For Justice and Right the Legions of Light
The Soldiers of God march on!

Burial of the dead with appropriate honors was a real concern of chaplains. Every effort was made to see that each soldier was buried in the appropriate manner of his faith. The Arabs were impressed when a chaplain and his party made a long trek into the Atlas Mountains to bring out the bodies of airmen. In Australia a party climbed two days through briars and jungle vines to reach and bury the bodies of seven killed on a high mountain.

In the summer of 1945, 21 persons met death when their plane crashed into the cliffs in New Guinea. A few days later a Catholic and a Protestant chaplain flew to the scene. Landing was impossible so they dropped crosses and a Star of David to Filipino paratroopers who were to dig the graves. While the plane circled the spot, the chaplains recited the funeral rituals of their faiths. No Jewish chaplain was available within a thousand miles, so one of the chaplains read the service of that faith for the Jewish girl who was among the victims. Wallace Hale, on

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the Italian front, reported the burial of 414 Americans and 168 of the enemy in July 1944. Though the figures rose and fell over the months that followed he gave each man a separate and appropriate service.¹⁶¹

As the war came to a close the "living dead" of the prison camps were set free. Among them were civilian clergy and chaplains. The work the chaplains did with former prisoners and displaced persons was vital, but shocked them to the depths of their souls.

Robert L. Schock visited a concentration camp at Ludwigslust. The camp held French, Poles, Italians and "was offensive to nose, eye, and heart. Men lay dying from starvation, illness, and inhumane treatment, too weak in fact, to dispose of their own bodily excretions. When the able ones heard Mass was going to be said, they shed tears of gratitude." On 8 May burial services were held with townspeople forced to attend. Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish chaplains were present, and services were amplified with loudspeakers and conducted in German and English.¹⁶²

The Jewish chaplains felt more personally than most a special interest in the wretched people of the concentration camps, and were able to reach them through a common faith and language. Judah Nadich was advisor to General Eisenhower on Jewish Affairs in the European Theatre of Operations. His duty included visits to concentration camps and DP (Displaced Persons) camps, and he reported directly to Eisenhower or his Chief of Staff, Walter B. Smith. Due to the international character of his work he received The Croix De Guerre from France, Order of The British Empire from Great Britain, and the Aleh (Warrior's Medal) from Israel.¹⁶³ Nadich said, "The Nazi crime against the Jews was without precedence. . . . The Army had not encountered such problems before and was not prepared to cope with them The Rabbis in uniform were the first to cope with the chaos that followed liberation."¹⁶⁴ One sobbing survivor called the first American Jewish chaplain she saw "a malach fun Gott," an angel sent by God. Chaplains Samuel Teitlebaum and Earl S. Stone worked with the Jewish Brigade and the Palestinian transport companies in Italy. David Max Eichhorn, Samuel Schenck, Herman Dicker, and Aaron Tofield worked in France. Isaac Klien, Arthur Brodey, Meyer G. Goldman, Morris A. Sandhaus, Benjamin Gorrelick and Carl Miller worked in Belgium. Rabbi Gorrelick received 100 packages a week containing food, drugs and vitamins, from his congregation in Albany, New York.¹⁶⁵

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In Germany the liberators found horrors that were far greater than anything beyond the Rhine. There were the gas chambers, dog pits, crematoria, mass graves, slave labor camps; and the disease-wracked, emaciated survivors, too dazed to comprehend liberation. The problems of relief demanded quick solution. Immediate medical attention, food, clothing, medicines, and sanitation necessities, were required in vast amounts. One of the first requirements in every camp was for information about missing relatives. Since no civilian postal system was functioning, the chaplains and their assistants forwarded and received mail through military channels. Many yearned for religious services so long denied them. Prayer books, Torah scrolls, prayer shawls and other articles for religious observance were obtained. Jewish chaplains raised funds from soldiers; kept records of survivors; traced and reunited families; held services; wrote letters; pleaded, cajoled, and goaded commanders into speedy action in providing engineer, transportation, quartermaster, and medical support. And they acted on their own besides. In some cases commanders and senior chaplains were too literalistic in interpreting regulations which did not provide for chaplains to minister to foreign civilians. Often a chaplain would initiate a program and then be ordered to move on with the troops, his primary responsibility.¹⁶⁶

Ernest Lorge wrote: "We begged, borrowed and—now it can be admitted—stole large quantities of clothing so that these victims of Nazi madness could discard the rags of their nightmare. . . . There will never be an adequate account of what the average chaplain did in the course of a single day. . . ." ¹⁶⁷

Abraham Feffer, a 17-year-old Jewish lad from Poland, was an emaciated "corpse" when rescued by an American Jewish chaplain at Dachau. He regained his health, learned English, and became an interpreter for the U.S. forces. He went to the United States, completed his education, and joined the Army as a chaplain himself. Ten years after his rescue by a chaplain he became one, to "repay a debt for my life." ¹⁶⁸

Many clergymen were among the prisoners freed. Among them were 37 Army chaplains, 21 from German prison camps and 16 from Japanese camps.¹⁶⁹ Two chaplains were not allowed to leave the officers' compound while prisoners; so, "We wrote sermons, tied them to rocks, and threw them across the fence to be read at different times." ¹⁷⁰ Alfred C. Oliver, more than six feet tall, weighed 215 pounds at the time of his capture by the Japanese. He lost 100 pounds. Recovering in Walter Reed, he was

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awarded a Purple Heart for the three times he was beaten into unconsciousness, and an Oak Leaf Cluster for the rifle butt blow that broke his neck. Beri-beri hampered the use of his leg. Though his body was broken his spirit was not. “. . . I didn’t lose God,” he said.¹⁷¹

In the prison camps and throughout the Army, there were services of thanksgiving for the end of captivity, the completion of a campaign, and at long last—the end of the war. In Italy the men of the 88th Division held a great service of thanksgiving. Eleven thousand men met on a mountainside, sang patriotic hymns, heard an address by their commander, and separated into services of the three faiths.¹⁷² Jacob St. Clair Bousum was in the mountains going through cliff-climbing training. When they returned to camp they heard the church bells ringing and were told Germany was defeated. “Tired and dirty as we were in our soiled fatigues . . . conducted right then and there the most spontaneous service of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving of all religious faiths. The joyous victory parades the following days . . . were nothing compared to this inspirational service.”¹⁷³ Aaron Paperman, also in Italy, was credited with the largest military Seder ever held. Over 4,000 military personnel crowded into the waiting room of a railroad station at Florence to observe the Festival of Freedom at Passover time.¹⁷⁴

General MacArthur issued an order 6 February 1945, requesting divine services throughout his command in thanksgiving for the liberation of Manila. A solemn military field Mass was attended by 5,000 after the Philippines were liberated, with John F. Depkiewicz as celebrant.¹⁷⁵ Spontaneous and planned celebrations occurred wherever soldiers were found. Chapels were opened for prayer. The war was over. Everybody wanted to go home. Overnight the problems of war were replaced by the problems of peace. Morale soared because the war was over, and then plunged as “going home” was delayed by the demands of an occupation force. The war was over. But the chaplain’s job was not over.

In May 1945 AAF Chaplain Conference was held at Gravelly Point, D.C., and the program included planning for G.I. Bill of Rights, Redeployment, Readjustment, and Demobilization; the Future of the Chaplaincy, Rotation, Replacement, Separations, and Surplus Chaplains.¹⁷⁶

Evaluation

The chaplain ministered in the context of the times. In the 1920’s there was a backlog of goodwill left over from the heroic service of World

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War I chaplains. But the ranks of the “corps” were in disarray. The anti-military response of the American public was joined with pacifist sentiment in the churches, and while it was more vocal than numerically strong it had an effect upon the chaplaincy. Nevertheless, the branch got organized, came up with a Chief, a school, regulations defining duties, equipment, and started to supervise itself from within. The denominations moved closer to their clergy in uniform, and there was partial support in high places of the military establishment. But the good things came slowly, feebly, and never completely as requested.

The 1930’s saw the Army and its needs put so far on the back burner that some of the institutional gains of the 20’s were lost. The school founded, the branch chief was limited in rank/influence, and the support from the top was minimal.

The 1940’s saw a setting almost totally unrelated to what had proceeded it. The connecting links are there, but it requires some diligence to discover them. The differences stand out more clearly than the similarities.

The chaplaincy never had stronger support from the top than it did under Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall, and commanders like Eisenhower, MacArthur, Patton, Arnold, and others. Positive, effective, support replaced apathy and tolerance. Whatever problems were encountered, or remained to be worked out institutionally, could not be laid at the door of top military leaders.

General Marshall spoke of the importance of religion in the Army:

I am deeply concerned as to the type of chaplain we get into the Army, for I look upon the spiritual life of the soldier as even more important than his physical equipment. . . . The soldier’s heart, the soldier’s spirit, the soldier’s soul are everything. Unless the soldier’s soul sustains him, he cannot be relied upon and will fail himself and his commander and his country in the end

It’s morale—and I mean spiritual morale—which wins the victory in the ultimate, and that type of morale can only come out of the religious nature of a soldier who knows God and who had the spirit of religious fervor in his soul. I count heavily on that type of man and that kind of Army.¹⁷⁷

General Douglas MacArthur stated:

Throughout the history of mankind, symbols have exerted an impelling influence upon the lives of men. The cross and flag are embodiments of our ideals and teach us not only how to live but how to die.¹⁷⁸

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The impact of statements like these certainly helped create a climate in which the chaplain was not only free to minister, but was supported and encouraged. The words were backed up by deeds. Chapel building, the establishment of the Chaplain School, promotion of the Chief of Chaplains to Major General, the expansion of the branch to 9,000 chaplains, supplies and equipment, training funds, regulations defining the commander's responsibilities, all of these were testimony to the fact that the country and the Army wanted the chaplains to do a good job.

Morale, counseling statistics, and attendance at religious services were used as partial indicators of how well the mission of the chaplaincy was carried out. They are not perfect indicators, but shed some light. A rather startling revelation was that all but approximately 5 percent of military personnel professed identification as Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, but less than half had received instruction in church membership or united with a church in a formal way.¹⁷⁹ Many servicemen associated religion with the church "back home" and could not give the same affectionate loyalty to the chapel program. The serviceman or woman had little free time and did not want to spend it at the military installation; many of them found their way to friendly civilian churches. Practically all dependents lived in civilian communities and attended churches there. The great number of single service personnel and military dependents attending church in civilian communities were never reported by chaplains.

In spite of this the Chief of Chaplains in his annual report of 1943 stated:

The percent of monthly attendance as compared with Army strength is 97.5 percent for a yearly average . . . the total church attendance each month equals 97.5 percent of total Army strength.¹⁸⁰

It ought to be noted that if one man went four times a month the "Army" would look better in terms of averages than was actually the case. What may be a more significant statistic is the fact that each chaplain averaged 19.5 religious services per month with a total attendance of 1,160. This would imply that opportunities were made available for men to go to church. The Reverend Martin Neales, a retired lieutenant colonel of World War I, visited Scott Field in November 1941 and "commented especially on the large number of men attending services . . . as compared to what was observed during 1917 and 1918."¹⁸¹

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A statistical report for a typical month (May, 1944) ¹⁸² showed the chaplain's activities:

Religious Services-----	170,902
Attendance upon Religious Services-----	10,160,881
Communion and Sacramental Occasions-----	105,965
Participants -----	1,370,908
Guardhouse and Hospital Visits-----	110,093
Pastoral Activities—Functional Occasions-----	989,995
Pastoral Contacts—Persons Reached-----	7,480,646
Civilian Communities—Functional Occasions-----	32,832
Contacts—Persons Reached-----	3,368,515

Some other tangible measurements are available. Southern Baptist chaplains were evangelists who kept records. In 1945 they reported 91,740 professions of faith. From 1940 to 1945 they reported 298,932 professions of faith. Another interesting assessment is the number of men who made decisions to enter the ministry. The General Commission on Chaplains in 1945 mailed a questionnaire to Protestant chaplains requesting the names of men who intended to prepare for the ministry. Though the survey came late in the war and little more than 50 percent of Protestant chaplains responded, by early 1946 there were 3,933 names submitted, which the Commission in turn sent to 40 denominational agencies for the follow up. The largest response was as follows.

Baptist (all groups)-----	1,028
Methodist -----	753
Presbyterian -----	348
Lutheran -----	295
Disciples -----	152
Congregational -----	95

When one considers that this survey did not include Catholic or Jewish personnel, and was answered by only half the Protestant chaplains late in the war—it would be interesting to know how many priests, rabbis, and Protestant ministers, as well as other full-time religious workers, were former servicemen and women, and how many made their decision while in the Army.¹⁸³

Chaplain Thomas Carter prepared and administered an interesting questionnaire "What Do You Think of Religion?" It attempted to analyze and classify the opinions of men returning from overseas with regard to religious customs and experiences. A majority felt that their

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experience in the service had aided their attendance at worship services because these services were more accessible and directed to their personal needs, or because of the sobering effects of combat. Nearly half these men recognized a change in their attitude toward religion, and this change was almost always favorable. A large majority spoke favorably of the work of chaplains. Adverse comments included such statements as "narrow minded," "tend to force religion and worship on men," "too much idealizing," "partial to men of their own denomination."¹⁸⁴

A strong Chief of Chaplains who had the rank, authority, and organization to administer a religious program in the Army was another positive strength throughout this period. Sitting as Chief of 9,000 chaplains instead of 125 made an obvious difference in terms of number impact alone. Chaplains were much more "visible" than they had been at any previous time in terms of size. The chaplaincy had the whole-hearted support of the churches and synagogues of America. The church was aware that its future was closely tied to what happened to America's millions of young men in the service.

Role expectation was much clearer on the part of the Army, the churches, and the chaplains. President Roosevelt said in 1942, "And we will never fail to provide for the spiritual needs of our officers and men under the chaplains of our armed services." The focal point of a chaplain's ministry, everyone agreed, was the leadership of religious services, and though the task was herculean, an unbiased look at the record shows that men and women in the armed services had full opportunity to worship. There were shortcomings in this area that appear to be related to administration and transportation problems. An example occurred in late 1943 when approximately 200,000 men in fighter and bomber service groups were moved to England with no provisions for doctors or chaplains. The Staff Chaplain, Arthur Dodgson, put in a frantic call for 150 chaplains. Within two months 140 were sent.¹⁸⁵

Time lost in "pipe-line" status for those going from one assignment to another made a staggering drain upon available personnel. Robert Chapman told of being sent overseas from Pinedale Army Air Base, California. He was sent to Greensboro, N.C., and the Overseas Replacement Depot where he waited some weeks for shipment orders, then to France, to Germany, back to France, and then to the 844th Engineer Battalion. Several months of potential service were "wasted" for him and the Army. His case was not unusual. At times as many as 50 chaplains waited six to eight weeks at Kearns AAB, Utah, awaiting shipment orders that would take them to Camp Stoneman, California, for further

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delay, and then to the Pacific, where more weeks would be lost in a replacement pool before assignment.¹⁸⁶ It can be blamed on bigness, red tape, the everchanging needs and priorities, but it was a problem that should have been solved.

The expectation of the Army, that the chaplain would help provide good morale for a unit, is an almost impossible quality to measure. Certainly many chaplains took this role seriously and confronted the system on everything from “semi-officially sponsored” prostitution, to requiring soldiers to be armed with prophylactics, to cleaning up camp shows, and combating alcoholism with recreation and wholesome off duty programs. The role of the chaplain as counselor was closely tied to morale. The amount of counseling done by chaplains, viewed in retrospect, appears super-human. There is no yardstick to measure suicides not attempted, AWOLS avoided, and breakdowns that did not happen. In terms of mental health, the chaplains’ programs aimed at improving morale may have been a pioneering effort in community preventative medicine.

The chaplains adjusted their presentation of the ancient gospel to the world in which they found themselves in many ways. Technologically they pioneered in the years of this volume, using motion pictures, phonographs, slides, public address systems, radio, and press to extend their influence and reach unchurched audiences through these media. In terms of transportation they traveled by jeep, airplane, parachute, ship, snow shoes, and train to reach beyond what any circuit rider of the past could have accomplished. They were conscious of their listeners, and of their needs, so that they again and again remarked that their sermons were not the same as those they preached at home. There was a constant note of practical application, directness, urgency, and basics in their preaching and teaching. The skills of modern counseling influenced by psychology were applied with a greater degree of professionalism than had been true at any previous time. The very fact that they had a chapel building in which to center their programs of education, music, and worship was a very real forward step. The translation skills, concerns for humane treatment of prisoners, the world wide relief work, and the ministry to displaced persons were new kinds of ministry both in setting, scope, and sheer numbers.

Selection, indorsement, and training, while not fool-proof, had certainly lifted the status and effectiveness of individual chaplains. Effective supervision by those in their own branch offered continued on the job training in putting their faith to work within the military setting.

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When all these factors have been taken into consideration it must be remembered that the effectiveness of chaplains in the Army was not dependent on tables of organization, status, local commanders, regulations, equipment, church boards and agencies, or the Chief's Office; but the local chaplain working with the men of his unit determined what the chaplaincy was for many a GI, and influenced him for good or ill, or not at all.

How well did the individual chaplains do their job? Lingering stories suggest that with the rapid expansion of the branch there were some unworthy chaplains in the Army.

Chaplains who drank too much, used profanity, gambled, engaged in sexual promiscuity, did black marketeering, or were rank happy, received more word-of-mouth publicity than those who meant well but were incompetent in the face of the great demands put upon them during the war. There were chaplain heroes, publicized and unknown. James B. Murphy wrote, "The Army Chaplaincy is a great and noble work in spite of the failures of the past. There are great and unsung men in our history; and that is the way they would want to remain."¹⁸⁷ Ralph E. Chess, later Chief of Air Force Chaplains, said the strength of the chaplaincy was "Being men of God in uniform with the guts to speak out and the humility to be silent as the situation required." And the weakness of the chaplaincy was, "Indorsing agencies furnishing second rate clergy for a difficult ministry."¹⁸⁸

General Brehon Somervell, who commanded The Services of Supply under which the chaplains served, wrote:

"Living and working with the troops, the chaplains furnished one of the greatest morale factors in the war. Before battle and during it, the soldier could always turn to the chaplain for strength, and courage, for the chaplains followed the troops wherever they went. . . . The wounded received help and consolation . . . The dead were buried in the cloak of their faiths."¹⁸⁹

General Eisenhower said of chaplains, "They were far too modest, far too much like shrinking violets and were normally hiding their lights behind trees if not under bushes." He referred to chaplains who failed to explain to soldiers why they were in the war, and what they were fighting for. He mentioned Cromwell's Army "that sang hymns while they hewed off heads with a sweep of their sword." Ike wanted more certainty of why America was fighting to be provided by chaplains to the Army.¹⁹⁰ *Christianity in Crisis* said, "In many units the work of the

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chaplain is confined to poorly attended services and to the difficult task of offering sympathy to men, turned over to him by other officers, whom he is powerless to help with more than sympathy.”¹⁹¹ The great majority of chaplains came directly from civilian life, and reported greater attendance than they experienced in parishes.¹⁹²

Perhaps more important than opinions about chaplain effectiveness are some facts. The letters of commendation and complaint were filed together in the Chief of Chaplains office. For every letter of complaint—and there were very few—there were thirty or forty of praise. Chaplains earned 2,453 decorations during World War II.¹⁹³ Half the rabbis in America volunteered for the chaplaincy; 422 received indorsement, 311 served, 2 were killed in action, 2 wounded, 46 decorated for bravery.¹⁹⁴ The Army authorized the appointment of 790 black chaplains; by July 1943, 247 were on active duty, 100 overseas, as compared to a total of 57 black chaplains in World War I.¹⁹⁵

Chaplains' attitudes, strengths, and fears varied, as did those of the persons they served. One chaplain during the Battle of the Bulge had a bad cold. He kept taking his temperature in the hope that it would be high enough to get him out of the line. He complained of it hanging on and on in a letter home. His sister wrote back that she was praying that he would soon be better. He shot back a letter, “Dear Maggie, Mind your own damned business. I’m praying that I’ll get double pneumonia and they’ll let me out of this cursed place. . . .”¹⁹⁶ Another chaplain, who was killed in an invasion landing, wrote that he knew he would be afraid but, “the good I am going to do in there makes me courageous for. ‘Courage is fear that has said its prayers!’ ”¹⁹⁷

In World War I there were 2,500 chaplains, 220 of whom were dismissed for unsuitability. In July 1943, with 5,000 chaplains serving, only 23 had been dismissed for unsuitability.¹⁹⁸ Chaplain Arnold pointed out in an interview in July 1942, “We haven’t had a chaplain court-martialed in fifteen years . . . and out of the thousands accepted thus far, only fifteen . . . have not measured up and have returned to civilian life.”¹⁹⁹

There were some cases of chaplains who were absent without official leave.²⁰⁰ Chaplains could be reassigned, reprimanded, court-martialed, or boarded out. One of the most convenient means for release of a chaplain who did not truly represent his church was removal of ecclesiastical indorsement, which automatically terminated his service. The overwhelming statistical and factual evidence points to the fact that the chaplains did the job that was to become their motto—“Bringing God to men, and men to God.”

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FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER IV

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EPILOGUE

Ralph McCaskill became a chaplain in 1934, the “Dark Days of Ardent Pacifism,” when an officer and enlisted man were all but ostracised from civilian communities. It was a time when, as General Hagood said, “It is difficult to secure funds for the regular Army to purchase even a five-cent lead pencil.” When he reported for duty at Fort Screven, Georgia, no chaplain had been assigned to the post for seven years. There was no chapel, and no quarters for him. When an old CCC barracks became empty McCaskill literally ran to the colonel’s office to put in a request for the building. He was minutes ahead of two captains who wanted the same structure. The chaplain won the building and asked the Post Exchange Council for two hundred and fifty dollars to make it into a chapel. The Council said it couldn’t be done, but he did it—with \$17.50 left over. The Council voted that amount to be spent for a pulpit Bible.¹

Henry P. Mobley began the war as an aviation cadet in 1944. At the suggestion of his commanding officer he started proceedings to transfer to the chaplaincy. The transfer came through and the cross and bar were pinned on at a special formation before his fellow cadets. The Commandant of Cadets at Harlingen said in a speech at the ceremony, “This is a proud moment for me. The bar of the First Lieutenant is as nothing, but I thank God for the privilege of placing for the first time on the collar of this young man the Cross of Christ, symbol—even in time of hatred—of love and mercy!”²

These two experiences epitomized the nature of the chaplaincy between 1920 and 1945. From the end of World War I to the end of World War II the chaplaincy, and the institution in which it was placed, changed drastically. So, too did the esteem in which chaplains were held. In World War I they were often called “Holy Joes.” The nickname in the Second World War was more likely to be “Chappie.” The change partly reflected consciousness of a wider role. As it survived hard times, the chaplaincy matured into its greatest period of service; a time when the nation provided the money, manpower, chapels, equipment, transportation, and training it withheld for so long. The experience of McCaskill and Mobley starkly contrasted the times in which they served. It took a

See notes at end of epilogue.

worldwide conflict to bring it about, but a nation in a jam invested in the chaplaincy. The nation got its money's worth. General Marshall said "Military power wins battles, but spiritual power wins wars."³ In the war of the spirit the "Soldiers of God," the US Army Chaplains, ministered to the largest Army in American history, and with them, won the war.

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Schock, Robert L.....	183		

CHIEFS OF CHAPLAINS AND DEPUTIES:

1920-1945

CHIEFS

Name	Denomination	Grade	Years
John T. Axton.....	Congregationalist.	COL	1920-1928
Edmund P. Easterbrook.....	Methodist.....	COL	1928-1929
Julian E. Yates.....	Baptist.....	COL	1929-1933
Alva J. Brasted.....	Baptist.....	COL	1933-1937
William R. Arnold.....	Catholic.....	*MG	1937-1945
Luther D. Miller.....	Episcopalian.....	*BG	1945-

DEPUTIES

George F. Rixey.....	Methodist.....	BG	1944-1945
William D. Cleary.....	Catholic.....	BG	1945-

*Chaplain Arnold served as Chief as a Colonel, a Brigadier and a Major General, Chaplain Miller served as Chief for 9 months in the grade of Brigadier General before being promoted to Major General, but after the period covered in this volume, Chaplains Arnold and Rixey served in the Office of the Inspector General after leaving office so that in 1945 there were four chaplains of General Officer grade on active duty.

APPENDIX B

STATISTICS OF RELIGIOUS SERVICES 1936*

ARMY

Regular Army Chaplains conducted	19, 358	Services
	1, 943, 176	Attendance
Civilian Clergy conducted	3, 809	Services
	223, 550	Attendance
Totals	23, 167	Services
	2, 166, 726	Attendance

CCC

Reserve Chaplains conducted	57, 916	Services
	5, 658, 667	Attendance
Civilian Clergy conducted	120, 399	Services
	5, 503, 011	Attendance
Totals	178, 315	Services
	11, 161, 678	Attendance

(These figures do not include the Army or CCC personnel who went to church off post in civilian parishes.)

*Honeywell, *Chaplains of The United States Army*, p. 210.

APPENDIX C

DENOMINATIONAL BREAKDOWN OF SERVING CHAPLAINS IN WORLD WAR II

RELIGIOUS BODIES	QUOTA PERCENT- AGE	QUOTA NUMBER	ON DUTY 2 Sep 1945
Roman Catholic	30.46	2,589	2,278
Methodist	11.00	935	1,200
Baptist, South	8.89	756	947
Baptist, Colored	7.20	612	84
Jewish	3.70	315	243
Presbyterian, U.S.A.	3.65	310	426
Protestant Episcopal	2.92	248	298
Baptist, North	2.66	226	412
Disciples of Christ	2.34	199	387
Lutheran, Missouri Synod	2.20	187	215
United Lutheran	2.13	181	.....
American Lutheran	2.11	179	374
Congregational Christian	2.00	170	305
Evangelical and Reformed	1.37	116	69
Latter Day Saints	1.07	91	34
African Methodist Epis- copal . . . . .	.90	77	73
Presbyterian, U.S. . . . .	.88	75	138
United Brethren . . . . .	.73	62	60
African M. E. Zion . . . . .	.73	62	18
Churches of Christ . . . . .	.63	54	30
Christian Science . . . . .	.57	48	24
Colored Methodist Epis- copal . . . . .	.46	39	10
Evangelical . . . . .	.42	36	46

RELIGIOUS BODIES	QUOTA PERCENT- AGE	QUOTA NUMBER	ON DUTY 2 Sep 1945
Reformed in America.....	. 37	31	43
United Presbyterian.....	. 35	30	51
Greek Orthodox.....	. 30	25	1
Conservative Brethren.....	. 30	25	1
Assemblies of God.....	. 29	25	34
Seventh-Day Adventist.....	. 27	23	2
Church of the Nazarene....	. 27	23	42
American Baptist.....	. 24	20	*0
Latter-Day Saints, Reor- ganized.....	. 19	16	1
Federated Churches.....	. 18	15	0
Christian Reformed.....	. 16	14	17
Free Will Baptist.....	. 16	14	*0
Salvation Army.....	. 15	13	28
Primitive Baptists.....	. 14	12	1
Russian Orthodox.....	. 14	12	0
Friends.....	. 14	12	3
Unitarian.....	. 12	10	23

*Included among other Baptists

The 7.21 percent not included in the foregoing table allowed 613 to be obtained from other sources. At the end of the war, 221 of these were on duty representing the following bodies:

RELIGIOUS BODIES

ON
DUTY
2 Sep 1945

General Association of Regular Baptist Churches, North-----	14
Independent Fundamental Churches of America-----	15
Methodist, South-----	1
Bible Presbyterian-----	9
Norwegian and Danish Evangelical Free Church-----	1
Pentecostal Holiness-----	4
Brethren, General Conference-----	1
Brethren, Progressive-----	1
Brethren (old Constitution)-----	1
Church of God (Indiana)-----	11
Church of God (Pennsylvania)-----	1
Foursquare-----	4
Reformed Episcopal-----	2
Cumberland Presbyterian-----	20
Orthodox Presbyterian-----	6
United Grace and T.E.A.-----	1
Universalists-----	10
Advent Christian-----	7
Baptist General Conference of North America-----	6
German Baptist-----	1
Seventh-Day Baptist-----	4
Swedish Baptist-----	9
Evangelical, Free-----	5
Christian and Missionary Alliance-----	28
Evangelical Missionary Covenant-----	23
Associated Reformed Presbyterian-----	9
Free Methodist-----	13
Wesleyan Methodist-----	7
Evangelical Congregational-----	3
Moravian-----	3
Presbyterian Church in Canada-----	1

APPENDIX D

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION AT US ARMY CHAPLAIN SCHOOL (1942)

1. a. Forms of worship and religious ceremonies (study and practice)
twenty-five (25) hours;
b. Pastoral duties.
2. Leadership demonstration—ten (10) hours.
3. Discipline: courtesies and customs of the service—ten (10) hours.
4. Rules of land warfare—ten (10) hours.
5. Military law—fifteen (15) hours.
6. Military hygiene and first aid—fifteen (15) hours.
7. Topography—twenty (20) hours.
8. Graves registration—fifteen (15) hours.
9. Military correspondence and surveys—fifteen (15) hours.
10. Money and property accountability—fifteen (15) hours.
11. Investigation, interior guard duty—five (5) hours.
12. Field service regulations, equipment, organization of the Army—ten
(10) hours.
13. Recreation, education, music, etc.—five (5) hours.
14. Offices of Division, corps, and Army chaplain demonstration, cooper-
ation and supervisory duties—ten (10) hours.
15. Army morale—ten (10) hours.
16. Defense against Chemicals—fifteen (15) hours.
17. Close order drill and conditioning exercises—thirty-five (35) hours.

APPENDIX E

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION—US ARMY CHAPLAIN SCHOOL (1945) ¹

The following is a breakdown by hours of the three-month course of instruction “designed for chaplains who are to remain in the post-war Regular Army.”

COURSE	HOURS
Practical Duties_____	70
Drill _____	60
Organized Athletics_____	70
Administrative Chaplain_____	30
Staff Procedure_____	13
Army Organization_____	15
Army Administration_____	40
Military Law_____	28
Army Morale_____	25
Counseling _____	30
Graves Registration_____	5
Chemical Warfare_____	3
Music Appreciation_____	8
Customs and Courtesies_____	15
Military Sanitation_____	12
Map Reading_____	40
Special Lectures_____	6
Commandants' Time_____	10
	480

¹ Letter from Chief of Chaplains to Commandant 19 October 1945, RG 247, Entry 1, Box 269, 352 Chaplain School, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX F

COMMANDANTS OF THE CHAPLAIN SCHOOL

TOURS OF DUTY

1. Chaplain (LTC) Cephas C. Bateman-----	13 May 1920— 14 March 1921
2. Chaplain (LTC) Joseph L. Hunter-----	15 March 1921— 11 February 1925
3. Chaplain (MAJ) William R. Arnold-----	12 February 1925— 12 March 1928
4. Chaplain (COL) William D. Cleary-----	2 February 1942— 31 January 1945
5. Chaplain (COL) Maurice W. Reynolds----	1 February 1945— 7 December 1945

APPENDIX G

1920-1945 LOCATIONS OF THE CHAPLAIN SCHOOL

	LENGTH OF STAY
1. Camp Grant, Illinois-----	April 1920—September 1921
2. Camp Zachary Taylor, Kentucky.	September 1921—September 1922
3. Fort Wayne, Michigan-----	September 1922—1924
4. Fort Leavenworth, Kansas----	1924—1928
5. Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana.	February 1942—August 1942
6. Harvard University, Massachusetts.	August 1942—August 1944
7. Fort Devens, Massachusetts---	August 1944—July 1945
8. Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia-----	July 1945—December 1946

APPENDIX H

CHAPLAINS

BATTLE DEATHS BETWEEN 7 DECEMBER 1941 AND 31 DECEMBER 1946 INCLUSIVE

NAME	RANK	SERVICE NUMBER	DATE OF DEATH
1. Alspaugh, Robert E. Lee.	Captain.	O-471 225	16 Jan 44
2. Antonucci, Ralph A.	Captain.	O-528 099	5 May 45
3. Barron, Theodore W.	Captain.	O-311 969	29 Dec 42
4. Bell, Hoke S.	Captain.	O-422 401	10 Apr 43
5. Blakeney, Charles S.	Captain.	O-521 862	2 Sep 44
6. Bonner, Peter E.	Captain.	O-471 750	28 Jul 44
7. Brady, Thomas T.	1st Lt. . .	O-430 156	22 Jul 43
8. Clary, Edward J.	1st Lt. . .	O-525 204	15 Jul 44
9. Cleveland, Arthur V.	Captain.	O-268 279	15 Dec 44
10. Colgan, Aquinas T.	Capitan.	O-525 920	6 May 45
11. Contino, William S.	1st Lt. . .	O-552 850	3 Mar 45
12. Cummings, William T. . . .	1st Lt. . .	O-890 019	15 Dec 44
13. Czubak, Anthony E.	Captain.	O-511 364	22 Jan 45
14. Dawson, William.	Major. . .	O-245 966	15 Dec 44
15. Day, Norris E.	Captain.	O-21 005	7 Sep 44
16. Dieffenbacher, Arthur J. . .	1st Lt. . .	O-525 647	5 Jul 44
17. Doyle, Neil J.	1st Lt. . .	O-411 460	15 Jul 43
18. Edelen, Philip B.	1st Lt. . .	O-513 674	10 Jun 44
19. Falter, Clement M.	1st Lt. . .	O-439 177	8 Nov 42
20. Fowlkes, Paschal D.	Captain.	O-483 005	24 Mar 45
21. Fox, George L.	1st Lt. . .	O-485 690	17 Apr 43
22. Gilmore, Joseph A.	Captain.	O-515 395	2 Jun 44
23. Goode, Alexander D.	1st Lt. . .	O-485 093	17 Apr 43
24. Goodfellow, Rollin.	Captain.	O-411 496	1 Dec 42
25. Gravely, Horace E.	1st Lt. . .	O-238 342	7 Feb 43
26. Griggs, Clarence W.	Captain.	O-508 083	12 Apr 45

NAME	RANK	SERVICE NUMBER	DATE OF DEATH
27. Hagan, Clarence J.....	1st Lt...	O-553 473	6 Jan 45
28. Haley, Percy E.....	Captain.	O-499 097	26 Nov 43
29. Hampton, Edwin W.....	1st Lt...	O-553 341	18 Dec 44
30. Hand, Francis E.....	Captain.	O-385 280	14 Oct 42
31. Hansen, Raymond J.....	Captain.	O-464 313	11 Jun 44
32. Kilbert, John R.....	1st Lt...	O-523 437	27 Oct 44
33. Kimball, Clyde E.....	Captain.	O-415 638	19 Dec 44
34. Koskamp, Rowland A....	Captain.	O-517 319	5 Apr 45
35. Lafleur, Joseph V.....	Captain.	O-413 977	7 Sep 44
36. Lenaghan, Arthur C.....	Captain.	O-443 418	7 Jan 44
37. Liston, James M.....	1st Lt...	O-462 733	7 Feb 43
38. Lynch, Lawrence E.....	Captain.	O-428 150	24 Apr 45
39. McDaniel, Harley R.....	1st Lt...	O-507 061	26 Nov 43
40. McDonnell, John J.....	Captain.	O-23 619	22 Jan 45
41. McKnight, Thomas E....	Captain.	O-487 149	9 Feb 45
42. MacDonald, Ernest W...	Captain.	O-449 888	7 Feb 43
43. Maternowski, Ignatius P..	Captain.	O-480 972	8 Jun 44
44. Monaghan, Owen T.....	Captain.	O-441 522	7 Apr 45
45. Monre, Edwin U.....	1st Lt...	O-532 213	20 Jan 45
46. Montgomery, Harry.....	Captain.	O-477 811	3 Mar 45
47. Munro, Keith B.....	Captain.	O-340 867	15 Aug 43
48. O'Brien, James W.....	1st Lt...	O-406 259	24 Oct 44
49. O'Grady, Eugene P.....	Captain.	O-415 524	29 Nov 44
50. O'Toole, Myles F.....	Captain.	O-513 309	19 Jan 45
51. Poling, Clark V.....	1st Lt...	O-477 425	17 Apr 43
52. Rasetzki, Dietrich F.....	1st Lt...	O-525 810	25 Jul 44
53. Reagan, Thomas H.....	Lt Col...	O-20 415	18 Dec 44
54. Rechtsteiner, Leo G.....	Captain.	O-513 893	22 Oct 44
55. Rounds, Erle F.....	1st Lt...	O-203 298	22 Dec 43
56. Savignac, Valmore G....	1st Lt...	O-477 261	7 Feb 43
57. Scecina, Thomas J.....	Captain.	O-384 964	24 Oct 44
58. Schwer, John Wm.....	Captain.	O-529 000	13 Aug 44
59. Shaw, James R.....	Captain.	O-475 301	30 Jul 44
60. Stanton, Loren L.....	Captain.	O-511 823	26 Mar 45
61. Steel, John R.....	Captain.	O-435 366	6 Jun 44
62. Stober, Henry B.....	Captain.	O-356 936	15 Dec 44
63. Stump, Clarence G.....	Captain.	O-540 976	21 Nov 44

NAME	RANK	SERVICE NUMBER	DATE OF DEATH
<hr/>			
64. Teem, Arvil E.	1st Lt. . .	O-435 027	12 Feb 44
65. Tepper, Irving.	Captain.	O-435 123	13 Aug 44
66. Ternan, Dominic.	1st Lt. . .	O-442 928	19 Jun 44
67. Tiffany, Frank L.	Captain.	O-306 297	24 Oct 44
68. Turner, Guy H.	1st Lt. . .	O-494 909	29 May 43
69. Tyler, Barret L.	Captain.	O-411 815	15 Mar 45
70. Vanderheiden, Joseph G.	Captain.	O-414 242	15 Dec 44
71. Verret, John J.	Captain.	O-477 243	8 Jan 45
72. Vincent, Clarence A.	1st Lt. . .	O-543 340	13 Mar 45
73. Wallace, Eunace A.	Captain.	O-414 003	16 Feb 44
74. Washington, John P.	1st Lt. . .	O-463 529	17 Apr 43
75. Wilder, Quintin M.	1st Lt. . .	O-526 617	15 Jan 45
76. Youngdahl, David H.	Captain.	O-448 376	7 Feb 43
77. Zerfas, Mathias E.	Captain.	O-382 274	15 Dec 44

APPENDIX I

SUMMARY OF CHAPLAINS' ACTIVITIES

(1 July 1943–30 June 1944)

Religious Services.....	1, 644, 032
Attendance	99, 701, 108
Communion and Sacramental Occasions.....	1, 035, 236
Participants	12, 952, 956
Guardhouse and Hospital Visits.....	1, 206, 892
Pastoral Activities—Functional Occasions.....	9, 865, 263
Pastoral Contacts—Persons Reached.....	86, 515, 160
Civilian Communities—Functional Occasions.....	360, 421
Contacts—Persons Reached.....	28, 551, 651

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