

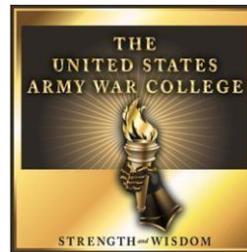
# Program Research Project

## The Transformation Of The Army Chaplaincy During WWII: DOTMLPF-P As An Assessment Tool For Religious Support

by

Chaplain (Colonel) Robert Nay  
United States Army

Under the Direction of:  
Colonel Francis V. Frazier, Director, Strategy and  
Campaigning II



United States Army War College  
Class of 2018

### DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT: A

Approved for Public Release  
Distribution is Unlimited

The views expressed herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government. The U.S. Army War College is accredited by the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools, an institutional accrediting agency recognized by the U.S. Secretary of Education and the Council for Higher Education Accreditation.

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			Form Approved--OMB No. 0704-0188		
The public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing the burden, to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.					
1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 01-06-2018		2. REPORT TYPE PROGRAM RESEARCH PROJECT		3. DATES COVERED (From - To)	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE The Transformation Of The Army Chaplaincy During WWII: DOTMLPF-P As An Assessment Tool For Religious Support			5a. CONTRACT NUMBER		
			5b. GRANT NUMBER		
			5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER		
6. AUTHOR(S) Chaplain (Colonel) Robert Nay United States Army			5d. PROJECT NUMBER		
			5e. TASK NUMBER		
			5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER		
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Colonel Francis V. Frazier, Director, Strategy and Campaigning II			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER		
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army War College, 122 Forbes Avenue, Carlisle, PA 17013			10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)		
			11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)		
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Distribution A: Approved for Public Release. Distribution is Unlimited. I understand this document will be included in a research database and available to the public. Author: <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES Word Count: 12,445					
14. ABSTRACT Chaplain (MG) William Arnold was the Army Chief of Chaplains from December 23, 1937 to February 14, 1945. During World War II, Chaplain Arnold oversaw the greatest transformation in our nation's history of the Army Chaplaincy. Many of the changes he implemented preceded the Doctrine, Organization, Training, Materiel, Leadership and Education, Personnel, Facilities, Policy (DOTMLPF-P) framework found in the Joint Capabilities Integration and Development System (JCIDS). These accomplishments resulted in chaplains providing timely and effective religious support and advising the command on issues of religion and morale. This contributed to an enduring chaplain identity and lessons for today's force developers as they work to transform the Army to meet current and future challenges.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS Interoperability, Modernization, Design, Acquisition, Procurement, Recruit, TRADOC, ASA(ALT), Religion					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 51	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT UU	b. ABSTRACT UU	c. THIS PAGE UU			19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER (w/ area code)

# The Transformation Of The Army Chaplaincy During WWII: DOTMLPF-P As An Assessment Tool For Religious Support

(12,445 words)

## Abstract

Chaplain (MG) William Arnold was the Army Chief of Chaplains from December 23, 1937 to February 14, 1945. During World War II, Chaplain Arnold oversaw the greatest transformation in our nation's history of the Army Chaplaincy. Many of the changes he implemented preceded the Doctrine, Organization, Training, Materiel, Leadership and Education, Personnel, Facilities, Policy (DOTMLPF-P) framework found in the Joint Capabilities Integration and Development System (JCIDS). These accomplishments resulted in chaplains providing timely and effective religious support and advising the command on issues of religion and morale. This contributed to an enduring chaplain identity and lessons for today's force developers as they work to transform the Army to meet current and future challenges.

# **The Transformation Of The Army Chaplaincy During WWII: DOTMLPF-P As An Assessment Tool For Religious Support**

## **Introduction**

The purpose of this paper is to use Doctrine, Organization, Training, Material, Leadership & Education, Personnel, Facilities, Policy (DOTMLPF-P) to assess the transformation and effectiveness of the Army Chaplaincy led by Chaplain (Major General) William Arnold during WWII. This transformation contributed to effective religious support to all Soldiers and a strong and enduring Chaplain identity. Examples from each domain within the DOTMLPF-P framework will show ways and means how the chaplaincy provided religious support during WWII and how each domain contributed to a strong chaplain identity. In conclusion, a brief synopsis of Chaplain Arnold's legacy, a summary of DOTMLPF-P publications that supported religious support, and for future consideration some observations and suggestions utilizing Design Approach and DOTMLPF-P for current and future Army transformation.

The Army Chaplaincy provides religious support for all Soldiers, Family members, and authorized Department of Defense (DOD) Civilians from all religious traditions. In addition, they advise the command on all matters pertaining to the free exercise of religion and assist the commander in providing for the accommodation of religious practices. Chaplains and Religious Affairs Specialist who are assigned to organizations must be competent in three areas; Nurture the Living, Care For the Wounded, and Honor the Fallen.<sup>1</sup> Fundamentally, this mission has not changed since July 29, 1775.

A recent survey of Army leaders reveals effective chaplains have a strong chaplain identity.<sup>2</sup> Army Chaplain Leadership defines Chaplain Identity as:

Chaplain: The word chaplain is rooted in a long history. The word chaplain comes from the Old French *chapelain*, and Medieval Latin *cappellanus*, originally denoting a custodian of the cloak of St. Martin, from *cappella* meaning “little cloak.” Our Army Chaplaincy is a history,, rooted in calling, community, and commitment (willingness to give up all, “four chaplains”) to serve our Army Family.

Identity: This is our identity. We are Soldiers who are chaplains, and chaplains who are Soldiers. We have historically been where Soldiers and Families are, often doing what Soldiers do, sharing their hardships while nurturing, caring and honoring them as religious leaders. We are part of a Corps team that works to provide and perform all aspects of religious support and care together. Our identity as chaplains leads us to principled actions of care for Soldiers and their Families. We don’t do it alone but as part of a larger team. We do it for God and Country! Keep it simple and the focus of chaplain identity rooted in our history, calling, community, and commitment to serve Soldiers and their Families as religious leaders.<sup>3</sup>

In summary, the chaplain identity are professionals who exercise the chaplain core competencies of nurture the living, care for the wounded, honor the fallen while providing the capabilities of advising the Command and providing religious support for all Soldiers and Families wherever they may be. A study of the transformation of the Army Chaplaincy during WWII will show how Chaplain Arnold and thousands of other chaplains epitomized the proposed definition of chaplain identity.

Elliott Converse’s classic work on military acquisition provides insight how WWII was a “watershed” for the United States. “The war was the catalyst for far-reaching economic and social changes, including the industrialization of the South and the West and equality for women and [African Americans, ed].”<sup>4</sup> The Army Chaplaincy was not a mere witness, but participated and sometimes led change. DOTMLPF-P will help us understand these changes within the Army Chaplaincy during WWII.

### **Chaplain (Major General) William Arnold**

The man who led the Army Chaplaincy during WWII was Chaplain William Arnold. The first Roman Catholic Priest to serve as Chief of Chaplains. He was the first

chaplain to attain the rank of Brigadier General and Major General, and was the only chaplain to serve as a General Officer beyond the Chief of Chaplains position as the Inspector General for Religious Affairs. Prior to his duties as Chief in January 1938, his resume reflected many officer's experiences from the time. Like President Eisenhower, he did not see combat during World War I. He served two assignments in the Philippines, once with General George Marshall. Chaplain Arnold persevered with the rest of the Army during the difficult interwar years.

Chaplain Arnold's character and wisdom overcame prejudices within his own denomination and by some Protestants. Chaplain Arnold's mother was Irish and his father was Swiss. Chaplain Arnold was proud of his Swiss background, which went against the Irish Catholic dominance in U.S. Roman Catholic culture at the time. He contended within his own denomination over the heresy of Americanism –pronounced by Pope Leo XIII at the turn of the century towards American Roman Catholics who accepted the idea of separation of Church and State.<sup>5</sup> Chaplain Arnold remained faithful to his vocation within the Roman Catholic Church while also serving as an Army Chaplain. Chaplain Arnold overcame Protestant bias and suspicion too. Evidence of this suspicion ran deep and this included Daniel A. Poling, an Evangelical leader and President of the World's Christian Endeavor Union. Later in 1960, Daniel Poling endorsed Richard M. Nixon for president, based on his distrust of John F. Kennedy's Catholic faith.<sup>6</sup> However, Daniel Poling was the father of Clark V. Poling, one of the four chaplains who died on the *Dorchester*. Chaplain Arnold befriended Daniel Poling despite his suspicions of the Roman Catholic Church, a tribute to Arnold's leadership

skills. Later, Daniel Poling created the Chapel of the Four Chaplains an interfaith testimony that has grown into an association.

Chaplain Arnold remained faithful to his calling and faithful to the ideals of the Army Chaplaincy. He cooperated with those around him without compromising his personal integrity or his calling. Like his contemporaries Eisenhower and Marshall, Arnold demonstrated he could combine tact and diplomacy with leadership. Robert Gushwa's *The Best of Times and the Worst of Times* contain examples of Arnold's leadership and winsome style:

Bishop R. Bland Mitchell of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1941 quoted someone as saying, 'If Chaplain Arnold had been in charge of things a few centuries ago there would have been no Reformation!' And the Southern Baptist magazine, said of him in November 1943, 'No man could be fairer or more impartial in his dealing with men representing various religious bodies'.<sup>7</sup>

Although a victim of bias and prejudices he did not turn to bitterness and revenge but remained faithful to the ideals of his calling seeking to lead and serve everyone under his care. His calling and chaplain identity resulted in the greatest transformation in Army Chaplain history. Chaplain Arnold utilized systems to transform the Chaplaincy in order to protect religious freedom and care for Soldiers.

### **DOTMLPF-P**

Today's all volunteer force is vastly different from the WWII draft Army. However, every chaplain in the history of the chaplaincy including WWII answered the call and volunteered for service. Every Army chaplain today stands in the proud tradition of thousands of other Army chaplains who answered the call to serve God and Country. Leaders during WWII did not have DOTMLPF-P as a framework to solve

“capability gaps”. Therefore, DOTMLPF-P applied to WWII will provide insights into the character of these chaplains and lessons for current and future the Army Chaplains.

The domains of Doctrine, Organization, Training, Material, Leadership & Education, Personnel, Facilities, Policy are part of the Joint Capabilities Integration and Development System (JCIDS). JCIDS is a Department of Defense (DOD) process that provides the Joint Force with the capabilities needed to perform across the full range of military operations. JCIDS, along with the Defense Acquisition System (event driven) and the Planning, Programming, Budgeting and Execution (calendar driven) process form the principal DOD decision support processes for developing and acquiring capabilities required by the military forces to support the national defense strategy. The JCIDS process receives strategic guidance and assesses current warfighting capabilities in order to confront current and future threats to United States national security. These threats are state and non-state actors, and environmental emergencies. JCIDS identifies “capability gaps” within the domains of DOTMLPF-P. Non-material and material solutions fill the “capability gaps” in order to defeat threats against the United States. Cheaper non-material solutions are the first course of action to fill the “capability gap.” Material and facility solutions fill the “capability gap” when no other non-material or material item within the force can be found.

DOTMLPF-P provides insights regarding the transformation of the Chaplain’s Corps during WWII. The examples provided are not exhaustive for each domain. Further, most of the examples listed in each domain may overlap with other capabilities. For example, the Policy of Privileged Communication could also be a capability under Doctrine since privileged communication is part of providing religious support. Army

Regulation 5-22, *The Army Force Modernization Proponent System* and JCIDS define each domain. This paper will provide suggested religious support definitions for each domain in order to determine capability gaps for religious support.<sup>8</sup>

### **Doctrine**

The Army defines doctrine as “fundamental principles by which the military forces or elements thereof guide their actions in support of national objectives.”<sup>9</sup> A suggested definition for religious support doctrine is “Provide Soldiers and Families with and advise Leaders on comprehensive religious support and care at every level of war in order to support national objectives and to uphold the free exercise of religion ensured by the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.” There are two doctrine issues identified in this paper - the free exercise of religion, and chaplain professional duties.

The doctrine of the chaplaincy providing for the free exercise of religion did not change during WWII. As in the First World War, the Office of the Chief of Chaplains (OCCH) reminded Commanders and Chaplains throughout the war the constitutional right to worship, or not worship, according to one’s own conscience. Some Commanders and Chaplains did not adhere to the free exercise of religion. Chaplain Arnold corrected this by publically supporting all faith groups and publically correcting abuses. May 31, 1942 at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, Soldiers received approximately 3000 copies of Jewish, Catholic and Protestant scriptures in “an impressive ceremony in the picturesque open air amphitheater on Sunday.”<sup>10</sup> By October 1943, Chaplain Arnold received a number of complaints from various sources, Army and Civilian, concerning tracts and pamphlets in racks and on tables situated in chapel vestibules, which attack

some religious groups, religious customs or religious teachings. Chaplain Arnold replied, These "ANTI writings, offensive to members of faiths toward which their sentences are directed, are being placed with other literature acceptable to all,...It is desired that no literature be placed in any one of these racks which is offensive to any race or creed."<sup>11</sup>The OCCH supported the Army's doctrine of free exercise of religion and corrected abuses when they occurred. It is important for leaders to monitor each domain within DOTMLPF-P to make sure each domain is sufficient and efficient, and applying corrections when needed.

Prior to WWII Chaplains performed extra duties. Duties such as mess hall officers or trial counsel conflicted with their professional duties. Soon after Chaplain Arnold appointment as Chief of Chaplains, General Marshall asked him if there was anything he could do to help chaplains. Chaplain Arnold replied, "protect them from secular duties." He went further and stated "Doctors do not have to perform extraneous duties. This new Army will need religion." General Marshall issued an order limiting chaplains to their professional duties.<sup>12</sup> Chaplain Arnold still had to intervene on occasion. In Circular Letter 201, Feb 20, 1940 Chaplain Arnold personally got involved regarding chaplain extra duties as a recreation officer:

I recently had occasion to communicate with one of our chaplains concerning his assignment as Recreation Officer. The Commanding General saw the letter and made the following comment: "Since the receipt of your letter I have taken steps to conform with your request by relieving the Chaplain of these extra duties and detailing another member of my staff in his stead. I also wish to profit by this opportunity to express my appreciation of the fine quality of service which the Chaplain has rendered in this field as well as in that pertaining to his normal functions."<sup>13</sup>

Chaplains could support some recreational activities. The support included advisement to the Command and Soldiers, and the ministry of presence in these

activities. In November 6, 1940, a directive for chaplain activities provided wisdom and guidance for chaplains at reception and replacement centers. At reception centers, selectees were there for period of four days to four weeks. For many selectees this was their first exposure to military life. The result was significant stress for the selectee. Chaplain Arnold provided advice and encouraged chaplains to pursue alternative recreational activities in four areas, religious, pastoral, cultural and patriotic activities. Replacement centers trainees could be there from four weeks to several months. Chaplains provided programs in greater detail in the same categories. For cultural activities, "the chaplain should not duplicate but cooperate with and supplement those of the Morale Division. He must be prepared to advise and counsel with the men as to their continuation of their reading and study, their hobbies and all legitimate activities not directly concerned with military training."<sup>14</sup> In the Technical Circular Number 4, March 1, 1942:

Entertainments, sports, games, and the like are commonly a responsibility of other officers, but a wise chaplain will cooperate fully with all forms of wholesome recreation. He will seldom have time to organize and direct elaborate affairs of this type but may make suggestions [sic] which others will carry out successfully.<sup>15</sup>

Chaplains did not perform strictly secular duties that took them away from their professional duty. However, Chaplain involvement in recreational activities provided moral encouragement to all Soldiers who participated in recreational activities.

Chaplains who protect the free exercise of religion and stay focused upon their sacred duties sustain their chaplain identity. Supporting and protecting Soldiers freedom to worship also means the protection of their own freedom to worship. Engaging and contributing to recreational activities reveals the incarnate ministry of

chaplains that transcends the earthly boundaries of race, creed or gender. Chaplains who protect the free exercise of religion and involved with their Soldiers reflect their calling and identity as religious and spiritual leaders.

### **Organization**

Chaplain Arnold made two important contributions to the organization of the chaplaincy. The first and most important was adapting the size and function of the Office of the Chief of Chaplains (OCCH). The second success was establishing the foundation and organization for the future U.S. Air Force Chaplaincy. The Army defines organization as:

A unit or element with varied functions enabled by a structure through which individuals cooperate systematically to accomplish a common mission and directly provide or support warfighting capabilities. Subordinate units/elements coordinate with other units/elements and, as a whole, enable the higher-level unit/element to accomplish its mission. This includes the manpower (military, civilian, and contractor support) required to operate, sustain, and reconstitute warfighting capabilities.<sup>16</sup>

A suggested religious support definition for organization is:

Chaplain Sections and Unit Ministry Teams with capabilities and competencies integrated at every echelon, executing religious support functions, providing Unit, Area, and Denominational coverage, accountable to their assigned chain of commands and the chaplain technical staff channels to the Army Chief of Chaplains.

These two organizational changes strategically grew the capability of the chaplaincy and influenced every level of war.

In order to integrate chaplain activities into the entire Army the OCCH had to reorganize their office. From 1920 to 1939, the OCCH started with three chaplains, and three Soldiers from the Adjutant General's office.<sup>17</sup> During WWII, this grew to about 26 chaplains and officers to include 2 Warrant Officers from the Adjutant General Corps

plus 125 Civilian clerks.<sup>18</sup> A key individual during this process was not a chaplain but the Executive Assistant Colonel Augustus S. Goodyear. Goodyear served in the Adjutant General branch, trained as a lawyer and was instrumental in synchronizing religious support within the Army. In a speech to a chaplain's conference later published in *The Army Chaplain*, Goodyear recommended:

I have been connected with chaplains and their activities since the office was established in 1920, and often I have to refer to the Bible for that corps. I would suggest that you gentlemen make a very intimate acquaintance with TM 2270-5, entitled "The Chaplain." It has been recently been revised and I am sure we all would benefit by its perusal.<sup>19</sup>

Goodyear was the essential link that provided the professionalism and technical expertise that harnessed Chaplain Arnold's strategic leadership and vision to provide religious support.

The Chaplaincy's 1930s oversight of the Civilian Conservation Corps helps prepare it for its expansion in size and scope during WWII. Prior to 1937, the OCCH had ten sections, whose function was not well coordinated. With no Deputy Chief of Chaplains or Executive Officer, the Chaplaincy had only minimal ability to fulfill its role as a proponent. When Chaplain Arnold became Chief the next year, Chaplain Arnold and Colonel Goodyear reorganized the office into the following. Chief of Chaplains, Executive Division (Executive Assistant Colonel Goodyear and the Deputy Chief of Chaplains), Personnel Division, Planning and Training Division, Statistics and Publicity Division. By March 1941, the OCCH adjusted again to reflect needs of the Army due to the number of maneuver exercises conducted in the United States and the newfound importance of the Army Air Corps. The new organization was as follows: Personnel Division, Ground Liaison Division, Air Liaison Division, Technical and Information

Division, Administrative Division, Plans and Training Division, and Miscellaneous Division. Now, many of the other smaller sections were now under one department head. This increased efficiency by condensing the functions within the office. By condensing the functions, Chaplain Arnold was able to monitor key strategies and initiatives with his Division Chiefs.

Chaplain Arnold's vision was bigger than any interoffice rivalry. This was evident in allowing and supporting the Army Air Corps to have their own Division that included their own personnel managing Air Corps Chaplains and prescribing the additional training required beyond the Chaplain School. In February 1941, Chaplain Arnold wrote to the Adjutant General the following memorandum. "In order that the higher echelons of the Air Force may have adequate religious ministrations supervised by Regular Army chaplains of appropriate [sic] grade, it is recommended that the following named chaplains be relieved from their present duties and assigned to duty as indicated."<sup>20</sup> Chaplain Arnold saw the future of the Army Air Force not as a loss, but a way to build upon the foundation of the military to care for the religious requirements of their service members and their families.

The orchestration of chaplain organization began with Chaplain Arnold and the OCCH. From there the organization of the chaplaincy adjusted to insure Soldiers everywhere had a chaplain. The ratio of one chaplain per 1200 Soldiers did not change throughout the war. Some chaplain historiography focuses upon the organization and proximity of chaplains at the front line. This only partially supports chaplain identity since it neglects the organization of the 1,000 plus chaplains in the United States and those in support roles throughout the world. During WWII, regardless of whether

Soldiers were at reception centers, railroad units, transport ships, airfields, army posts, or on the fighting line, the chaplain was always there.

### **Training**

Training is integral to the success of any military. Army Chaplains are trained professionals providing a unique capability for an effective and disciplined force. The Army defines training as “The instruction of personnel to increase their capacity to perform specific military functions and associated individual and collective tasks.”<sup>21</sup>A suggested religious support definition is “The instruction of professional military religious leaders and professional religious advisors (56A & 56M) to increase their capacity to provide and perform with other religious and faith groups.” The reactivation of the chaplain school and training civilian clergy to perform as chaplains shows the priority the OCCH took to provide religious support during WWII.

WWII started for the U.S. with the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. However, the last class at the chaplain school occurred in 1928. During the 1930's until the start of the war, new Chaplains received their training through extension courses from the OCCH. Chaplain Arnold requested an in-depth study on the chaplain school. His reasoning was the need to rapidly train thousands of new clergy and transform them into Army Chaplains. The following information is from an unpublished document from that in-depth study.<sup>22</sup> On August 26, 1940, the OCCH proposed a Table of Organization for a reactivated Chaplain's School at Fort Leavenworth to the Office of the Assistant Chief of staff G-1. This action plus several memorandums resulted in no activation of a chaplain school. On March 28, 1941, the Assistant Chief of Staff G-3 approved the proposed changes from the OCCH with minor amendments. On April 3,

the Secretary of War directed the publication of the amended changes. Publication took place in Section II, Circular No. 70, War Department, dated April 15, 1941. Additions were made "to provide instruction as to administration, coordination, and supervision of chaplains' activities within divisions and higher tactical and territorial units" by the creation of a "department of staff administration, coordination, and supervision" with appropriate subjects in the curriculum. In addition, the beginning dates and the length of all courses were to be "as prescribed in orders convening each session." Meanwhile at the War Department, additional memorandums circulated with no formal activation of the chaplain school. Then on December 9, 1941, two days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Chaplain Arnold again requested and the War Department approved the reactivation of the Chaplain School.

In the same request for the activation of the chaplain school, Chaplain Arnold asked the school be located near Washington D.C. in the interest of adequate supervision. Chaplain Arnold did this because he learned from the lessons of WWI. During WWI, many chaplains arrived in Europe with no military training. The Allied Expeditionary Force established a chaplain school in France. The instructions given some of the new chaplains was "informal and without method."<sup>23</sup>The reality of the need for chaplains meant that chaplains received little or no training before arriving at their assigned unit.<sup>24</sup> Chaplain Arnold wanted to make sure chaplains received training before their deployment overseas. Although Chaplains and Medical Personnel could deploy immediately after completion of their military training,<sup>25</sup>Chaplain Arnold made sure that chaplains would remain in the U.S. for 4-6 months receiving further training and oversight. Although this caused some tension, as mentioned in the European

Theater of Operations After Action Report, the leaders in Europe did not know the history and the impact of having a school in Europe.<sup>26</sup>

On January 12, 1942, Chaplain Arnold selected Chaplain (Lieutenant Colonel) William D. Cleary to lead the reactivation of the chaplain school at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana. There was one other chaplain sent to assist Chaplain Cleary and four other chaplains as instructors. The first class started on February 2, 1942 with 75 chaplains in the first class. Each class ran 28 days with 200 hours of military instruction that included the required courses from the War Department and additional classes on the military chaplaincy. The school moved to Harvard University in the summer of 1942, then again in the summer of 1944 to Fort Devens, Massachusetts. Then in July 1945 all the Service of Supply schools were located at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.<sup>27</sup>

The requirement to transform a peacetime Army chaplaincy into a trained professional Corps required persistence with the bureaucracy; learning from past emergencies and ensuring certified civilian clergy perform as professional Army chaplains.

The transition from civilian clergy to military chaplaincy presented a significant challenge for Chaplain Arnold. In 1944, Chaplain (Colonel) William D. Cleary, Commandant of the Army Chaplain School wrote in a book about the challenges of training chaplains at the chaplain school:

Duties of the chaplain require many qualities and abilities which are completely foreign to the daily activities of the average priest, minister, or rabbi in civil life. It is part of the Chaplain School to help in the difficult adjustment and transition men of all faiths, [African American, ed.] and white, from all areas of the country, to the most honorable status of chaplain in the United States Army. One of the greatest challenges in training students who will be chaplains is the almost complete lack of formal discipline to which many of the students were subjected in the course of their civil life....His most difficult adjustment is to the rigid

requirements of discipline in the Army, for, being a soldier, albeit without arms, he is subject to the same rules of discipline which govern our fighting men.<sup>28</sup>

To help chaplains learn military discipline, Chaplain Cleary went to great lengths to provide a conducive atmosphere at the school. Instructors at the chaplain school modeled how professional clergy answered their call and performed as chaplains in a disciplined environment. This is a very important and challenging transition. Civilian clergy have disciplined behavior. However, the only event they are required to be at is their scheduled worship service and an occasional crisis or meeting. The disciplined requirement to attend events and functions that are not spiritual such as marching or map reading presents a challenge for civilian clergy. This transition seems unnecessary or even foreign. During WWII, the instructors at the chaplain school modeled this transition by their professionalism in the performance of their duties.

In February 23, 1943, Chaplain Cleary published a *Manual For Instructors*. In just over 150 pages, the purpose of the manual is to “assure coordination and uniformity of instruction under the supervision of the Department of Training at The Chaplain School.” The manual presents a number of methods of instruction and hindrances to learn. Chaplain Cleary exhorts the instructors to “Never decide that the student is stupid” and “never use ridicule.... [or] talk down to a class”.<sup>29</sup> The reason for this advice was that all students at the chaplain school already completed a professional degree in their field. As the final report from the Chaplain Activities in the Pacific points out, “The average chaplain here is a fellow with a high school and college education, who has had three years in a seminary and three more as an active preacher, priest or rabbi of a regular church. He has passed stiff verbal and written examinations.”<sup>30</sup> Chaplain Cleary also points out when instructors treat the students disrespectfully or ridicule them, “the

students are helpless to retort, their resentment is aroused. When an individual is resentful, his mind is closed to the acceptance of instruction.”<sup>31</sup> The manual also included an example of a student’s evaluation of an instructor. There are 24 different elements from neatness, posture, dignity, knowledge, to discipline and management.<sup>32</sup> The instructors must master the very things expected from the students. More importantly, part of a chaplain identity is that chaplains must care for other chaplains, if they are to care for Soldiers within their organization.

The U.S. Constitution allows for a small standing Army and the mobilization of the citizen Soldier is the way our nation protects and defends itself in times of War. God calls civilian religious and spiritual leaders to serve their people wherever they may be. During WWII civilian religious and spiritual leaders felt called by God to serve as Army Chaplains. They volunteered and the Army trained them to perform their sacred calling in the harshest of circumstances. Chaplains in the chaplain school exercised their calling as chaplains by training, caring and ministering to other chaplains. The trainers and training at the chaplain school is the soil for a rich chaplain identity.

### **Material**

The United States industrial might and capacity during WWII provided the means for the OCCH to equip Chaplains to provide materials for the free exercise of religion.

The Army defines material as:

All items (including ships, tanks, self-propelled weapons, aircraft, and so forth, and related spares, repair parts, and support equipment but excluding real property, installations, and utilities) necessary to equip, operate, maintain, and support military activities without distinction as to its application for administrative or combat purposes.<sup>33</sup>

A suggested definition for religious support material is:

All items (ecclesiastical and equipment and supplies including those in chapel facilities and in a combat environment, communication and transportation assets, administrative equipment and supplies but excluding real property such as chapels and family life centers) necessary to provide and advise religious support without distinction as to its application for administrative or combat purposes and fully integrates into all aspects of a unit's operation and function.

The OCCH took advantage of the U.S. industrial might and modified and increased the Table of Equipment for a "Chaplain's Outfit" to operate in the new mechanized warfare environment. Second, through the Chief of Chaplains' Religious Fund, the OCCH developed a uniform system of supplies and equipment for every chaplain.

The Table of Equipment in 1923 authorized each chaplain a "Chaplain's Outfit" that consisted of "one field desk – regimental [size, ed.], containing a portable typewriter; one folding organ; 300 song books, religious and patriotic; chests as containers for books." This remained almost the same until Chaplain Arnold assumed duties as the Chief of Chaplains.

In Circular Letter 208 October 1, 1940, the OCCH was interested in issues of supply. "Chaplains who are unable to secure the Chaplain's Outfit (Cir.#4 OQMG [Office of the Quartermaster General, ed.], 1938) within a reasonable time after making requisition are requested to notify this office."<sup>34</sup> Circular #4, OQMG was not clear that Chaplains needed to request a typewriter in addition to requesting the field desk. Therefore, in the same Circular Letter 208, the OCCH reminded chaplains to "obtain portable typewriters to complete field desks by requisition through channels to the Corps Area Quartermaster. Requisition should show make of typewriter desired."<sup>35</sup>

In Circular Letter 223, April 15, 1941 provided information for the increase of Table of Allowances for hymnals for posts, camps, and stations. In the same letter, the War Department approved the placing of the chaplain's outfit on each troop transport

ship.<sup>36</sup> In a memorandum July 1, 1943 from Chaplain Arnold to all chaplains the Chaplain's Outfit added the Chaplain's Flag (Jewish or Christian), the new 150 *Song & Service Books for Ship and Field*, and the Chaplain's Scarf (Jewish or Christian). Which, like the typewriter was a separate request.

For chapels the Table of Allowances dictated one *Army and Navy Hymnal* for every two seats. In addition, for each chapel, the Service Command Chaplain provided the Altar Set (cross, crucifix, candlesticks and vases), Altar Cover, Pulpit and Lectern Scarves, Communion Set, National Colors and Staff, and requisition procedures for Jewish, Catholic and Protestant Scriptures.<sup>37</sup>

However, an issue must have quickly arose where there were not enough chaplain's outfits for those in the field. Therefore, a Memorandum from the Chief of Chaplains to all chaplains provided additional guidance:

When in the U.S. and on a U.S. post, there is no need for the outfit. When on maneuvers, you will sign for an outfit and then return it at the conclusion of the training. When overseas the T/E [tables of equipment, ed.] of the particular organization will apply and will include the following items only: regimental desk, portable typewriter, chaplain's flag and scarf.<sup>38</sup>

Finally, just over two years after Pearl Harbor and two months before D-Day over 7,000 chaplains were equipped as mentioned in Circular Letter 283, April 1, 1944 "all chaplains should have their Chaplain's Outfit".<sup>39</sup> Separate from the Table of Equipment in December 1943 the Trailer, 1/4-ton and Truck, 1/4-ton was included in the Ordnance authorizations.<sup>40</sup> This meant that each organization that was authorized a chaplain, would also have a jeep and trailer. Now every chaplain had the basic equipment like all Soldiers in the Army in order to provide effective religious support.

In addition to the advancement regarding the Table of Equipment, Circular Letter 215, January 15, 1941, mentions a budget of \$53,600 from the War Department for the “Chief of Chaplains’ Religious Fund.”<sup>41</sup> This fund amounted to approximately \$40.00 for each chaplain on active duty to procure religious supplies and materials.<sup>42</sup> Each chaplain could use this funding for religious reading materials, religious equipment to include the portable reed pump organ and the “portable altar” chaplain’s field kit. Until then denominations were providing chaplains with small portable communion field kits. The OCCH still encouraged chaplains to receive these kits from their denominations but if the chaplain did not have a communion kit, funds were available for the chaplain to purchase a field kit. This field kit would also remain with the unit and not the chaplain.

To guarantee the materials contributed to effective religious support, the OCCH monitored the procurement of all supplies. In a memorandum dated July 7, 1941 “All requests for purchases from this fund are to be made through the Office of the Chief of Chaplains in order to be assured of uniform supplies, better prices and a suitable method of accounting.”<sup>43</sup> The impact of the oversight in the acquisition of the chaplain field organ for the Chaplain’s Outfit shows the importance of this oversight.

The reed pump organ in Circular #4, OQMG was the Bilhorn reed organ. Bilhorn had the government contract; however, the product was inferior to the Estey pump organ. Estey was unwilling to compromise the quality of their design in order to meet the weight requirements dictated by the War Department. The lean years of the depression era and the opportunity to have a significant contract, Estey conformed slightly to the War Department’s requirements and lowered the quality of their organs. Directive P-E-67, dated December 11, 1940, the Army purchased 1,200 organs for

\$41,191. Although the Estey organ was much better than the Bilhorn, transportation over water and harsh climates meant significant issues such as several keys playing at once, or not playing at all.<sup>44</sup> Chief of Chaplains Circulars during this time acknowledged the problem and provided advice on repair issues. In Circular Letter 256, August 1, 1942 included an enclosure from Chaplain Henry Fairman, 136<sup>th</sup> Infantry, a “reed repair man” who provided several pages of repair advice.<sup>45</sup> The lessons learned regarding the design of the organ assisted Estey to produce in September 1945 the M-45 Folding Chaplain’s Organ with Case. During transportation, this organ rested in a rubber-sealed case. Metal legs replaced the heavy wooden frame. Only a limited number of M-45 Folding Chaplains Organ saw production due to the ending of the war in August 1945. In order to address lingering maintenance issues, the OCCH formally produced Technical Manual 10-750, *Chaplains’ Folding Organ*, which included tips to repair the Estey and the M-45 pump organ.<sup>46</sup>

Providing the material requirements for Chaplains to provide religious support without discrimination enabled chaplains to fulfill their sacred calling in every capacity wherever they served. In addition, the standardizing of materials within the Army system and providing quality assurance placed the chaplaincy on equal par with other professional branches within the Service. This contributed to a strong Chaplain identity within the military.

### **Leadership and Education**

Leadership and education is the cheapest domain in terms of money. However, the costs do increase significantly for the career Soldier. The Army defines leader development and education as “the product of a learning continuum that comprises

training, experience, formal education, and continual self-improvement.”<sup>47</sup>A suggested definition for religious support “leader development and education strengthens and builds upon the foundational vocational calling of the chaplaincy and chaplain identity.” During WWII, Chaplain Arnold’s leadership stressed the importance of the “calling” of civilian clergy to the Army Chaplaincy in almost everything he did. This included his personal oversight in the creation of the “*Soldiers of God: Official Chaplains March*” song. Secondly, Chaplain Arnold shared his vision through the bimonthly and monthly Chief of Chaplains Circular Letters, and publications, notably the Technical Circular Letters.

Chaplain Arnold’s leadership in the development of the *Soldiers of God: Official Chaplains’ March* reveals his ability to understand the importance of music. He did this by expressing his vision and empowering experts in music to develop the Official Chaplains March. Music in worship has been and continues to be an essential element of worship. In 1920, the development of the *Army and Navy Chaplain Hymnal* is an example of music’s importance in worship and within the chaplaincy.<sup>48</sup> Earlier in his career, Chaplain Julian E. Yates, the third Chief of Chaplains (1929-1933) oversaw and edited the first Army and Navy Hymnal. During WWII Chaplain Arnold delegated this authority to the hymnologist Chaplain Ivan Bennet to edit two hymnals during WWII. One hymnal for the chapel, another hymnal for the ship and field. Latter in his career, Chaplain Bennett became the eighth Chief of Chaplains (1952-1954). Music is very much a part of the chaplain in their calling to provide worship.

Chaplain Arnold felt that the Army Chaplaincy needed their own song to establish pride in their calling. In Circular Letter 281, February 1, 1944, Chaplain Arnold wrote:

The Air Corps, Signal Corps, Artillery and Infantry all have had an official song representing the respective branch or service. Now the Chaplain Corps too has an official song titled SOLDIERS OF GOD. The spirit-stirring music, composed by Ben Machan, is a catchy melody in thrilling march time. The lyrics, by Private Hy Zaret, are appropriate for a song that will be known everywhere as the Official Chaplains' March. The Music Section, Special Services Division, upon request of this office, asked a number of song writers to submit compositions. From these the song, SOLDIERS OF GOD, was selected and approved by the Chief of Chaplains as the Official Chaplains' March. A preliminary arrangement of the song is included in the January 1944 issue of HIT KIT. The final approved version is being published by Remick Music Corporation.<sup>49</sup>

The “March” music would have resonated with Chaplains at that time. For two and half hours a day, Chaplains still practiced drill, close order (marching) at the chaplain school. The 1943 War Department training film, *For God and Country* included chaplains marching at the chaplain school. In the movie, actor at the time and future U.S. President, Ronald Reagan portrayed the role of Father Michael O’Keefe. At one scene at the chaplain school, he commented how his “body is suffering” from the previous scene of marching.<sup>50</sup>

However, the first edition of the *Soldiers of God* did not meet the intent of Chaplain Arnold. In a memorandum from the OCCH, Chaplain Arnold provided additional guidance.<sup>51</sup> First, in all future publications the word “call” would be in quotes. Secondly, in addition to “Fighters of the nation, Everywhere at a thousand battle stations”, an added verse of “Chaplains of the nation, Everywhere with our fighting congregation” was added and placed before Zaret’s edition. Also before Zaret’s edition an introductory chorus “Faithful to God, we’re serving on the battlefield today...” emphasized the divine providence of their calling even “on the battlefield today”. Appendix 1 shows the comparison between the two versions.

Chaplain Arnold's oversight and contribution to *Soldiers of God* enhanced the chaplain identity during WWII. Soldiers, Sailors and Civilians reflected his vision for the march. In the memorandum and earlier publications of *Soldiers of God*, Arnold stressed that people have the option to choose to sing all of *Soldiers of God*, or just part of it. When Bing Crosby first sang the march at the Kraft Music Hall Radio Program on Easter, April 9, 1944, he only sang the first verse that included "Chaplains of nation, Everywhere with our fighting congregation." This song influenced Navy chaplains who wanted their own song. However, the Navy never adopted the draft submitted in *The Army and Navy Chaplain* magazine.<sup>52</sup> At the close of the war, chaplains knew their calling as chaplains of the nation. On the second page of the *History Chaplains' Activities in the Pacific*, compiled by the Chaplain Section Ground Headquarters, Army Forces Pacific (AFPAC), 1946 included the same verses as Bing Crosby. Chaplains identified themselves with "Chaplains of the nation" and not "Fighters of the nation".

Chaplain Arnold's leadership in emphasizing the call of professional clergy who now serve as chaplains of the nation required similar emphasis upon education. In addition to the chaplain school, Chaplain Arnold provided a stream of information that facilitated personal self-development.

Congress passed the National Defense Act of 1920. Among many other provisions, this law assigned proponentcy 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 requirement to publish circular letters. Chaplain Arnold used these

circular letters to strengthen the bonds within the chaplains by sharing information and providing guidance. Secondly, he used these letters to inform the public regarding the Army's efforts to care for the men and women in the Army.

Chaplain Arnold wrote over three times more pages of circulars than all his predecessors combined. A sample of the information contained in these letters are War Department and Chief of Chaplains policies and directives, patriotic messages about the importance of freedom and duty against totalitarian regimes, professional career information, advice for performing ministry in a military setting, good news stories from the press about how chaplains were caring for the religious needs of their Soldiers, book reviews, and personal information about births and deaths within the Chaplaincy. Finally, these letters contained encouraging words from senior leaders from the President, General Officers, Regimental Commanders, and even Privates.<sup>53</sup>

His third Circular Letter 186, January 11, 1938 after becoming Chief invited all chaplains to Washington D.C. for a training conference. To attract attention to this event, for the first time a drawing of a smiling chaplain with a suitcase was inserted into the newsletter with the words "I Wouldn't Miss It! Come On!! Let's Go!!!"<sup>54</sup> Through connecting chaplains with one another, the OCCH received information from chaplains and used these letters to get information out to chaplains wherever they may be.

An example of how these circulars strengthen the bonds of chaplains occurred in the latter half of 1941. In December 1940, Chaplain Aryeh Lev was the first Jewish Chaplain assigned to the OCCH.<sup>55</sup> In the July 15, 1941 Circular Letter 230, Chaplain Lev attached a letter with the following, "The Chief of Chaplains would be pleased to receive actual copies or even more preferably outlines of one or two of your best sermons which

you have preached while on active duty.”<sup>56</sup>Chaplain Lev wanted these documents by August 15<sup>th</sup>, one month since the publication of the letter. Chaplain Lev received over 500 outlines and selected just 21 outlines and sermons for a publication titled *What Chaplains Preach*<sup>57</sup> that went out with Circular Letter 247, March 1942.<sup>58</sup>

In addition to the monthly Circular Letters, The Technical Circulars, *Helpful Hints and Other Information* and initiatives by Senior Chaplains contributed to a learning organization. Starting in August 1, 1941 and ending in November 6, 1942 the OCCH published ten Technical Circulars. Each circular provided current directives, guidance and suggestions for each topic. The topic in order were, Chapels, Equipment, Administration and Use; Division Chaplains; The Chaplain at the Reception Center; The Regimental or Unit Chaplain; The Chaplain in the Replacement Training Center; Marriage and Related Subjects; Chaplains Equipment; The Chaplain in the Hospital; The Service Command Chaplain; and Chaplain Assistants. In May 1942, the OCCH published 67 pages of *Helpful Hints and Other Information*<sup>59</sup>. This document started with an index of nearly 500 terms with paragraph references for quick access in the document. Topics include dietary requirements, Sabbath observance requirements, how to wear the uniform and graves registration. Future wartime commandant of the chaplain school, Chaplain (Colonel) Maurice W. Reynolds, the IV Army Corps Chaplain followed Chaplain Arnold’s example and published their own *Practical Duties of an Army Chaplain*.<sup>60</sup> This document provided additional suggestions based upon directives and guidance in order to provide religious support to Soldiers.

Chaplain Arnold used these letters to inform the public regarding the great lengths the Army was taking to care for the men and women in the Army. Examples

included personal testimonies from Chaplains and Soldiers. Devotions and times and stations of radio broadcasts by chaplains. These letters contributed to the recruiting effort for chaplains and Soldiers. Starting with Circular Letter 265, January 2, 1942 the technical and more sensitive information like “Death Gratuity” were an “Addenda” to the circular letter. Commanders and Chaplains only saw the Addenda.

In reflection, the Chaplain European Theater of Operations After Action Report wrote the following. “The Office of the Chief of Chaplains published a lithoprinted monthly circular which is distributed to all chaplains and to the American religious press. A supplement, called the Addenda, is sent [sic] *with* the Circular Letter to chaplains alone and has the force of a technical directive from the Chief of Chaplains. The Circular Letters and Addenda served a real need and were generally well received.”<sup>61</sup>

Chaplain Arnold’s oversight of *Soldiers of God* and the increase in the quantity and quality of the Circular Letters and Technical Circulars equipped chaplains with the knowledge and purpose of their calling. *Soldiers of God* connected their civilian calling and their chaplain calling through music. The circulars equipped chaplains with reminders of their sacred calling. More importantly, circulars reminded chaplains they are not alone, but bonded them together with other chaplains during the darkest times of their sacred calling in the Army chaplaincy.

### **Personnel**

Personnel are critical for any military. Recruiting and retaining the best Army chaplains is essential for an effective fighting force. The Army defines Personnel as “The development of manpower and personnel plans, programs, and policies necessary to man, support and sustain the Army.”<sup>62</sup> A suggested religious support definition for

Personnel is “Recruit, manage, and retain qualified religious support professionals in order to provide for the free exercise of religion in the Army.” The mobilization from a peacetime Army to WWII provides fruitful examples for future planners. Interaction with religious groups and denominations, publicity, and accepting African Americans as chaplains and religious leaders contributed to this success.

Congress approved on May 5, 1918 the fixed number of chaplains at a ratio of one chaplain for each 1,200 officers and enlisted men, and twenty at large selected on a denominational basis, which would reflect approximately the size of the various religious groups in the United States.<sup>63</sup> Rabbis, priests, and ministers who responded to the call to arms were simply clergymen, as untrained in the ways of the Army as their parishioners and unskilled in the arts of war. “The Officer Procurement Service delegated full authority for the procuring and processing of Chaplains to the Chief of Chaplains. Completed applications were forwarded by the Chief of Chaplains to the Service for recording and review prior to transmittal to the Secretary of War’s Personnel Board.”<sup>64</sup>

In the summer of 1940, there were 137 Regular Army Chaplains. There were roughly 1000 Reserve chaplains, 145 were already on active duty, and about 100 were serving with the Civilian Conservation Corps leaving 770 eligible reservists for active duty. The Army needed 8,000 chaplains. From September 9, 1939 to September 2, 1945, a total of 9,117 chaplains served in the Army. When the war ended, the total was 8,141 chaplains on active duty (Jewish 243, Catholic 2,278, and Protestant 5,620).<sup>65</sup> Chaplain Arnold’s knowledge, wisdom and leadership made this possible.

In September 1940, the Secretary of War asked Chaplain Arnold for a plan to meet the spiritual needs of the Army under the Selective Service Act. Arnold mentioned seven points that were to be of importance throughout the war: Procurement and Distribution of Chaplains; Training; Chapels; Cooperation with Church Groups; Publicity; Cooperation of Military Authorities. Chaplain Arnold also mentioned, "Procurement would be difficult but should be made on an equitable basis for the three major faiths."<sup>66</sup> Note that four of the seven points falls directly within the DOTMLPF-P domains.

Chaplain Arnold's vision and wisdom to cooperate with religious groups proved invaluable. There were three major endorsing agencies at that time. The Jewish Welfare Board (JWB), The Military Ordinariate that served Roman Catholic applicants, and the General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains that served most Protestant Denominations. There were exceptions for other groups such as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. As mentioned earlier Chaplain Arnold brought Chaplain Lev, the first Rabbi to serve in the OCCH to interact with the JWB<sup>67</sup> and to assist with chaplain applicants.<sup>68</sup>The OCCH regularly interacted with the Protestant General Commission on Chaplains.

Chaplain Arnold interacted within his own denomination and was able to influence Bishop John O'Hara of the Military Ordinariate to publish circular letters similar to OCCH circular letters as early as January 1941. Military Ordinariate published 44 circular letters by June 1945. They provided excellent publicity to Roman Catholic parishioners, and wise and authorized advice to the chaplains. For example, in Circular Letter 33 Military Ordinariate August 14, 1943 "They [Catholic Chaplains, ed.] were informed by "His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate that the Holy Office....to allow

chaplains located in places where it is difficult to obtain wine, permission to use only water in the two ablutions following Holy Communion.”<sup>69</sup>These Military Ordinariate circular letters achieved the same impact by connecting Roman Catholic Priests to their denomination, and to one another as they perform their sacred duties in the Army Chaplaincy.

Publicity of chaplain ministries greatly affected the success of chaplain recruiting efforts during WWII. Denominations within The General Commission on Chaplains had numerous publications highlighting the chaplain ministry. Radio helped to tell the chaplain story. As mentioned earlier The Official Chaplain March aired on the radio. Jewish Chaplains had their own program called “Message of Israel”.<sup>70</sup> In 1942 “Chaplain Jim – U.S.A.” was heard daily on the radio. Chaplains throughout the Army contributed material for the “Chaplain Jim – U.S.A.” program.<sup>71</sup> The Chief of Chaplains personally sent certificates of appreciation to synagogues and churches who supported the Army Chaplaincy.<sup>72</sup> Department store windows or town fairs contained traveling displays of chaplain equipment.<sup>73</sup> In Circular Number 268, February 15, 1943 <sup>74</sup>Chaplain Arnold wrote “This favorable publicity now being given chaplains’ work make this time propitious for active procurement and the Chief of Service hopes each chaplain will be challenged by this task.” Circular Letter 265, January 2, 1943, directed all Chaplains to assist with the procurement of chaplains in order to double their numbers in one year. Publicity, encouragement and teamwork motivated the chaplains to reach their procurement goal<sup>1</sup> for 1943, 1944, and 1945.<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Procurement goal is different from the quota goal given to each denomination. The Army Chaplaincy met the procurement goal of the number of chaplains needed in the military. However, the chaplaincy did not meet the denominational quota established at that time. Honeywell’s *History: Chaplains United States Army*, pages 215-221 provides insight to the quota system during WWII. In addition, *The Army*

At the start of the war, only male citizens could serve as chaplains. Several groups challenged this rule. An organization of women ministers and some individuals believed the training school for the newly established Women's Army Auxiliary Corps and any large organization with female Soldiers should have female chaplains. A survey at the training camps showed that very few of the young women desired female chaplains. The War Department did not see the need for female chaplains. Many female ministers did become chaplain's assistants and directors of religious education. When the need for chaplains became acute, the citizenship rule changed and the appointment of citizens of cobelligerent and friendly powers joined the chaplaincy but this did not include women.<sup>76</sup>

There were only three African American Active Duty Chaplains in 1934.<sup>77</sup> Robert Gushwa points out the unintentional education requirements provided the greatest obstacle to recruiting African American Chaplains:

[African American, ed.] churches were authorized 790 chaplains but only 174 were in service at the end of the war. While many [African American, ed.] chaplains came to the Army from churches that were not listed as " [African American, ed.]," the fact remains that only 22 percent of the quota was filled. Although it was the policy to assign [African American, ed.] chaplains to [African American, ed.] troops, obviously this could not always be done. The educational requirements for [African American, ed.] ministers were modified in such a way that many ministers who were barred by previous regulations were able to qualify.<sup>78</sup>

The Chaplaincy wanted African American Chaplains and established the same authorizations regardless of race. However, the desire to have educationally trained professionals automatically disqualified a significant portion of African Americans.

---

*and Navy Chaplain*, (October-November 1945), page 13; shows the number of Regular Army Chaplains, 124 were lower than the number of Regular Army Chaplains in 1940 and was below the Regular Navy Chaplains number of 187.

Clergy within many African American churches did not require a formal education. The OCCH adjusted the education requirements in an attempt to meet quota.

The use of African American lay leaders performed a significant role providing religious support. The After Action Report for the Pacific Theater provides a number of examples of lay leaders who provided supervised religious services:

Many of these men were ordained before coming into the service....Every [African American, ed.] unit, with one exception, of this Command has one or more preachers. They conduct Sunday and Weekday Services, an undertaking rarely found in white units...The Services are dignified, devotional, and moving.<sup>79</sup>

Under the authority of the Commander, Chaplains supervised and supported these lay leaders.<sup>2</sup>Although there was a shortage of African American chaplains during the war, the OCCH accommodated and continued to provide religious support.

The Chaplaincy led the way in addressing other racial issues of the time. All chaplains regardless of their race or religion trained together at the chaplain school.<sup>80</sup> In Circular Letter 262, November 2, 1942, included a handbook by Edwin R. Embree, the grandson of the well-known abolitionist John Gregg Fee. Embree lists notable African-American authors and addresses the “lack of respect and treatment by whites.”<sup>81</sup> Circular Number 268, February 15, 1943 mentions the visit of an African American Chaplain who had served in a segregated unit on the ALCAN highway and visited the OCCH. Chaplain Arnold highlighted the chaplain and his ability “to develop recreation programs and show men how to be good in their everyday life, not just to preach a lot of

---

<sup>2</sup> Chaplain Arnold learned from WWI the importance of overseeing all lay leaders and auxiliaries. During WWI, organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Knights of Columbus operated independently within the Army and on occasion conflicted with the Army mission. Chaplain Arnold placed Chaplains over these organizations and lay leaders to ensure synchronized ministry within the Army mission and the Chaplaincy vision.

sermons and hold church services on Sundays."<sup>82</sup>Chaplain Arnold addressed abuses too. In Circular Number 281, February 1, 1944, Chaplain Arnold wrote:

Chaplains are advised to use the word "[African American, ed.]" when referring to a person belonging to the black race. Reports have reached this office indicating that some chaplains have used other terms in ordinary speech and public address. This is unnecessary and a hindrance to good relationship between members of our American Democracy. It is believed that chaplains should do everything in their power, by good example, to avert bitter feeling and strife on the part of racial groups serving in the armed forces.<sup>83</sup>

The *Song and Service Book for Ship and Field* contained several "Folk Songs" in the back that reflected stereotypes of the times.<sup>84</sup> The After Action Report for the European Theater of Operations mentioned the Folk Songs "were hardly used" by chaplains and the key of the hymnal made it difficult for Servicemen to sing.<sup>85</sup> In May 14, 1945 Chaplain Assistant Private Charles W. Warren, under the guidance of his Chaplain, Chaplain Francis W. Fero transcribed the 147 hymns into a key reachable for Servicemen.<sup>86</sup> They left out the insensitive "Folk Songs" in the back.<sup>87</sup>

Chaplain Arnold's interaction with religious groups and denominations, publicity, and accommodating for African Americans provided the bridge between the civilian and military world. Clergy from the melting pot of the United States poured into the Army Chaplaincy. Linking these two worlds into a common purpose of religious freedom and toleration created pride in their calling and supported their identity as Chaplains.

### **Facilities**

Facilities play a key part in our nation's defense. The Army defines facilities as "Real property consisting of one or more of the following: a building, a structure, a utility system, pavement, and underlying land."<sup>88</sup>A suggested religious support definition for facilities is "Real property such as buildings that supports the free exercise of all

religious faith groups in the Army.” Perhaps the greatest legacies of Chaplain Arnold’s leadership are the WWII chapels that are still standing on many military installations. Providing houses of worship for all faith groups remains the enduring foundation for the very purpose for Army Chaplains throughout all generations.

When Chaplain Arnold became Chief of Chaplains in 1937, there were only nine Army chapels. By September 2, 1945, V-J Day, there were 1,532 Army chapels in use in the United States. Chaplain Arnold worked through the system and gained the trust and support of the leadership in the War Department. Finally, President Roosevelt signed congressional bill HR- 361 7, Public 13, on 17 March 1941, authorizing a master plan to build 604 chapels at a cost of \$12,816,880 within six months. March 20, 1941 War Department Bureau of Public Relations released the following statement, “604 Chapels will be built throughout the Army....Where soldiers of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths may make their devotions in an appropriate settings.”<sup>89</sup>Additional appropriations from Congress built additional chapels.

On July 27, 1941, General George Marshall, Major General Edmund Gregory the Quartermaster General and Chaplain Arnold led a ribbon cutting ceremony for the first Cantonment Chapel at Arlington, Virginia. General Marshall praised Chaplain Arnold for his “care for the moral and spiritual guidance of its soldiers.” Marshall’s intent for these chapels were good citizenship and to “have a clean army, morally and physically, and these chapels are very important contributions to that end.” Major General Gregory, the Quartermaster General echoed the freedom these chapels represented. “There is nothing in construction that could stamp it as so distinctively American...because only in a free country could you find a church built to be used for worship by Catholic,

Protestant and Jew alike.” Chaplain Maurice W. Reynolds, a Protestant provided the invocation and echoed the same thoughts. “Grant that in the days to come this Thy Tabernacle may be a source of comfort, of strength of character, of courage, and of hope to the soldiers who shall here serve their country and their God.” Chaplain Arnold’s words reflect what he believed the power these chapels had for the fighting force. "To every man who enters this House of Prayer God says 'Without Me you can do nothing'; to every man who comes forth from this House of Prayer God has said 'With Me you can do all things '." Key people who helped make the building of the chapels possible received a memento scrapbook with pictures, bulletin, speeches of all key participants, and a piece of the ribbon from the ribbon cutting ceremony.<sup>90</sup> Circular Letter 244, February 1, 1942 contained a piece of the ribbon taped to the letter. A parachute infantry commander wrote a letter to Chaplain Arnold:

For the first time in over nine years since leaving West Point I worshiped in a chapel (one of the new type) on an Army Post that from a material side was satisfying to the inner man....It is however very pleasing and satisfying to see at long last chapels appearing on the landscape of our Army posts and camps. I know you didn't personally build these chapels but you are the driving force behind it all. Please accept from a junior sincere congratulations in leading our chaplains to a much higher standard of service and common good than I observed when I first came into the service.<sup>91</sup>

Chaplain Arnold’s influence went beyond the Army. The construction of over 600 Army chapels and the public display of the dedication of the chapel at Arlington woke the Navy from their slumber. Two months after the dedication ceremony the Navy actively pursued funding for new chapels. The definitive chaplain history book published by the Navy states “Records show that distressingly little was done to provide adequate chapels for naval personnel before Pearl Harbor.”<sup>92</sup>The Navy pursued funding for their own chapels based upon Arnold’s chapel design.

Even outside of the military, many civilian churches throughout the U.S. displayed collapsible cardboard miniature replicas of the Cantonment Chapel as reminders of the religious support for their loved ones in the Service.<sup>93</sup>

Finally, Chaplain Arnold's purest and enduring legacy is the identity of the chapel. In Circular Letter 272, May 1, 1943 Chaplain Arnold wrote:

Our chapels have been built by a government which declares that man shall be free to worship God as seems best to himself. They have been so designed that men of all creeds and faiths may enter therein and worship. We have a letter from the Secretary of War in which he states that the War Department looks with disfavor on the designation of these chapels as memorials to individuals or by names having a particular denomination connotation. The Chief of Chaplains believes that chapels should be designated by numbers (1, 2, 3) or by letters (a,b,c) or preferably by regiments or areas for which the chapel was built.<sup>94</sup>

The Chapel represents the Soldier's freedom to worship. The object is the Soldier, not the chaplain or the faith. A Chaplain's identity remains faithful to their faith while serving and protecting the faith of all Soldiers. As General Marshall said, providing the facilities for Soldiers to practice their faith is essential for a "clean army, morally and physically."

### **Policy**

The one policy that is unique to the Chaplaincy within confidential communication is the privilege of non-disclosure. The Army defines policy as:

Authoritative written guidance that affects capabilities development. When examining this DOTMLPF-P component force modernization proponents should consider any Department of Defense, interagency, or international policy issues that may prevent effective implementation of changes in the other DOTMLPF-P components.<sup>95</sup>

A suggested religious support policy is:

Authoritative written guidance that affects capabilities development. This includes any Department of Defense, interagency or international policy issues that restrict or require religious support.

The medical and legal professions have the policy of privileged communication. However, in some circumstances, the legal and medical profession discloses the communication when the circumstances or rule of law dictates disclosure. Chaplains and religious affairs specialist provide absolute privileged communication when performed as an act of religion, conscience or as a spiritual advisor. No Federal or State law or form of inquiry can force disclosure of this communication. This was not the case prior to WWII.

Prior to World War II, the wording of Army Regulation 60-5, under Pastoral Duties, suggested that when a chaplain is directed to make "Inquiries concerning the welfare of enlisted men" the information obtained by the chaplain may be turned over to the officer directing the inquiry.<sup>96</sup> In addition, in all previous manuals the term used was confidential, for example between the Commander and his Chaplain was confidential. Also, in all previous manuals the chaplain may be appointed to conduct a confidential investigation and the "chaplain has every reason to consider them as such in his intercourse with his fellow officers and soldiers." The command had every right to know the communication between the chaplain and the Soldier.

After two years of war, the military realized the important pastoral role chaplains perform to Soldiers who experience the harsh realities of war. Therefore, in March 15, 1944, the War Department issued Circular 108:

Chaplain.- A communication from a person subject to military law, to an Army chaplain, of any denomination, made in the relationship of priest or clergyman, and penitent either as a formal act of religious as in the confessional or one made as a matter of conscience to a chaplain in his capacity as such or as clergyman, is as a matter of policy privileged against disclosure, unless expressly waived by the individual concerned, before an investigating officer, court martial, court of inquiry, or board of officers, or in other proceedings wherein the testimony of the chaplain is otherwise competent and admissible.<sup>97</sup>

Circular Letter Number 284, May 1, 1944 issued the same statement.<sup>98</sup> Four months after the publication of the War Department Circular, *The Chaplain Manual*, published in July 5, 1944 did not include the new policy because of the rapid and changing pace of doctrine.<sup>99</sup>The OCCH acknowledged this, quickly provided the new policy change in the circular letters, and then corrected in future Army Regulation and Chaplain Manual publications. The updated 1947 chaplain manual in section 63 under Pastoral Duties reflected this new order.<sup>100</sup>

The phrase “Tell it to the Chaplain” popularized by a book of the same title captures the one capability only a chaplain provides in the Army.<sup>101</sup>Whatever Soldiers tell the chaplain remains between them. During this sacred privileged communication, Chaplains help Soldiers process and relieve their fears and disappointments, and provide reminders of grace and forgiveness. Privileged communication replaces shame and isolation with hope and fellowship. Chaplain Arnold knew the power of sacred privileged communication and when reports of the horror of war reached his office, he empowered all Chaplains to enter into this privileged role with their Soldiers, which is essential to a powerful chaplain identity.

### **Conclusion, Observations, and Recommendations**

Thomas Carlyle’s “great leader theory” could apply towards Chaplain Arnold’s tenure as the Army Chief of Chaplains during WWII. However, Chaplain Arnold’s legacy is not the man nor should it be. Chaplain Arnold’s legacies are the systems he created, and the people he supported. He truly was ahead of his time by transforming the Chaplaincy across all domains of DOTMLPF-P. Arnold’s guiding principle was sustaining every Soldier’s freedom to worship. His orchestration of religious support

powered the conversion of civilian clergy to Army Chaplains. He nurtured the bonds between the chaplain's initial calling and their calling to the chaplaincy. He enabled the communication between all chaplains with the goal of linking them together for a common purpose, and integrating chaplains within the Army at every level of war. In an age of typed written documents mailed to their recipients, the monthly circular letters truly created a shared understanding of their purpose and identity as chaplains.

The transition from Chaplain Arnold to his successor Chaplain Luther Miller reflected Arnold's selection in 1937 to the Chief of Chaplains. Just as Chaplain Arnold's early circular letter contained a hand written drawing of a chaplain, in Circular Letter 296, May 1, 1945 Chaplain Arnold included for the first time a black and white picture. The picture contained Chaplain Miller, announcing him as the new Chief of Chaplains. In the next Circular Letter 297, June 1, 1945 Chaplain Miller honored his predecessor. A photo of a Chaplain in a foxhole with a Soldier with the words "Soldiers of God" and a music staff of the *Soldiers' of God* just below it. In this way, Chaplain Miller honored Chaplain Arnold by capturing his legacy.

Chaplain Miller continued with the production of the circular letters. However, when Chaplain Roy Parker became Chief of Chaplains in the summer of 1949 he no longer continued the letters in the same tradition. These letters would have supported chaplains one year later in 1950 at the start of the Korean War. In addition, the 1952 Korean War era Chaplains Field Manual contains the least amount of information for any published chaplain's manual.<sup>102</sup> The void this created contributed to America's forgotten war and a neglect for the service and sacrifice of many Korean War era chaplains. The monthly circular letters were an indicator of the vibrant and active

Chaplaincy. In social history, there is a theory that one generation acquires the wealth, the next generation enjoys the wealth, and the third generation loses the wealth. Every generation within the Chaplaincy has an opportunity to improve the legacy of the Chaplain Corps.

In the post WWII years, the Chaplaincy's emphasis was upon the moral character of Soldiers. Secretary of War Robert Patterson directed the new Chief of Chaplains, Chaplain Luther Miller to develop a solution for the increased venereal disease rates, which were at a thirty-year high.<sup>103</sup> In these lean times, the chaplaincy adjusted and published the character guidance program, however many of the other components of the DOTMLPF-P were neglected. When the mission is accomplished, there is the tendency to say there are no capability gaps. One domain may over perform while others are inefficient. Assessing each domain independently must occur in order to maximize all capabilities for military readiness.

Good leaders should always question assumptions knowing that enemies to national security adapt, and change and internally complacency, fear of risk or change occurs within a bureaucracy. Bureaucrats and minimalists look inward and are not visionary. However, there is a bias in the military towards action when there is no justification for change. During WWII, a justified requirement meant the development of a special organ, the M-45 for the military. In similar manner, the Forward Thrust Doctrine dictated the need for a smaller and lighter chaplain's field kit. Does Multi-Domain Battle require the development of a new chaplain's field kit? JCIDS should provide the necessary analysis to determine future requirements. However for

consideration, will Futures Command and ASA(ALT)<sup>3</sup> with their emphasis upon industry, acquisition and technology duplicate JCIDS and provide material solutions while neglecting interoperability and the cheaper domains within DOTMLPF-P? Questioning assumptions and seeking justification is essential for every domain.

In the past, the chaplaincy produced several publications revealing how the chaplaincy utilized the DOTMLPF-P system. *The Army Chaplaincy*, a professional bulletin of the Unit Ministry Team, Summer-Fall 1999 provided an overview of Doctrine, Training, Leadership, Organization, Material, Soldier (DTLOMS), an earlier version of the DOTMLPF-P process.<sup>104</sup> This document presents the importance of nesting religious support into the strategic guidance and military organizations but it also reflects the tendency in this process to address the means and not the ways to address the gaps analysis. At the turn of the century the unpublished *TRADOC Pamphlet 525-1-05 Transforming the US Army Chaplains for the Modular Army (Draft)* did an excellent job at identifying gaps and ways to decrease the gaps.<sup>105</sup> However, the ways and terminology were not within Army doctrine and terminology. In January 2012, the Chief of Chaplains Office began the “Establishment of Policy Concerning Structure and Functioning of Chaplaincy Participation in Process Integration Concept (PIC).<sup>106</sup> The PIC concept used the Resource-informed, Integration-focused, Outcome-based model framed within DOTMLPF<sup>4</sup> domains for solution sets. From January 2014 to the fall of 2016, Installation and Management Command (IMCOM), Senior Chaplain Assistant [Chief Religious Affairs Non-Commissioned Officer, ed.], Sergeant Major Pamela Wilson started the “Fifty-Six Mike” monthly newsletter.<sup>107</sup> This excellent newsletter followed in a

---

<sup>3</sup> Assistant Secretary of the Army (Acquisition, Logistics and Technology)

<sup>4</sup> Policy is a recent addition within JCIDS.

similar manner Chaplain Arnold's circular letters. The IMCOM Command Chaplain contributed to each newsletter expressing the importance of the IMCOM mission and his appreciation for the team approach to religious support. Sergeant Major Wilson used DOTMLPF as an outline to educate, provide information and solicit feedback. This newsletter included doctrinal references, advice, and good news stories that included pictures of chaplain assistants. Recently, in a few cases, leaders have used DOTMLPF-P as a framework to conduct After-Action Reviews (AAR). For large operations, such as Combat Training Center rotations or even Vacation Bible School DOTMLPF-P does provide a comprehensive tool to assess and improve future operations. However, for small tactical operations like a raid or a worship service, DOTMLPF-P is cumbersome and will "inhibit Soldiers who seem reluctant to participate"<sup>108</sup> in AAR's.

Including DOTMLPF-P into other strategic tools such as center of gravity analysis and Ends, Ways, Means, Risk, will contribute to a comprehensive and sufficient outcome. Center of gravity analysis will assist in identifying capabilities and requirements for religious support. For example, what are the capabilities, requirements, and vulnerabilities to conduct religious support in the Garrison, or in an operation? Approaching this problem set utilizing the DOTMLPF-P domains will assist in gap analysis. Ends, Ways, Means, Risk are essential to formulate strategy. DOTMLPF-P helps the strategist develop and prioritize objectives based upon short-term events; and Planning, Programming, Budgeting and Execution calendar driven capabilities and requirements. DOTMLPF-P provides essential details for effective and enduring strategic strategies.

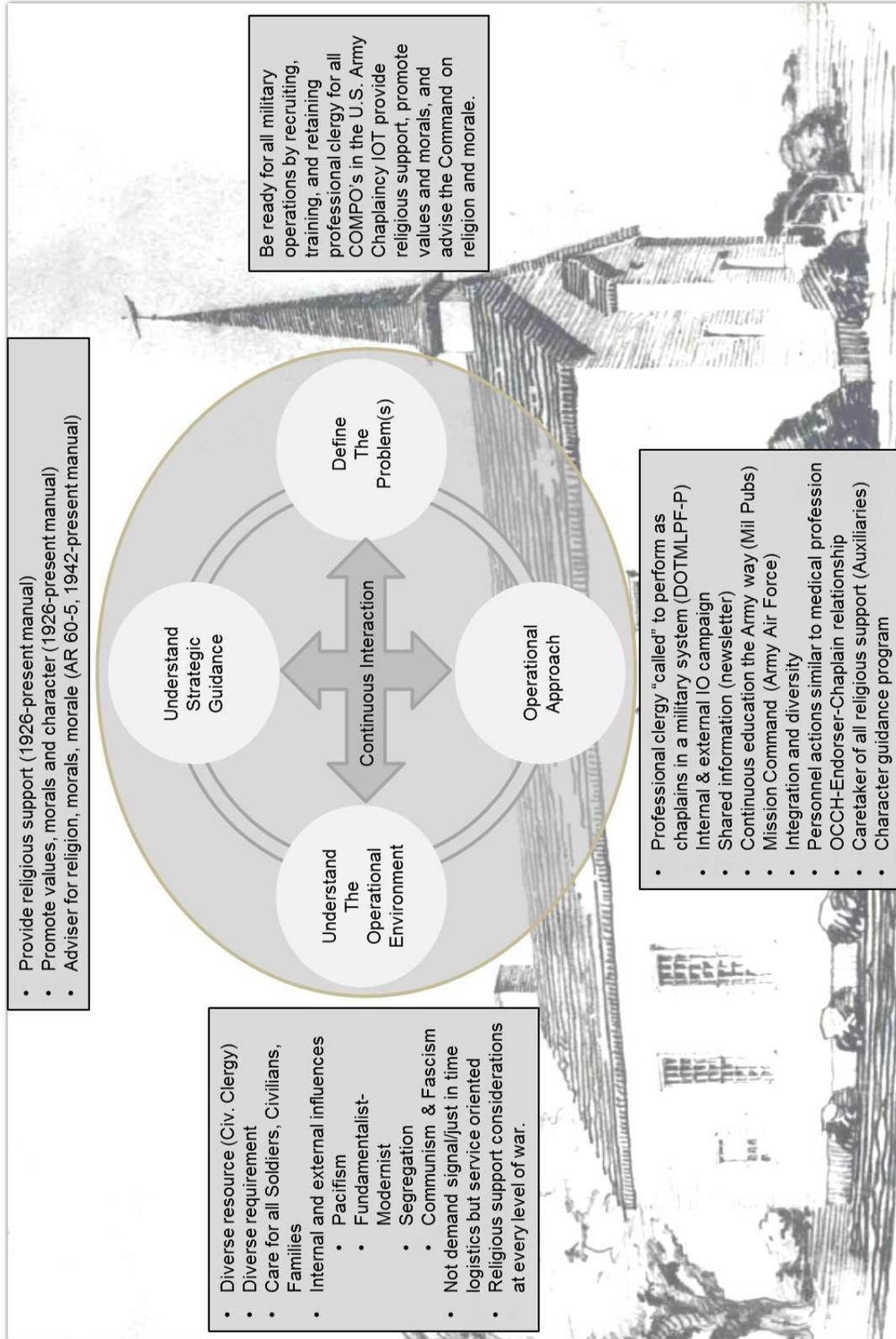
Included in this paper are two examples for Force Modernization and Transformation. Design Methodology contributes to identifying requirements. In Appendix 2, "Design Approach to Chaplain History (1937-1945)" is a way the OCCH during WWII could have used Design in order to develop an approach to the complex issues prior to WWII. Appendix 3 is the Army Force Modernization Proponent System with suggested Religious Support definitions for each domain, linked to Religious Support capabilities, competencies and functions. This logical flow will insure the consideration of all domains in order to execute religious support.

Chaplain Arnold's leadership across all domains of DOTMLPF-P provided effective and efficient religious support during WWII. In addition, he truly created a sense of purpose and identity for all Army chaplains. In the WWII training film, *For God and Country*, Father O'Keefe is in a foxhole with several other Soldiers at night. A bomb goes off nearby. A Soldier yells, "Will you cut it out for God's sake." Father O'Keefe replies, "Careful that's my boss you are talking about." He then says, "I feel like a little prayer will help me a lot." The Soldier responds, "You're not scared are you chaplain"? Father O'Keefe says, "Yes. Afraid of missed opportunities. Afraid of all the good I could have done, neglected."<sup>109</sup> DOTMLPF-P is proactive instead of reactive. It is a way to assess neglected areas while providing efficient and effective opportunities to provide religious support.

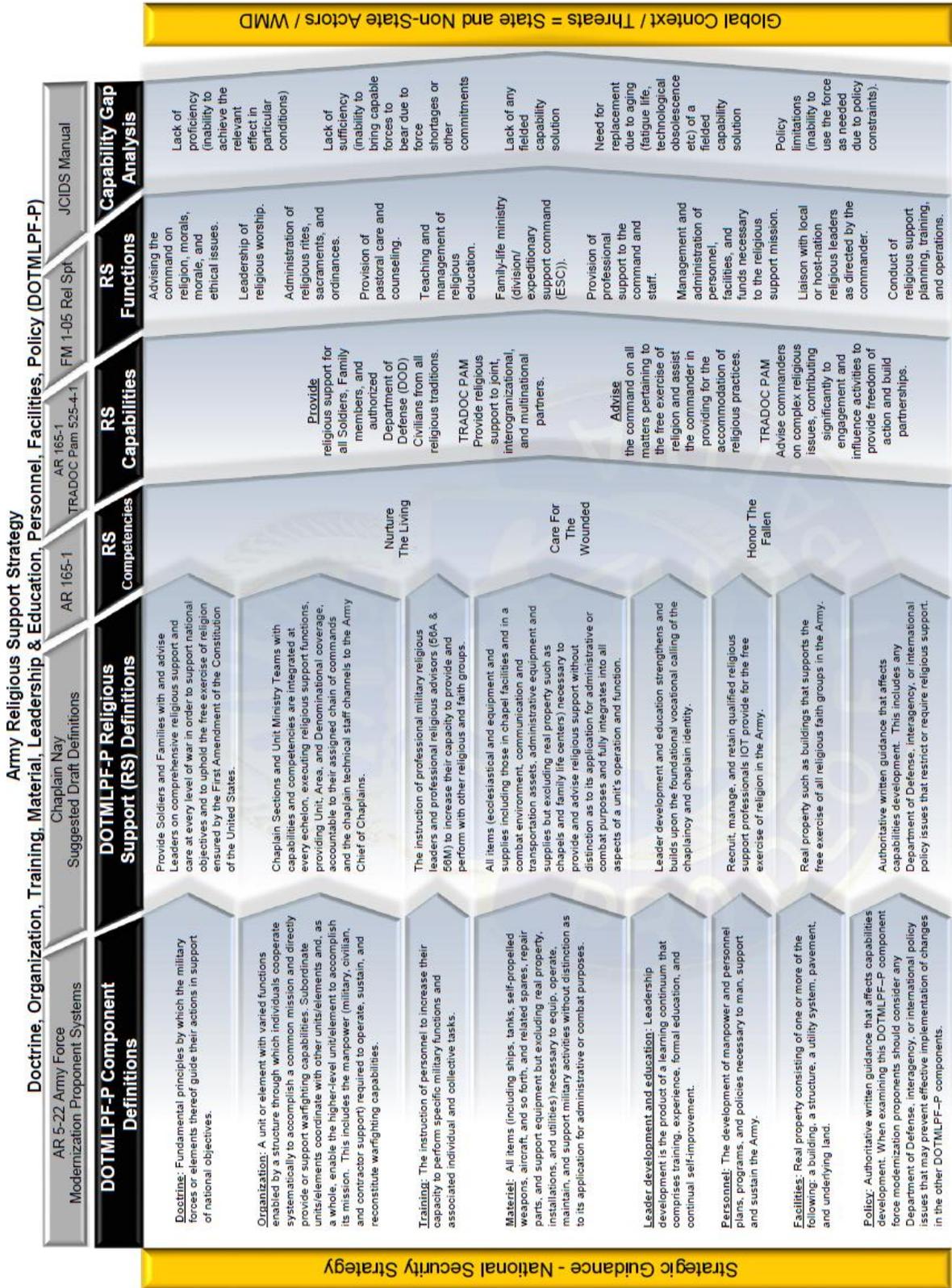
Appendix 1  
Soldiers of God (Chaplains' March) Comparison

<u>Original Version 1943<sup>110</sup></u>	<u>Final Version 1944<sup>111</sup></u>
<p>Soldiers of God, we serve him faithfully, And march in His name Through thunder and flame Wherever the call may be. Trusting in God, His strength we lean upon, As into the fight the legions of light, The Soldiers of God march on.</p>	<p>Faithful to God, we're serving on the battlefield today. Embracing the cause of Righteousness, We're marching on our way.</p> <p><i>(Refrain)</i> Soldiers of God, we serve him faithfully, And march in His name Through thunder and flame Wherever the "<b>call</b>" may be. Trusting in God, His strength we lean upon, As into the fight the legions of light, The Soldiers of God march on.</p> <p>We are there, as the <b><u>Chaplains of the nation,</u></b> <b><u>Everywhere with our fighting congregation,</u></b> Serving the Lord, and serving the cause of humanity. Onward we go till I victory is won, For Justice and Right, the Legions of light, The Soldiers of God march on.</p> <p><i>(Refrain)</i> Soldiers of God, we serve Him faithfully, And march in His name Through thunder and flame Wherever the "<b>call</b>" may be. Trusting in God, His strength we lean upon, As into the fight the legions of light, The Soldiers of God march on.</p>
<p>We are there, with the fighters of the nation, Everywhere at a thousand battle stations, Serving the Lord, and serving the cause of humanity. Onward we go till victory is won, For Justice and Right, the legions of light, The Soldiers of God march on.</p>	<p>We are there, with the <b><u>fighters of the nation,</u></b> <b><u>Everywhere at a thousand battle stations,</u></b> Serving the Lord, and serving the cause of humanity. Onward we go till victory is won, For Justice and Right, the legions of light, The Soldiers of God march on.</p>

## Appendix 2 Design Approach to Chaplain History (1937-1945)<sup>112</sup>



# Appendix 3 Army Religious Support Strategy For DOTMLPF-P



## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *Religious Activities: Army Chaplain Corps Activities*, Army Regulation 165-1 (Washington DC: U.S. Department of the Army, June 23, 2015), 1.

<sup>2</sup> Paul K. Hurley, *Sustaining Souls*, Strategy Research Project (Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, March 2013), 10.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas L. Solhjem email to all Chaplain Corps Senior Leaders, August 21, 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Elliott Vanveltner Converse. *Rearming for the Cold War, 1945-1960, History of Acquisition in the Department of Defense, v. 1*. (Washington, D.C. Historical Office, Office of the Secretary of Defense, 2012), 1.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Snape, *God and Uncle Sam: Religion and America's Armed Forces during World War II*, (Boydell Press, 2015), 63. Conversation with Michael Snape, July 17, 2016.

<sup>6</sup> James Reichley, *Religion in American Public Life*, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1985), 225.

<sup>7</sup> 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), 105.

<sup>8</sup> Defense Acquisition University, *Manual for the Operation of the Joint Capabilities Integration and Development System (JCIDS)*, February 12, 2015. (accessed June 14, 2017 [https://dap.dau.mil/policy/Documents/2015/JCIDS\\_Manual\\_with\\_errata\\_through\\_20151218.pdf](https://dap.dau.mil/policy/Documents/2015/JCIDS_Manual_with_errata_through_20151218.pdf)).

<sup>9</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *The Army Force Modernization Proponent System*, Army Regulation 5-22, (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Army, October 28, 2015), 13.

<sup>10</sup> U.S. War Department, Circular Letter 253, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, June 15, 1942.

<sup>11</sup> Circular Letter 277, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, October 1, 1943.

<sup>12</sup> Daniel B. Jorgensen. *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units, 1917-46*. (Wash, DC: Office, Chief of Air Force Chaplains, 1961), 87.

<sup>13</sup> Circular Letter 201, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Feb 20, 1940.

<sup>14</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *Directive for Chaplain Activities: Reception and Replacement Centers*, (Office of the Chief of Chaplains, November 6, 1940).

<sup>15</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *The Regimental or Unit Chaplain*, Technical Circular Number 4. (Office of the Chief of Chaplains, March 1, 1942), 7.

<sup>16</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *The Army Force Modernization Proponent System*, Army Regulation 5-22, 13.

<sup>17</sup> Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units, 1917-46*, 48.

<sup>18</sup> Gushwa, *The Best And Worst of Times: The United States Army Chaplaincy 1920-1945*, 99.

<sup>19</sup> Augustus A. Goodyear, "Organization and Administration," *The Army Chaplain: Official Publication of the Chaplains' Association of the Army of the United States*, Vol VIII, No 3 (January 1938): 103.

<sup>20</sup> Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units, 1917-46*, 97.

<sup>21</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *The Army Force Modernization Proponent System*, Army Regulation 5-22, 14.

<sup>22</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *History of USACHS: France 1918-Havard University* (Unpublished document prior to the establishment of USACHCS, original paper copy with Chaplain (Colonel) Robert Nay).

<sup>23</sup> Letter from Rev James F. Houlihan, Major (Ret) to Chaplain Arthur C. Piepkorn, Chaplain School, 24 December 1943. Original with Chaplain (Colonel) Robert Nay.

<sup>24</sup> Letter from General Commission Army and Navy Chaplains to Chaplain Arthur C. Piepkorn, Chaplain School, 20 December 1943. Original with Chaplain (Colonel) Robert Nay.

<sup>25</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *Commissioned Officers: Officers Appointed in the Army of the United States*, Army Regulation 605-10 (War Department, December 10, 1941) 13.c.

<sup>26</sup> U.S. Forces, European Theater, *Report on the Army Chaplain in the European Theater*. (Study 68, Bad Nauheim, 1945), Chapter 2.

<sup>27</sup> Gushwa, *The Best And Worst of Times: The United States Army Chaplaincy 1920-1945*, 109-110.

<sup>28</sup> William D. Cleary, "How Army Chaplains Are Trained," in *Faith Of Our Fighters*, ed. Ellwood C. Nance (Bethany Press, 1944), 106-107.

<sup>29</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *Manual For Instructors*, (Headquarters U.S. Army Chaplain School, Harvard University, Cambridge, MASS), paragraph 58.

<sup>30</sup> Army Forces Pacific, *History of Chaplains' Activities in the Pacific*, (Chaplain Section, Ground Headquarters, Army Forces Pacific, 1946), 316.

<sup>31</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *Manual For Instructors*, paragraph 58.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Figure 9.

<sup>33</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *The Army Force Modernization Proponent System*, Army Regulation 5-22, 13.

<sup>34</sup> Circular Letter 4, Office of the Quartermaster General, October 15, 1941.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Circular Letter 223, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, April 15, 1941.

<sup>37</sup> War Department Army Services Forces, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, July 1, 1943, Memorandum to All Chaplains.

<sup>38</sup> War Department Army Services Forces, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, August 31, 1943, Memorandum to All Chaplains.

<sup>39</sup> Circular Letter 283, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, April 1, 1944.

<sup>40</sup> Circular Letter 279, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, December 1, 1943.

<sup>41</sup> Memorandum War Department Office of the Chief of Chaplains July 7, 1941 Subject: Chief of Chaplains' Religious Fund, To All Chaplains on Active Duty.

<sup>42</sup> Circular Letter 215, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, January 15, 1941.

<sup>43</sup> Memorandum War Department Office of the Chief of Chaplains July 7, 1941 Subject: Chief of Chaplains' Religious Fund, To All Chaplains on Active Duty.

<sup>44</sup> Robert F. Gellerman, *The American Reed Organ and the Harmonium*, (Vestal Press, January 1, 1997), 146-147.

<sup>45</sup> Circular Letter 256, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, August 1, 1942.

<sup>46</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *Chaplains' Folding Organ*, Technical Manual 10-750, (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Army, February 1948).

<sup>47</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *The Army Force Modernization Proponent System*, Army Regulation 5-22, 13.

<sup>48</sup> Julian E. Yates, ed., *The Army and Navy Hymnal*, (The Century Company, New York, 1920).

<sup>49</sup> Circular Letter 281, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, February 1, 1944.

<sup>50</sup> U.S. War Department, *For God and Country*. Training Film TF 16-2037, (U.S. War Department, Army Service Forces Signal Corps Production, 1943).

<sup>51</sup> War Department, Army Service Forces, Office of the Chief of Chaplains December 16, 1943 To: Music Section, Special Service Division, Attention: Captain Harry Salter. Copy with the Harry Salter papers, Great American Songbook Foundation, 1 Center Green, Carmel IN 46032.

<sup>52</sup> "Author Not Provided," *Songs of the Two Chaplains Corps*, The Army and Navy Chaplain. (Volume XVI, July-August, 1945, Number 1), 26.

<sup>53</sup> U.S. War Department, Memorandum To All Chaplains, Subject: Reports Pursuit to A.R. 827, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, November 11, 1920 – Department of the Army, Circular Letter 344, May 1, 1949. Original lithoprinted documents with Chaplain (Colonel) Robert Nay.

<sup>54</sup> Circular Letter 186, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, January 11, 1938.

<sup>55</sup> Circular Letter 212, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, December 2, 1940.

<sup>56</sup> War Department Office of the Chief of Chaplains July 15, 1941 Subject Sermon Outlines. To: All Chaplains on Active Duty.

<sup>57</sup> Aryeh Lev ed., *What Chaplains Preach*, (Command and General Staff School, 1942).

<sup>58</sup> Circular Letter 247, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, March 1942.

<sup>59</sup> Department of the Army, *Helpful Hints and Other Information*, (Office of the Chief of Chaplains, May 1942) Original lithoprinted with Chaplain (Colonel) Robert Nay.

<sup>60</sup> Maurice W. Reynolds, *Practical Duties of An Army Chaplain*, (Chaplain, IV Corps, Unpublished, No Date) Original lithoprinted with Chaplain (Colonel) Robert Nay.

<sup>61</sup> U.S. Forces, European Theater. *Report on the Army Chaplain in the European Theater*, 21.

<sup>62</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *The Army Force Modernization Proponent System*, Army Regulation 5-22, 13.

<sup>63</sup> Snape, *God and Uncle Sam: Religion and America's Armed Forces during World War II*, 5.

<sup>64</sup> Headquarters, Army Service Force: *Officer Procurement During World War II*. Army Service Forces. Archives Section, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, 73, <http://cgsc.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p4013coll8/id/4443/rec/1> (accessed December 18, 2017).

<sup>65</sup> Gushwa, *The Best And Worst of Times: The United States Army Chaplaincy 1920-1945*, 99.

<sup>66</sup> Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units, 1917-46*, 89.

<sup>67</sup> Roy J Honeywell, *Chaplains of the United States Army*, (Washington, DC: Office, Chief of Chaplains, 1958), 237.

<sup>68</sup> Circular 212, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, December 2, 1940.

<sup>69</sup> Military Ordinariate, Circular Letter 33, (462 Madison Ave NY, NY, August 14, 1943).

<sup>70</sup> Circular Letter 230, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, July 15, 1941.

<sup>71</sup> Circular Letter 259, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, September 15, 1942.

<sup>72</sup> Army Service Forces, *The Chaplain Serves: Chaplain Activities, 1943*, (Washington D.C. Office of the Chief of Chaplains 1 March 1944), 9.

<sup>73</sup> Army Service Forces, *The Chaplain Serves: Chaplain Activities, 1943*, 23-25.

<sup>74</sup> Circular Letter 268, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, February 15, 1943.

<sup>75</sup> Army Service Forces, *The Chaplain Serves: Chaplain Activities, 1943*, 6.

<sup>76</sup> Gushwa, *The Best And Worst of Times: The United States Army Chaplaincy 1920-1945*, 101.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>79</sup> Army Forces Pacific, *History of Chaplains' Activities in the Pacific*, 400.

<sup>80</sup> Jorgensen, *The Service of Chaplains to Army Air Units, 1917-46*, 282-283.

<sup>81</sup> Circular Letter 262, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, November 2, 1942.

<sup>82</sup> Circular Letter 268, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, February 15, 1943.

<sup>83</sup> Circular Letter 281, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, February 1, 1944.

<sup>84</sup> Evan L. Bennett, ed., *Song and Service Book For Ship and Field*. (U.S. Government Printing Office Washington, 1942), 183.

<sup>85</sup> U.S. Forces, European Theater. *Report on the Army Chaplain in the European Theater*, 103.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>87</sup> Francis W. Fero and Charles W. Warren, eds., *Song and Service Book for Ship and Field with Music Transposed*. Unpublished. Original with Chaplain (Colonel) Robert Nay.

<sup>88</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *The Army Force Modernization Proponent System*, Army Regulation 5-22, 13.

<sup>89</sup> Gushwa, *The Best And Worst of Times: The United States Army Chaplaincy 1920-1945*, 113-114.

<sup>90</sup> *The Army Build Chapels*. Unpublished memento for the dedication of the first Army Cantonment Chapel, March 3, 1942.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Clifford M. Drury, *The History Of The Chaplains Corps, United States Navy, Volume 2 – 1939-1949*, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Wash D.C. nd), 8.

<sup>93</sup> Circular Letter 249, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, April 15, 1942.

<sup>94</sup> Circular Letter 272, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, May 1, 1943.

<sup>95</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *The Army Force Modernization Proponent System*, Army Regulation 5-22, 13.

<sup>96</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *Chaplains*, Army Regulation 60-5, *Chaplains*, (Washington, DC: War Department, February 20, 1941), para 4.d.

- <sup>97</sup> Circular Letter 108, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, March 15, 1944
- <sup>98</sup> Circular Letter 284, Office of the Chief of Chaplains, May 1, 1944.
- <sup>99</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *The Chaplain*, Technical Manual 16-205, (Washington, DC: War Department, 5 July 1944), IX. 40.
- <sup>100</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *The Chaplain*, Technical Manual 16-205 (Washington, DC: War Department, June 1947), para 65.
- <sup>101</sup> Robert Chapman, *Tell It to the Chaplain* (Exposition Press, New York, 1952), 1.
- <sup>102</sup> U.S. Department of the Army, *The Chaplain*, Field Manual 16-5, (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, January 1952), 45.
- <sup>103</sup> 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), 41.
- <sup>104</sup> Larry A. Walker, ed., Department of the Army, *The Army Chaplaincy: Professional Bulletin Of The Unit Ministry Team*, PB 16-00-1, (Department of the Army, Summer-Fall 1999): 58-91.
- <sup>105</sup> Department of the Army, *Transforming The US Army Chaplain Corps for the Modular Army*, TRADOC Pamphlet 525-1-05 Draft v.13, (Dept of the Army, TRADOC, Fort Monroe, VA, No Date, estimated date 2000), 1-37.
- <sup>106</sup> Memorandum from OCCH to ASCC Chaplains, Subject: Establishment of Policy Concerning Structure and Functioning of Chaplaincy Participation in Process Integration Concept (PIC), (Department of the Army, OCCH, January 9, 2012).
- <sup>107</sup> Pamela Wilson, ed., *The "Fifty-Six Mike"*, (IMCOM Religious Support Office, Volume 1, Issue 1, January 2014-Volume 10, October 2014).
- <sup>108</sup> Department of the Army, *Commanders and Staff Organization and Operations*, Field Manual 6-0, Change 2, (Department of the Army, May 2014), para 16-43.
- <sup>109</sup> U.S. War Department, *For God and Country*.
- <sup>110</sup> Ben Machan and Hy Zaret, *Soldiers of God: Official Chaplains' March*, Hit Kit, (Remick Music Corporation, NY, 1943).
- <sup>111</sup> Ben Machan and Hy Zaret, *Soldiers of God: Official Chaplains' March*, (Remick Music Corporation, NY, 1943).
- <sup>112</sup> U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Joint Planning*, Joint Publication 5-0 (Washington, DC: U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, June 16, 2017), IV-7.