

THE OPERATIONAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES UPON THE
ARMY CHAPLAIN FIELD MANUAL, 1926-1952

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
Military History

by

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Fort Leavenworth, Kansas
2008

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			<i>Form Approved</i> OMB No. 0704-0188		
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1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 13-06-2008		2. REPORT TYPE Master's Thesis		3. DATES COVERED (From - To) AUG 2007 – JUN 2008	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE THE OPERATIONAL, SOCIAL, AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES UPON THE ARMY CHAPLAIN FIELD MANUAL, 1926-1952			5a. CONTRACT NUMBER		
			5b. GRANT NUMBER		
			5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER		
6. AUTHOR(S) Chaplain (MAJ) ROBERT NAY			5d. PROJECT NUMBER		
			5e. TASK NUMBER		
			5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER		
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army Command and General Staff College ATTN: ATZL-SWD-GD Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301			8. PERFORMING ORG REPORT NUMBER		
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)			10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)		
			11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)		
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for Public Release; Distribution is Unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT The early formulation of the Army Chaplain Field Manual reveals the Army Chaplaincy struggling with individuals using the Army Chaplain Field Manual to further their social and religious beliefs upon other chaplains. The research is to determine what were the influences and who were the chaplains that promulgated their own agenda at the expense of the free exercise of religious beliefs by other chaplains. The research begins with chaplains who privately published "Manuals" and "Duties" of chaplains. These writings contributed to the first edition of the chaplain manual in 1926. The draft 1926 manual is also compared with the first edition to reveal issues the Army Adjutant General wanted changed in the manual. A developmental and comparative analysis will be conducted upon the following editions 1937, 1941, 1944, 1947 and 1952. The results of the research reveal that the early chaplaincy struggled with their non-combatant status. Second, social issues such as recreation and the playing of "moving pictures" on the Sabbath were respected by the military but progressives within the chaplaincy forced their agenda upon the majority of chaplains in the military.					
Chaplain, Chaplaincy, Field Manual, Non-Combatant, Religion					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT	b. ABSTRACT	c. THIS PAGE			19b. PHONE NUMBER (include area code)
(U)	(U)	(U)	(U)	123	

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)
Prescribed by ANSI Std. Z39.18

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

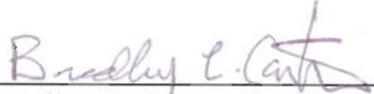
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UPON THE ARMY CHAPLAIN FIELD MANUAL, 1926-1952

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The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

THE OPERATIONAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES UPON THE ARMY CHAPLAIN FIELD MANUAL, 1926-1952, by Chaplain (Major) Robert Nay, 123 pages.

The early formulation of the Army Chaplain Field Manual reveals the Army Chaplaincy struggling with individuals using the Army Chaplain Field Manual to further their social and religious beliefs upon other chaplains. The research is to determine what were the influences and who were the chaplains that promulgated their own agenda at the expense of the free exercise of religious beliefs by other chaplains. The research begins with chaplains who privately published "Manuals" and "Duties" of chaplains. These writings contributed to the first edition of the chaplain manual in 1926. The draft 1926 manual is also compared with the first edition to reveal issues the Army Adjutant General wanted changed in the manual. A developmental and comparative analysis will be conducted upon the following editions 1937, 1941, 1944, 1947 and 1952. The results of the research reveal that the early chaplaincy struggled with their non-combatant status. Second, social issues such as recreation and the playing of "moving pictures" on the Sabbath were respected by the military but progressives within the chaplaincy forced their agenda upon the majority of chaplains in the military.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First I want to thank Jesus Christ my Lord and Savior who saved a sinner like me. To my wife and children who stood by me and helped me maintain my balance. My committee members, Dr Jonathon House who encouraged me and mentored me, Dr John Brinsfield from the chaplain school who provided the strategic picture and who would chase rabbit trails at the chaplain museum and Dr Brad Carter who always reminded me to provide context. To Kathy, Elizabeth and Rusty who work on the 3rd floor of the CARL library, Fort Leavenworth were professional and very resourceful as was Marcia at the army chaplain museum. To the achieves department at Notre Dame University for providing a rare document. To Dr Richard Budd who provided initial insight and copies of rare documents. Any mistakes in this paper are the responsibility of the author.

This paper is in honor to the Soldiers of the 172d Stryker Brigade Combat Team who gave their lives in Iraq, August 2005-November 2006. The fact that I have the freedom to worship in peace is because of them. I am forever grateful.

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CHAPTER 1

THE IMPORTANCE OF A CHAPLAIN MANUAL

The Book of the Bible, an Old Field Manual

When they came to the threshing floor of Nacon, Uzzah reached out and took hold of the ark of God, because the oxen stumbled. The LORD's anger burned against Uzzah because of his irreverent act; therefore God struck him down and he died there beside the ark of God.

2 Samuel 6:6-7 (New International Version)

Hilkiah the high priest said to Shaphan the secretary, 'I have found the Book of the Law in the temple of the LORD.'...Then Shaphan the secretary informed the king...And Shaphan read from it in the presence of the king... When the king heard the words of the Book of the Law, he tore his robes. He gave these orders to Hilkiah the priest, ... 'Go and inquire of the LORD for me and for the people and for all Judah about what is written in this book that has been found. Great is the LORD's anger that burns against us because our fathers have not obeyed the words of this book; they have not acted in accordance with all that is written there concerning us.'

2 Kings 22:8, 10-13 (New International Version)

Uzzah was a priest entrusted to take care of the Ark of the Covenant. The Book of the Law painstakingly described how a priest should handle the Ark of the Covenant. Uzzah knew about the Book of the Law and the requirements. One of the requirements stipulated that no one could touch the Ark of the Covenant unless he went through a cleansing ceremony. On this one day, though, the ox slipped and the Ark shook. Uzzah's good intentions to rescue the Ark did not follow the proper procedures to deal with this apparent crisis. Uzzah paid for this mistake with his life. In the Old Testament God gave the Israelites written instructions on how the Israelites were to worship him and how the priests should conduct themselves. Any violation of this received punishment from God. The reason for this punishment was not to amuse God but to instill the

seriousness of the responsibility of entrusting God's people to the priest. In God's word, He gave them specific instructions and examples on how priests should take care of His people. The priest must read and follow the words of his profession so that he can take care of his congregation whom God has given to him.

The United States Army chaplains are God's priests, prophets and servants here on earth. God and the United States entrust chaplains to take care of the spiritual needs of soldiers assigned to their units. The Army provides specific instructions and examples on how a chaplain can best perform his duties. Each branch of the Army has professional soldiers who contribute a significant portion to the greater army. Each branch uses and updates its manuals. For many branches, lives depend upon how well a leader adheres and uses their manual. The chaplain branch is no different. The responsibility a chaplain has comes from a higher calling. But this responsibility also comes from commanders, husbands and wives, parents and children. To help the chaplain accomplish this calling he has the chaplain field manual.

The emphasis of this thesis is to look at the history of army chaplain doctrine, and in particular the army chaplain field manual. What were the operational, social, and religious influences upon army chaplain field manual during the early twentieth century? The purpose of this work is not to analyze all chaplain manuals. It is true that other nations have chaplains and have contributed numerous chaplain manuals. Also, this work will not focus on Navy and Air Force manuals with the exception of the first Air Force manual in 1954. Moreover, historically the Army Chaplain manual and Army doctrine as a whole have influenced the other two services.

The Army chaplain field manual helps the chaplain accomplish his mission. But what is the mission of the chaplain? Some people say that chaplains only work on Sunday. Others get their opinion from watching Hollywood media. For example, Father Mulcahy of the television show “MASH,” was the object of many jokes. Also, he has no real purpose in the military. In another example of chaplains in war, the movie “The Longest Day,” the chaplain either gets lost or lost his communion kit.¹ Within a few recent movies such as “Saving Private Ryan”² and “Band of Brothers,” chaplains are angelic figures who can withstand enemy bullets while praying over wounded soldiers. Both accounts are not totally accurate concerning how a chaplain conducts his mission upon the battlefield. While there are accounts of chaplains in these situations, they do not portray correctly the normal mission of a chaplain. The chaplain’s mission upon the battlefield is to nurture the living, care for the wounded, and honor the dead. The chaplain also advises the commander on operations and soldier’s morale as they pertain to religion. The manual also outlines the relationship between commanders and chaplains. The chaplain’s manual gives specific instructions and guidance on how chaplains accomplish their mission. The chaplain’s manual has been and currently is the source for how a chaplain accomplishes his mission.

The chaplain’s manual contains the army doctrine that will help guide the chaplain to accomplish his mission. The chaplain’s manual contains chaplain doctrine, a term that may appear normal. Some may think of religious doctrine. Others may ask, does the Chaplaincy have doctrine? Many people never knew that the Chaplaincy had regulations and doctrine. The first official chaplain’s manual, Technical Manual 26-0947, dated 1926, was ground breaking in many ways. But historically, numerous

chaplains have privately written “How chaplains should perform their duties” (a common title for privately published works to assist chaplains with their duties). Many of these private works were very practical and easy to read, but did not always speak in military terminology nor were they always in agreement with doctrine. They were also influenced by personal opinion and the authors’ religious beliefs. Therefore, many of these unofficial “manuals” disagreed with each other. This led to confusion regarding the functions and roles of army chaplains.

In 1926, the first official manual tried to justify the Chaplaincy as being an important part of the army. This was a common theme found in the early manuals. This theme was rightly reflected in an official chaplain history book titled appropriately *Struggling for Recognition*.³ Not only did these early official and unofficial manuals convey an identity crisis within the Chaplaincy, but they also revealed the theological tensions prevalent during the early twentieth century.

Chaplain Field Manuals are a great resource for chaplains. Only thirteen editions were produced during the twentieth century. Chaplains wrote some of the manuals while line officers wrote some of the manuals in the late twentieth century. The Chaplaincy produced manuals during both war time and peace time. The actual size of the manuals varied between small and large, from a few pages to over one hundred pages. Some manuals focused on operations and interfacing with commanders, while other manuals focused on the ministry of taking care of soldiers. My goal is not to find fault in current Army Chaplain doctrine but to show what constitutes a clear and understandable manual for army chaplains. In addition, this manuscript will provide a resource for those who write army chaplain doctrine so that they can see historical patterns in chaplain field

manuals. When I present these patterns, I hope that future doctrine writers will recognize the operational, religious and social influences that have contributed to U.S. Army Chaplain doctrine.

A possible problem in discovering patterns and issues in the history of chaplain doctrine is that it may question current beliefs about chaplain doctrine. The biggest issue is the role of the chaplain as a non-combatant. The point of this section is not to debate the issue of chaplains as non-combatants, but to show how army chaplain doctrine writers are unclear in presenting specific policies from the Chief of Chaplains. All the manuals correctly state that the chaplain is a non-combatant. The problem is that the manuals are not consistent regarding the issue of chaplains carrying weapons. The guidance from the Chief of Chaplains office through Army Regulation Circulars and policy memorandums has not always agreed with chaplain manuals or Army Regulations. The argument could be raised that the circulars provided additional guidance to the manual. But after the issuance of these circulars that new manuals did not reflect the new guidance concerning chaplains carrying weapons. What were the operational, social, and religious factors that contributed to this phenomenon?

The second issue that could raise some problems is the chaplain's belief system and his requirement to perform as a chaplain. In the early twentieth century, fundamentalist Christian faith groups did not allow members in their congregation to visit the movie theaters. Several denominations wrote to the Chief of Chaplains stating that they would not allow their chaplains to show movies to soldiers to help their morale. The early privately published manuals were not in agreement with this issue. In Chapter X, paragraph 79b of the 1926 and the 1937 manual stated that chaplains will show movies.

But the 1941 manual took this part out of the manual. What influenced the writers of the manuals to ignore a significant issue for its day? A possible influence could be the great need for chaplains on the eve of war. Yet, when the war was almost over, chaplains were again mentioned in the manuals as having the resources to show movies to help soldier's morale.

This issue concerning chaplains showing movies is an excellent model for current doctrine writers and the Chaplaincy in general to consider. How should chaplain manuals deal with chaplains' personal religious convictions and their freedom and right to practice their faith? How can the Chaplaincy apply this lesson to the current debate in Christian denominations over the issue of worship? Or, the current debate among western Muslims over allowing female Imams in the military?

There are two problems in the examination of the history of the Army chaplain field manual. The problem is not finding the patterns, but finding the reasons for the changes. Many writers of chaplain manuals are dead. Written drafts of the manuals are hard to find or non-existent. Therefore, the answers as to why there were changes to the doctrine are only suggestions and not definitive answers.

The goal of this paper is not to criticize current chaplain doctrine, nor is the author's motivation to change current doctrine. Over the past several years, chaplains and chaplain assistants have asked honest questions concerning the history of chaplain doctrine. Many of the chaplain manuals contain the history of the Chaplaincy. Unit Ministry Teams are asking serious questions concerning chaplain doctrine so they can formulate and apply doctrine to the ever changing battlefield environment. Providing an analysis and summation of those issues that greatly impacted the history of chaplain

doctrine will assist future chaplain doctrine writers as well as chaplains and assistants in the field.

CHAPTER 2

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHAPLAIN MANUAL

I have been asked to contribute a short paper on “Methods of Work.” Reluctantly I comply because I have no “methods:” that is, I am governed by no cut and dried rules.⁴

Chaplain Thomas W. Barry, 1893.

No Chaplain who confines himself to the limitations of Army Regulations concerning his duties can hope to be a success.⁵

Chaplain George Waring, First line in the first Government Published work for Chaplains. 1912.

The history of the chaplain manual resembles the history of the army manual in general. This chapter will survey the history of the army manual with examples by chaplains who attempted to interject professional reading material to assist the struggling chaplain corps. Because of these private uncoordinated attempts to provide chaplain guidance, conflicts in philosophy of ministry arose between the leaders of denominations and the leaders in the Chaplaincy. These struggles are in their published writings and in the draft and final document of the first official chaplain manual in 1926.

Survey of the Army Manual

The history of professional literature for military forces dates as far back as the Roman period. *De Re Militari* by Flavius Vegetius Renatus is perhaps a good example of basic military tactics. The leadership in the Roman empire did not welcome his work. The Roman army was in disarray. Vegetius studied the great military forces of his time and analyzed what made them successful. His multi-volume work was a call for basic discipline and organization. *De Re Militari* was the bible for the military till the nineteenth century. Many other classical studies included organization, formations, order

of battle and tactics. Not all classical writings came from the West. *The Art of War* by Sun Tsu is a great example of military doctrine from the East during this period.⁶

Warfare before gunpowder was largely a matter of “organized and personally directed mass hand-to-hand combat.”⁷ Manuals and professional military literature to this date reflected the art of war at the strategic and operational level. At the tactical level, how warfare was depended almost entirely on the ability of the field commander to visualize the battlefield himself and rally his men to the decisive point in the battle. To move his men to that point required “order and drill” movement orders. Most European armies developed their own “order and drill” manuals, many times copying each other. The same people who printed the Bible at Guttenberg of Mainz also printed many of these early military manuals. After the sacking of Mainz in 1462 the printers fled and settled in Venice, Florence, Paris, Basle, Antwerp, and London.⁸

Thus it is no surprise that the first United States manual reflected the Prussian order and drill manual. Major General Frederick William Von Steuben, Inspector General for the early American Continental Army, wrote the first manual at Valley Forge, 1778. Congress adopted the blue book in 1779 as the first official manual of the United States. This became the standard order and drill manual for over one hundred years. During World War I chaplains who attended the chaplain school learned order and drill from Von Steuben’s blue book.

The period between the American Revolution and World War I might be termed “the infancy and adolescence of the growth of American Military Literature.”⁹ Many early examples of American military literature were translations of European thinkers. Students at the United States Military Academy would travel overseas and learn from

European military leaders and translate their writings. In 1884, the Navy did not approve Navy Chaplain Richard Hayward's request to go to Europe and study the Chaplaincy.¹⁰

General Winfield Scott went to France twice to acquire the knowledge of French tactics which became the foundation of our own military manuals to this day. General Scott convened an army board in 1826 to write a military manual. During the 19th century, a board would convene to produce a military manual. The president of the board would direct and administer the board. The manual was named "Scott's Tactics" after the president of the board.¹¹

Army boards that produced military manuals were few and far between. Historically, the military relied upon professional regular officers to write private monographs on military doctrine and tactics. Many of the students at the United States Military Academy went on to write private monographs on doctrine and tactics. Students would pay private publishing houses to publish their works. There would be occasions when the government would contract publishing companies to print out military books for the government.

In 1846 Major General Henry Halleck wrote and privately published *Elements of Military Art and Science*. Jominian tactics influenced this work. Halleck reissued his work in 1861. This reissue presents two problems. First, at the beginning of the Civil War there was a lack of military manuals for the great influx of Soldiers. The military did not have manuals for every leader in the Union Army. Therefore the War Department quickly reissued a book without researching it. This is the second problem that General Halleck's work was dated. When General Halleck wrote the book, the standard weapon at that time was the .69 caliber smooth bore musket. The rifle generally

used during the Civil War was the .58 caliber rifle. Halleck did not change the doctrine of mass principle advocated by Napoleon in his book to reflect the new weapon on the battlefield. This is an excellent example of a doctrinal manual that is not relevant to the current operating environment. Tactical doctrine changed towards the end of the Civil War but no war time manuals reflected this change.¹²

During the Civil War non-combat arms staff officers began to produce private publications of their functional area. In 1863 the *Company Clerk* was the first field manual that did not deal with tactics.¹³ Also during the Civil War, Lieutenant Albert Meyers, a medical officer and an assistant surgeon who had a personal interest in Indian smoke signals, wrote a signal manual. Several medical manuals became the most privately published manual during the Civil War.¹⁴

The Civil War. The First Chaplain's Manual?

The American Civil War saw the first published work that dealt with the army Chaplaincy. *The Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution* by Joel Headley was very patriotic and showed the influence that chaplains had upon the military during the American Revolution.¹⁵ This book was not critical of the Chaplaincy nor did it give any guidance for how the Chaplaincy should organize and conduct itself. There were also two autobiographies, both written by hospital chaplains during the Civil War, that offered techniques and advice for chaplains. The first autobiography was by Chaplain William Brown who wrote *The Army Chaplain: His Office, Duties, and Responsibilities and the Means of Aiding Him*.¹⁶ This book gave practical advice but also addressed certain issues such as a chaplain's uniform and the wearing of rank, and the overall organization, and accountability of chaplains. The second work, was Jonathon Pinkney Hammonds' classic

work *The Army Chaplain's Manual*.¹⁷ Hammond's work is still published and was a popular book for chaplains till World War I. Hammond's work was very methodical and organized. He supplied the reader with easy references to all the laws and regulations from Congress to the Army that pertained to chaplains. He then offered advice on a variety of situations the chaplain may find himself in and then concluded with examples of prayers, scripture readings and hymns. Also towards the end he included an entire chapter on "Devotions for chaplains." This format of the *Army Chaplain's Manual*, which included regulatory references, advice for different situations, the importance to maintain spiritual nurture and examples for worship services remained a part of the chaplain manual for almost one hundred years. As much as this work exemplified the finest military writing for the period, the Army and the publisher J.B. Lippincott do not list it as a military book. Even Virgil Ney's excellent reference on the *Evolution of the United States Field Manual: Valley Forge to Vietnam* does not list Hammond's work under all the military manuals published by Lippincott.

After the Civil War there were numerous autobiographies written by chaplains from both sides of the war. The flavor of many of these war time autobiographies became very much a part of the tradition of the Chaplaincy even to this day. Almost all of these books were uncritical of the Chaplaincy. Many autobiographical books by chaplains, with a few exceptions, do not ever bring forth new or creative ideas for the Chaplaincy. Rarely do they reveal struggles with the military doctrinal issues that pertain to their functional area. Some works do share the spiritual struggles the chaplain may go through, but again these are few and far between. These works read as if the chaplain is going from one revival to another. Soldiers are coming to know the Lord by the

hundreds. Or the chaplain appears to be serving only one soldier, his commander. Some books read like a travel guide for Europe. In the books written before Vietnam, God and country are interwoven throughout the book. During and after Vietnam, the love of country is almost absent. These autobiographies are well intentioned and are very inspirational, but they provide no intellectual grasp of military doctrine or the application of good or bad chaplain doctrine into their ministry. Autobiographical books by chaplains do not follow in the military tradition of officers publishing professional and intellectual works that contribute for the good of the army.

Tradition of Individual Army Chaplain Professional Literature

Beginning in the 19th century, professional army officers provided the military with literature that was scholarly in nature. The army relied upon this as a cost saving method. It also created an atmosphere where officers could actively engage past and current army doctrine. With very few exceptions, this venue was safe and would not impact negatively upon their careers if they wrote a new doctrine that conflicted with their superiors. This tradition still lives in the army today.

After the Civil War, the tradition of individual professional army literature continued. In 1867 Brevet Major General Emory Upton wrote on squad maneuver tactics on the battlefield. This was in direct response to the change in weaponry on the battlefield.¹⁸ This is a great example of a soldier taking the lessons learned from the battlefield and capturing them and interpreting them into a creative doctrine that will fight and win our nation's wars.

In the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, most professions, including soldiers and clergymen, were developing a sense of professionalism, including concern for

educational standards and corporate recognition. Inevitable, therefore both army officers in general and chaplains in particular sought to establish the parameters of their profession. One of these parameters was a clear statement of common doctrines, principles and procedures, which in the U.S. Army took the form of professional journals and eventually field manuals.

There were several individuals who had fought in the Civil War, the Indian wars or the Spanish American War who then wrote sound advice for chaplains. One very small and obscure work written during the early 1870s was *Army Chaplains: Their Hindrances and Encouragements*.¹⁹ This was “mainly a critical account written by two chaplains and a line officer.”²⁰

Another notable book/pamphlet was written in 1893 by Chaplain George W. Simpson titled *Manual For U.S. Army Chaplains*.²¹ Simpson numbered each paragraph in his pamphlet for easy reference. He lists the laws and regulations that pertain to chaplains to include pay for chaplains and what his widow would receive if he were to die. As an example of the extent which he references other regulations, he presented where a chaplain should be on the parade field. He includes one section written by a post chaplain Charles C. Pierce who offers “Methods and General Advice” and another section written by Major General O.O. Howard on “How to establish a religious program without an assigned chaplain.” Simpson states in great detail the uniform and rank of a chaplain. In paragraph forty he mentions that Circular 9-87 states that chaplains are not permitted to wear swords or badges. It is interesting to note that in the next several publications written by other chaplains, the authors have no problem giving their personal opinions on the uniform and rank issue, nor any other issue at the time to include the

temperance issue. Simpson keeps his personal opinions to himself. His manual is meant to assist the new chaplain with working within the army system which includes its regulations. His experience as a chaplain at a remote fort in the west is reflected throughout his pamphlet. Despite his circuit riding from post to post he still would provide his monthly reports. He even developed a form for the monthly report and requested that the army adopt his form as the standard format. Five years later, the army approved his form. Simpson needed ink and was unable to find ink for his forms. His manual specifically mentions that the government provides office supplies. His pamphlet is the only publication prior to the 1926 manual that mentions government funds for religious support. The other manuals refer to private donations to assist the chaplain with his work. Not surprisingly, Simpson knew the regulations well enough that he was able to change his denomination and not have the Adjutant General find out about it for two years.²²

During 1904, after years of contemplating his military service during the Civil War, Chaplain (Colonel) Milton L. Haney published his memoirs. Haney had received the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroic actions during the Civil War. One chapter in “The Duties of a Chaplain” offers seasoned advice for chaplains. The chapter is broken down into four sections. First, *The value of prior military experience was incalculable*. Haney served as a line officer and “saw the wrongs perpetrated against the men by their officers.”²³ Second, *Chaplains who were merely preachers and not pastors were usually failures*. “There was a class of preachers who were not a success at home who secured the position and failed. A chaplain who would remain at headquarters and only be seen by the men in connection with a perfunctory “Divine Service” amounts’ to

but a little. An army in motion, as was Sherman's, rarely gives a chance for a set sermon. Hence the chaplain who depends wholly upon his preaching seems to an idler, and easily gets the displeasure of men." The third, *Chaplains need common sense, Divine love, moral courage, and adaptation to personal contact with soldiers of many backgrounds.* Finally, *Chaplains must be watch for opportunities to help and relieve suffering wherever and whenever possible.* "There is a great deal of suffering in an army, especially when in the field. Men get sick or are wounded, and the best treatment that can be given, in many cases, would be looked with horror in the home life. The presence of a wise chaplain filled with the sympathies of Jesus in such cases in as an oasis in the desert.

Race And Justification For The Chaplaincy

In 1893 Theophilis Gould Steward's collected a series of essays titled *Active Service or Religious Work Among U.S. Soldiers.*²⁴ Although Steward's book is not titled "manual" the book was received as proper guidance from senior chaplains in the Chaplaincy. Many of the early manuals in the twentieth century followed the outline of Steward's book.

Steward's work begins with a line officer, Major John B. Ketchem, explaining the history of Chaplaincy, to include a brief survey of the English, Scottish, and German chaplaincies in Europe. The following essay reveals the continuing race issues in the United States and the struggle the Chaplaincy was having in providing chaplains for the army. Steward, a regimental chaplain, begins his essay with these sharp words.

There are thirty-four Chaplains in the United States Army, exclusive of the Chaplain stationed at West Point. Third of these are known as Post Chaplains, and four as Regimental Chaplains. [Of] The four Regimental Chaplains, three of whom are colored men are connected with the four colored regiments.

The law defining the duties of Chaplains and determining their pay, makes no distinction between these two classes; nor does any reason whatever appear why the four colored regiments should have Chaplains, and the thirty-six white regiments in the service be left without. By the present arrangement, two regiments of infantry, the two of cavalry, have Chaplains; while twenty-three regiments of infantry, and eight of cavalry, have not, and there are no Chaplains in the artillery.²⁵

The issue for Steward is not race, although the language he uses could make one think that he is a racist. Many of the chaplain private publications and the first three chaplain manuals uses the term “colored” when referring to black soldiers which was the ordinary term of that era. Steward’s point is not to complain that black chaplains are in the regiments, but to argue that white regiments should have chaplains too. He mentions that the regulations do not state the reason why black units have chaplains. But there were several reasons why the army put chaplains in black regiments.

First, the chaplains were there to educate the soldiers. One of the many duties a chaplain had was to look after the post school and provide education when needed. Chaplains were usually the most educated persons on a post. The military saw a need for former slaves and their grown children who were now in the army to have an education.

The second reason is that the black regiments were able to recruit and retain chaplains. Steward does not acknowledge that the army had a hard time filling the 30 post chaplain positions nor the all white regimental units. The black regiments had chaplains because black chaplains kept them full.

Historically in America clergy on the frontier and in the West was sparse. The creature comforts of seminary life in the North East were like a magnet for many poor souls. The taste of sophistication and culture kept many men from the loneliness and hardship of being a chaplain on an army post. Therefore Steward’s argument is a fallacy.

There was not a causal relationship between the fact that the black regiments had chaplains and the white regiments did not. In fact, this shows great credit upon black chaplains who had no problem undergoing the harsh assignments in order to minister to their soldiers. In comparison many white chaplains did not want the harsh assignments as exemplified in the following paragraph.

In Steward's collection of essays Orville Nave prints a letter from William T. Sherman. Nave is trying to prove that the leadership of the army is callous towards the Chaplaincy. The context is that Nave was trying to get his brother an appointment to the Chaplaincy. At that time, only the President appointed chaplains and Nave was trying to get Sherman to hand carry his application to the President.

I think there are several hundred applicants now, each one of whom is stronger in the faith than Saint Paul, and most of whom, before appointment, are anxious to be martyrs; but once appointed and confirmed, they object to our frontier posts because they are ill-adapted for raising a large family of small children...If Congress wanted the army to have the influence of religion, it would allow the Commanding officer of each post remote from civilization, to hire and pay for a minister while employed, like surgeons. Of such posts there are nearly a hundred, whereas the Chaplain is limited to thirty, say half of whom are sick, or don't like the isolation of Texas, Arizona, etc. Of course there are no vacancies now, and they are gobbled up as soon as the telegraph announces a death; there are no regulations-and so greedy are the applicants that they will not even wait for the funeral.²⁶

Sherman's heartless language is no surprise. Sherman was blunt and unkind with his words. Therefore using a letter from him as proof of the military's overall assessment of the Chaplaincy is not altogether accurate. It is true that Congress, not the military was arguing for disbanding the Chaplaincy in the military during the 1880s. The army was dealing with the shortfall of chaplains by contracting local clergy to meet the need. The army wasn't callous to the needs of the Chaplaincy. Several chaplains in this book failed

to take responsibility for their denominations' failure to provide godly men for the Chaplaincy. Their use of this book as a forum and faulty information further contributed to an appearance of a lack of creditability with the rest of the army.

Orville Nave also took issue with a contemporary chaplain, Cephas Bateman. The issue was the wear of rank. Nave wanted chaplains to wear rank. Bateman did not. Bateman went so far as to say that there should not be a Chaplain General, or a Chief of Chaplains. Bateman writes in his essay if there were to be a chaplain general he "may be converted to resist with tongue and pen to the full limit of ability and influence."²⁷ Bateman would later follow through with these words, as would Nave when he published his own advice for chaplains.

Finally in Steward's work there is one "rebel" who makes a comment that went against all other published writings for the next thirty years. Chaplain John H. Macomber wrote "All will concede that a good quality of beer, sold under military control, is better than the bad whiskey men used to get under the old arrangement."²⁸ The post trader was replaced with a regulated store. Soldiers would get sick buying bad whiskey from the post trader. Macomber was not advocating drunkenness, but his words are in contrast with the temperance movement advocated in almost every publication prior to World War II.

Government Printing Office

As the Army developed after the Spanish American War, the army realized the need for published material. Up until this time, the army relied upon private publishers for its manuals. Prior to 1898 the few army publications still focused upon tactics and drill. The Government Printing Office was formed in June 23, 1860, but it wasn't until

the formulation of the War Department General Staff in 1905 that the military begun to use this office to support the increasing demand for military publications.²⁹

George J. Waring, a Roman Catholic priest from the fields of Iowa, joined the army in 1904. During this time period in the Chaplaincy, one of the ways a chaplain got promoted was to submit a professional manuscript to the War Department. Waring submitted a manuscript and in 1912 the War Department issued it through the Government Printing Office. This was a first for the Chaplaincy.³⁰

Waring's manuscript was published as a book titled, *Chaplain Duties And How Best To Accomplish His Work*.³¹ This book is very practical and thorough. His views represented those in the War Department. In his work he stressed the "clerical essence" of the profession. Chaplains should avoid rank if at all possible and according to Waring, they should not have a military uniform. Finally, the Chaplaincy should avoid the creation of the Chaplain General.

Waring brought with him organizational capability and a flair for writing that appealed to what he thought the War Department expected at the time from the Chaplaincy. He recommended that chaplains should not participate in "secular duties" to include tending the post exchange. Nave would spar fiercely with Waring in Nave's handbook. Waring also believed the government should pay for civilian clergy to meet the needs of soldiers if a chaplain was unavailable. Waring also proposed in his manual the building of military chapels and an established chaplain flag. The government acted upon Waring's suggestion for a chaplain flag which was blue with a white cross. This is the same chaplain's flag used by the Christian chaplains today.

Waring's view concerning the Chaplain General may not have been motivated purely by collegiality among all the chaplains. In May 29, 1907, Waring wrote a letter to Father Daniel E. Hudson, (C.S.C.) at Notre Dame. In the letter Waring warned that "There is a movement on foot to place a Protestant chaplain on the General Staff, as head of the Corps of Chaplains. Such a position would give him such powers over the chaplains as would be totally distasteful to Catholic priests."³² His views concerning rank also appeared to have changed. He was promoted to the rank of Major in July, 1920, then resigned from the army September 1, 1920, and immediately took charge of the Military Ordinariate¹ as Vicar-General and Chancellor.³³ What would happen if the first Chaplain General was a Roman Catholic? Would that have influenced his view when he wrote his book? Had he wanted the control of the Chaplaincy? Or did he just want control? Waring had been working closely with the Military Ordinariate, prior to his resignation from the military. In 1918 he published through the Military Ordinariate *Regulations for Chaplains in the United States Army and Navy*.³⁴ In this very short pamphlet he exerted tight control over priests wanting to enter or leave the Chaplaincy. Instead of becoming the Chaplain General for the Chaplaincy, he became the Vicar-General for Roman Catholic Chaplains.

In 1914 Chaplain Joseph Clemens submitted to the War Department a manuscript on *The Duties and Privileges of Chaplains*. Clemens had the respect of the War Department. He spent almost his entire career on foreign assignments. Clemens advocated that chaplains should wear their rank and their uniform. Chaplains and military personnel hotly debated this issue. Yet, because of the creditability Clemens had

¹ Roman Catholic Organization that performs as a liaison between the military and the Roman Catholic Church.

with the military due to his numerous overseas and hardship assignments, the Adjutant General authorized Clemens to circulate his manuscript throughout the army.³⁵

Orville Nave wrote the next accepted manual for the army Chaplaincy. Nave was a private during the Civil War. His regimental chaplain was home sick most of the time so Nave's commander allowed him to fulfill the role as the unit chaplain. He never could become the unit's chaplain because the chaplain who filled the slot never resigned his commission. Nave left the army only to rejoin again as a chaplain for the Spanish-American War. Nave retired from the military in 1905. Nave was a popular figure in American religious circles. His popular *Topical Bible* only increased his stature and his ego.

In 1917 Nave published *Nave's Handbook on the Army Chaplaincy*.³⁶ Nave, like Simpson before him begins his manual with claiming that nothing like this "has ever been written before." Had they never read Hammond or Steward?

Nave agreed with Bateman concerning the need for chaplains to perform secular duties. Nave believed that chaplains should try to obtain every opportunity to be with soldiers. He writes concerning chaplains, "His moral influences with officers and men depends [sic] on his willingness to serve."³⁷ One of the ways Nave believed a chaplain could serve soldiers was to maintain the register at the local exchange. Nave believed that these stores helped soldiers save money. It must be noted that Waring disagreed with Nave in that Waring believed that chaplains should not take money from soldiers in the context of the store. But Waring's view could also be interpreted in the context that he believed that chaplains should not perform secular duties and taking money from soldiers was a noble excuse to get out of serving soldiers.³⁸ Nave also believes that if other

officers had to perform duties that were not in their normal job description, then why should chaplains be exempt from carrying their fair share? Nave believed that chaplains should be instructors of morality. At times, it appears that he is arguing with Waring over the wearing of the uniform and the Chaplain General. Nave believed in a strong centralized Chaplaincy closely tied to the denominations. His manual includes a supplement for churches and how they can take care of soldiers in their churches and how they can support chaplains in the army. Nave also advised chaplains to seek funds from local religious groups. He never mentioned the availability of government funds nor did he ever mention any regulations as had Simpson.

Despite his presumptuous attitude and his polemical arguments with Waring, the best part of this book is his chapter on Battle which describes what a chaplain does in combat. Nave sent this book to the private publisher but when it returned the chapter on Battle was missing. Nave unbound the book and inserted the missing chapter and had the books rebound. When you read the original 1917 Nave's Handbook, there are no numbers on the pages that Nave inserted. No one is sure why at the start of America's involvement in World War I the most graphic portion of military literature became missing. A chaplain who participated in two wars and now saw his nation entering a World War wanted chaplains to be prepared and know how to conduct themselves on the battlefield.

In April, 1917, the General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains wanted a conference for chaplains to talk about training. The Secretary of War and the Adjutant General did not approve the conference. On June 23, 1917, a trolley car in Los Angeles struck Nave and he died the next day. In response to the War Department's decision not

to approve the chaplain training event, the Committee voted on August 13, 1917, that each denomination give Nave's manual to every new chaplain to help him train for war.

The army chaplains during this period showed organization, knowledge of army regulations, and a sense of holy vocation while ministering in a mortal environment where life is lived to its fullest, but where man may have to give his life for another. Chaplains were wrestling with demons of this world, but also their own personal demons. Comparing the manuals in historical context provide an opportunity to see the great wisdom and benefits of a good manual, but also the chance to see the hidden agendas and personal ambitions that will distract and discredit an army manual.

All the manuals recognized the spiritual fitness a chaplain must maintain in order to be effective. Perhaps George Waring knew this. His last words in *Regulations for Chaplains in the United States Army and Navy* were "Chaplains be ever mindful of the admonition of St. Paul, in his first letter of the Corinthians, Chapter IX, Verse 27- 'But I chastise my body and bring it into subjection: lest, perhaps, when I have preached unto others, I myself should become a castaway.'"³⁹

CHAPTER 3

DEFINING THE ROLE OF THE ARMY CHAPLAIN

Paragraph 90 b states that Chaplains may be designated as “intelligence officers”...The paragraph should be revised in consultation with a representative of G-2.⁴⁰

Memo from the Adjutant General to the Chief of Chaplains concerning the draft 1926 manual

In historical retrospect, the period from the American Revolution to World War I has been termed the “infancy and adolescence of American Military Literature.”⁴¹ The events of the twentieth century were about to change that. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the United States was struggling between isolationism and imperialism. The social consciousness of America to withdrawal from the world and reform its own social issues of the time. The positive culture of the Victorian era saw America as reflecting divine right in its will, judgment and use of force during this time period. War has a tendency to make these two forces collide. The result is not always pretty. The outcome usually is a synthesis of competing ideas. But at times, dissenting voices are used and manipulated by those in power, and then eventually discarded as irrelevant to the new order of society. The formation of army chaplain manuals after World War I and during World War II reveals this sad reality. An analysis of these manuals will expose a few examples of operational, social and religious examples that became the manner army chaplain doctrine were formulated in future generations.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw the modernization of the army manual. On May 11, 1903, Major William Gerlach wrote a letter to the Assistant Secretary of War stating that France, Germany, Austria and Russia have a system that

organized military publications into a naming and numerical system that helped systematize military publications. Gerlach is an excellent example of a soldier with an experienced background providing advice that will help put army doctrine into a straightforward format. Gerlach was an enlisted man before the Civil War. He was a non-military academy graduate who fought in the Civil War and the Spanish American War as an officer. His organizational system for military manuals is still reflected in today's army.⁴²

Definition of Key Terms

It is important to take a moment and define key terms that began with Major Gerlach and evolved through the years regarding the different type of army publications, in particular, army doctrine publications. The definitions unless otherwise noted are taken verbatim from *Technical Manual 20-205: Dictionary of United States Army Terms, War Department*, 18 January 1944.

The reason for using the 1944 manual is that some of the terms used in the old manual are no longer used. Secondly, it is important that new doctrine and terms should not always be applied to evaluate old doctrine. There are terms such as "Technical Circular" which are not defined in any manual but was used during World War II. In the history of army chaplain doctrine, the leadership within the Chaplaincy has resorted to different types of military publications and at times non-doctrinal writings to communicate chaplain doctrine. Sometimes the publication from the leadership may not carry with it the desired result leaving commanders and chaplains to determine the exact authority the new "guidance" has within the army.

Army Regulation. Policies and rules for the governing of the Army. They are issued by the War Department [later Department of the Army], usually as printed pamphlets, and have the force of law although they are not a part of the statute law.

Circular. Official publication that usually contains information of a general but temporary nature.

Field Manual. One of the series of official handbooks that contains general, elementary information and instructions for the training of military personnel, and for the operation and maintenance of material and equipment. Field Manuals differ from Technical Manuals, which contain information of a technical, specialized nature. The Field and Technical manuals are issued by the War Department.

Field Service Regulations. Handbooks in the Field Manual series, giving the basic principles and regulations governing the operations of large units, territorial commands, and combined arms and services.

Manual. 1. Handbook. The War Department publishes two series: Field Manuals and Technical Manuals. 2. Prescribed exercise in the handling of a weapon or other item of equipment at formal ceremonies or in drill. Examples are: manual of the rifle, manual of the pistol, manual of the submachine gun, manual of the color and standard, manual of the guidon, and manual of the baton.

Regulation. 1. Any of the official policies and rules for governing and training any branches of the Army. Examples of such regulations are the Army Regulations and the Army Air Forces Regulation. 2. Authorized; according to, or required by, regulation.

Standing Operating Procedure. A set of instructions covering those features of operations which lend themselves to a definite or standardized procedure without loss of effectiveness. The procedure is applicable unless ordered otherwise. Also called SOP.⁴³

Technical Manual. One of a series of official handbooks that contain technical, detailed information and instruction for the specialized training of military personnel, and for the operation and maintenance of material and equipment. Technical manuals differ from Field Manuals, which contain information of a general or tactical nature. The manuals are issued by the War Department.

Training Circular. One which promulgates training directives, policies, or information of an interim nature which requires revision too frequently for inclusion in permanent training literature. Also used to promulgate new training doctrines, tactics, or techniques; the immediate dissemination of which is essential.⁴⁴

In summary, Army regulations are authoritative. Field Manuals, Technical Manuals and Training Circulars offer techniques but are not authoritative. Circulars are a quick way for leaders to get information out but they do not have the authority of army regulations. Circulars usually are not staffed with other agencies and offices of the army. A Circular Letter was used by the Chaplaincy but the title was not doctrinal. A Circular Letter was used much like a monthly internal newsletter to keep the chaplaincy informed on current issues and to offer guidance. But this put guidance did not always conform to army doctrine.

Turn of the Century, Mobilization and War: Catalyst For Change

The turn of the twentieth century brought new optimism and vigor to our nation. The service schools of each branch of the military began to exert a stronger influence in

writing army manuals. Therefore, in 1905 the military published the *Field Service Regulations, US Army*. This new manual departed from the usual cut and paste method that occurred in the past. Now, the new manual contained highly specific guidance for each military situation a soldier could encounter on the battlefield.⁴⁵

War Department Bulletin No.3, 1915, listed the titles of the regulations and manuals available to the military. At that time, private individuals and professional officers contributed to the bulk of military publications. Many of these writings dealt with military history, private translations of memoirs and foreign works by military tacticians and interpretation of individual analysis of tactical principles.⁴⁶ There were no chaplain specific manuals listed in the bulletin. The military at the beginning of the twentieth century still did not consider chaplain military doctrine as pertinent to warfare. The motif of the irrelevancy of chaplain doctrine to military operations continues to plague military doctrine writers and commanders of contemporary military operations.

Before World War I, military publications were for the intellectuals and leaders of the military. The publications focused more on the art of war and not on basic tactics. In March, 1916, Pancho Villa's raiders attacked New Mexico. The United States responded with several divisions and National Guard soldiers. The army found itself with a small amount of manuals for the citizen soldier. With war in Europe and the potential for American involvement in the war, the military began to publish more manuals using the Government Printing Office and private publishers. But due to the rapid involvement by the United States during the World War, the Army Chaplaincy relied upon the previous works of Nave and Waring to teach new chaplains how to perform their duties.

During 1918, the army wanted a standard chaplain manual. So, that same year, the Adjutant General sent Clemens', Nave's and Waring's publications to the chaplain school faculty along with Chaplain Alva Brasted's manuscript *Suggestions for newly Appointed Chaplains* with instructions to develop a new chaplains manual. Brasted, a future Chief of Chaplains during 1933-1937, quickly wrote this manuscript with hopes to contribute to the new manual. Brasted reissued his manuscript in 1941 in a published format with a new title *Service to Service Men*.⁴⁷ The first half of the book consists of advice for churches and pastors in the hope that they will minister to service men. The second half of the book is his earlier manuscript with a shorter title "Suggestions for Service Men." Brasted wrote several other works about religion in the military. He had a great amount of energy that always sought new ways to contribute to the Chaplaincy. With much enthusiasm and hope the four documents reached the chaplain school with the goal of producing an official standard chaplain manual.

The commandant of the chaplain school at that time was Chaplain Henry A. Brown. Brown was known for his courage since his claim to fame was fighting with Teddy Roosevelt's rough riders in Cuba during 1898. He was also the first chaplain for the Corps of Engineers and he was on the short list considered for the first Chief of Chaplains. But Brown never published any material dealing with chaplain doctrine nor did he provide any articles for Steward's collected work. He did publish a small 48 page pamphlet in 1901, titled *Army and Navy church service manual: Adapted for use in the United States Army and Navy*.⁴⁸ This manual was more of a liturgical book than an army manual or a critical contribution for the Chaplaincy. Therefore, it is no surprise that

Brown had no energy or interest to write a new manual. With the war won and nothing to do at the chaplain school, the school closed in February, 1919.

To consolidate the defense lessons of World War I, Congress passed the National Defense Act of 1920. Among many other provisions, this law assigned proponentry of each branch of the army to a chief of the branch with the War Department-the Chief of Infantry, Chief of Cavalry, and so on. For the first time, the Chaplaincy had its own permanent head, the Chief of Chaplains. Institutionally, this new official and office naturally followed the example of other branch chiefs, including the issuance of branch doctrine in the form of official field manuals.

In May, 1920, Chaplain Cephas Bateman re-opened the chaplain school and became the commandant. Bateman was an avid writer. He wrote several articles about the Chaplaincy and about the military in general. But none of his writings were included with the four documents sent by the army to the chaplain school. So, one month after becoming the commandant of the chaplain school he wrote *Evolution of the Army Chaplains Corps*.⁴⁹ Bateman had a chance to interject his views for consideration into the new manual. It must be remembered that he vowed to “resist with tongue and pen to the full limit of ability and influence” if there were ever a Chief of Chaplains. Also at this same time, Chaplain John T. Axton had just been appointed Chief of Chaplains. Seeing that it was too late to change the establishment or perhaps feeling slighted, Bateman chose to write on chaplain history and not go through the give and take process of writing a manual that would include ideas that were different than his own. An era of individual chaplains writing professional publications was coming to an end. The era of professional chaplain doctrine was about to begin.

The 1926 Manual: Non-Combatant Status?

It is sometimes said about a chaplain, “I don’t know what you do, but I know what you don’t do.” Many leaders in the military did not know about chaplain duties and functions. Because J.B. Lippincott’s classic reference list of military publications did not include chaplain publications even though Lippincott published them, the military was in the dark concerning chaplain publications. And it must be remembered that at times, even chaplains were not aware or would not admit that there were other chaplain writings in circulation. Therefore, it is not surprising that a number of issues surfaced when an official manual had to be staffed.

The first Chief of Chaplains, Chaplain (Colonel) John T. Axton, began as the new Chief in 1920. It was also during this time that all branches of the military established a Chief. The War Department tasked each branch Chief to publish a manual. Axton slowly began to evaluate and implement his role as the Chief. Axton during his first few years did not proceed with a manual. Instead, in 1925 Axton’s son, Chaplain John T. Axton Jr., was an instructor at the chaplain school. Axton’s son wrote a response to Bateman’s historical account titled, *Brief History of Chaplains in U.S. Army*.⁵⁰ Axton’s work does not account for the establishment of the Chief of Chaplains. His work focuses mostly on early chaplain history. Many of the branches worked closely with their service schools. During this time period, the chaplain school reopened in 1920 and went through three Commandants until Chaplain (Major) William R. Arnold arrived on February 12, 1925.

Chaplain Arnold is one of the best Chief of Chaplains the army ever had. It is no coincidence that when Chaplain Arnold became the Commandant for the chaplain school

at Fort Leavenworth in February, 1925, Axton found the Fort Leavenworth General Service School to publish his history book. Arnold made it happen. During World War II as Chief of Chaplains, Arnold would oversee the writings of two editions of a chaplain's manual.

A friend of Chaplain Arnold was Chaplain (COL) Julian E. Yates. Yates, a Baptist minister, was appointed a chaplain on March 13, 1902. He served in the Philippines and France. In 1920, he edited *The Army and Navy Hymnal*.⁵¹ Yates was also at Leavenworth. Under the direction of Axton, Yates wrote the draft and final version of the first official chaplain manual, *The Chaplain, His Place and Duties*. Yates, like Axton, went on and became the third Chief of Chaplains between 1929-1933.⁵²

The draft of the 1926 manual provides insight into the thought process of the original writer, but also the view the army had of chaplains.⁵³ The draft manuscript is just a few pages longer than the final version. The version sent to the Adjutant General's Office returned with several corrections that reveal an internal struggle the Chaplaincy has encountered through most of its history, and the question of the chaplain as a non-combatant.

The first item from the draft listed in the Adjutant's General's memorandum to Chaplain Axton concerns paragraph 90b in the 1926 draft manual. Paragraph 90 begins with the title "Advisory for morale and intelligence." Paragraph 90a mentions that the chaplain's responsibility is to look after soldier's morale. Paragraph 90b starts off with the paragraph below.

Intelligence – Special Investigations, - Rarely will a chaplain be detailed for duty as intelligence officer. He may be singled out however on account of exceptional qualifications in this particular field. I [sic] may be

well to state that when a chaplain in [sic] the intelligence officer it will probably become his duty to gather information touching matters non-military in nature. If the command is occupying a territory whose inhabitants are unfriendly, he naturally seek to aid in the work of tranquilization. He strives to reach the head man of the community and through them correct the fallacies and misrepresentations as to the aim and purpose of the military occupation. *In such case, it might be his business under the instructions of his commander, to ascertain the identity of agitators and disturbers of the peace and make report of their activities* [emphasis is mine] The winning over of the respected and respectable citizens or natives of the region to the viewpoint which had justified the occupation may be an important step in the prevention of a possible riot and needless bloodshed.

The next paragraph in 90b states that chaplains may at times have to investigate issues and people within a unit and report back to the commander. In the final version, the first paragraph of 90b is deleted. But in the 1926 manual the word intelligence remained in the final version. Moreover, in the 1937 and 1941 manuals the word “intelligence” continues to remain as the header for paragraph 90. It was not until the complete rewriting of the 1944 manual that the word was removed.

What was the reason for the error concerning the role of the chaplain as intelligence officer? Was this a staff member of Chaplain Arnold’s staff who admired Bateman and remembered his stories or read one of his many publications? During the Spanish-American War, Bateman belonged to the 28th Infantry. He was sent home for sick leave and returned to the Philippines in 1901. While in the Philippines he served in the field with troops in Laguna, Cavite and Batangas provinces. On two occasions he commanded troops in action. General S.S. Summer commended Bateman twice for conduct in action and for service as an intelligence officer.⁵⁴ Further evidence of the respect and animosity the Chaplaincy had for Bateman was seen in the August 1, 1934, Chief of Chaplains Circular Letter No. 141. It also must be noted that Axton died two

days after Bateman. Although Bateman wrote more concerning the chaplaincy, it was Axton who received more praise in the Circular Letter.

Cephas C. Bateman, Chaplain (Lt.Col.) USA, retired died at this home in San Antonio, Texas, on July 18th, in his 78th year. He was buried at the National Cemetery, San Antonio, July 21st. His was a most useful and virile service. He was active as a speaker and writer almost to the day of his death. His valiant soul goes marching on.

John T. Axton, Chaplain (Col.) USA, retired, former and first Chief of Chaplains dies at his home, 3179 Porter Street, Washington, D.C., July 20th. He distinguished himself during the World War at the Port of Embarkation, Hoboken, where he was in charge of general, social and religious activities. For this service he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal. He was Chief of Chaplains for eight years. After his retirement he was for four years Chaplain of Rutgers University. His ashes were interred at Arlington National Cemetery July 23rd. Chaplain Julian Yates read the funeral service. Chaplains were honorary pall bearers. Chaplain Axton made a great contribution during his life to the Chaplains' Corps and to the United States Army. His death in mourned by a host of military and civilian friends.

But this issue presents a further discussion on the role of chaplains as non-combatants. Nowhere in the 1926 manual are chaplains forbidden from carrying weapons. Section XIII, The chaplain in war, says that the chaplain's place of duty is with the wounded. There is a section on burials and ministry at military executions. But the chapter begins with the following paragraph.

100. **On the firing line.**- The opening sentence of the old Infantry Drill Regulations tersely sums up the purpose and the aims of military life as follows: "To fit men mentally, morally, and physically that in time of war they can bring their flag to victory against every foe." It may, therefore, be confidently states that the duty of the chaplain lies with the men of his command who are in the fighting line. This does not mean that the chaplain should take part in every assault and go over the top with the men and become a "fighting parson," but the chaplain should know of every impending engagement and should arrange so that every man who desires to do so may come to him for confession, or the sacraments, for a word of hope and cheer and to leave with him a last message for loved ones at home.....

This paragraph does not forbid chaplains from carrying weapons, not does it forbid chaplains from joining the assault. It does remind the chaplain that he is not a “fighting parson”, a fighting cleric. It reinforces the purpose of the chaplain in combat which is to minister to the living. This paragraph can be interpreted to mean that chaplains can “go over the top” if the spiritual needs of the soldiers are met. Other chaplains were rewarded by their commanders for going over the top.

One of three chaplains during the Civil War who received the Medal of Honor did so for performing combat actions during battle. As seen above, Bateman was recognized for performing as a combatant. One can argue that army regulations did not allow chaplains to carry swords. I propose that this deals with the wear and appearance of the military uniform since the same regulation states that chaplains are now allowed to wear badges. The author of this manuscript has personally seen a sword acquired in Germany during 1919 by the former Commandant of the chaplain school and deputy Chief of Chaplains William Cleary. Therefore, not everyone was in agreement concerning the combatant role of the chaplain.

Bateman’s influence can be seen in the 1926 draft manual. It must be remembered that after World War I there was a strong pacifist movement in the United States. Much of this movement occurred in academic circles. Chaplains are highly educated and even today physicians are the only other branch in the military that require more education. The tragedy of World War I and the pacifist movement in the United States influenced some chaplains to interject their personal beliefs into chaplain military doctrine concerning the role of chaplains as non-combatants.

In the next two editions of the chaplain manual, those of 1937 and 1941, the “On the firing line” paragraph remained the same. These two manuals were basically cut and pasted from the 1926 manual. When the Technical Manual 16-205, The Chaplain, 5 July 1944, was written, a fresh approach to writing the manual took place. This time, when the issue concerning chaplains and combatants came up, the author wrote in

Paragraph 58f:

Paragraph 76, AR 600-30, makes this distinction clear and directs that chaplains shall not bear arms. Immunities are forfeited by those who commit acts injurious to the enemy. To benefit by a protected status, recognized and respected by the enemy, then to take part in acts which deliberately injure would seem a breach of faith a little short of treachery and would be punishable under the law of nations and the military law of the United States.

Yet, an examination of AR 600-30 shows that the context was in the wear and appearance of the army uniform. It could be argued that a chaplain could carry the M1 carbine, a common weapon for rear area troops or staff officers. In AR 600-40, Wearing of Service Uniform, 31 March 1944, Paragraph 76:

Pistol.-a. *In the field* – The pistol (or revolver) with holster and 21 rounds of ammunition will be worn by officers and warrant officers in the field. It will not be worn by chaplains. It will be worn by officers of the Medical Department only when necessary for personal protection.

This is written under Section VI, Various Articles of Equipment. Examples are given for the wear of the pistol, belt, spurs, and web field equipment. This is similar to an earlier order that chaplains were not to wear swords or badges. It is a uniform issue, not a Geneva Convention protection issue.

During World War II, Chaplain Arnold issued Circular # 277, 1 October 1943, warning chaplains not to carry weapons. Arnold believed that if a chaplain used a weapon, he would no longer be protected under the Geneva Convention. In Circular #286, 1 July 1944, the Chief included an opinion from the Judge Advocate General who reaffirmed Arnold's position. The Circular did not forbid chaplains from carrying weapons. The Judge Advocate General only wrote an opinion which is not legally binding. If Chaplain Arnold wanted to get the word out that chaplains will not carry weapons, he could have been more straightforward in the 1944 manual. Instead, the author of the manual erroneously referenced the issue to another manual which does not actually support the position that chaplains should not carry weapons. During the war, Army Regulations, which are more authoritative than Technical Manuals, never explicitly forbade chaplains from carrying weapons. Even after the war, when leaders would have more time to interject and staff their desires into army regulations, this prohibition still did not appear in AR 60-50, December 12, 1946, *Chaplains*.

The next two manuals, the 1947 and 1952 editions, made no mention regarding chaplains and carrying weapons. At this time, this reflected lessons learned from fighting with the Japanese, the North Koreans and the Chinese who did not treat chaplains according to the Geneva Convention. The next manual in 1958 mentions that chaplains are non-combatants and may forfeit their protection as non-combatants if they engage the enemy. This language is used in the 1964, 1967, 1977, and the 1984 manuals. In the 1989 manual, however, the language of the manual says that "Chaplains are non-combatant. They will not bear arms."⁵⁵ Army Regulation 165-20, *Duties of Chaplains and Commanders' Responsibilities*, 15 June 1976, is the first Army Regulation that flatly

forbids chaplains from carrying weapons. The 1989 Field Manual does not give any references. The 1995 manual states “the policy of the Chief of Chaplains forbids chaplains to bear arms.”⁵⁶ Army Regulations carry more authority than the Chief of Chaplains policy. The Chief does expect conformity to his policy. Why did the writer reference the policy of the Chief of Chaplains and not Army policy? Stating that it is the Chief’s policy could allow chaplains to ignore the Chief of Chaplains. Also, it gives the impression that the policy is a personal choice of the Chief of Chaplains instead of Army policy.

The draft 1926 manual and the history of army chaplain field manuals reveal confusion over the issue of chaplains bearing arms. Although not every chaplain agreed with the position, the majority of the leadership through the years was consistent with its beliefs, but not consistent in implementing the policy. Moreover, the leadership did not use the appropriate means to communicate and enforce the prohibitions that chaplains will not bear arms.

The purpose of this chapter is not to debate the issue of chaplains as non-combatants. The purpose is to show how doctrine writers are unclear in presenting specific policies from the Chief of Chaplains. Also, if the Chief of Chaplains does have specific authoritative policy that must be implemented, it is best to use army regulations instead of vague, confusing, and misleading language in field manuals.

CHAPTER 4

“FUNDAMENTAL” ISSUES WITHIN THE CHAPLAINCY

A proper school should teach nothing but bookkeeping, agriculture, geometry, dead languages made deader by leaving out all the amusing literature, and the Hebrew Bible as interpreted by men superbly trained to ignore contradictions, men technically called ‘Fundamentalists.’⁵⁷

Elmer Gantry

The history of army chaplain doctrine as reflected in the first three chaplain manuals reveals a military and society in transition. The war to end all wars questioned the need for a large standing army. The religious war between the modernists and fundamentalists attracted international attention at the 1925 Scopes trial. Military leaders adjusted to the new world order. Religious issues between the modernists and fundamentalists are evident in the development of army chaplain doctrine in the first three official chaplain manuals.

The period of 1920-1940 has been termed the “Dark Ages of the Army.”⁵⁸ Radical reduction of forces, low budgetary allowances, meager pay and little or no career incentives contributed to this bleak period in military history. The growing pains of the United States as a world power were in contrast to the diminished role of the military. Yet, during this time period, men like General George C. Marshall, General Douglas MacArthur, General George Patton, and Chaplain (Major General) William Arnold remained in the military to make the best of what they had. During 1929-1932 General Marshall as the deputy commandant of the Infantry School pushed for simpler manuals.

I insist that we must get down to the essentials, make clear the real difficulties, and expunge the bunk, and ponderosities [sic]; we must concentrate on registering in men’s minds certain vital considerations instead of mass of less important details. We must develop a technique

and methods so simple and so brief that the citizen officer of good common sense can readily grasp the idea.⁵⁹

The first three official chaplain manuals did not heed General Marshall's advice. But the Chaplaincy was not alone. Military manuals before World War II were rigid and were uninteresting or incomprehensible to the new citizen soldier.⁶⁰ The three editions 1926, 1937, and the 1941 were no exceptions. The length of the manuals was from seventy-three, seventy-six, and eighty-three pages respectfully. The 1941 edition added a helpful four page index. The sizes of the manuals were consistent with the rest of the military manuals at that time. They were five and a half inches by eight and a half inches. The first two manuals and army regulations could fit into a binder. The binder format allowed soldiers to add changes to the binder. The 1941 manual was the same size but did not have the notches for binding. However the 1941 manual was designed to "stand alone," thus allowing easier access.

Following the example of earlier privately published chaplain writings, the manuals begin with the history of the Chaplaincy. This briefly describes the heroic actions of chaplains in the nations past wars. But more importantly, the history focuses more on defending the status of chaplains in the military instead of factual details. The format of beginning with the history of the Chaplaincy is evident in almost every manual to the present. Following the history are duties and responsibilities of chaplains, their training, equipment, religious observances, special (religious and patriotic) services, religious training and conferences, pastoral functions, educational activity, recreational activities, military duties, social activity, the chaplain in war, National Guard and Reserve Corps matters, general information, and condensed suggested outlines (for religious and

patriotic services). Of the above chapter titles, the author of the 1941 manual deleted recreational activities and condensed the suggested outline from the manual.

Recreational activities are omitted from the 1941 manual due to the need for the citizen soldier chaplain to join the army. Historically, elements within Christianity never embraced the stage. Augustine, Tertullian, Pascal and Tozier either critically wrote against or forbid any participation in the theater by Christians. Christians, and more specifically fundamental Christians in the United States, adopted this tradition.

The fundamentalists in the United States were a reaction to the liberal higher criticism belief system. Higher criticism was a product of the Enlightenment. “Enlightened” theologians believed in God, but argued that the accounts written by God and about Him in the Bible are not literally as written in the Bible. They also did not believe in the miracles of the Bible. In reaction to this, conservative Christians responded with a list of “fundamental” beliefs that are essential for salvation. The list was very short and included such things as a literal view of the Bible, belief in the virgin birth, and Christ’s death, burial, resurrection, and ascension into heaven. Since this list is short and simplistic, fundamentalists added additional requirements to demonstrate one’s salvation to the believer and to the leaders of the church. These additional requirements included such things as forbidding alcohol, smoking, dancing, and going to theaters. Since higher criticism came from academic circles, namely seminaries, fundamental Christians became skeptical of education in general. Many fundamentalists retreated from society while a few like J. Gresham Machen tried to engage society and the intellectual community. The views of others like Chaplain Joseph Clemens changed over time.

Clemens graduated from Dickinson College and Williamsport Seminary. While at Williamsport Seminary, he was treasurer of the Prohibition Club.⁶¹ He joined the army as a chaplain in 1901 and was sent to Hawaii. From there he moved to the Philippines and China with the 15th Infantry Regiment. His monthly reports revealed that he showed moving pictures twice a week to soldiers.⁶² In 1918 while in France he left the military at the age of 56 for medical reasons.⁶³ When Clemens first joined the army, he had believed that chaplains should not have rank, but his views changed over time so much so that when he submitted his manuscript with the other three manuscripts that would contribute to the chaplain manual after World War I, he believed that “rank is a necessity in the army.”⁶⁴

Clemens also changed his view concerning showing movies. Clemens’ denomination was the American Methodist’s Episcopal Church. This denomination did not support the showing of movies. In a memorandum dated November 28, 1916, to the Adjutant General, Clemens requested decisions on the following questions.

1. May a chaplain be ordered to conduct a moving picture theatre [sic] the doing of which is inconsistent with the teachings and laws of the denomination, or church from which he was appointed to the army?
2. May a chaplain be ordered to conduct a moving picture theatre [sic] when the doing this is contrary to his religious convictions and the beliefs and teachings of himself and the ministers of his particular church based on their understanding of the teaching of “The Scriptures”?
3. May a chaplain be ordered to conduct a moving picture theatre [sic] when he protests that his doing so lessens the possibility of performing the duties of a Christian minister, to which Congress appointed him as a chaplain of the services?
4. May a chaplain be ordered to take charge of the “recreation and amusements of the enlisted men of his post of his regiment?”⁶⁵

Clemens presents several quotations from the American Methodist Episcopal Church Book of Discipline. Also included in the memorandum were recommendations from his

chain of command. These recommendations are not supportive of Clemens' position. His former Commander while he was with the 15th Infantry stated that he used to show movies. The reply memorandum from the acting Chief of Staff, Tasker H. Bliss, to Clemens stated that he should resign from the army: "If his religious beliefs and convictions are such that he is unable to carry out the spirit of the above regulations, he should tender his resignation as an army chaplain."⁶⁶ Clemens' commander was so furious with him that he wanted Clemens out of the army. Upon further examination of Clemens' diaries, the reason why the command was upset with Clemens was because a First Sergeant in the unit complained about the command climate and had confided in Clemens. Clemens refused to reveal the soldier's name to the Commander. The Commander went so far as to imprison Clemens in March 30, 1914 and threaten him with a Court Martial.⁶⁷ When the acting Chief of Staff investigated the issue he mentioned several regulations but the infraction was that Clemens did not obey the spirit of the regulation. Regulations should be clear and not left up to interpretation. Later in the same memorandum, The Judge Advocate General even stated the following:

Concerning Clemens [sic] being forced out of the army.

With reference to the suggestion that the correspondence indicates that Chaplain Clemens' unfitness for service is sufficiently marked and of such a character as to justify his being ordered before a retiring board, I do not think the facts presented in these papers bring his case within the reasons of the precedent cited by the Acting Inspecting General. It does not appear that Chaplain Clemens has neglected his religious duties as chaplain, and I do not think it can be said that his scruples against moving picture theatres [sic] and Sunday amusements should be regarded as unfitting him for that office, at least to a degree justifying the action suggested in these papers.

Concerning Clemens [sic] right not to show moving pictures.

With respect to the duties which may be required of a chaplain, I venture to suggest that it ought to be found practicable to draft instructions which would govern Chaplain Clemens and other chaplains, and in such a way as not to violate the religious convictions of any creed or denomination represented in the chaplains corps. I do not think it possible in such regulations to defer to individual views.

Chaplain Clemens' views concerning movies changed while he was in the army. They became consistent with his denomination. This is nothing new, as many seminary students when they leave seminary usually reflect their seminary's views. Through time and experience a minister will formulate his own belief about the Bible. At the turn of the twentieth century many ministers switched between modernist and fundamentalist views. The point is that Clemens' views represented a significant part of the population. If Clemens were to play movies would he lose creditability with part of his flock in his unit, those who believed that Christian ministers should not play movies? Even if soldiers in his unit had no problem with viewing movies but they had a chaplain whose convictions would not allow him to play movies, would the chaplain be considered a hypocrite if he provided the movies? The Judge Advocate General rightly determined under the First Amendment that Clemens was within his legal right to adhere to his religious convictions. Moreover, the Judge Advocate General recommended that if the army wanted to force chaplains to show moving pictures, this requirement should be clearer in the regulations.

Circular Letter No. 5, 23 March 1926 begins with the announcement of the new chaplain's manual. "No claim is made that this is a finished product. It is a step in the right direction and will certainly be a helpful guide for the members of the corps." In the

fourth paragraph, the Chief's office provides information for chaplains to obtain moving pictures.

Signal Corps Moving Pictures. Attention is invited to page six of the March 1st issue of recruiting news which carried a notice which will be of interest to chaplains. These films are both instructive and entertaining and all are encouraged to take advantage of the opportunity to exhibit them.

The 1926 and 1937 manuals each contain an entire chapter entirely devoted to recreational activities. The 1941 manual deletes the chapter on recreational activities because the Chaplaincy needed chaplains and was willing to put up with fundamentalist chaplains. With the war in the final stages and plans for the post war drawdown were being thought out, the 1944 manual reinserted the recreation paragraph.

In the 1926 and 1937 manuals, Section ten, subparagraph 79 reads:

The chaplain's advisory relation to amusements. – a. *Moving Pictures.*

The moving-picture show, as a most powerful factor for amusement and education, has been established as a permanent institution in the Army. In Army Regulation No.210-390 may be found complete details for the operation of this service. It will be seen that chaplains are not directly involved, except as concerns certain gratis performances which they are authorized to give. But in view of the importance which the pictures have in the forming of ideals and the molding (or marring) of character, chaplains should be in close touch with this form of entertainment with a view to exerting tactful influence on the moral quality of films shown. This advisory function is believed to be warranted by the nature of the chaplain's office and adequately authorized by Army Regulations No. 60-50. Obviously it is the desire of all concerned to provide for the Army the best and the cleanest pictures to be had. Those with strong sex appeal should be avoided, for the most patent reasons, and pictures marked for rejection. Furthermore, if the chaplain has time to inform himself on the character and quality of films generally, his critical advice may be of much benefit in getting just the right kind for the best recruits. Chaplains, however, can not afford to be prudish and ultra-critical in matters of this sort, but should take the most liberal attitude consistent with good morals and good citizenship.

b. *Vaudeville shows and dramatics.*- What has been said about moving pictures applies with equal force in the matter of other public entertainment performances. Objectionable material should be criticized

by the chaplain praiseworthy performances should be commended. In addition to the role of critic, the chaplain may occasionally be a valuable aid in the training of amateur actors and the supervision and staging of these performances. His knowledge of forensic and historic matters makes him particularly fitted for assistance in this field. He should be valuable also in the search for amateur talent in the command, since information of this sort would normally be found in the chaplain's card index.

This guidance goes far beyond the normal duties for chaplains. The wording in the manual suggests that chaplains are movie critics. In addition, they censor movies, recruit talent for the theater and aid in the training and supervising of such performances. The chaplain should take "the most liberal attitude" which is consistent with "good citizenship." One could interpret this to mean that a fundamentalist position against moving pictures is not good citizenship. But when World War II seemed inevitable, the 1941 manual removed any mention of amusement, entertainment and moving pictures. The army needed the fundamentalists to help fill the ranks in the Chaplaincy.

In 1941, the former Chief of Chaplains Alva Brasted who had retired in 1937 reissued his book of advice for new chaplains. The same year the 1941 manual was issued without the chapter on recreation, Brasted told chaplains that they needed to put away their old Sabbath views when they entered the military and use moving pictures for their Wednesday and Sunday evening moral character services.⁶⁸ Depending on the chaplain, moral character services were worship services or a gathering of soldiers to watch a good wholesome movie. Society before World War II remained puritanical in its beliefs concerning what can and cannot be done on Sunday. What is interesting is that the military understood the theological issues of the times.

The United States Army in the European Theater of Operations (ETO) published the *ETOUSA Special & Morale Services Guide* during World War II. The guide recommends that movie theaters be closed on Sundays so as to not to interfere with worship services.⁶⁹ Commanders would close down the theaters so soldiers could attend worship services, only to see that some chaplains would show movies on the same day. Yet, the majority of chaplains did not show movies. The After Action Report (AAR) for chaplains in the European theater never mentions the use of movies by chaplains during the war.⁷⁰ The AAR contains a memorandum from XXIII Corps headquarters forbidding the use of chapels for theater use. “Churches, cathedrals, shrines, and other houses of worship (including rooms and buildings furnished, blessed, and formerly used, as chapels), and their adjacent facilities, will not be used for secular purposes, except to provide temporary shelter, in emergencies, for wounded personnel awaiting evacuation. Under no circumstances will they be used for aid stations, quarters, messes, storehouses, or theaters.”⁷¹ In the numerous autobiographies written by chaplains after the war, very few mention using movies to help morale.

Also in regards to helping soldier’s morale, chaplains would lead singing. The *ETOUSA Special & Morale Services Guide* mentions “Church services by the chaplains present a good opportunity to have hearty singing. The chaplain is usually glad to have expert help. Two factors make for good church singing by the congregation: One, a choice of old, familiar hymns, two [sic], a good hymn leader.”⁷² The military recognized the spiritual role of chaplains on the battlefield. Commanders wanted chaplains to perform their spiritual role. Chaplains in the field were more than willing to perform

their spiritual mission. But the chaplain leadership felt that chaplains should also perform as morale officers.

Chaplains in the field were more conservative and the military in general were more tolerant regarding the positions held by most chaplains. The writers of the 1941 manual understood this and removed the section regarding chaplains and recreation. Also, there was a strong need in the early part of the war to bring the nation together. But in 1944 with American troops on the European continent and rumors that the war would be over soon, the writers of the 1944 manual re-inserted a section for recreation. Section ten, subparagraph forty-seven, titled "Recreation" begins with the following paragraph.

Athletics, dramatics, motion pictures, and social events like those of an enlisted men's club are usually the responsibility of others, but every chaplain is eager to give encouragement and aid to plans for the contentment and welfare of the men. His experience and community relations may be very helpful in such activities. The friendly interest which prompts a chaplain to spend some time at a children's party or to cheer his team at a ball game will give him a larger place in the regard of old and young alike and will enhance their respect for what he represents.⁷³

The above paragraph acknowledges that recreation was not a chaplain's responsibility. The military leaders knew that the spiritual role a chaplain has in the military. That is why the army had an entire section just for soldier's morale. Second, the assumption is made that attending a child's party is the same as showing motion pictures and just as the former brings respect so shall the later.

Within the context of the time religious attitudes were very suspicious of motion pictures. The decadence of Hollywood and motion pictures was synonymous in the eyes of the fundamentalist. Finally, showing motion pictures will bring respect from the soldiers for what the chaplain represents. In other words, the author intends to say that

that God is in the business of showing moving pictures? This is an excellent example of the modernist theology of the early twentieth century.

The modernists continually tried to justify their theology by appealing to Jesus' humanity and not his dignity. Since Jesus was human, and you are human, therefore any feelings you have such as wanting to watch a movie on Sunday must be acceptable because Jesus would have wanted to watch movies on Sunday. The religious attitudes of the authors of the chaplain field manuals were influenced by this theology and sought to influence their beliefs through the chaplain's manual even though many within the Chaplaincy did not share their same beliefs.

CHAPTER 5
WARTIME MANUAL

Combat is the final test of the preparation, practice, training, and effort of the Army.⁷⁴

Field Manual 16-5: The Chaplain, January 1952

The events of World War II contributed to two army chaplain field manuals. The 1941 edition was a slight variation of the 1926 and the 1937 editions. During World War II, the 1944 edition offered a brand new perspective on how chaplains provided ministry. The 1944 edition also provides an excellent example how a field manual should be written for new chaplains who have no experience with the military. The authors of the Korean War Chaplain's manual learned and applied the valuable lessons from the World War II Chaplain's manual. This chapter will analyze and compare each section with the other chaplains manuals produced between 1926 and 1952.

The author of the 1944 manual was Chaplain (Colonel) Roy John Honeywell. Honeywell was a minister from the Troy Conference (Albany, New York) of the Methodist Church. He was appointed a Chaplain on July 5, 1918. He was a full time professor at Boston University's history department between 1920 and 1933. In 1941 he was mobilized from the Reserves and appointed to the Chief of Chaplains office. After he wrote the 1944 manual he spent a short period at the chaplain school at Fort Devens, Massachusetts, and then went back at the Chief of Chaplains office until his retirement from the Chaplaincy in 1948. In 1958 he wrote the first official history from the Chief of Chaplains Office, *Chaplains of the United States Army*.⁷⁵

The previous chaplain manual editions begin with the historical background of the Chaplaincy. The 1944 edition opens with the “place of the chaplain in the army.” This chapter shows the importance and the right of the chaplain in the army. This is significant during war time as new chaplains were entering the military and experiencing military life for the first time. Discouragement, hardship and questioning the impact of their ministry were normal feelings for new chaplains who enter the army. The author of the 1944 edition, a reservist, identified with the new chaplains and offered affirmation of the importance of their mission.

Centuries of experience show the necessity of the deliberate and systematic cultivation of spiritual forces and moral character in the Army. Not only do they have the same value for the individual in military as in civil life, but they are necessary if cordial relations between the civil and military communities are to be maintained. Equally important is their contribution to military efficiency. The man of disciplined character and conscious rectitude, associated with comrades and led by officers who command his respect, can be trusted to endure privation and perform his duties in camp or on the battlefield.⁷⁶

In addition to showing the importance of chaplains in the military, the author reminded the reader that cordial relations between the civil and military leaders are to be maintained. The author included this because of the eventual return of the military chaplain to the civilian ministry. A closer look at the great expansion of the Chaplaincy during the war years will show the reasoning why the author of the manual wanted to remind the chaplains of their eventual return to the civilian ministry.

Before the beginning of hostilities, 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, appointments were made in the

Officers Reserve Corps, but a law of September 22, 1941, authorized temporary appointments in the Army of the United States. On December 7, 1941, the day the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, there were 140 chaplains of the Regular Army, 298 in the National Guard and 1,040 Reserve chaplains, for a total of 1,478.⁷⁷ From the period of emergency that began on September 9, 1939, to the surrender of Japan on September 2, 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," August 15, 1945, the total was 8,141 (Catholic 2,278, Jewish 243, Protestant 5,620).⁷⁸ At the time of the writing of the 1944 edition, the number of chaplains in the continental United States there were 4,255, while 2,743 chaplains were overseas for a total number of chaplains on active duty on December 31, 1943 were 6,998.⁷⁹ These numbers reveal the immense growth of the Chaplaincy and the inevitable drawdown back to the peace time army after the war.

In the next subsection, the author presents the importance of reading and understanding the manual. Having properly identified the reader of the manual, the author provides the importance of the manual that will assist the chaplain with providing the best ministry to their soldiers.

The purpose of this manual is to state without too great detail the primary facts about the office and duties of the chaplain, his qualifications and appointment, relationships and methods. This manual is intended merely for the information and practical guidance of chaplains in the service. None of its statements or suggestions should ever be considered as directives contrary to the beliefs and established practices of any church group. The numerous references to other military publications will be useful to those in need of more detailed information.⁸⁰

The author correctly states that the manual is "intended merely for the information and

practical guidance” and “should never be considered as directives contrary to the beliefs and established practices of any church.” These words affirm the suggestive, non-authoritative nature of the chaplain manual. During the war students in the chaplain school received ten hours of instruction in field service regulations, equipment and organization of the Army plus another fifteen hours of army correspondence.⁸¹ Therefore chaplains had a significant amount of education to determine for themselves the army system of regulatory regulations and manuals that only offer suggestive templates for providing ministry. Thus the author of the 1944 manual does not underestimate the intelligence of his readers and gains some creditability up front by acknowledging the scope of the manual.

In section II, the author of the manual does not neglect the rich history of the Chaplaincy. He expands upon the previous historical narratives that were found in the previous editions. In these previous manuals, the history begins with an explanation of Saint Martin of Tours and the origins of the word chaplain. Saint Martin was a soldier during the late 4th century. He gave his cape (*capellanus* in Latin) to a poor beggar. It was this *capellanus* that became the origin of the word Chaplain. The care for soldiers and civilians was exemplified by Saint Martin.

With the scholarship of the early twentieth century which had an emphasis upon the archeological findings of the Middle East, the author of the 1944 manual showed the history of the Chaplaincy from accounts found the Bible. This was the first time the chaplain manual appealed to the Bible support the history of the Chaplaincy. For many chaplains during this period the archeological accounts supported the biblical accounts in the Bible. The author of the manual knew that many of the chaplains entering the

military would be young and therefore just leaving the academic environment where they were exposed to the latest scholarly research concerning the true biblical accounts in the Bible. The author mentions “David, Ahab, and other Hebrews who inquired of the Lord about various matters, usually through the medium of priests or prophets...Joshua sent his army against Jericho led by priests who carried the ark of the Covenant.”⁸² He appealed not only to their historical roots but also the spiritual legitimacy to the present calling which the new chaplains found themselves in.

It is also interesting to note the use of the term “Hebrew”. “Hebrew” historically was used by Gentiles to describe people of “Semitic” and in particular Jewish origin. Although the culture of the time allows for the term, it is considered a derogatory term. Currents authors are sensitive to this and will use “Jewish” instead of “Hebrew”. The section on history concludes with a small paragraph on the history of the chaplain’s uniform and insignia. The last sentence explains the history of the Jewish insignia. “In 1918, a double Mosaic tablet bearing the Roman numerals from I to X surmounted by the Star of David was adopted for Jewish chaplains.”⁸³ Again, the author is not sensitive to religious feelings of another faith. The issue is the placing of Roman numerals upon the tablets of the law. The manual also describes the Jewish Chaplains flag which also contains Roman numerals instead of letters from the Jewish alphabet. On November 9, 1981, the Roman numerals were replaced with letters from the Jewish alphabet. The history of Jewish Chaplains in the military is an excellent example of toleration towards their Christian counterparts.

The section on history also contained photographs of three military chapels throughout the world: Fort Myer, Virginia, “near Arlington National Cemetery”, a

mobilization chapel, and a chapel at the Guadalcanal Cemetery. This was the first time pictures were used in the army chaplain manual. There were a total of eleven pictures showing Catholic, Protestant and Jewish ministry in the army. For the next five manuals no pictures were included. It was not until *Field Manual 16-5: The Chaplain*, released in June 1977, that the authors returned to showing chaplains in action. The cover of the 1977 edition shows a drawing of a Christian and Jewish chaplain with helmets. The Christian chaplain has a cross and the Jewish chaplain has the tablets with the Star of David. A closer look under a magnifying glass of the tablets on the Jewish chaplain's helmet will show several possible Jewish letters. Where the Roman numeral III should be there is the distinctive ה(Gimel) Jewish letter and where the Roman numeral X should be there is the ך(Yod) letter. Three other letters, א(Aleph) for the Roman numeral I, the װ(Waw) for VI, and ז(Zayin) for VII are very close. To be fair, on the first page of chapter one, there is a large drawing of the Christian cross and the Jewish tablets with the Star of David. The Roman numerals are present in this drawing. The author of the 1977 edition appears to have slipped his personal preference in respecting the Jewish faith by placing the Jewish letters on the helmet. Three years later the Jewish letters replaced the Roman numerals on the Jewish insignia. The next edition, the *Field Manual 16-5 The Chaplain and Chaplain Assistant in Combat Operations*, was released in December 1984. It has a drawing of a Jewish Chaplain but the tablets are blank. The artistic style is different. In the 1977 version, the chaplains are smiling, while on the 1984 edition, the chaplain and his assistant have a very grim look on their faces. The style of the 1984 drawing is very coarse. Yet, on the same cover are two actual photographs of Christian chaplains. On one picture the cross on the helmet is easily identified and the other

picture shows the large navy chaplain Christian pennant behind a chaplain performing religious services during the Korean War. The 1987 edition did not contain drawings or pictures. The 1995 edition contained obscure drawings of chaplains of all faiths performing ministry.

The example in the 1944 edition of having real photographs of chaplains of all faiths providing ministry was seen as motivating and inspirational. Later manual writers either rejected or manipulated the idea of representing images in the manual.

Section II finishes with the short history of the chaplain's uniform. The author wanted to settle the matter of insignia for chaplains once and for all.

At times it (the uniform) has differed little from civilian garb. At other times the officer's uniform has been worn with the chaplains' insignia substituted for those of rank. The present system by which uniform and insignia parallel those of other officers has come to be regarded as appropriate and convenient. In 1898, a Latin Cross in silver was adopted as insignia for chaplains. Before that date, they used a shepherd's crook on their shoulder straps without any insignia of rank. In 1918, a double Mosaic tablet bearing the Roman numerals from I to X surmounted by the Star of David was adopted for Jewish Chaplains.⁸⁴

In the previous editions, the section finished with the establishment of the Chief of Chaplains and the chaplain school. The 1944 edition includes a brief mention of this but adds the names of all the previous Chief of Chaplains to include Chaplain Arnold, the Chief at that time. "The National Defense Act of 1920 provided for this office, the incumbent to hold the temporary grade of colonel. Chaplains Axton, Easterbrook, Yates, Brasted, and Arnold have served in this capacity."⁸⁵ The author mentions the National Defense Act of 1920 twice and three additional laws that were added after 1920 that supports the establishment of the Chaplaincy. The pattern of referencing laws to support the institution of the Chaplaincy will remain in almost every manual to the present time.

Section III is titled “Qualifications and Appointment.” The previous editions and every edition except the 1952 manual had a section that deals with the qualifications and appointment of chaplains. This trend stopped with the 1984 manual. In this section of the 1944 edition, the author begins with the “Fitness of the Chaplaincy.”

Efficiency and intelligence, the capacity to work harmoniously with people, and the character and personality to command their respect, are prime requisites...To be appointed a chaplain in any component of the Army of the United States, a clergyman must satisfy certain definite requirements as to age, education, health, and professional standing established by law or other competent authority. Equally important to success are those qualities of character and personality without which he can neither function efficiently nor possess the confidence of officers and men.⁸⁶

Normally the qualifications for the Chaplaincy are contained in Army Regulations. Even as early as February 15, 1924, *Army Regulation 60-5* contained the qualifications and requirements for an army chaplain. What is helpful with the inclusion of the regulation in the 1944 edition is that some chaplains may have questioned their sense of calling to the military. In times of war, soldiers will sometimes look for ways to get out of the military. The words in this section will remind the chaplains who may be feeling this way of the “legal” stipulations that got them into the military. Second, the author is reminding them that part of the way to win the respect and even see fruit of their labor is to work efficiently, intelligently and to be a team player. As mentioned earlier, the 1952 edition did not contain information regarding the qualifications of chaplains. The author of that manual focused more on combat than on administrative and pastoral issues.

Section IV, “Training of Chaplains” is much like section III. The section provides regulatory information referencing the National Defense Act of 1920 with amendments to justify the existence of the chaplain school. Over half of the section is an

historical narrative on the establishment of the chaplain school during “the war” (World War I) and the content of the course work for chaplains. The section does not mention the disestablishment of the school after the war, only that the day after the National Defense Act of 1920, “the War Department directed the establishment of a school for commissioned chaplains.”⁸⁷ The author goes to great lengths and chronicles each step the War Department took to train the newly mobilized force of chaplains. The section reads more like an historical account than advice for chaplains in the field. The author includes a paragraph that was in the previous three editions on “Assignment to Attend School.”

Section 127a of the National Defense Act, as amended, approved June 4, 1920, authorized the Secretary of War to detail not to exceed two per centum of the commissioned officers of the Regular Army in any fiscal year to attend civilian educational institutions or to make investigations (special projects).

The previous three manuals contained the following section regarding chaplains attending civilian education but what omitted in the 1944 edition.

Normally one chaplain each year is designated by the Chief of Chaplains for this detail under the conditions prescribed in the above statute. The courses pursued must be directly applicable to their professional work and such as are approved by the Chief of Chaplains.

In the draft of the 1926 manual, the Adjutant General wrote in the margin next to this section “Horrors! a statement of personnel policy!” The authors of the previous-editions kept it in their editions when it may not have been necessary. The author of the 1944 manual removed the policy that the Chief of Chaplains would approve the requests. The approval ultimately would be from the Adjutant General with the endorsement of the Chief of Chaplains. The Chaplaincy made great strides during World War II, including

having chaplains begin to attend the Army's Command and General Staff College. The author, not wanting to offend the good graces of the Adjutant General, kept this portion out of the 1944 manual.

Section V, "Equipment and supply" contains three pictures of chaplains and their assistants with their equipment. One picture contains almost every issued item a chaplain received during the war. The next picture shows the 1/4 ton jeep with trailer and two individuals loading an Estey pump organ onto the trailer. These are the two remaining issued items that were not included in the first photograph. The third photo shows a Catholic altar setup on top of a jeep in the field. What is missing in all of these photos is the chaplain's flag. The chaplain's flag was the only piece of chaplain's equipment that was unique to the Chaplaincy before World War II. Under the subsection of "Combat Areas" in section XI are three photos of worship services in a combat area. In one of these photos there is a Christian chaplain's flag hoisted next to a 48 star United States flag. Other issues regarding chaplain's equipment is discussed in the next chapter of this manuscript when an analysis of the 1947 manual, which is primarily a transition and demobilization manual.

Section VI, "Official and Social Relations" begins with a subsection titled "Customs of the service." This section covers military courtesy and reporting for duty. This area is a concern for a new chaplain and the advice given will help ease the new chaplain with his new assignment. The subsection concludes with a lengthy exposition on the social customs of the military such as referring to a chaplain as chaplain and not by his rank. But the author goes on and explains the numerous social functions the chaplain must attend. The last manual to contain this advice was the 1977 edition which

was four years after the end of the conscription. In the beginning of the 1980s with the rebuilding of an all volunteer force, many of the social traditions left the military. The 1984 edition and every edition after that do not advise chaplains to attend social events or the current social customs of the military.

Section VI concludes with “Chaplain’s Assistant.” The previous three editions had the following paragraph for “clerical assistant.”

AR 60-5 directs the “detail of such needed assistants to chaplains as may be deemed desirable and practicable.” Tables of Organization for certain of the larger units provide for clerical assistants for the chaplain. Where they are not listed in the Tables of Organization, the present practice is for the chaplain to find first the man or men in the command who seem to be best qualified for the duty involved. He confers with the man’s immediate commander as to his availability for the place, after which written request is made in the usual form. Too great care cannot be given to the selection of a man for this important duty. Besides being possessed of good moral character and a good English education, he should also have one or more of the following qualifications: typist, musician (vocal or instrumental), experience as a printer or publicity man, sign painter, stereopticon or moving picture operator. He should by all means be a man who holds the respect and confidence of both enlisted men and officers.⁸⁸

The draft 1926 manual removed the following sentence at the end of the paragraph.

“Avoid a man of weak physique and negative personality.”⁸⁹ The 1944 edition does not contain the harsh language in the 1926 draft, but does contain an entire paragraph on the “Selection” of the chaplain assistant. The author says that “Some qualifications are as necessary to the chaplain’s assistant as to the chaplain himself. He must be a man of integrity, commanding the respect of officers and men, pleasant and obliging, neat and gentlemanly, make a good appearance at all times.”⁹⁰

Great care must be taken in the selection of the chaplain’s assistant, and the chaplain himself should make the basic choice from the men approved by the commanding officer. Company commanders or first sergeants may give him helpful information to supplement his personal acquaintance.

Should consult the man selected before requesting that he be assigned to this work. No man works well when he works unwillingly, and it should be considered that detail to this duty might interfere with promotion of a soldier of ability. Volunteers requesting this assignment should be scrutinized with care. Their qualifications and motives may be excellent-or they may not.⁹¹

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The author provides further wise counsel on the duties and qualifications of the chaplain assistant. The advice he offers covers the tactical, clerical, and garrison duties the chaplain’s assistant must do for the chaplain. The 1947 manual removes half of the 1944 edition but the 1952 edition reinserts much of the advice from the 1944 edition. The 1952 edition provides a separate chapter dealing with the chaplain’s assistant giving them a higher status than ever before.

Section VII, “Clerical duties” is a logical flow from the last section dealing with chaplain’s assistant. With each edition, this section slowly grows as the bureaucracy of the Chaplaincy grows. This chapter reminds chaplains of the reporting requirements and records they need to keep to include any financial transactions. The section concludes with a short paragraph on “publicity.” The author reminds chaplains that when they advertise for their respective services that “Good taste will deter any chaplain from resorting to the cheap and sensational or from using expressions or distributing literature which may give offense or be critical of other faiths or their adherents.”⁹³

Section VIII, “Religious Services” begins with several subsections on different types of religious services to include “Sunday or Sabbath services” and weekday service. There is another subsection for “Special Services.” In the previous editions and the 1944 edition the authors advised upon the proper way to conduct Christian and Jewish worship services and patriotic services. The author of the 1944 edition removes the observance of Armistice Day and replaces it with Memorial Day. In the previous editions, “Special Services” had an entire chapter devoted to it. In the 1944 edition, the author includes it under “Religious Services.” The author provides guidance for baptisms, marriages, confessions and communion.

Right after confessions and communion, two significant rites and sacraments close to the Roman Catholic Church, the author presents an outline for the “Initiatory Ceremony” of the first army cantonment chapel at Arlington Cemetery July 27, 1941. The author wanted to honor the person who was responsible for starting this monumental task. Chief of Chaplains William R. Arnold who was also a Roman Catholic priest presided at the event along with General George C. Marshall who also attended the ceremony. By placing the order of service immediately after two significant sacramental rites of the Roman Catholic Church, the author wanted to honor Chaplain Arnold and his legacy to the Chaplaincy. During World War II Chaplain Arnold with the support of General Marshall was instrumental in constructing 1,137 of these chapels plus an additional 162 larger chapels at a cost of \$31,833,000.⁹⁴ Before World War II many army forts did not have chapels. The author includes four and half pages devoted to the dedication of the new army chapels. Almost one page is a copy of a memorandum from Chaplain Arnold advising chaplains on the purpose of the chapel and the need to perform

a “ground breaking ceremony.” The author provided four and one half pages for 1,299 ground breaking ceremonies while the same section of the manual contain only one and three quarters pages for all the military deaths at that time. In the 1947 manual, the author only provides a short three sentence paragraph on “Dedicatory ceremonies.”⁹⁵

Section IX “Pastoral Duties” contains few changes from the previous editions with the exception of “ministering to the doomed.” In the previous editions the authors placed “Ministering To Soldiers Sentenced To Death” under section XII, “The Chaplain In War.” Since the 1944 manual was a wartime manual, the author included this section as “normal” pastoral duties.

Section X “Social and cultural activities” reinserts the controversial issue of recreation mentioned earlier in this study. Section X begins with “The Chaplain’s Sphere.”

The provisions of AR 60-5 make chaplains unavailable for detail as special services or recreation officers or to similar secular duties unless a shortage of officers makes this necessary. All chaplains will have a deep interest in these important activities. They may suggest or advise and should be ready to assist special service officers as opportunity permits. The cordial common interest between them which leads each to assist the other whenever possible is the surest guarantee that neither will encroach upon the other’s sphere of activity and that their combined efforts will result in a balanced program of intellectual and spiritual development. A study of TM 21-205² will be helpful to the chaplain and will contribute to intelligent cooperation.

The author begins by recognizing that chaplains do not legally have to perform secular duties, to include recreation but then advises the chaplains on ways to do everything he can to assist in such activities. The author later adds almost an entire page to “recreation.”

² TM 21-205 Special Service Officer

In addition to recreation, the author adds a subsection on “Welfare” which recommends that chaplains assist soldiers with financial investments. In this subsection, the chaplain should recommend that soldiers buy Government securities. “He might well tell them of their privilege to deposit money with the Government during the period of their enlistment and of the convenience of having accounts in civilian banks.”⁹⁶ The author presupposes that chaplains are financial experts. In addition, the author wants chaplains to assure soldiers that banks are now safe to deposit their money. This is crucial given the context that many individuals during the depression lost their money when they kept it in the bank.

The above quotation from the 1944 edition of AR 60-5 with the context presented below from AR 60-5, paragraph 4a, will show that the author takes his quote out of context.

4. Duties.-a. *General.*-The duties of chaplains as prescribed by existing laws are closely analogous to those performed by clergymen in civilian life, modified only by the peculiar conditions attaching to military life and especially by the necessity that each chaplain, so far as practicable, serve the moral and religious needs of the entire personnel of the command to which he is assigned, either through his own personal services or through the cooperative efforts of others. Within the limits of law, regulations, and orders, he should enlist so far as necessary the active aid and cooperation of such military and civilian assistants, both lay and clerical, as the needs of the command may require or the commanding officer may direct.⁹⁷

Further in AR 60-5, paragraph 4g strictly forbids recreation and many other activities.

4. Duties.-g. *Secular.*-Chaplains will not be employed on any duties other than those required of them by law, or pertaining to their profession as clergymen, except when there exists an exigency of the service, resulting in a deficiency in the number of officers present for duty at any station, which shall make it necessary. Under such circumstances chaplain will not be assigned to any duty incompatible with their status as noncombatants under the terms of the Geneva Convention. Chaplains are not available for detail as post exchange, athletic, recreation, or special

service officers, or as members of defense counsel in courts martial.⁹⁸

The author allowed for a wide interpretation of AR 60-5 that deviated from the previous 1941 edition when the army needed every clergyman to fill the ranks. Now that the end of the war was in sight, the author highly recommended that chaplains perform these secular duties even though it went against their spiritual convictions.

Section XI “Functions in special situations” is the largest section in the book. The author uses sixteen pages to include four pictures of chaplains performing ministry. The author provides recommendations for reception centers, replacement training centers, scattered groups, hospitals, ports of embarkation, transports, foreign service, combat areas, and prisoner of war camps. Three pages including a photo explains the roles and functions of transport chaplains. Four and one quarter pages including four pictures cover chaplains in combat. As mentioned earlier, the author uses almost an entire page erroneously explaining the rules of the Geneva Convention as they apply to the chaplain. In comparison to earlier editions, the same issues of caring for the wounded, being at the aid station during combat, and burying the dead are included in the 1944 edition. The post war 1947 edition totally omits any mention of chaplains in combat. In the 1947 edition under pastoral duties there is a paragraph on visiting the “sick and wounded” and three paragraphs on the chaplain’s responsibility to “Prisoners of war.”⁹⁹ The Korean War edition *Field Manual 16-5: The Chaplain*, which was issued in January, 1952, devotes an entire section to the chaplain in combat. The first line begins with “Combat is the final test of the preparation, practice, training, and effort of the Army.”¹⁰⁰ There are only two pages dedicated to chaplains in combat. But what the author provides in these pages is concise and to the point. The urgency of the Korean War can be seen in the

section on “Preparation for combat.” The 1952 edition states that a chaplain must be in physical and spiritual shape but then adds a small paragraph on equipment. The last sentence reflects the environment of the Korean War regarding what type of equipment to take. “A good rule to follow is – If there is any doubt as to an item’s usefulness, don’t take it.”¹⁰¹

Section XII, “Supervising chaplains,” is eleven pages containing one picture and two charts depicting the supervisory relations for chaplains and a chart for the Organization of the Office of Chief of Chaplains. The chapter is very thorough and covers every possible supervisory relation from the regimental or group chaplain, division or command chaplain, corps chaplain, air force or army chaplain, post or air base chaplain, service command chaplain, port chaplain, theater of operations chaplain, air chaplain, and the Chief of Chaplains. In the earlier editions, the authors only included one paragraph concerning supervision of chaplains. The paragraph stressed that the commander is ultimately responsible for the supervision of their chaplain. The Chief of Chaplains is also mentioned.

In matters touching upon methods of work and professional policy which do not involve church doctrine, supervisory authority over chaplains is vested in the Chief of Chaplains. He is charged with the duty of coordinating and supervising all religious work within the Army, and from time to time making recommendations for such action as he deems advisable to promote the moral and spiritual welfare and contentment of the Army.¹⁰²

In earlier additions, the purpose and responsibility of the Chief of Chaplains came in the very beginning of the manual, just after the history of the Chaplaincy. The 1944 manual places it at the very end. The 1947 manual places it on the second page. With the quick mobilization and recall of many World War II chaplains, the author never mentions the

Chief of Chaplains in the 1952 Korean War manual.

Section XIII is the last section in the book. “Chaplain’s Objectives” are the goals for chaplains. They are to help nurture good soldiers, good citizens and good men.

The manual concludes with an Appendix of military publications of value to chaplains and a helpful index. Previous editions included a reference list of helpful publications. The 1941 and 1944 edition had an index. The 1947 had an index and no reference list and the 1952 edition had no index or reference list. It is surprising that the post war manuals did not contain a reference list since numerous other publications were published since the war that would help a chaplain in their ministry.

The 1944 chaplain’s manual is an excellent example of a wartime manual. Although not perfect and at times representing some of the prejudices of the time, the author took into account the chaplain who would be reading the manual and the situation the chaplain would find himself in. The manual is precise yet practical, realistic yet encouraging, earthly yet a spiritual reminder of the higher calling chaplains have in the military.

CHAPTER 6

PEACE TIME MANUAL FOR WAR

Combat is the final test of the preparation, practice, training, and effort of the Army.¹⁰³

Field Manual 16-5: The Chaplain, January 1952

The atomic bombs that fell upon Japan ended World War II and radically changed the way wars are fought in the future. The attitude and culture of the times created the atmosphere where a new purpose and look towards the army chaplain field manual took shape. In the 1947 edition of the chaplain's field manual, immediate utility took precedence over an all-encompassing field manual like the 1944 edition. When the Korean War started in June 25, 1950, the Army was back to the drafting table to produce a new wartime chaplain's manual.

After World War II the military was faced with a surplus of army material and the demobilization of thousands of soldiers. During World War II, the Army Air Force was breaking away from the army and forming its own branch of service. The professionalization and the establishment of the bureaucracy of the Chaplaincy are more evident in the 1947 edition than in any other chaplain manual. The 1952 manual represents the quick field expedient manual and a return to some of the basics for a chaplain field manual.

Technical Manual 16-205: The Chaplain was published in June, 1947.¹⁰⁴ *Field Manual 16-5: The Chaplain* was published in January, 1952. The 1926 and 1941 editions measured 5 1/2 inches wide and 8 1/2 inches long. The 1937, 1944 and 1952 editions

measured 5 7/8 inches wide and 9 inches long. The purpose of the smaller edition was to allow the Soldier to carry it with him where ever he may go.

The 1947 edition radically departed from this format. The 1947 edition measures 7 3/4 inches wide and 10 1/4 inches long. Too large to just carry around, this edition is meant for the office, not the battlefield. The text is slightly larger but there are no pictures or images. To help guide the reader through the manual, every edition has a “Contents” section in the beginning of the manual. The 1926, 1937 and 1952 editions had no index at the end of the manual. The 1941 edition had four pages, the 1944 edition had five pages and the 1947 edition had six pages of index.

The size of the manual reveals that smaller manuals are designed for the chaplain who is away from his office and in the field. The first manual followed the guidance of General Marshall who wanted a very practical manual.¹⁰⁵ The 1937 and 1941 edition were designed for the Civilian Conservation Corps chaplain and potential conflict. The 1944 and 1952 edition was designed for the chaplain in combat. The 1947 edition with its large size was designed without a proper understanding for the chaplain in the field. A garrison mentality permeates the entire 1947 edition.

The contents of the 1947 edition reveals a Chaplaincy wanting to organize and exert power within its sphere of control. There are fifty two pages in the edition. Instead of a history of the chaplains, the manual begin with sixteen pages on the role and purpose of the Chief of Chaplains office and administrative information to include qualifications, promotions, educational opportunities. Six pages are the index, one page for references to other manuals important for chaplains, two pages consider funds, eleven pages discuss equipment, and nine pages for responsibilities and five of those nine pages are pastoral in

nature. The other four pages explain the need for chaplains to socialize with commanders and to make sure they bring a calling card wherever they go. Ten percent of this edition focuses upon the actual ministry duties of chaplains while sixty-four percent is only helpful for the administrator in the Chaplaincy. The remaining twenty-six percent includes social calls, index and references.

The 1947 edition reveals a Chaplaincy looking towards itself and not towards the doctrinal transformation that military planners were anticipating. Immediately after World War II, those Soldiers who were remaining on active duty began to train for the next war. The experience of the large unit maneuvers held in the United States during the early days of World War II led planners to develop the idea of the “maneuver enemy.” The concept was tested in Exercise Oilskin held at Camp Pendleton, California in October 1946. The “aggressor force” demonstrated its great potential as a vehicle tool for training.¹⁰⁶

By the summer of 1947 the basic development of Aggressor Force was completed; this consisted of the establishment of a fictitious aggressor nation, its ideology and economic and political history, and the organization (order of battle) of its armed forces. Three field manuals were published, *The Maneuver Enemy*, *Handbook on Aggressor Military Forces*, and *Aggressor Army Order of Battle...[for] joint training, field exercises, command post exercises, and classroom problems in the Army school system.*¹⁰⁷

A major reason why the 1947 edition does not reflect the army doctrine of the time is that Chaplain (Colonel) Roy John Honeywell, a senior advisor to the 1947 manual, lost touch with the purpose of the manual and the chaplain on the ground.

Honeywell, the author of the 1944 edition, left the Chief of Chaplains office in 1945 and spent a short period at the chaplain school at Fort Devens, Massachusetts, and

then returned to the Chief's office till his retirement in 1948. Before he left the Chief's office Chaplain (Brigadier General) Luther D. Miller, an Episcopal minister, was appointed Chief of Chaplains. Eight months later, he was promoted to Major General. His deputy during this time was Chaplain William B. Cleary, a Roman Catholic priest. Both of the individuals were recommended by Chaplain (Major General) William Arnold, the former Chief of Chaplains and another Roman Catholic priest. Arnold began the tradition of having both a Protestant and a Catholic as either the Chief or Deputy Chief of Chaplains.¹⁰⁸ Cleary was the commandant at the chaplain school and brought Honeywell with him to the Chief's office. But before Honeywell left the Chief's office he added one section to *Army Regulation 60-5 Chaplains, December 16, 1944*.

The only reference to another field manual in *Army Regulation 60-5 Chaplains, May 19, 1942* is to show where a chaplain stands on the parade field.¹⁰⁹ Two changes were added to this regulation between May 1942 and December 1944 when the next *Army Regulation 60-5 Chaplains* was issued. These changes allowed for the wearing of the "chaplain's scarf" (chaplain stole), and for forwarding reports through the Commanding General of the Army Air Force.

Five months after Honeywell wrote *Technical Manual 16-205 The Chaplain*, he provided advice on *Army Regulation 60-5 Chaplains*. There are two significant changes that reveal the interests of Honeywell.

The last paragraph, 15, state that "Chaplain's manual. – TM 16-205, The Chaplain [sic], is the official chaplain's manual. It is published for the information and guidance of all concerned."¹¹⁰ Honeywell wanted to remind everyone who read the manual that it was the only official chaplain's manual in the army.

The second significant change deals with the history of the Chaplaincy. Honeywell was a professor of history. He added his own personal interest in the regulation. The last subparagraph under the duties of the Chief of Chaplains office is “Research in the history of chaplains’ activities and preparation of biographical and historical records.”¹¹¹ Honeywell used this input to assist him with a manuscript he wrote in August 1945, entitled *History of Military Training: The Corps of Chaplains, 1941-1945*.¹¹² In March 21, 1946, he typed a manuscript on the history of the Chaplaincy.¹¹³ Ten years after he retired, Honeywell wrote the first official history book of the Chaplaincy published from the Chief of Chaplains office.¹¹⁴ Yet the 1947 edition does not have the usual history of the Chaplaincy at the beginning of the manual because the Chief of Chaplains office published an entire pamphlet on the history of the Chaplaincy. In 1946, Donald A. Thompson, who worked in the Chief’s office with Honeywell during World War II, wrote *American Army Chaplaincy, A Brief History* which was reprinted as *War Department Pamphlet 16-1 The United States Army Chaplaincy*, August 1946. This pamphlet looks exactly as the 1947 edition in size, text, and format.¹¹⁵ Compared with the fifty-two pages in the 1947 edition, *The United States Army Chaplaincy* has twenty-two pages of chaplain history. In the last paragraph of this history, Thompson includes the moral mission of the Chaplaincy after World War II.

The Chaplaincy today is far different in organization, but not in spirit, from that of the time when Congressional Delegate Daniel Roberdeau wrote to General Washington, ‘Congress had this day a new arrangement of the Chaplains’ department. This new and honorable Establishment is designed to suppress the horrid sins of Cursing, swearing, and other Vices with which, I am sorry to say, our army Vies with the most abandoned of the English troops; to strengthen the Officers hands by public and private exhortations to obedience of General and Regimental Orders: to discourage Desertions by recommending the Service: to encourage

enlistments; to recommend cleanliness as a virtue conducive to health, and to reprehend the neglect of it.’¹¹⁶

Another significant item missing from the 1947 edition is any mention of the moral condition of the army after World War II. Problems during this time period included a strong desire for soldiers wanting to go home, occupation duty, changes in the Uniform Code of Military Justice that were perceived to be softening the army and removing any type of discipline. One particular issue, venereal disease received special attention. On January 24, 1947, Secretary of War Robert Patterson addressed a five page restricted level letter to Chief of Chaplains Miller. In the letter Patterson wrote that “Present annual venereal disease incidence rates within the Army are higher than at any time in the past thirty years.” He went on to describe the Chaplaincy’s role in combating this problem. Within a month Miller informed all his supervisory chaplains of this “opportunity” for chaplains to talk “weekly” to soldiers about their moral character. Yet, none of this guidance ever made it to the 1947 edition. For the next five years, Chaplain Martin H. Scharlemann, a Missouri Synod Lutheran Chaplain and instructor at the chaplain school, produced six volumes of materials addressing the moral character of soldiers.¹¹⁷ Scharlemann went on to become a Chaplain (Brigadier General) in the United States Air Force Reserves. The 1952 edition contains only the following reference to character guidance training under the section of Center or Training Chaplain Duties. “Coordination in scheduling character guidance instruction for the post or division to insure complete coverage and equitable distribution of the work load. See AR 15-120³.”¹¹⁸

³ *Army Regulation 15-120 Boards, Commissions, and Committees: Character Guidance*, July 28, 1950.

Chapter six in the 1947 edition has twelve pages devoted entirely to equipment and supplies. Two pages lists the stock number, nomenclature and unit of issue for each piece of chaplain equipment. Some pieces of equipment in the list include, baptismal bow, candlesticks, collection plate with pad, sanctus bell, 51% beeswax candle, Bible-Christian Faith-King James, Bible-Christian faith, Bible Jewish faith, Chaplains set-portable altar (the author then lists the eighteen pieces that makes up a chaplain set-portable altar aka chaplains kit), sacramental juice, sacramental wine, kosher wine, curtains and stations of the cross).

The author begins the chapter by defining two terms accountability and responsibility. He then meticulously describes in detail the purchase, receipt for equipment, record management, different types of equipment, transport of equipment, distribution, donated property, military issued and non military issued scriptures.

The 1947 edition stands alone in its purpose and was considered irrelevant to the fundamental needs of the army, both operationally and spiritually. Operationally the army was focused upon the aggressor force, and spiritually on the moral degeneration of personnel readiness. Yet, the 1947 edition's principal concern is to account for the army surplus of religious items.

There is an entire section just for the electric organ. The electric organ already had a much larger pamphlet, *Instruction Manual for Hammond Electric Organ*, that was printed in 1942.¹¹⁹ The instructions in the 1947 edition are taken from the 1942 instruction manual. The 1947 edition does place the responsibility of moving the organ on the Quartermaster General, and the Chief Signal Officer is responsible for inspection, maintenance and repair, but makes no reference to Army Regulations that authorize and

task the Quartermaster General or the Chief Signal Officer to perform their duties. A chaplain armed with only the Technical Manual would not have had the authority to move or perform maintenance upon the organ. The author of the 1947 edition should have included the necessary reference to support the movement and maintenance of the organ.

Between World War II and the Korean War, the production of army literature was progressing at an accelerated rate. The Office of Chief of Army Field Forces replaced Headquarters, Army Ground Forces as the chief organization for training literature.¹²⁰ Chaplain training literature never sought to incorporate their doctrine within the larger picture of army doctrine. In February, 1955 the Army established Continental Army Command, later redesignated United States Continental Army Command. This new command forced the Army Chaplaincy to coordinate chaplain doctrine with army doctrine. The result was *Field Manual 16-1The Chaplain*, April, 1958.

While the army was writing doctrine for the maneuver force, a year after the 1947 edition was issued, the Chaplaincy published *Technical Manual 10-750: Chaplains' Folding Organ*.¹²¹ This was a short fifteen page manual explaining the care and maintenance of the World War II era Estey folding organ, and the army's showcase M1945 folding organ made specifically for the army.

Not everyone in the Chaplaincy was writing manuals for musical instruments. At the start of the war, the Army and Air Force chaplain schools were combined at Fort Slocum, New York. The Air Force assigned nineteen personnel to the chaplains school and one person, Chaplain Scharlemann, was assigned to Carlisle Barracks to assist in

writing curriculum for the chaplain school.¹²² Scharlemann wrote character guidance manuals at the chaplain school for both Army and Air Force Chaplains.

The adage that “less is better” does not always apply to chaplain field manuals. Out of the thirteen editions produced during the twentieth century, *Field Manual 16-5: The Chaplain* released two years into the Korean War in January, 1952, is the shortest basic chaplain field manual ever issued by the army Chaplaincy, containing only forty-five pages. The dimension of the manual returned to those of the 1944 edition. The contents are brief, easy to read, and to the point. But the 1952 edition does not contain the detail of the 1944 wartime edition. Section IV prescribed three pages of advice for “Ministry in Prisoner of War Camps.” Section VI contains only two pages devoted to the chaplain in combat. This edition does not include the usual first chapter on the history of the Chaplaincy.

In the *Annual History* from the Office, Chief of Army Field Services, for 1950, the proponent for writing Army doctrine, wrote these words:

Training publications are constantly subject to revision to reflect changes in tactics, equipment and doctrine, and thus could never be considered permanently up to date. However, the requirements of the Korean operations emphasized the need for greater speed in the production of training literature. To ensure that this need would be met, OCAFF⁴ on 19 September 1950 dispatched to those agencies responsible for the preparation of training a letter directive, “Acceleration of Training Literature Programs”. This letter defined in greater detail the priorities for production of training literature, and listed those projects considered to be of primary urgency. Particular emphasis was to be placed on those manuals pertaining to intelligence, river crossings, amphibious operations, air transport, antiaircraft defense, technical intelligence, guerrilla warfare, Arctic operations, and operations of larger units.¹²³

Yet, the Chaplaincy did not follow the guidance from OCAFF for the following two

⁴ Office Chief of Army Field Services

reasons. First, the two pages pertaining to the chaplain in combat in the 1952 edition do not offer any advice to chaplains on how to provide ministry in environments such as river crossings, amphibious operations, air transport, guerrilla warfare, Arctic operations, and operations of larger units. Second, it took the Chaplaincy sixteen months to produce a new edition. Therefore for nineteen months, army chaplains used the 1947 peacetime manual with its large section on property accountability. Yet, within two months of the cease fire agreement that stopped the fighting in Korea, the Chaplaincy produced two documents for distribution. First was, *DA Army Form 16-2 Marriage Certificates*.¹²⁴ This booklet contained marriage certificates and it helped chaplains keep track of whom they married. Much like this booklet, the Chaplaincy issued a similar booklet for baptisms. Second was, *QM 6-2 Chaplain's Kits: Sets, Kits, and Outfits*.¹²⁵ This five page manual goes into great detail to list the Quartermaster stock number, number of items each chaplain's kit should have and how to order and account for each kit. These two examples reveal that the authors of the 1952 edition did not take into account the current combat situation in Korea.

During the process of writing the Army 1952 edition, the Air Force pursued its own version of a field manual. The Army and Air Force chaplain schools were collocated during the Korean War and some documents such as the character guidance materials were used by both services. But the Army did not collaborate with the Air Force in writing the field manual. The Air Force version of the field manual created during the Korean War and issued shortly afterwards resembles the 1944 army edition.

In 1951, Air Force Chaplain Roy F. Reynolds was placed on ninety days of temporary duty to prepare an outline for an Air Force chaplain manual. This assignment

was extended to 240 days. Reynolds compiled Air Force regulations and, policies, screened staff chaplain newsletters, requested staff chaplains of major commands to forward pertinent material. He then sent an approved outline to the Air Training Command for writing, editing, and publishing. In June 1952, a three day conference of three civil service editors and five chaplain advisors reviewed the manuscript and recommended that additional material be added to the manual. This revision was given to Chaplain Scharlemann. Scharlemann was the same chaplain who had written the Army and Air Force character guidance manuals. He was also a reserve chaplain. Thus, following the example from the World War II wartime edition, a reservist was in charge of writing the final edition of the Korean War Air Force manual. It took Scharlemann over a year to publish the manual but in March 1954 *AFM 165-3 The Air Force Chaplain* provided guidance to every Air Force Chaplain. The manual resembled the 1944 edition in many ways. The manual had numerous pictures and illustrations and was 167 pages, four times larger than the 1952 army edition.¹²⁶

Field Manual 16-5: The Chaplain was the wartime manual for the Korean War and is the polar opposite of the World War II *Technical Manual 16-205 The Chaplain*. When the Korean War started in June 25, 1950, the Army was back to the drafting table to produce a new wartime chaplain's manual. The authors failed to learn from past successes and from their sister service.

CONCLUSION

When we mortals possess such peace as this mortal life can afford, virtue, if we are living rightly, make a right use of the advantages of this peaceful condition; and when we have it not, virtue makes a good use even of the evils a man suffers. But this is true virtue, when it refers all the advantages it makes a good use of, and all that it does in making good use of good and evil things, and itself also, to that end in which we shall enjoy the best and greatest peace possible.¹²⁷

Augustine's *City of God*

In Augustine's *City of God*, the heart of a Christian struggles between wanting to be in the city of man and the city of God. The Army chaplain has a similar struggle. The harsh realities of combat and war are the antithesis of what many chaplains preach and believe. The chaplain must have one boot here on earth and one boot in heaven. But the heavenly calling must always motivate and guide the chaplain's steps here in this life.

Historically, the Chaplaincy has sought ways to bring God to the soldier and the soldier to God. There were numerous ways chaplains accomplished this. They published personal advice on ways they found to accomplish this divine task of bringing God to soldiers and soldiers to God. The writings of this period showed organization, knowledge of army regulations, and a sense of holy vocation while ministering in a mortal environment where life is lived to its fullest, but where man may have to give his life for another. These personal accounts stimulated other chaplains to publish their experiences and it was common to have opposing views amongst these publications. This discourse between chaplains was lively, creative and full of energy.

But, this advice did not always agree nor should it. Private publications allowed for religious diversity and contributed to the free exercise of religion by the chaplains.

Chaplains proposed their justification for applying their religious belief in a military context. With every situation there were always advantages and disadvantages. Many times it depended upon the commander or the situation. Still, this diversity of opinion provided numerous templates of ministry for chaplains and the army.

The establishment of the bureaucracy of the Chaplaincy meant a decrease in personal professional writings and recommendations within the Chaplaincy. With an official manual there was a tendency to have only one authorized way to conduct ministry. Also, Waring's concern was that an established Chaplain General, Chief of Chaplains, would give him too much power over chaplains that are not of his or her denomination. This power was immediately evident when the first Chief of Chaplains, Chaplain Axton, placed his son on the faculty of the chaplain school instead of the harder duty of being with deployed troops. Further evidence of the power and influence by the Chief was seen in the views of recreation. The first three manuals contained strong guidance for chaplains to perform as recreation officers, even though recreation activities such as showing motion pictures troubled the conscience of certain chaplains. But when there was a need to recruit chaplains in 1941, this religious issue was taken out of the manual to appease the more conservative denominations. Similarly, successive Chiefs of Chaplains have followed their own opinions rather than international law and army regulations in forbidding chaplains from carrying weapons even for self-defense.

While there was a need for leadership and representation for the Chaplaincy within the army, the leadership used the field manual as a means to provide specific guidance with the expectation that all chaplains would follow it. Doctrine as expressed in field manuals was designed so that commanders and chaplains could apply the art of war

to the current operating environment. This is fundamentally why field manuals were not authoritative. The use of Army Circulars did not have regulatory power to enforce specific guidance from the Chief's office. The Chief of Chaplains expected conformity to his policy. But supervisory chaplains neither passed his policy to subordinates nor enforced his policy when chaplains disobeyed the Chief's policy. The only successful means to enforce guidance from the Chief's office was to properly staff and integrate that guidance through army channels and then issue that guidance through army regulations. Also, supervisory chaplains had to be aware and enforce the Chief's policies as expressed through army regulations. Then the supervisory chaplain had to enforce these regulations through command channels. The army regulation was the only effective way of maintaining conformity within the Chaplaincy.

The 1944 chaplain field manual while not perfect was the best edition during this time period. The leadership within the Chaplaincy did away with the cut and paste method of producing a manual. To produce a wartime manual, the leadership sought the very best, who happened to be a reserve chaplain and educator who clearly understood his audience. He was able to reach the hearts and minds of newly accessioned chaplains who within months would find themselves in high intensity combat. But the next two editions, a peace time and war time manual respectively, did not capitalize upon what it takes to make a good field manual. It was the Air Force and a former Army Air Force reserve chaplain who learned the lessons from the 1944 edition to produce an excellent field manual for the Air Force Chaplaincy. The axiom that less is better did not apply to the field manual since the 1944 army edition and the air force 1954 edition contained a number of pages and included a wealth of information and guidance for chaplains. A

good manual was precise yet practical, realistic yet encouraging, earthly yet a spiritual reminder of the higher calling chaplains have in the military.

Another characteristic that contributed to an applicable field manual was the appeal to the importance of having and knowing proper techniques and procedures for ministry. To accomplish this task, the author explicitly pointed out the importance of knowing the contents in the field manual. Retaining the information found in the manual was essential to the accomplishment of the chaplain's ministry. To support the author's claim, he would draw from the rich history of the Chaplaincy and include historical vignettes of chaplains using proper techniques while performing ministry.

A good field manual also contained timely and practical advice for chaplains ministering to soldiers. The 1944 edition reached the chaplains at the height of the United States involvement in the war. The advice from this edition varied from caring for soldiers in combat, hospitals, and confinement, to staff personnel in a garrison environment. In addition, the manual contained points of contact and references for administrative purposes but this was not its primary focus. Contrary to this manual, some editions focused upon senior staff levels and the administration of the Chaplaincy. These staff level manuals proved insufficient for the average chaplain in combat.

Humankind is too complex, and the fog of war will not allow simplistic answers concerning the right way to minister to soldiers. Moreover, not all chaplains have the same gifts and talents. A technique that works for one chaplain may not work for another chaplain. Also, not every situation is exactly the same. There is no textbook answer that can be summed up in a short booklet. The chaplain's manual provides templates of ministry that will provide the fertile soil for chaplains to cultivate the sound advice from

the manual with their own unique gifts and talents and then applying them within the framework of the common operating environment. Chaplains do this within the context of the control of their commander with guidance and wisdom from their supervisory chaplain. It is important that commanders and supervisory chaplains fully appreciate how a chaplain applies his denominational beliefs within the context of the military.

Our nation was founded upon religious freedom. Religious pluralism celebrates diversity. To erode the differences of beliefs within the Chaplaincy makes a mockery of pluralism and the free exercise of religion. Under Title 10, the Chaplaincy performs and provides for the free exercise of religion. Yet at times, chaplains cannot freely exercise their religion. There is no greater representation of freedom in the military than the Chaplaincy. The chaplain mandate is to guarantee the free exercise of religion for everyone. Historically there have been examples where the bureaucracy of the Chaplaincy has used the field manual as a constraint upon the free exercise of religion by chaplains. When this occurs, Commanders are indirectly affected and therefore they are unable to use their chaplains as they visualize the battle to take care of their soldiers.

¹ It is interesting to note that these two issues (movement and property accountability) become significant issues in the chaplain manual. Cornelius Ryan's original work, the Longest Day correctly portrays the US Chaplain, Francis Sampson as losing his kit during the jump. Sampson lost his kit again during the Market Garden. He jumped with the 187th RCT during Korea.

² "Saving Private Ryan" is inspired by Chaplain Francis Sampson who rode a motorcycle through France to notify a soldier that he had lost two brothers. Francis L. Sampson, *Look Out Below: A Story of the Airborne by a Paratrooper Padre*, 2nd Edition, 101st Airborne Division Association, 1989.

³ Herman A. Norton. *Struggling for Recognition: The United States Army Chaplaincy, 1791-1865* (Washington, DC: Office, Chief of Chaplains, 1977).

⁴ Thomas W. Barry, "Hints On Methods Of Work," in *Active Service: Or Religious Work Among U.S. Soldiers*. ed. T.G. Steward (NY: U.S. Army Aid Assn, 1897 ?), 59.

⁵ George J. Waring, *Chaplain's Duties and How Best to Accomplish His Work*. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1912), 2.

⁶ Virgil Ney, *Evolution of the United States Field Manual: Valley Forge to Vietnam*. (Combat Operations Research Group, 1966), 5.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 3.

⁹ Ibid., 61.

¹⁰ Richard M. Budd, *Serving Two Masters: The Development of American Military Chaplaincy, 1860-1920*. (University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 89.

¹¹ Ney, 62.

¹² Ibid., 21.

¹³ Ibid., 34.

¹⁴ Ibid., 40.

¹⁵ Joel T Headley. *The Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution*. NY: Scribner, 1864.

¹⁶ William Y. Brown. *The Army Chaplain: His Office, Duties, and Responsibilities and the Means of Aiding Him*. (Philadelphia: William S. and Alfred Martien), 1863.

¹⁷ Jonathon Pinkney Hammond. *The Army Chaplain's Manual*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1863).

¹⁸ Ney, 44.

¹⁹ *Chaplains: Their Hindrances and Encouragements* (New York: Military Post Library Association, n.d. [ca. 1874]).

²⁰ Budd, 180.

²¹ George Washington Simpson. *Manual For Army Chaplains* (n.p., 1893).

²² Budd, 87.

²³ M. L. Haney. *The Story of My Life*. (Normal, Illinois, Published by the author), 142-144.

²⁴ Theophilis Gould Steward. *Active Service or Religious Work Among U.S. Soldiers* (New York: United States Aid Association, n.d.).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 43.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

²⁹ Ney, 55.

³⁰ Roy J Honeywell. *Chaplains of the United States Army*. (Washington, DC: Office, Chief of Chaplains, 1958), 173.

³¹ George J Waring. *Chaplain's Duties and How Best to Accomplish His Work*. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1912).

³² Waring, George J.: Camp Columbia, Cuba to Father (Daniel E.) Hudson, (C.S.C.): (Notre Dame, Indiana), May 29, 1907.

³³ George J. Waring, *United States Catholic Chaplains in the World War* (Ordinariate Army and Navy Chaplains, New York City, 1924), xxxiii.

³⁴ George J Waring. *Regulations for Chaplains in the United States Army and Navy*, (n.p.) July 1, 1918.

- ³⁵ Honeywell, 173.
- ³⁶ Orville J Nave. *Nave's Handbook on the Army Chaplaincy*, Los Angeles, 1917.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 103.
- ³⁸ Waring, *Chaplain's Duties*. 6.
- ³⁹ Waring, *Regulations for Chaplains*, (n.p. July 1, 1918), 6.
- ⁴⁰ Adjutant General to Chief of Chaplains, c 11 July 1925, Transcript in the hands of the author.
- ⁴¹ Ney, 61.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 56.
- ⁴³ Field Manual 1-02, *Operational Terms and Graphics*, Headquarters, Department of the Army, Washington, DC. September, 2004.
- ⁴⁴ Army Regulation 310-25 *Dictionary of United States Army Terms*, Headquarters, Department of the Army, Washington, DC. 15 October 1983.
- ⁴⁵ Ney, 51-53.
- ⁴⁶ Ney, 58.
- ⁴⁷ Alva J. Brasted. *Service to Service Men*, Augsburg Publishing House. Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1941.
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- ⁴⁹ Cephas C. Bateman. *Evolution of the Army Chaplains' Corps*, *Army and Navy Register*, 26 June 1920, p. 805.
- ⁵⁰ John T. Axton Jr. *Brief History of Chaplains in U.S. Army*, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas: General Service Schools, 1925.
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- ⁵² Robert L. Gushwa. *The Best And Worst of Times: The United States Army Chaplaincy 1920-1945*, (Volume IV, Office of the Chief of Chaplains Department of the Army, 1977), 11-12.

⁵³ Technical Manual, The Chaplain: His Place and Duties, Prepared under direction of the Chief of Chaplains (Draft), 1925, Transcript in the hands of Chaplain (Major) Robert Nay.

⁵⁴ <http://www.wassar.net/pubs/bios/b.htm> (accessed 6 November 2007).

⁵⁵ Field Manual 16-01, Religious Support Doctrine: The Chaplain and Chaplain Assistant, (Headquarters, Department of the Army, Washington, DC. November, 1989), Chapter 1, Section IV.

⁵⁶ Field Manual 16-01, Religious Support (Headquarters, Department of the Army, Washington, DC. May, 1995), 1-3.

⁵⁷ Sinclair Lewis, Elmer Gantry, (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co, reprinted, 1985), XXIX-9, p. 389.

⁵⁸ Ney, 109.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 77.

⁶⁰ Ney, 79.

⁶¹ <http://chronicles.dickinson.edu/studentwork/engage/clemens/>

⁶² Earl F. Stover. Up From Handymen: The United States Army Chaplaincy 1865-1920, (Volume III, Office of the Chief of Chaplains Department of the Army, 1977), 168.

⁶³ New York Times 14 April 1918, page E3.

⁶⁴ Budd, 109.

⁶⁵ Memorandum from Chief of War College Division to Army Chief of Staff, November 28, 1916. Transcript in the hands of United States Army Chaplain Center and School Museum. It is also noteworthy that Clemens also asked if chaplains be appointed as counsel for prisoners. In later manuals, Chaplains are forbidden from appointment as counsel for prisoners.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Joseph Clemens Diary, 1914. Diary in the archives of Dickinson College, PA.

⁶⁸ Alva J. Brasted. Service to Service Men, 43.

⁶⁹ ETOUSA Special & Morale Services Guide (Special Service Division, ETOUSA, May 1944) 50.

⁷⁰ Report On The Army Chaplain In The European Theater (The General Board, United States Forces, European Theater, Study Number 68, File: 322.01/4).

- ⁷¹ Ibid., Appendix 7.
- ⁷² ETOUSA Special & Morale Service Services Guide., 28.
- ⁷³ Technical Manual 16-205 The Chaplain (War Department, 5 July 1944), 51.
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- ⁷⁸ Ibid., 99
- ⁷⁹ Army Service Forces, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, The Chaplain Serves: Chaplain Activities, 1943. (Washington D.C. Office of the Chief of Chaplains 1 March 1944), 11.
- ⁸⁰ TM 16-205 (5 July 1944), 1.
- ⁸¹ Gushwa, 211.
- ⁸² TM 16-205 (5 July 1944), 2.
- ⁸³ Ibid., 9.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid., 6.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid., 10.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., 15.
- ⁸⁸ Due to additions in the three manuals, the exact place for “clerical assistant” changes. Technical Manual 2270-5: The Chaplain: His place and duties. 1926, Section IV, ss 37, page 11. Technical Manual 2270-5: The Chaplain. 1937 Section IV, ss 37, page 13. Technical Manual 16-205: The Chaplain. April 21, 1941 Section IV, ss 32, page 16.
- ⁸⁹ Technical Manual, The Chaplain: His Place and Duties, Prepared under direction of the Chief of Chaplains (Draft), 1925, Transcript in the hands of Chaplain (Major) Robert Nay. Section IV, ss 37, page 14.

- ⁹⁰ Technical Manual 16-205 (5 July 1944)., 30
- ⁹¹ Ibid., 30-31.
- ⁹² Ibid., 30
- ⁹³ Ibid., 33.
- ⁹⁴ Robert L. Gushwa. *The Best And Worst of Times: The United States Army Chaplaincy 1920-1945*, (Volume IV, Office of the Chief of Chaplains Department of the Army, 1977), 115.
- ⁹⁵ Technical Manual 16-205: The Chaplain (War Department, June 1947) 23.
- ⁹⁶ Technical Manual 16-205 (5 July 1944)., 52.
- ⁹⁷ Army Regulation 60-5Chaplains (May 19, 1942) 2.
- ⁹⁸ Ibid., 3.
- ⁹⁹ Technical Manual 16-205 (June 1947) 23.
- ¹⁰⁰ Field Manual 16-5: The Chaplain (January 1952) 31.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid., 31.
- ¹⁰² Due to additions in the three manuals, the exact place for “Supervision and Responsibility” changes. Technical Manual 2270-5: The Chaplain: His place and duties. 1926, Section II, ss 20, page 7. Technical Manual 2270-5: The Chaplain. 1937 Section II, ss 20, page 8. Technical Manual 16-205: The Chaplain. April 21, 1941 Section II, ss 16, page 11.
- ¹⁰³ Field Manual 16-5: The Chaplain (Department of the Army, January 1952) 31.
- ¹⁰⁴ Technical Manual 16-205: The Chaplain (War Department, June, 1947.
- ¹⁰⁵ Virgil Ney, *Evolution of the United States Field Manual: Valley Forge to Vietnam*. (Combat Operations Research Group, 1966), 77.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 90-91.
- ¹⁰⁸ Robert R. Venzke. *Confidence in Battle, Inspiration in Peace: The United States Army Chaplaincy 1945-1975*, (Volume V, Office of the Chief of Chaplains Department of the Army, 1977), 38-39.

- ¹⁰⁹ Army Regulation 60-5 Chaplains, May 19, 1942 (War Department), 5.
- ¹¹⁰ Army Regulation 60-5 (War Department, December 16, 1944), 15.
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2 (12).
- ¹¹² History of Military Training: The Corps of Chaplains, 1941-1945 (Office of the Chief of Chaplains, August, 1945)
- ¹¹³ Roy J. Honeywell. Historical Monograph, 21 March 1946, File No. 314.7 Office of the Chief of Chaplains.
- ¹¹⁴ Roy J Honeywell. Chaplains of the United States Army. (Washington, DC: Office, Chief of Chaplains, 1958).
- ¹¹⁵ American Army Chaplaincy, A Brief History (Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Washington, 1946) reprinted as War Department Pamphlet 16-1 United States Army Chaplaincy, (War Department, August 1946).
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.
- ¹¹⁷ Confidence in Battle, Inspiration in Peace, 41.
- ¹¹⁸ Field Manual 16-5: The Chaplain (1952), 65 (4).
- ¹¹⁹ Instruction Manual For Hammond Electric Organs, War Department, 1942.
- ¹²⁰ Ney, 91.
- ¹²¹ Technical Manual 10-750: Chaplains' Folding Organ, Department of the Army, 1948.
- ¹²² David B. Jorgensen. Air Force Chaplains, 1947-1960, (Volume II, Office, Chief of Air Force, 1961), 95.
- ¹²³ Annual History from the Office, Chief of Army Field Services, 1 January 1931-31 December 1950, Vol II, quoted in Virgil Ney, Evolution of the United States Field Manual: Valley Forge to Vietnam. (Combat Operations Research Group, 1966), 92-93.
- ¹²⁴ DA Form 16-2 Certificates/Marriage, Office, Chief of Chaplains, 1 July 1953.
- ¹²⁵ QM 6-2 Chaplain's Kits: Sets, Kits, and Outfits, (Department of the Army Supply Manual, 24 September 1953).
- ¹²⁶ David B. Jorgensen. Air Force Chaplains, 51.
- ¹²⁷ Augustine. The City of God, (New York: Modern Library, 1950), 407.

APPENDIX A

OUTLINE OF CHAPLAIN MANUALS

Technical Manual 2270-5: The Chaplain: His place and duties, 1926

Section 1: Historical Sketch

- 1.1 Origin and early history
- 1.2 The Revolutionary War Period
- 1.3 Official Status established
- 1.4 Mexican War period
- 1.5 Civil War period
- 1.6 Post Chaplains – colored chaplains
- 1.7 Regimental assignments – promotions
- 1.8 The World War
- 1.9 Casualties and distinctions
- 1.10 An emergency school for chaplains
- 1.11 The Chief of Chaplains
- 1.12 Permanent school established

Section 2: The Office of Chaplain

- 2.1 Statues and regulations
- 2.2 The purpose of the office
- 2.3 Statutory qualifications
- 2.4 Physical qualifications
- 2.5 Personal qualifications
- 2.6 Educational equipment
- 2.7 Ecclesiastical sanction
- 2.8 Supervision and responsibility
- 2.9 Stations and organizations

Section 3: Training

- 3.1 Introduction to the Service
- 3.2 The Chaplains' School
- 3.3 Experience and observation
- 3.4 The Commanding Officer
- 3.5 The adjutant and others
- 3.6 Regulations and orders
- 3.7 Communications from the chief of branch
- 3.8 Troop school for officers
- 3.9 Courses at civilian education institutions

Section 4: Equipment

- 4.1 Uniform
- 4.2 Personal equipment
- 4.3 Organization or professional equipment
- 4.4 Mounted equipment

- 4.5 Chaplain's flag
- 4.6 Transportation
- 4.7 Clerical assistance
- 4.8 Chapel building
- 4.9 The office
- 4.10 Files
- 4.11 Requisitions
- 4.12 Memorandum receipts
- Section 5: Religious Observances
- 5.1 Religious services
- 5.2 Special services
- 5.3 Week-day services
- 5.4 Publicity and cooperation
- 5.5 Moving pictures
- 5.6 Young people's devotional meetings
- 5.7 Providing for other religious ministrations
- 5.8 Spiritual activities and preparation
- 5.9 Private devotions
- Section 6: Special Services
- 6.1 Religious Ceremonies - Reports
- 6.2 Unusual and personal
- 6.3 Church festivals
- 6.4 National and patriotic
- Section 7: Religious Training Conferences
- 7.1 Sunday schools and Bible classes
- 7.2 Forums and study clubs
- 7.3 Boy Scouts
- 7.4 Church Conferences
- 7.5 Conferences of chaplains
- Section 8: Pastoral Functions
- 8.1 Ministrations to the sick and wounded
- 8.2 Ministrations to the dying
- 8.3 Ministrations to the bereaved
- 8.4 Ministrations to the doomed-military executions
- 8.5 Pastoral visitations to enlisted men
- 8.6 Civilian employees
- 8.7 Pastoral relationship to officers
- Section 9: Educational Activity
- 9.1 Education in the Army
- 9.2 Lectures
- 9.3 Clubs for dramatics-reading and debate
- 9.4 Sight-seeing clubs
- 9.5 Educational consultant
- 9.6 Vocational guidance
- 9.7 Instruction

9.8 Library consultant
 9.9 Personal reading and study
 Section 10: Recreational Activities
 10.1 Recreation in the Army
 10.2 The chaplain's advisory relation to amusements
 10.3 Associate and advisory for athletics
 10.4 Vocal music
 10.5 Personal recreation and diversion
 Section 11: Military Duties
 11.1 A staff officer-Classification of duties
 11.2 Equipment
 11.3 Paperwork and records
 11.4 Identification of the dead and graves registration
 11.5 Military formations
 11.6 Lectures and interviews
 11.7 Special correspondence for soldiers
 11.8 Advisory for morale and intelligence
 11.9 Occasional activities
 11.10 Exceptional duties
 Section 12: Social Activity
 12.1 Courtesy calls-official and social
 12.2 Other general customs
 12.3 Visitations to families of military personnel
 12.4 Soldier social clubs and other activities
 12.5 Promoter for peace and harmony
 12.6 Community relations
 Section 13: The Chaplain in War
 13.1 On the firing line
 13.2 Aid stations and hospitals
 13.3 Identification and burial of the dead-Graves registration
 13.4 Pastoral correspondence
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