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Ministry in Austerity

How Navy Chaplains Minister and Lead in Amphibious Warfare

By
Brady A. Rentz

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of Covenant Theological Seminary
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Ministry.

Saint Louis, Missouri

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Dr. Glen E. Harris Jr.
Faculty Advisor _____

Dr. Mike Higgins
Second Reader _____

Dr. Joel D. Hathaway
Director of DMin Program _____

Abstract

For the United States Navy Chaplain Corps, four core capabilities exist; provide, facilitate, care and advise. These core capabilities have been well developed by chaplains through years of seminary, pastoral experience and the rigors of military chaplaincy. However, when chaplains are assigned to operational commands within the United States Navy and United States Marine Corps there is little training or even professional standards on how chaplains should perform these core capabilities in amphibious warfare. The history of American military chaplaincy reflects this same ambiguity. However, historical literature as well as first-hand accounts examining the role of chaplains in the Pacific during WWII provide promising models for the praxis of a Navy chaplain's ministry for a future conflict occurring in an archipelago. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to understand how Navy chaplains prepare and lead combatants for amphibious warfare using the experiences and insights of Navy Chaplains to identify the principles, execution, challenges and assessment of ministry in amphibious warfare.

Four research questions guided this study: (1) How do Navy chaplains describe combatant's preparation before amphibious warfare? (2) What elements of ministry do Navy chaplains exercise to assist Marines and Sailors in preparation for amphibious warfare? (3) How do Navy chaplains describe how corporate worship builds spiritual resilience prior to amphibious warfare? And, (4) How do Navy chaplains exercise leadership in preparation for amphibious warfare?

The study utilized a qualitative design using semi-structured interviews with six seasoned Navy chaplains with a wide breadth of experience ministering in the United States Navy. The data was analyzed using the constant comparative method.

The findings of this study were first that the core competencies of the Navy Chaplain Corps provided a basic model of ministry. In executing their ministry to combatants three common principles were revealed: presence, reconciliation and worship. Second, Navy chaplains possessed clear understanding of the military mission enabling them to deliver care in austere circumstances. Often this was at their own expense of spiritual, mental and physical health. Finally, Navy chaplains possessed a subjective view of leadership but each possessed a strong personal conviction to exercise ethical and moral leadership within their commands.

This study provided three primary conclusions about preparing and leading combatants in amphibious warfare. First, chaplains should be oriented to the ministry models exercised by Navy chaplains in the PAC theatre of WWII. Second, further in-depth training based on the ministry models of the PAC theatre should be implemented for deploying chaplains. Third, chaplains should be adequately equipped to lead and minister in an environment inclusive of protracted trauma and death. Equipping chaplains for this environment should occur both on the personal, professional and organizational levels.

To all those who answered the call to shepherd God's flock.

By patient, sympathetic labors with the crew, day in and day out, through many a night, every chaplain I know contributed immeasurably to the moral courage of our fighting men; none of this appears in statistics. Most of it, necessarily secret between pastor and confidant. It is for that toil, in the cause of both God and country, that I honor the chaplain most.

— Chester A. Nimitz, Fleet Admiral,
USN.

Contents

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Abbreviations

AOR	Area of Operations
ATL	Atlantic Ocean
COMINCH	Commander In Chief
COS	Chief of Staff
IJA	Imperial Japanese Army
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy
KIA	Killed in Action
LPD	Littoral Platform Dock
MCRD	Marine Corps Recruit Depot
MCE	Major Command Element
NT	New Testament
OEF	Operation Enduring Freedom
OIF	Operation Iraqi Freedom
OT	Old Testament
PAC	Pacific Ocean
PCA	Presbyterian Church in America
POTUS	President of the United States
PRCC	Presbyterian Reformed Commission on Chaplaincy
USA	United States of America
USAF	United States Air Force
USCG	United States Coast Guard
USMC	United States Marine Corps

USN	United States Navy
USNR	United States Navy Reserve
USN CHC	United States Navy Chaplain Corps

Chapter 1

Introduction

Chaplains have been serving in the United States Navy (USN) since its founding in 1775. As the USN has grown and modernized, chaplains have served in multiple communities within the "sea services," including the United States Marine Corps (USMC). Wherever the USN and USMC have been needed, chaplains have been imbedded alongside sailors and Marines.

Between 1941 and 1945, the Unites States of America entered a two-front war with the Axis powers. The USN conducted operations around the world, with the concentration of forces across the Atlantic Ocean (ATL) and the Pacific Ocean (PAC). Due to its vast nature, the PAC theatre was considered "naval territory," with a continued focus there for nearly forty years. "Since 1909, the 'Pacific Problem' had been an important object of study, premised upon the Navy's need to re-take the Philippines after a Japanese attack."[1] To meet an enemy on the foreign shores of the PAC islands, the USN and USMC would do the heavy lifting on the path to victory. Amphibious operations were conducted across dozens of islands, delivering sailors, Marines, and material to previously unheard-of lands. USN chaplains served in every amphibious assault of the PAC campaign,[2] but within that operational tempo, few narratives remain of their ministry.

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[1] Hornfischer, *The Fleet at Flood Tide*. 4.

[2]Drury, *The History of the U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps*, 109.

For any military force, amphibious warfare requires specific strategy and tactics, involving complicated levels of logistical planning and coordination of forces. Speller and Tuck give a clear summary of these complications:

> An amphibious operation involves the projection of a military force from the sea onto a hostile, or potentially hostile, shore. It usually is suggested that there are four general types of amphibious operations – assault, raid, withdrawal, and demonstration. The need to land military forces on a hostile shore is a defining characteristic and sets amphibious warfare apart.[3]

For the USN, amphibious warfare is an integrated exercise between surface fleet ships and the USMC. In short, the USN gets the USMC where it needs to go to fight. Within this type of warfare, USN chaplains serve Marines before and after landings. Despite the complexity of the landings, the level of casualties on the landing beach, or a long engagement on the island, through ministry and leadership USN chaplains continue their appointed rounds.[4] Unfortunately, current chaplains in the sea services have little access to the historical ministry models and documented leadership examples of this era.

The USN and USMC are changing. Following an almost two-decade long engagement in the Middle East, the nation's interests are turning again to the PAC. As before, the USN and USMC are leading the change of focus and military tactics. "The Marine Corps is redesigning the 2030 force for naval expeditionary warfare in actively contested spaces, fully aligning the service with the direction of the National Defense Strategy."[5]

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[3] Speller, *Amphibious Warfare*, 1.

[4] Drury, *The History of the U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps*, 41.

[5] Eckstein, "New Marine Corps Cuts Will Slash All Tanks, Many Heavy Weapons As Focus Shifts to Lighter, Littoral Forces." *USNI News*, March 23, 2020.

Both the USN and the USMC are focusing on China's expansion policy and strategies.[6] Using complicated political, military, and economic initiatives, China has gained control of islands, nations, and shipping channels throughout the PAC.

> Beijing has set out expansive territorial claims in its "nine-dash line," which lays claim to virtually all the South China Sea, and advanced them through an integrated, whole-of-government approach, including the use of aggressive diplomacy and quasi-military as well as military forces.[7]

China's military is only one element of PAC expansion in the South China Sea. A "whole-of-government approach" facilitates financial allocation, infrastructure projects, trade, land ownership, and development in addition to tourism and citizen relocation to establish an unofficial presence. Chinese military forces secure these interests.

Chaplains are directly impacted in the changes of the USN and the USMC. Reorganization is occurring within and across combatant commands, and the USN Chaplain Corps (CHC) leadership is managing who can best serve where within the new structure. Skill set, adaptability, and performance are all part of the assignment equation. Regardless of who is sent, they will be expected to exercise four core competencies specified by the USN CHC: provide, facilitate, care, and advise. Chaplains assigned to a combatant unit within the new fighting strategy will minister in a liminal space, edifying and preparing combatants for the next amphibious warfare battle. As is true for the historical gaps, a current knowledge gap exists for chaplains preparing to enter the PAC theatre throughout the PAC campaign.

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[6] Athey, "'Nothing off the Table' for Navy Integration as Corps Preps for China Faceoff, Commandant Says."

[7] Santoro, "Beijing's South China Sea Aggression Is a Warning to Taiwan."

The Context of Provision

The USN has established four core competencies for all chaplains: provide, facilitate, care, and advise. Regardless of faith background, all chaplains serving in the USN perform these core competencies. Historically, the provision of religious services has been a hallmark of chaplains across all branches of the sea service (USN, USMC, United States Coast Guard USCG). USN chaplains have led worship services, counseled on the decks of ships, sandy shores, jungles, and desert plains.[8] For a USN ship, USMC infantry battalion, or a USCG cutter, the chaplain's ministry often provides the momentary connection with God's presence. Such moments occur because a chaplain is personally present. Only a few biographical narratives exist from the WWII PAC theatre illustrating chaplain ministry.

During the PAC island campaigns of WWII (1942-1945), USN chaplains were assigned to USN ships and USMC units,[9] and chaplains provided ministry in the midst of chaos. Historically, these campaigns provided details of the environment, geography, and conflict in which chaplains exercised ministry and leadership. One battle demonstrates the context. Guadalcanal (Aug. 1942 - Feb. 1943), as a location and an amphibious operation, provided the USN and USMC with early lessons for the entire PAC campaign. Three branches of the military were involved: USN, USMC, and United States Army (USA), which included the Army Air Corps. Both the USN and USMC provided the initial embarking, landing, and attack elements. Following the securing of the shore zones, the USA conducted amphibious operations for the inland phases of the battle.

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[8] Drury, *The History of the U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps*, 278.

[9] Drury, 110-145.

Within all three branches, chaplains conducted corporate worship services to build spiritual resilience and provide momentary comfort through the homesick holidays and the trauma of heavy casualties. Future operations in the PAC theatre will require similar ministries and an evolving ministry model for amphibious operations.

Guadalcanal (August 7, 1942 – February 9, 1943)

Following the attack on Pearl Harbor and the successful defense of Midway Island, the leaders of the US military decided upon an offensive course of action against the Japanese Empire. Located in the Solomon Island chain, Guadalcanal became the first strategic target of the PAC island offensive. The amphibious operation, code named "Watchtower," began on August 7, 1942 and lasted until February 9, 1943. Over 60,000 men were involved in the operation. By the end of the battle, the Allied forces, mostly USMC, had 1,600 killed in action (KIA) and 4,200 wounded.[10] The Japanese suffered 14,800 KIA or missing, 9,000 died of disease, and approximately 1,000 were taken prisoner.[11] In relation to contemporary USMC amphibious warfare doctrine, Guadalcanal encompassed lessons learned for USN and USMC. The context illustrates three characteristics of USN chaplain ministry.

First, military forces experienced environmental challenges from the onset. "The rains transformed trails into mires, and the island's streams and rivers into raging

[10] Merillat, *Guadalcanal Remembered*, 284.

[11] Merillat, 285.

torrents."[12] The environmental aspects of the island would be a daily companion for logistical and strategic planners.

Second, the natural geography worsened the difficulties of the campaign. "On the island's northern side, the mountains' tumbled down foothills and broken coral ridges were covered with four-foot tall kunai grass. Dense jungle growth clogged the stifling hot valleys and the ravines between them."[13] From a ship, the island was green and peaceful. Once on shore and moving through the natural landscape, however, the assaulting force ran into a daunting battlefield. The initial amphibious assault consisted of operations on a flat twenty-mile long strip of level ground. Thick jungle lay just inland from the beaches, and after their landing, what was green and peaceful turned thick and unyielding.

Third, the US and its allies were conducting an offensive operation. The island's defenses were well established by an experienced and ideologically hardened enemy. "The Japanese had constructed dugouts and embrasures and had placed their machine guns carefully to create interlocking fields of fire. The Japanese defenses were based upon keeping the enemy below them."[14] American forces were facing an enemy that did not adhere to Western philosophy or military tactics. For the Japanese, the individual was a servant of the Emperor, and the Emperor held the status of deity. Dying was a patriotic and highly rewarding sacrifice.

In time, the victory at Guadalcanal would be a pivotal success for US forces. It ceased the imperialistic expansion of the Japanese Empire. The island itself provided the

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[12] Wheelan, *Midnight in the Pacific*, 5.

[13] Wheelan, 8.

[14] Hoyt, *Guadalcanal*, 52.

US military, along with the US political establishment, a "win." This success would bring three more years of amphibious warfare with the ultimate goal of invading Japan.[15]

Chaplains on Guadalcanal and the PAC Campaign

During the battle, USN chaplains were embedded with fighting units from start to finish. They endured the same hardships as those they served. To cite one experience of a USN chaplain: "During one Japanese bombing raid on Guadalcanal, his field communion set was completely destroyed, except for fragments of two glass cups. Although [Mackorrell] grieved the loss of his altar set, he knew he was fortunate to be alive."[16] Chaplains were present during the constant air attacks, artillery bombardments, and frontal assaults of the enemy. Through all of the aspects of the amphibious campaign, they continued their duties as pastors and provided ministry and leadership wherever possible. "On this day, the infantry officer observed that the 30-year-old chaplain was where his men needed him and had always been there since the day we landed."[17] The majority of chaplains during the amphibious campaigns of the PAC theatre were Protestant or Catholic, representing the religious demographic of the US.

As US forces look to the PAC once again, chaplains must prepare, building a new framework for ministry. The amphibious warfare of the future will require chaplains to adapt quickly to whenever and wherever they find themselves ministering. To begin,

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[15]Lee, *Victory at Guadalcanal*, 252.

[16] Dorsett, *Serving God and Country: United States Military Chaplains in WWII*, 82.

[17] Dorsett, 94.

chaplains need to know how chaplains led in and through ministry in a similar theatre with similar challenges.

Preparing for Amphibious Warfare

For the individual Marine, preparation for amphibious warfare encompasses multiple facets. A Marine will train with his unit for a one-year cycle working up to the deployment date. This training consists of land, sea, and air aspects that provide mental, physical, and strategic preparations for the particular area of operations (AOR). USN chaplains embedded with USMC units also follow this training cycle. Chaplains provide both leadership and ministry in the "field" on multiple occasions before deployment. Similar to previous historical examples, chaplain ministry includes prayer, sermons, hymns, counseling, and advisement regardless of location or environment.

A USN chaplain-led corporate worship service is only one aspect of military ministry. Chaplains lead when they make space for a small group of Christians to gather for worship each week. The announcement of a worship service on a ship or in an area close to the fight reminds soldiers that God knows where people are and what they are going through. It often follows an order of worship. Four elements are consistent for USN chaplain worship services, prayer, sermons, hymns, and communion.[18] All four of these contain a faith-based element that builds spiritual resilience for warriors and those supporting them. Though the chaplains of the PAC theatre campaign of WWII did not use the term "spiritual resilience," evidence of this focus may be read in the accounts of

[18] Drury, *The History of the U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps*, 149.

those served by them. The challenge for current chaplains is to build a ministry model that can build spiritual resilience as in the WWII PAC theatre.

For Protestant chaplains, designated worship times typically focus on the Reformed pattern of regular Lord's Day worship. This pattern includes the preaching of the Word. The USN does not designate the details for the provision of services. But if USN chaplains are holding services in any context on Sunday, they will inevitably have some form of sermon. Preaching provides biblical adherence (Mark 16:15, Acts 5:42, Acts 8:4) and opportunity for the Spirit to speak truth to many hearts. Regardless of the context, hearts can be comforted, and souls can be strengthened for the unknown that lies ahead.

Prayer also provides a space to hear God and comfort souls. Chaplains pray in many different settings. Sometimes these prayers are for entire ships, such as in evening prayer, or entire commands, as for a retirement ceremony. Often, the chaplain's prayer is corporate before an expected engagement or stressful operation. But prayer in corporate worship strengthens the faithful and even the unbeliever. As a pastor, the chaplain is praying for his "flock," and the Holy Spirit is interceding for those present.[19]

Chaplains also use hymns to lift spirits. On the deck of a ship during an early morning service, hope can be provided through hymns. For Marines and sailors alike, singing as a group provides a community connection not often present in military settings. Hymns take minds off the mundane tasks or experiences of the present and focus on something greater than themselves. Hymns can also motivate others to thrive in difficult circumstances.

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[19] *Romans 8:26-27*.

The sacrament of Holy Communion provides the participant an element of God's grace. When administered in a corporate setting, the Lord's Supper provides a group of disciples a chance to remember what Christ has done for them. It provides a connection to their Savior, beliefs, home church, and the hope that they are not abandoned.

Corporate worship services thus prepare the Marine or sailor for battle, suffering, and even death. As in the PAC island campaign of WWII, the chaplain has the unique position of being the only individual that can provide corporate worship with these elements. But chaplains today do not have regular access to the order of worship or elements of corporate services to build upon. In addition, they do not have regular access to examples of leadership in and through ministry. Historical examples are needed to prepare chaplains for future service in the PAC theatre since no training teaches provision, facilitation, caring, advising, or leadership. This skill set is assumed upon appointment. Given the changing focus of the USN and the pressures of amphibious warfare, chaplains need guidance and wisdom as these pressures come to bear on them and those they serve.

Purpose Statement

Since the inception of the USN and USMC, USN chaplains have led corporate worship services and other spiritual initiatives in the context of amphibious warfare. Amphibious warfare is the specialty of the USN and USMC, and the PAC theatre campaign provides strategic lessons for the US military. The purpose of this study is to explore how USN chaplains conduct ministry and leadership to help prepare combatants for amphibious warfare.

Research Questions

The following questions guided the qualitative research:

1. How do USN chaplains describe combatants' preparation before amphibious warfare?
    a. In what ways do individuals and leaders prepare for amphibious warfare?
2. What elements of ministry do USN chaplains exercise to assist Marines and Sailors in preparation for amphibious warfare?
    a. What ministry activities were conducted to prepare for the unknown and/or traumatic experiences?
    b. What ministry activities were conducted in consideration of known factors within the contingency environment?
3. How do USN chaplains describe how corporate worship builds spiritual resilience prior to amphibious warfare?
    a. What are various orders of worship they have used in embarkation, contingency and post-contingency?
    b. How was individual and command resiliency affected through their ministry?
4. How do USN chaplains exercise leadership in preparation for amphibious warfare?
    a. Do they prescribe to a particular leadership framework or theory?
    b. In what ways did they exercise leadership throughout their command pre- and post-deployment?

Significance of the Study

USN chaplains serving at sea and with USMC commands are adapting to active, real world exercises simulating future conflict by amphibious warfare. USN chaplains are called upon to provide ministry and leadership at sea. Just as with the chaplains providing services before Guadalcanal, the unknown is always at the forefront of modern-day exercises and strategic planning. Chaplains must be ready to provide ministry and leadership throughout all stages of amphibious warfare. For the young Marine who thinks along secular lines or to the most obedient Christian, chaplains alone can offer the knowledge and hope of God in dark settings. Paul's direction to Timothy was that "supplications, prayers and thanksgivings be made for all people."[20] A chaplain has this opportunity for those who may be called to give their lives for their country.

Significance to Chaplains

Every USN chaplain is endorsed by a faith group. For example, a teaching elder of the Presbyterian Church of America (PCA) receives a calling to serve as a military chaplain. As a pastor they have met all requirements for ordination in the PCA. Now, they must meet the USN criteria to be appointed as an officer and serve as a chaplain. The USN is primarily concerned with newly appointed officers executing their roles as a chaplain professionally and legally. By examining the ministry and leadership of chaplains, this study will seek to fill a portion of the void in the literature.

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[20] *1 Timothy 2:1*.

Significance to the Church

Chaplains have been present in the military not because of strategic need but because of the church. Though Protestants dominate their ranks, chaplains represent many beliefs across all branches and communities and support all warfighters.

> The enlisted have religious needs too, and it is the chaplain's job to make sure these needs are met. Whether the need is for pastoral counseling, opportunities to worship, the military accoutrements of religious practice, or faith-based exemptions from military demands, chaplains are essential in negotiating the outcomes between the individual's right to free exercise of religion and the military's mission.[21]

When the nation has called, churches have sent their members into the military. They have sent their pastors to be chaplains to minister to the military. They have enlisted to serve in an environment where leadership in the "unknown" is necessary. Pictures, notes, and stories of the chaplain leading worship before battles provides comfort and edification for the church's members. The aim of this study is to provide the church with an historical foundation of chaplain ministry and leadership. Secondarily, as secular criticism of military chaplains continues, this study will show the positive impact of chaplain ministry and leadership upon spiritual resilience and the preparation of combatants for amphibious warfare.

Significance to the Military

Paul writes to the church in Corinth, "Therefore, we are ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us. We implore you on behalf of Christ to be reconciled

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[21] Hansen, *Military Chaplains and Religious Diversity*, 3.

to God."[22] In amphibious warfare, Christian chaplains have the imperative to be ambassadors for Christ. Through corporate worship, chaplains can provide a religious experience, comfort, and hope that transcends circumstances, thereby providing strength to the combatant. Reflecting on the battle of Guadalcanal, USMC General A.A. Vandegrift stated he was "always impressed with the chaplains that wanted to be on the front lines. I assume that that was as one put it at the time: that is where the fighting man needs God most – and that's where some of them know him for the first time."[23] Before, during, and following military operations, chaplains have provided an opportunity for reconciliation with God through corporate worship. This study will provide further edification of chaplains leading and ministering in preparation for amphibious warfare.

If history serves true, the US will be involved in another amphibious operation. The nation will call upon its pastors to serve those going into the fight. Through the combination of historical narrative and contemporary application, current chaplains may receive training modules as a result of this research. This training will center upon the need for leadership principles as well as competent ministry throughout amphibious operations to build the spiritual resilience of combatants.

Definition of Terms

In this study, key terms are defined as follows:

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[22] *2 Corinthians 5:20*.

[23] Wukovits, *Soldiers of a Different Cloth, Notre Dame Chaplains in WWII*, 134.

Amphibious Warfare – Defined by Nasca, this is an offensive operation in which naval vessels land and support the movement of ground forces from ship to shore.[24]

Catholic – Simply, a member of a Catholic church (e.g. Roman Catholic).

Chaplain – A clergyman officially attached to a branch of the military.

Denomination – A religious group that includes many local churches. For the purpose of this study, these are denominations of US service members.

Pastoral Theology – Dr. Daniel Akin describes this term as an established theological framework for ministry that is biblically derived, historically informed, doctrinally sound, missionally engaged, philosophically deliberate, and contextually relevant.[25]

Prayer – A dialogue between a person and God.

Protestant – A member or follower of a Christian church that follows the tenants of the Reformation and is separate from the Roman Catholic Church.

Sacraments – A religious rite or ceremony regarded as an outward sign of an inward, spiritual grace.[26]

Worship – The Holman Bible Dictionary refers to this term being "used to refer to the act or action associated with attributing honor, reverence, or worth to that which is considered to be divine by religious adherents. Christian worship is often defined as the ascription of worth or honor to the triune God."[27]

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[24] Nasca, *The Emergence of American Amphibious Warfare*, 23.

[25] Akin, *Pastoral Theology*, 32.

[26] *Holman Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, 987.

[27] *Holman Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, 1189.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

The History of Military Chaplains in the WWII PAC Theatre

The US Strategy for the PAC Theatre

On December 8, 1941, at 11:30 a.m., 108 Japanese bombers, accompanied by eighty-four of the feared "Zero" fighter planes, bombed Clark Field sixty miles north of Manila. Along with Pearl Harbor, the Japanese high command had coordinated simultaneous attacks against military and civilian targets across the PAC theatre. General Douglas MacArthur commanded a force of 31,000 American troops, augmented by Filipino soldiers stationed across the Philippines. The wartime policy was "Europe First" to defend Great Britain and reclaim Europe from Nazi Germany. MacArthur could expect little or no emergency aid from the US and her allies following the initial air attack by the Japanese. On December 22, two weeks after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the Japanese landed 43,000 troops in the Lingayen Gulf located twelve miles north of Manila. By direct order of POTUS, MacArthur and his staff evacuated the Philippines leaving behind the American and Filipino forces. His promise to both the Filipino and American people was, "I shall return." Outnumbered and outmanned, the American forces would eventually surrender to the JIA resulting in the infamous Bataan Death March. It would also lead to MacArthur's amphibious assault plan to return to the Philippines and also liberate it and the PAC islands from a defeated Japan.

MacArthur, whose superior was General George Marshall, COS to the Army, was not alone in his planning. Admiral Ernest J. King (COMINCH USN) had delegated the

operational planning for the defeat of Japan to Admiral Chester Nimitz. King's desire was for a USN and USMC led fight and defeat of Japanese forces in the PAC. With the "Europe First" policy, all forces in the PAC theatre remained defensive and strategic until the summer of 1944. Then, at a planning conference, President Roosevelt met with both Admiral Nimitz and General MacArthur to discuss the "two-prong" strategy.[28] Admiral Nimitz proposed "island-hopping" across the PAC, skipping over the Philippines and establishing an invasion base on Formosa, now called Taiwan. From this point, they would attack and secure the Marshall and Solomon Islands thereby protecting supply routes to Australia and New Zealand. MacArthur's strategy was to invade New Guinea, then the retake the Philippines and lead an invasion of mainland Japan through China. POTUS was the ultimate decision maker and decided both plans were valid and feasible thus developing a "two-prong" strategy. One would be USN led while the other, USA. Both would require amphibious operations from beginning to end.

August 7, 1942 - Guadalcanal

Prior to the first amphibious operation by US forces, two naval battles occurred: the Battle of the Coral Sea on May 7-8, 1942 and the Battle of Midway on June 3-6, 1942. Although heavy losses resulted, both battles were successes for the US Navy. By neutralizing the eastward moving threat, US forces were able to focus on Japanese advances in the South Pacific. In March 1942, the US had relocated its Pacific Task Force (6814) to New Caledonia. From here, the USN and USMC would assemble a

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[28] Borneman, Walter R., *The Admirals: Nimitz, Halsey, Leahy and King - The Five Star Admirals Who Won the War At Sea.* (United States: Little, Brown, 2012).

19,000-man amphibious assault force for the invasion of Guadalcanal. Operation Watchtower would be set for the initial assaults on August 1. The First Marine Division would have five weeks to prepare for the operation, embarking July 22.

Richard Tregaskis was a newspaperman accompanying the Marines during the operation. On Sunday, July 26, he recorded in his diary, "There were services on the deck, facing a canvas backdrop on which a red flag was pinned."[29] The priest performing the service was Father Francis W. Kelly from PA. He was described as a "genial, smiling fellow with a faculty for plain talk."[30] That day he preached two sermons, one for Protestants and one for Catholics. His sermon topics included death, duty, and the impending landing on a beach with a violent enemy awaiting. As more ships gathered on the horizon, assembling a massive invasion force, Tregaskis noted the church services growing more crowded as the impending landing drew closer. Another priest that accompanied his ship noted, "This is the last Sunday for Communion and the straightening of souls."[31] Soon after, nineteen troop ships unloaded their Marines on the Guadalcanal beaches. Following the relatively peaceful landing, casualties began to mount quickly and the battle for Guadalcanal lasted six months.

Dorsett notes, "During the half-year of fighting on Guadalcanal, numerous chaplains distinguished themselves as they sought to bolster the faith and morale of men living in constant danger."[32] In addition to Father Reardon's shipboard work, he spent the

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[29] Richard Tregaskis, *Guadalcanal Diary*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (New York: Random House, 1943).

[30] Lyle Dorsett W., *Serving God and Country: United States Military Chaplains in WWII*, 1st ed., vol. 1, 1 vols., 1 1 (New York: Penguin Publishing, 2012).

[31] Tregaskis, *Guadalcanal Diary*.

[32] Dorsett, *Serving God and Country: United States Military Chaplains in WWII*.

majority of his time serving the wounded and dying men of the Fifth Regiment. Desiring to be on the front lines, he realized that the dying and wounded in the field hospital kept him on the island. Reardon spent four months on the beach where the Regimental Aid Station and Field Hospital were located.

Within the first few days of the operation, the IJN launched a counteroffensive. US forces were the offensive force surrounded by air, sea, and land forces of the IJN and IJA. For the 19,000 Marines and sailors who landed on the beach, daily air bombardment and strafing were regular. On November 13, IJN forces attacked both the patrolling and anchored amphibious ships off the coast. The IJN sunk six US ships with over 1,400 sailors lost in "Iron Bottom Sound." The effect left US forces on the island with limited supplies and no option of transport from the AOR. Additionally, IJA and IJN began landing forces on the other side of the island for the assault against US forces. The general assumption for US forces was they would never leave Guadalcanal.

Reardon began to consider the beach as his parish and built an altar out of empty ammunition boxes and a cross designed out of empty shell casings. Over the next eighty-five days, he did not change clothes, lost fifty pounds, rarely had a moment for private devotions, and suffered bouts of streptococcal infections, along with malaria. He continued to celebrate Mass until the day he was forcibly evacuated for exhaustion.

Reardon was not alone in his ministry in the contingent environment of Guadalcanal. Chaplain Glen Jones, a Baptist from Northern New England, was assigned to the First Marine Division on Guadalcanal. In one account, the Marines had just dug foxholes to prepare for air attack. Chaplain Jones sat on the edge of foxhole, read from

John 14, and delivered a sermon.[33] Chaplain Frederick Gehring served on Guadalcanal from September to February of 1942. After beginning a service one morning, a Japanese sniper fired two shots at the congregation. Gehring continued his service. A Marine lieutenant kneeling at the rear of the chapel quietly got up and walked out of the tent. A few minutes later Gehring heard a loud shot. Then he heard the sniper's body fall from the tree to the ground. He noted, "I let out a deep sigh and resumed."[34] On a separate occasion, Gehring would accompany a burial detail to one of the island's cemeteries. They took along a Japanese prisoner to assist with digging. A Zero targeted them and sprayed them with bullets. Gehring and his working party, along with the prisoner, jumped into one of the newly dug graves for cover. The Marines attempted to kill the prisoner, but Gehring managed to minister to them and calm them at the scene. His work prevented the killing of a prisoner and the effects thereof for the Marines.

Soon after this incident, Gehring was in one of Guadalcanal's most infamous battles: Bloody Ridge.[35] The primary operational goal for Operation Watchtower was the capture and expansion of Henderson airfield. The runway, located close to the shore, was surrounded by fields, hills, then mountains. Close to the field was a small hill that led to the jungle and flatland of the field. In early September, the JIA had landed 6,000 troops on the North and South ends of the island. Their goal was to attack the American forces from both sides, pushing them to the sea. The hardest fighting took place directly south of the airfield on a small hill. Colonel Merritt Edson led the Marines in the fight against the

[33] Dorsett, 81.

[34] Crosby, Donald F., *Battlefield Chaplains*, (Kansas: University Press, 1994), 45.

[35] Herbert Merillat, *Guadalcanal Remembered*, 1st ed. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1982), 1:306.

oncoming JIA forces. The majority of this battle occurred at night, as the JIA preferred. Gehring was asked if he would visit the Marines on Bloody Ridge. After arriving, Gehring held a service on the hood of his Jeep underneath a banyan tree. JIA artillery soon began to assault the ridge. Gehring and the major accompanying him "hugged the side of the ridge and did a lot of praying."[36] In a pause in the artillery, an enlisted man ran down the hill and informed Gehring of a direct hit on one of the Marines' positions. Gehring followed and discovered a five-man position had been hit by an artillery round. Two suffered fatal wounds, and three died instantly. All five men had just attended Gehring's service.

On Bloody Ridge and elsewhere, the Marines were subject to IJN bombardment, air raids, and nighttime attacks. Gehring noted the circumstances had turned the Marines into "raving, wild-eyed, shock cases." Crosby notes, "The deadly combination of frenzied fighting, blazing heat, torrential rains, mud, and dust seemed more than any of the men could bear."[37] Yet, American forces would slowly win the battle for Guadalcanal.

In February 1943, the IJA withdrew 13,000 soldiers from the island solidifying the American victory.[38] A total of sixteen chaplains went ashore during the initial invasion of Guadalcanal.[39] An undocumented number ministered during the seven-month battle for the island. Chaplains remembered the level of piety they witnessed from their

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[36] Crosby, Donald F., *Battlefield Chaplains*, 46.

[37]Crosby, Donald F., *Battlefield Chaplains,* 47.

[38] American casualties, primarily USMC, were 7,100 dead and 7,789 wounded. IJA casualties were 19,200 dead with 1,000 captured.

[39] Clifford, Merrill Drury, *The History of the U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps*, 1st ed., vol. 2, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948), 78.

fighting comrades. Reardon noted, "It was the presence of death that got to the men."[40] Multiple accounts note its sobering effect on the young troops.

The American victory at Guadalcanal marked a turning point in the war with Japan. Before the battle, IJA forces had conquered Manchuria, most of China, Southeast Asia, and the South Pacific. Guadalcanal was their first loss in their attempt to liberate Asia from western imperialism.

May 27, 1944 – Biak

In his advance toward the Philippines, General MacArthur began his amphibious assault near the large island of New Guinea. Biak Island is located off the northwestern coast of the main island, 1,200 miles west of Guadalcanal, and was a strategic location for Japanese troops as they constructed air fields and supply depots.[41] MacArthur's war planning team initially believed Biak to be defended by an IJA force of 2,000, requiring a one-week operation to dislodge their positions. In reality, 3,000 JIA personnel were supported on the island with tanks, aircraft, and IJA forces located in the vicinity. The battle for Biak would last until August 17, resulting in 4,700 IJA killed and an unknown number wounded.[42] American losses, primarily USA, would total 438 KIA, with 2,136 wounded and 7,238 non-battle casualties.[43] Lieutenant General Robert Eichelberger, commanding the operation, would note, *"*A form of warfare was encountered that

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[40] Crosby, Donald F., *Battlefield Chaplains*, 56.

[41] The IJA constructed supply depots in Sarmi, approximately 180 miles southeast of Biak.

[42] The battle for New Guinea would be the longest battle in the PAC theatre lasting two and a half years.

[43] Morison, Samuel Eliot, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II* (Urbana: Illinois. University of Illinois Press, 2001), 201.

required experimentation, trial and error, and all of our available weapons before the mission could be encountered."[44] USA forces experienced heavy fighting, extreme heat, and unfriendly terrain, contributing to fatigue and skepticism of operational success.

Due to the length and fierceness of the battle for Biak, chaplains who served did so at the risk of their lives. The initial troop landings proceeded without conflict. However, in reality, in their planning for the island's defense, the IJA had conceded the beaches to the invading forces and concealed themselves through both jungle and an interconnected honeycomb of caves. USA forces quickly deteriorated into chaos with MacArthur's standing order of advancement.[45] Crosby notes, *"*Few battles in the PAC theatre tested the stamina and endurance of the chaplain as the struggle for tiny Biak." [46] One account notes a chaplain working in a field hospital attended to wounded and medical staff as they worked twenty-four hours a day for over two weeks. IJA bombers targeted the island and the position of the field hospital so often that they no longer paused in their work when the air raid sirens sounded. On one day, the chaplain interred twenty-three bodies in one grave. After two weeks of non-stop care and ministry he had acquired a particular skill: *"*I can now take the scattered parts of the body and put them together and go for dinner without the slightest hesitation."[47] The island of Biak is smaller than the state of Rhode Island, and after almost four months of fighting, it would finally be conquered by American and allied forces.

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[44] Morison, Samuel Eliot, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II* (Urbana: Illinois. University of Illinois Press, 2001), 202.

[45] Crosby, Donald F., *Battlefield Chaplains*, 64.

[46]Crosby, Donald F., 64.

[47]Crosby, Donald F., 65.

January 31, 1944, - The Gilbert, Marshall, and Marianas Island Campaigns

Crosby details Admiral Nimitz describing his strategy as *"*climbing up the ladder to Tokyo."[48] For Nimitz, warfare with the Japanese had proven three things. First, the Japanese were not invincible. The Battle for Guadalcanal proved they could be defeated. Second, if Japan was going to be stopped, it would require a "costly war of attrition"[49] to liberate their conquered territories. Guadalcanal had cost the Marine Corps 7,100 dead and 7,789 wounded. At the same time, MacArthur's New Guinea campaign casualties were quickly mounting. The Japanese had proven they were willing to fight to the death rather than surrender. Guadalcanal had cost the Japanese 19,200 deaths. On one single night of combat they lost 1,700 men in a suicide (bonsai) charge. With these details in real time, Nimitz and his leadership planned the next step in their strategy: the Gilbert Islands. Both the USN and USMC would lead the charge, and one battle would be forged into USMC history.

The Battle of Tarawa

The Tarawa Atoll sits 2,800 miles north of Australia within the Gilbert Island chain. It is home to the capital Kiribati and, in the summer of 1943, its most populated island. Robert Sherrod, a war correspondent in the Pacific, notes that when Tarawa began, US forces were already engaged in four combat theatres in the PAC: the South

[48] Dorsett, *Serving God and Country: United States Military Chaplains in WWII*, 83.

[49] Dorsett, 84.

Pacific, China, New Guinea, and the Aleutian Islands.[50] Historically, Tarawa is noted as one of the most violent battles in the history of the USMC. The battle itself lasted only seventy-four hours, and yet by the time it ended, 1,085 Americans died, along with 4,700 Japanese and over 8,000 total casualties. Crosby states, *"*Put another way, one can say that the battle cost 194 lives per acre, of which 34 per acre were Americans."[51] The Tarawa Atoll consists of forty-seven islands, but the majority of the fighting took place on one 291-acre island named Betio.

For Operation Galvanic, the USN had assembled its largest fleet to date, 200 vessels. The force split in two, with the USN attacking Makin Island and the USMC Tarawa. For four days, chaplains attended anxious Marines and sailors aboard the convoy. Chaplain Frank Kelly, who also served on Guadalcanal, noted that morale remained high for most of the voyage. Some Marines maintained an arrogant posture toward the Japanese, hoping a fight would occur. Others remained concerned the entire operation was a hoax.[52] As the ships grew closer to the target, the general climate grew more morose. Marines and sailors alike became more interested in religion, and services were held wherever and as frequently as possible, with record attendance. Chaplain Kelly remembered men seeking him for confession around the clock. On board with Kelly was Chaplain Malcolm J. MacQueen. Though a Protestant chaplain (Northern Baptist), he discovered the barriers that kept Marines and sailors of other denominations were removed due the tension of the moment. Chaplain Kelly's battalion was 73 percent

[50] Sherrod, Robert, *The Battle of Tarawa* (New York: Skyshore Publishing, 2013), 1.

[51] Crosby, Donald F., *Battlefield Chaplains*, 68.

[52] Crosby, Donald F., 70.

Protestant, and although he was Roman Catholic, the men of his battalion did not show hesitation in seeking him for pastoral care. Robert Sherrod, on the ship with both chaplains, noted that Chaplain Kelly became "as popular with the Protestants as McQueen was with the Catholics," and "denominational distinctions did not mean much to men about to offer up their lives."[53] But the time for pastoral ministry on board the ship would soon end.

At 4:00 a.m. on Saturday, November 20, Marines clambered down cargo nets to amphibious assault vehicles awaiting departure. At 6:00 a.m., the USN guns opened up on the island defenses. Shelling roared overhead while the Marines made their way to the landing point. At 9:00 a.m., the initial landing craft reached the shore. The remainder of the force would not have the same experience. Smaller craft crashed into the coral reef, becoming easy targets for the IJA defenses. Pools of blood began to gather in the lagoons as Marines struggled through the shoulder high water, some falling into pools and drowning, Chaplain Douglas Vernon (Presbyterian) was the first chaplain to reach the shore. He would soon be followed by four more: Joseph Wieber (Catholic), John V. Loughlin (Protestant), and W. Wyeth Willard (Baptist). Chaplain Wieber embarked on a small transport ship during the first assault wave. After artillery hit his vessel, killing all other officers, he became the highest-ranking officer on board. Weiber knew the Chaplain Corps regulation not allowing him to lead men into battle. The next ranking Marine took command, seeking his guidance. Wieber notes, *"*We considered wading in, but decided it was too far and waited for another tractor. That little wait probably saved our lives. We were so far from the shore, wading across to the lagoon would have meant certain death

[53] Sherrod, *The Battle of Tarawa*, 54.

by drowning or annihilation by artillery fire."[54] When Chaplain Loughlin's craft became disabled, he and the medical staff accompanying him turned it into a makeshift hospital to attend to the wounded Marines floating in the water around them. For twenty-four hours, he and the staff attended to the wounded until all supplies were exhausted. They decided to move onto the beach. Chaplain Loughlin was the only one to make it ashore. Once on shore, he ministered to the wounded and dying. He began to carry dead Marines and parts of Marines into one place. Chaplain Kelly and his assistant made it as far as a pier that stretched 200 yards into the lagoon. Running down the pier they discovered the IJA had pre-sighted it and began firing on them. They dove into the water and made it ashore to the regimental headquarters. He and the regimental surgeon began interring the bodies of dead Marines. Eventually, they set up a cemetery behind the post where Marines brought their fellow dead and covered them with ponchos. Chaplain Joseph Wieber noted, *"*If God had not given me His special protection, I would have been wounded or killed at least a dozen times."[55] The fight for Tarawa lasted two more days.

On the third day of battle, American reinforcements arrived, and the IJA staged the first of three counterattacks. By November 23, the Japanese forces had exhausted all supplies and options. Out of a force of 4,900, only 17 of the 500 IJA members left on the island chose to surrender. Marine losses totaled 1,085 killed, with 2,233 wounded, for a total casualty rate of 17 percent. As Crosby notes, "Chaplains who were part of the battle,

[54] Drury, *The History of the U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps*, 186.

[55] Crosby, Donald F., 71.

however, saw the figures not as mere casualty statistics, but as a testament to the heroic and awesome men they had come to know so well."[56]

Following the battle, the chaplains' work continued. Due to the humidity and heat, the dead began to decompose. Marines bulldozed mass graves for the dead IJA while burying each Marine individually. Hundreds of bodies lay stacked along the beaches and sand dunes. Decaying corpses were pulled from holes with wire and rope then slid onto stretchers. After the burial crews carried the bodies to the permanent cemetery, the chaplains took over. Each Marine and sailor received proper identification, and each received a committal service. Due to their relationships with the Marines, many chaplains wrote direct correspondence to the surviving family members. At the same time, chaplains also assisted with the wounded in field hospitals and onboard ships offshore. Eventually, three chaplains were awarded the Legion of Merit for their service during the battle of Tarawa.[57]

The Battle of Saipan

The battle for the island of Saipan (Operation Forager) lasted from June 16 until July 9, 1944. The invasion fleet departed Pearl Harbor, Hawaii on June 5, one day before Operation Overlord, the invasion of Normandy. Admiral Nagumo, Commander of the Japanese Pacific Fleet, was stationed on the island of Saipan. Nagumo had personally led the attack against Pearl Harbor wiping out the US PAC Fleet. Admiral Spruance,

[56] Crosby, Donald F., 75.

[57] The Legion of Merit is given for the performance of outstanding services and achievements.

Commander of the US Fifth Fleet, viewed the attack on Saipan as personal vengeance.[58] Strategically, Saipan was viewed as the *"*gateway to the Japanese homeland."[59] Aircraft and submarines based on the island could secure shipping for resources such as oil and food to and from mainland Japan. For the allies, B-29's could fly the 1,200-mile distance to mainland Japan to conduct bombing raids against Tokyo and other large cities. Thus, the Japanese were determined to hold the island. By battle's end, the US KIA totaled 3,100 with 13,099 wounded. Japanese KIA would be 29,000 with 5,000 documented suicide attacks.

Chaplain Emmett Thomas Michaels arrived ashore with the first wave of Marines. He began ministering to several of the wounded and dying. He remembered, *"*I had just stooped over to console a Marine on a stretcher when a bullet penetrated my collar bone and shoulder blade leaving them both broken."[60] At 31 years old, he would heal from his wounds, receive a Purple Heart and move on to civilian life out of the war.

Chaplain John Harold Craven spent the majority of his time traveling by foot from one combat zone to another. He would start early and go until dark visiting one unit after another. At each stop he would hold a brief service and conduct pastoral care. At each service he would make a point to sing a hymn and read from the Bible. He chose, instead of a communion set, to bring small hymnals along on all his rounds. He notes, "Wherever we could get a little protection, I would have one service after the other. Sometimes we had twelve, thirteen, or fourteen of those in one day, especially on

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[58] Moore, David, "The Battle of Saipan," *The Battle of Saipan* (blog), 2002, http://www.battleofsaipan.com/.

[59] Goldberg, Harold H., *D-Day in the Pacific* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan, 2007).

[60] Dorsett, *Serving God and Country: United States Military Chaplains in WWII*, 106.

Sunday, when possible."[61] Craven would also recall having to leave his men on the front to conduct memorial services at the cemetery. With American KIA increasing daily, chaplains rotated conducting committal services. He kept a personal notebook of all the men he buried and synced up with his regiment at the end of each day. He would then find the friends of the men he buried and provide pastoral care.

Americans buried not only their own but also the bodies of the enemy. Chaplain Joseph Gallagher recalled the scenes of finding and burying Japanese bodies bloated and festered in the tropical heat. The worst case attracted thick clouds of flies, and their burial became a test of will for both Marines and their chaplains."[62]

Chaplain John Craven continually argued that there were not enough chaplains at the beginning of the operation, and due to the number of casualties, the situation grew worse. At the onset, most regiments had three chaplains, one from each faith. Attrition from combat wounds, sickness, and exhaustion quickly diminished their availability.

The battle for Saipan soon ended, and Chaplain Craven was assigned to a regiment in Hawaii where Marines trained for the next amphibious assault. He was one of two chaplains assigned to six battalions.[63] Due to the news of casualty rates and continued fighting in the PAC, Craven saw a heightened draw to religion and reconciliation with God. He led Sunday school, morning and evening services, as well as

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[61] Craven, John Harold, "Oral History Transcript," interview by H. Lawrence Martin, University of North Caroline Wilmington Digital Collections (Quantico, VA: U.S. Marine Corps University, 1980), 18, https://digitalcollections.uncw.edu/digital/collection/hoc/id/506/rec/1.

[62] Drury, *The History of the U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps*, 100.

[63] 6,000 Marines.

mid-week prayer services, along with two evening Bible studies. He noted all of the programs being "well attended."[64]

In the early months of 1945, a fleet of 495 ships embarked from Hawaii to the PAC theatre. The fleet of USN ships carried an expeditionary force of 111,308 men, mostly USMC. Their strategic destination would be Iwo Jima.[65]

February 19, 1945 - The Battle of Iwo Jima

Haynes documents, "Many military historians today regard the attack on the island fortress of Iwo Jima as the supreme test of the amphibious assault in the annals of war."[66] Codenamed Operation Detachment, it consisted of three reinforced divisions of Marines and their supporting forces (Third, Fourth, and Fifth Marine Divisions). The Iwo Jima task force departed the Mariana Islands four days before the invasion. To date, it was the Navy's largest convoy, steaming toward the island in straight columns reaching seventy miles long. The island was sixty miles to the north of the island of Japan. The original war planners believed 14,000 IJA troops defended the island, but in actuality it was 22,000.[67] Because of its small size and the number of defenders, the battle space was intensely cramped. Throughout a majority of the fighting, no safe place or "rear area" for casualties or safety could be established. The commander of the defending forces,

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[64] Dorsett, *Serving God and Country: United States Military Chaplains in WWII*, 112.

[65] In summary, the Gilbert and Marshall Islands campaigns would include the seizures of Tarawa, Makin, Kwajalein, Eniwetok and Majuro. Simultaneously, the Marianas Island campaign included the seizures of Tinian, Saipan and Guam. These operations were USN and USMC led. Accounts of chaplains serving Marines throughout many of these campaigns have been omitted due to length.

[66] Fred Haynes and James A. Warren, *The Lions of Iwo Jima* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2008), 8.

[67] Haynes, Fred, 22.

Tadamichi Kuribayashi, was a fifth-generation samurai with a reputation of being a defensive strategist. He would begin preparations for the American invasion eight months prior. The US daily bombing campaign had begun in November 1944 with a majority of the operations originating from Saipan. The USAA needed a runway for damaged returning B-24 bombers and P-51 fighter escorts. IJA forces operated two airfields on the island. The battle lasted thirty-six days. American KIA would be 6,821, with 26,000 wounded. Of the IJA forces, only 216 would be taken prisoner.

During the four-day embarkation, Marines exercised and entertained themselves during the morning and afternoon. Evenings were devoted to operational briefs and lectures. From these briefs the Marines grew aware of the high number of casualties expected.[68] Following one brief, Chaplain James Deasy remembers three men on his transport jumping overboard and drowning themselves. As the convoy closed in on the island, chaplains experienced increased demand for their pastoral care and counsel, and worship services were well attended. As they shared meals and entertainment, chaplains provided motivation and leadership.[69] The day before the assault began, the USN served turkey dinner at noon, steak at night, and steak in the morning. Following dinner, Chaplain Charles Suver and other officers from his battalion gathered in his cabin. One officer in the group said that if he could get a flag from the transport ship, someone could hoist it on top of the island's volcano. Chaplain Suver challenged the lieutenant, "You get it up there, and I'll say mass under it."[70] At 5 a.m. the next day, he offered mass in his

[68] Crosby, Donald F., *Battlefield Chaplains*, 214.

[69] Staudacher, Rosemarian, *Chaplains in Action* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1972), 72.

[70] Staudacher, Rosemarian, 72.

cabin for the men in his unit. He would be in the ninth wave to hit the beaches that morning.[71] On the fifth day of the battle, and after seeing the American flag raised, Suver held mass atop Mt. Suribachi while the fighting continued all around him.

Chaplain James Deasy served with one of the artillery units invading Iwo Jima. It was late in the afternoon before he made it to shore. He arrived to bloated bodies of Marines, severed heads, legs, and arms, all floating on the surface of the ocean. The beaches and the empty assault vessels had *"*smashed against the beach and the sides had begun to turn crimson."[72] The IJA defensive effort had caused more casualties than the medical staff or corpsman could attend. Chaplain Deasy cared for all of the wounded, providing communion, one at a time, to the wounded on the beach. To those that would not live, he gave absolution, administered Last Rites, and prayed with them. In a letter to his Archbishop, he recalled, "Men were dying right on the water's edge. What a horrible sight…trucks of ammunition blown up, bodies burning alive, the groans, the cries, the agonies."[73] Soon USMC commanders halted combat operations for the night. The order was given to dig foxholes and set watches to secure the areas for the night. Due to the number of wounded, Deasy spent most of the night crawling from foxhole to foxhole, providing first-aid and pastoral care.

Marines were "trigger-happy," and the IJA forces prodded them through the night with artillery and random rifle fire. Deasy continued his ministry for the next four nights, attending to men hysterical from combat stress, shivering in the cold, and listening to

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[71] 30,000 Marines would land on the beaches that morning. By the end of the day, the casualty rate was 12%. By the end of the battle the USMC would suffer a 30% casualty rate, their highest of the entire war.

[72] Crosby, Donald F., *Battlefield Chaplains*, 217.

[73] Crosby, Donald F., 217.

continual IJA artillery. On the third night of operations, he almost lost his life when an artillery shell landed close by. The explosion lifted him in the air and buried him under a foot of sand. Upon landing his helmet had covered his face allowing him a small pocket to breathe. His fingers remained unburied allowing his Marines to free him. Once dislodged, he returned to ministering to the wounded. For five days he had almost no sleep and received no hot food or water. At daybreak he attempted to bury Marines without success due to the combat operations. Dead Marines he knew, ministered to, and cared for began to pile up along the beaches.

Fifty-eight chaplains, representing multiple denominations, either accompanied Marines ashore or served the support groups anchored offshore. It took twenty-nine days for the USMC to dislodge the island from the defenders. In total, 70,600 men of the total force carried out the attack. The IJA had fortified every crag, crevice, ridge, and hill with honeycombed caves. Crosby notes, *"*The length and the ferocity of the struggle has few parallels in American military history, and the names of the individual battles tell the story: Turkey Knob, Meat Grinder, Death Valley, and the Quarry."[74] For the chaplains, Operation Detachment meant sleepless days and nights. They attended to the wounded and dying, assisted corpsman with first aid, buried the dead, and ministered to the living.

March 26, 1945 - The Battle of Okinawa

Okinawa lies at the heart of the Ryukyu Island chain. The island is seventy miles long and as wide as eighteen miles and narrow as two. In the spring of 1945, it was home to the most technologically advanced base for Japanese forces. It contained multiple

[74] Crosby, Donald F., 222.

airfields, refueling depots, shipyards, and secured fortresses. Okinawa had 500,000 civilians, and while its northern part was mountainous, its southern portion had rolling hills and ridges. The entire island was surrounded by a ring of coral with deep lagoons and trenches. Sixty-five thousand IJA troops defended the island. The USN, USMC, and USA conducted their amphibious assault (Operation Iceberg) on April 1, with a total landing force of 183,000 troops.[75] In total, 541,000 American soldiers, sailors, and Marines took part in the operation. By the end of the three-month, six-day battle, US KIA was 12,520 with over 50,000 wounded. Over 77,000 Japanese would be killed along with 30,000 Okinawan conscripts. US forces engaged in naval battles, amphibious assault, ground, and air combat for the island. It was the last of Japan's island strongholds, and for the first time, the US attempted to capture Japanese home territory in preparation the future invasion of the mainland. [76]

Chaplain Corcoran was assigned to the USA's Thirty-Second Infantry Regiment of the Army's Seventh Infantry Division. He had been with the unit through amphibious assaults and combat in the Aleutians, Kwajalein, and Marshall Islands. His regiment became known as the "Spearhead" due to their experience and expertise in fighting in cave and crags across the PAC. As they fought across Okinawa, he wrote, *"*We have seen our share of land mines and booby traps, and we still see snipers brought in every day, and there is seldom a night that goes by that we do not have visitors in the air."[77] He also

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[75] David, Saul, *Crucible of Hell. The Heroism and Tragedy of Okinawa*, 1945. (New York: Hatchette Books, 2020), 110.

[76] Wheelan, Joseph, *Bloody Okinawa. The Last Great Battle of World War II*. (New York: Hatchette Books, 2020), 35.

[77] Wukovits, John F., *Soldiers of A Different Cloth: Notre Dame Chaplains in WWII,* 1st ed., (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2018), 285.

provided commentary on daily life in Okinawa, "I have had one bath in a couple of weeks and that, out of a helmet."[78] Throughout the length of the battle, chaplains regularly ministered at the front. Aside from personal narratives, Eugene Sledge writes about his experience with his chaplain: "That face was so weary but so expressive that I knew he, like all of us, couldn't help but have doubts about his God in the presence of constant shock and suffering."[79]

Most of the fighting that occurred on Okinawa was inland. The IJA leadership had conceded the beaches and pulled all their forces into the ridges and high points across the island. US Forces attacked three concentric defense lines anchored and reinforced by natural caves and tunnels running the length of the island. Artillery was the IJA's greatest strength.

One area where US forces could not dislodge the IJA was Kakazu Ridge. Chaplain Lawrence Lynch was assigned to the 165 Infantry Regiment, which the USA used to dislodge the IJA from the ridge. Lynch spent some of his time in the regimental aid station located in a cave near the ridge. The IJA forces unleashed a barrage of artillery marking a direct hit near the station. Lynch attempted to help those hit nearby and was ordered by his colonel to stay in the aid station. When the colonel became distracted, he ran out to minister to wounded and dying soldiers. From his time in combat, Lynch knew it took the IJA forces exactly two minutes to reload their rifles and continue firing. In the interim, he moved from person to person. While attending to a soldier he knew

[78] Wukovits, 285.

[79] Sledge, E.B., *With the Old Breed at Peleliu and Okinawa* (United Kingdom: Random House Publishing Group, 1990), 242.

personally, a shell burst near him and a piece of shrapnel pierced his heart, killing him instantly. Lynch had grown close to his men and earned affectionate nicknames: Holy Hurricane, Father Cyclone, Butch, and Champ. [80] At a memorial service for the unit, many of the men wept when they heard of his passing. He would be the thirty-sixth chaplain to die since the war began and the second since the battle of Okinawa.

By early June, IJA leadership realized Okinawa had been lost. On the evening of June 20, General Ushijima committed the ritual suicide of seppuku, ending the battle. On June 22, the island was declared "secure" even though IJA forces still held out in the caves and hills. The next stop for American forces would be the Japanese mainland. Due to progressive casualty rates from Iwo Jima, the Philippines, and Okinawa, General George C. Marshall's chief of staff estimated the casualties would be as high as 1 million. The world's largest amphibious assault would never occur due to the two atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the eventual surrender of Japan.[81]

Throughout the PAC islands campaign chaplains ministered to their Marines, sailors and soldiers regardless of the environmental, combatant and post-combat context. As the literary data shows, their ministry practices was as unique as each of their personalities. When and where they ministered was contingent upon their location, amphibious operations and specific needs of the command. But in this flexibility, consistencies and patterns exists. The pastors and priests examined in this research

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[80] Crosby, Donald F., *Battlefield Chaplains*, 238.

[81] Operation Downfall, the planned invasion of Japan, was cancelled following Japan's surrender on August 15th, 1945. An invasion force of 5,000,000 US and 1,000,000 British were partially assembled before the surrender. Japan had a defense force of 4,300,000 with 31,500,000 civilian conscripts. Along with a Russian invasion threat from the west, two atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the August 6th and 9th ushering the surrender of Japanese forces.

exercised a pattern in ministry. Each were shepherds to their flock and the shepherding metaphor can be explained through a biblical understanding. This framework is best displayed through the exploration and understanding of the three fold office.

The Three-Fold Office

The Three-Fold Office of Christ

Historically, the Reformed faith has understood the work of Christ through the framework of the three-fold office. Originating with the Old Testament, Calvin expanded on this understanding in *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. "The office which he received from the Father consists of three parts. For he was appointed both Prophet, Priest and King."[82] Among many scriptural proofs, Calvin notes Jesus' own use of Isaiah 60:1-2 as proof of his self-declaration of holding this three-fold office.[83] For Calvin, the prophetic office is highlighted first. Christ delivered his prophetic mission in his teaching, and as a result, wisdom from Christ through doctrine is "perfect."[84] Next, supported by numerous scriptures, Calvin expands on the kingly office.[85] First, Christ is king through and over eternity and the temporal church, the church universal and the individual. He is

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[82] Calvin, John, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 4th ed. (Peabody, MA, Hendrickson Publishers, 2008), 318.

[83] Calvin states in his commentary on Luke 4:21; *"Christ did not merely affirm in a few words, but proved by a reference to facts, that the time was now come, when it was the will of God to restore his ruined church. The object of his discourse was, to expound the prediction clearly to his hearers: just as expositors handle Scripture in a proper and orderly manner, when they apply it to the circumstances of those whom they address. He says that it was fulfilled in their ears, rather than in their eyes, because the bare sight of the fact was of little value, if doctrine had not held the chief place". Calvin, The Institutes of the Christian Religion, 318.*

[84] Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 319.

[85] Daniel 2:44, Luke 1:33, Ps. 89:35-37, Isaiah 53:8, Psalm 2:2-4.

and will be its eternal governor and defender. This role has been appointed and belongs exclusively to him. Second, Christ as king embodies strength superior to all his enemies. This strength stands to protect and uphold the earthly, temporary kingdom and the immortal, immaterial one.[86] Living with Christ as king brings, for those in him, "the hope of a better life, [expecting] that as it is now protected by the hand of Christ, so it will be fully realized in a future life."[87] Third, Christ's rule as king has present and eschatological implications. Christ has united the office of king and pastor for believers. Through the exercise of this position, he "wields an iron scepter to break and bruise all the rebellious like a potter's vessel."[88] Based on the prophetic Psalm 110, Calvin cites this action as Christ's ultimate purpose in judging all Gentiles and removing every opposition at his return. But in Calvin's framework, Christ also holds the office of priest. Because he is free from sin, he can seek God's favor for those who believe in him. He intervenes for his followers to assuage God's wrath. As a reference to the Old Testament temple regulations, Calvin details Christ's entrance into his role as priest: via blood offering. His death on the cross qualified him for the priestly office. Calvin notes, "Christ now bears the office of priest, not only that by the eternal law of reconciliation, he may render the Father favorable and propitious to us into this most honorable alliance."[89] For the believer, Calvin states the implications of the work of Christ in the three-fold office; followers of Christ are raised to eternal life, invincible to spiritual foes, and given

[86] John 18:36.

[87] Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 320.

[88] Calvin, 322.

[89] Calvin, 322.

patience and encouragement for perseverance, inspiration, and confidence in triumph, with fortitude and love.

In the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Calvin was the first to recognize the offices of Christ and distinguish them.[90] In his *Systematic Theology*, Berkhof details the development of Calvin's framework for the work of Christ throughout church history. "Since the days of the Reformation, the distinction was quite generally adopted as one of the common-place of theology, though there was no general agreement as to the relative importance of the offices, nor as to their interrelation."[91] Denominations and religious cults varied in their recognition of the threefold office of Christ. Regardless of theological development through denominations and time, Berkhof noted the value of distinguishing the three offices and argues for retention, pointing to their roots in God's original purpose for mankind. Berkhof states, "The fact that Christ was anointed to a threefold office finds its explanation in the fact that man was originally intended for this threefold office and work."[92] God created Adam to be prophet, priest, and king and gave him the knowledge and wisdom to fulfill the offices. He also gave him righteousness and holiness and the ability to rule creation on earth. Sin affected man's occupation of this office. It "manifested itself not only in ignorance, blindness, error and untruthfulness but also as unrighteousness, guilt, and moral pollution."[93] As a result, it was necessary that Christ occupy these offices as he became mediator for mankind. Berkhof summarizes the work

[90] Richard P. Belcher Jr., *Prophet, Priest and King* (Phillipsburgh, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2016), 2.

[91] Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 1st ed. (Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 1949), 339.

[92] Berkhof, 340.

[93] Berkhof, 340.

of each of these offices, writing, "As prophet he represents God with man, as priest he represents man in the presence of God and as King he exercises dominion and restores the original dominion of man."[94] But before Calvin and Berkhof, and all theologians in-between and since, the threefold office of both man and Christ was present in scripture.

Before Israel's establishment, the roles of prophet, priest, and king were defined offices.[95] Abraham defined these roles well before Jacob or the Levitical law was given. The word "prophet" (נָבִיא) is first used in Gen. 20. Abraham and Sarah were traveling in the land of Gerar. Abraham told King Abimelech that Sarah, his wife, was his sister. God came to Abimelech in a dream and told him he was a "dead man" because Sarah was another man's wife. Abimelech pleads for God's mercy, and it is granted. God grants his mercy but not before stating, "Now then, return the man's wife, for he is a prophet, so that he will pray for you, and you shall live."[96] Belcher provides three illustrations to support Abraham's designation of prophet.[97] In Genesis 12, he receives a call from God promising future blessings. In Genesis 15, the word of the Lord came to Abraham in a vision. Belcher notes the use of "the word of the Lord" being standard phrasing for prophetic visions.[98] In Genesis 18, Abraham is portrayed as an intercessory prophet who prays for God to withhold judgment from Sodom and Gomorrah. Designation accompanied by prayer seem to define the role of Abraham as prophet.

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[94] Berkhof, 340.

[95] Belcher, *Prophet, Priest and King*, 3.

[96] Genesis 20:7.

[97] Belcher, 340.

[98] Belcher, 340.

But Abraham also illustrates a priestly role as he builds altars throughout the land of Canaan.[99] Wenham notes significant implications of Abraham's altar building. "Abraham built an altar to show that he believed the promise of the land. In building it, he symbolically demonstrated his conviction that he believed the one day it would belong to his descendants."[100]

The Old Testament does not designate Abraham as the sole priestly example. Noah and Job stand as other examples. Both acted as priests for their families in a time of God's judgment. As the land dried, Noah built an altar to the Lord and sacrificed some of the clean animals. As a direct result, God blessed his sons.[101] Following the annual feasts, Job offered sacrifices to God for the sins of his children.[102] Following the Exodus and the provision of the law and temple worship, the priests of Israel were required to offer sacrifices for the people's sin. Thus, prayer and sacrifice were hallmarks of priesthood before and after the founding of Israel.

Pre-dating the foundation of Israel, Abraham also fulfilled the role of king. "When Abraham hears of Lot's capture, he leads 318 men from his household to rescue Lot. He defeats this coalition of four kings and brings back all the possessions they had taken."[103] In addition to military strategist, Abraham also used his wealth to exert his

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[99] Genesis 12:7. "Then the LORD appeared to Abram and said, "To your offspring I will give this land." So he built there an altar to the LORD, who had appeared to him".

[100] Glenn W. Barker and David A. Hubbard, *Word Biblical Commentary*, vol. 1 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 1987), 279.

[101] Gen. 8:20.

[102] Job 1:5.

[103] Belcher, *Prophet, Priest and King*, 5.

kingly influence over the land. Wenham comments, "The cave of Machpelah is the first piece of real estate purchased by Abraham in Canaan.[104] The religious significance of this site is emphasized by the final note, 'He built there an altar to the LORD.'"[105] Here, Abraham exercises his kingly role and strength through both wealth and military power. But Abraham's occupation of these three roles, along with Noah and Job, demonstrate the presence of the three-fold office before the founding of the nation of Israel. Additionally, they are an extension of the original designation given to Adam at his creation and in the original covenant between God and man.

Prophets, priests, and kings appear throughout the Old Testament, but in three distinct passages a promise is given that a special prophet would arise bringing the day of reconciliation for God's people. Two passages in Deuteronomy 18:15 state, "The LORD your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among you, from your brothers—it is to him you shall listen." Deuteronomy 34:10-12 declares, "And there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face, none like him for all the signs and the wonders that the LORD sent him to do in the land of Egypt, to Pharaoh and to all his servants and to all his land, and for all the mighty power and all the great deeds of terror that Moses did in the sight of all Israel." Isaiah 61 speaks of a figure associated with the role of prophet because he proclaims the good news of God's salvation. Belcher notes also that in Joel 2 the prophet expresses hope when everyone who calls on the name of the Lord will be saved. Malachi speaks of this same day, which

[104] Genesis 23:1–20.

[105] Barker and Hubbard, *Word Biblical Commentary*, 301.

will be preceded by the coming of Elijah the prophet who will begin the process of reconciliation.[106] John the Baptist would fulfill this role.[107]

Before John the Baptist's arrival, prophecy had ceased in Israel.[108] John the Baptist was not to be the hope of salvation but would usher him in. He proclaimed "the coming of the kingdom" and called people to confession and repentance and to be baptized.[109] Jesus would fulfill the role of salvation, and John would baptize him in order to fulfill the law and identify with sinners.[110] In addition to being the savior, Jesus would fulfill the role of prophet. One confirmation would come from Old Testament prophets at the Mount of Transfiguration. Moses and Elijah both appeared on the mount with Jesus. Moses is the foundational prophet of the Old Testament.[111] He was Israel's hope for what God would send. Elijah fulfilled a prophetic role in a time of apostasy in Israel. In the sequence of events on the mount, God's voice is heard stating, "This is my beloved son, with whom I am well pleased; listen to him."[112] Belcher notes that the term "listen to him*"* means that he is the one through whom God would speak.[113] Jesus would reveal the purposes and revelation of God, but, he would not use a pattern of speech as the prophets

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[106] Belcher, *Prophet, Priest and King*, 39-40.

[107] Matthew 17:12.

[108] Roger, Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church and Its Background in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985), 372.

[109] Isaiah 40:3, Matthew 3:1-3.

[110] Hermann, Ridderboss, *Matthew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987), 58.

[111] Belcher, 39.

[112] Matthew 17:5.

[113] Belcher, *Prophet, Priest and King*, 42.

of the Old Testament. The prophets used a messenger formula *"*thus saith the Lord*"* to demonstrate the words they spoke as being those of God.[114] Religious experts of Jesus' time spoke expressly from their knowledge of the scriptures and legal code. Jesus would speak freely without the prophetic pattern as he was the Lord. He would preface statements with "truly, truly I say to you." As *"*truly*"* was the word for amen, it was used to give one's consent to prayer. Jesus used it to preface what he said as unique to himself and to guarantee a certainty in his words. As he carried out his prophetic role, his certainty was derived from his unity with God.

The author of Hebrews calls upon his readers to consider Jesus "the apostle and high priest of our confession" and "our Great High Priest."[115] However, Hebrews was written following Jesus' ascension. The term "priest" was not used to describe Jesus or his earthly ministry. As Eugene Merrill comments, "The Gospels are virtually silent with respect to any priestly aspect of Jesus' messianic office, and Paul likewise gave scant attention to Jesus as priest."[116] Based on Belcher's examination of Jesus' life, three explanations emerge for why he was considered high priest after his ascension. First, Jesus was not from the tribe of Levi but Judah. Second, his priestly lineage remains at a higher order because he will serve as priest in the heavenly temple. Third, Jesus does more than fulfill the offices of prophet and priest; he transforms them. R.J. McKelvey, a New Testament scholar at Oxford takes a similar but supplemental approach. He writes, *"*The concept of pioneer (archegos) and high priest (archiereus)" marks groundbreaking

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[114] Belcher. *Prophet, Priest and King*, 48.

[115] Hebrews 3:1.

[116] Eugene Merrill, "Royal Priesthood: An Old Testament Messianic Motif," *BSac* 150 (March 1993), 51.

titles for Christ. The pioneer is being part of the pilgrimage motif, while the high priest is integral to the day of atonement analogy and the heavenly sanctuary.[117] The writer of Hebrews is using the priestly title for Christ to encourage and motivate his readers. But the writer also uses the title to engender the spiritual and behavioral changes his readers need to make. When Jesus, as priest, calls people to follow him, he is encouraging them to a life-changing commitment while simultaneously providing an intercessory role for his imperfect followers.

Two Old Testament texts illustrate God's promise that a king would come from Israel.[118] Though Saul served as a partial fulfillment of this promise, centuries would pass before God fulfilled this promise through David. Unlike Saul, David's rise to power shows he is willing to follow God's ultimate governance of Israel. God's sovereignty establishes David's dynasty, and the Lord eventually makes a covenant with him. Regardless of his failings, God bound David's rule with his and revealed his redemptive history. Psalm 89:3 refers to God's promises as a covenant, and this promise is the establishment of a kingdom through David's offspring. The covenant promises of an eternal kingdom and throne will be fulfilled despite the disobedience of David or his offspring. David and Solomon provide a partial fulfillment to the covenant. Isaiah prophesied the character of the coming king that would bring the ultimate fulfillment.[119] In his earthly ministry, Jesus demonstrates his fulfillment and rule as king. Belcher describes his fulfillment through his dominion over nature and demons, his kingdom

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[117] R.J. McKelvey, *Pioneer and Priest, Jesus Christ in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Cambridge, UK: Lutterworth Press, 2017), 56.

[118] Gen. 49:8-12 and Numbers 24:15-19

[119] Isaiah 11.

teachings, and even his suffering.[120] Jesus received the kingdom as a human being acting as God's vice-regent and occupying the highest role of human being in creation. Jonathan Lunde, professor of biblical studies, states, "Discipleship to Jesus is best understood from a covenantal context."[121] As a king, Jesus has the prerogative to govern his people as he determines. Covenants have conditions, and God, from Genesis, has ruled accordingly. He commanded those created in his image, as best fit them. As per the Davidic covenant, Jesus commands the citizens of his kingdom similarly.

In the concluding comments of his work, Belcher states, "The work of Jesus allows the church to fulfill its mission among the nations."[122] God delivered his people out of Israel to establish them as a kingdom and a holy nation. He established his church and gave her the mission of proclaiming the gospel. God's purposes for both his people and his church were the same; to establish a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. Calvin states, "Christ the head alone makes us his royal priesthood."[123]

Leadership Through the Three-Fold Office

Few first-hand narratives of chaplains survived the multiple combat missions and high operational tempo of the PAC campaign. Additionally, many chaplains chose to return to ministry and forget the harsh and traumatizing experiences of the war. However, for the narratives that do exist, three accounts demonstrate continuity in ministry models

[120] Belcher, *Prophet, Priest and King*, 140-153.

[121] Lunde, *Following Jesus, the Servant King: A Biblical Theology of Covenantal Discipleship* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2010), 147.

[122] Belcher, *Prophet, Priest and King*, 159.

[123] John Calvin, *Calvin Commentaries* (London, UK: Westminster Press, 1958), 139.

and leadership. This can be seen in excerpts from the narrative accounts of three chaplains: George Wickersham III (USNR),[124] Wyeth Willard (USNR), and Russell Stroup (USA).

Chaplain W. Wyeth Willard

Wyeth Willard served as a USNR chaplain during the battles of Guadalcanal and Tarawa. According to Wheaton College, he served more days under constant enemy fire than any chaplain in the history of the USN or USMC.[125] Born in Marshfield Hills, MA, Willard received his B.A. from Brown University. In 1931, he received his master's degree from Princeton Theological Seminary, where he studied under Dr. J. Gresham Machen. Before joining the Navy, he served as pastor of Federated Church, Kingston, MA. After completing training at the Naval Training School for Chaplains located at William and Mary University in Williamsburg, VA, Willard would soon find himself embarked with the Eighth Marines headed to the Solomon Islands. He would stand watch for Japanese submarines then go ashore with the first amphibious assaults during the battle of Guadalcanal. His second amphibious warfare experience occurred during the amphibious landings of Tarawa. Willard recorded most of his experiences at Guadalcanal during his assignment at MCRD Parris Island. While there, he would meet a new USNR chaplain named George Wickersham III.

[124] USNR – United States Naval Reserve

[125] "W. Wyeth Willard, Leatherneck," Recollections: Re-Telling Stories from Buswell Library Special Collections (blog), Buswell Library Special Collections, February 2, 2010, https://recollections.wheaton.edu/2010/02/w-wyeth-willard-leatherneck/.

Chaplain George Wickersham III

George Wickersham served as a USNR chaplain from 1943-1946. The US had been at war for nearly two years. As an Episcopalian priest from Greenwood Lake, NY, Wickersham watched the events of the war closely. He watched the young members of his congregation volunteer for military service. During the first two years of the war he ministered to family and friends who had lost these volunteers. His desire to volunteer as a chaplain in the Navy was directly related to the care of his present and future congregation. "The young men of the nation were entering the service, and they were the ones to whom I would be ministering to the rest of my life. How could I hope to understand them fully, unless I had shared this experience with them?"[126] Wickersham volunteered for military service in the USN. He relocated his wife and two children to Chester, NJ, near his in-laws, and reported to the Naval Training School for Chaplains at William and Mary University on January 14, 1944.[127] Upon completion of the Chaplain School and two subsequent assignments, Wickersham was assigned to MCRD Parris Island located in Beaufort, SC.

Chaplain Russell Cartwright Stroup

Russell Stroup had grown up in East Cleveland, OH, and was the son of a Methodist minister. Upon graduating from Stanford University, Stroup would attend Drew University for theological training. Early in his seminary training he read for the

[126] George W. Wickersham II, *Marine Chaplain 1943-1946* (Bennington, VT: Merriam Press, 1997), 12.

[127] Almost all of the 2,983 Navy Chaplains who participated in WWII were indoctrinated at the Naval Training School for Chaplains at Williamsburg, VA.

Methodist ministry and was soon ordained. Stroup served two Methodist parishes in Southern California, from 1927 to 1934. Stroup relocated with his mother and brother to Virginia, serving a call to the First Presbyterian Church in Lynchburg. During the First World War, Stroup was an outspoken peace activist. As the Second World War raged, he began to see a distinction between the two. In 1942, as the sole supporter of his ailing mother and brother, he joined the USA as a chaplain. Following training, Stroup was thrown headlong into combat with the infantrymen of the USA. He served as a chaplain through multiple combat engagements in New Guinea and the Philippines. Stroup concluded his career as a chaplain in 1947 and would go on to serve as senior pastor of Georgetown Presbyterian Church. His personal letters detailing his combat experiences were discovered and published after his death in 1970.

Practice of the Three-Fold Office

Marty E. Stevens, associate professor of biblical studies, documents four leadership roles evident in the OT: prophet, priest, king and sage.[128] As explored earlier, kingship was the most common form of governance in OT times. God, as the ultimate king, delegated the royal authority of kingship to particular human beings, such as David. The office of king was exercised in program administration, missional statements, mercy, service, and organizational decision making. Prophets were also appointed by God as his voice to his people. The office of prophet was exercised in the teaching, preaching, preparing of curriculum, patterned learning, and communicating. The priestly role,

[128] Marty A. Stevens, *Leadership Roles of the Old Testament: King, Prophet, Priest and Sage* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012).

prescribed to Jesus by his church, was exercised through a relational, inspirational, and experiential interaction with other believers and members of a flock.

As mentioned earlier, evidence exists of the three-fold office throughout the Old Testament. In the context of chaplain ministry through the PAC campaign, the majority of chaplains were Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish (orthodox), respectively. Therefore, their ministerial and rabbinical tasks could be categorized in this three-fold framework. Through the first-hand accounts of Willard, Wickersham, and Stroup, imitation of these shepherding roles can be seen in the context of ships embarking to the battlefield, field hospitals, amphibious warfare, and other settings in PAC theatre. As faithful shepherds on the battlefields of the PAC, these chaplains exercised the roles of prophet, priest, king and sage to those divinely appointed to their care, whether believers or not.

The Ministry of Prophets

All three chaplains held worship in high esteem. This worship was dedicated not for themselves but for those they served. Whether in training, embarked, within the first twenty-four hours of an amphibious assault, or following a protracted engagement with heavy casualties, weekly worship services were always provided. As a newly assigned chaplain to MCRD Parris Island, Wickersham took the weekly rhythm of worship services to the field. As one of his primary duties, he spent time with future Marines in the swampy settings of the South Carolina low country. While at Parris Island, he discovered that a "special school existed for illiterate recruits." On Sundays, these recruits were hiked to "The Boondocks" to recover from the weeklong period of formal

instruction.[129] This consisted of an all-day field exercise consisting primarily of a traditional high-mileage infantry march. Upon the request of the lieutenant in charge, he began providing services in the field.

> And so, with portable altar and portable organ, I put on the service. Everybody out there came. I passed out the hymnbooks, announced the first hymn, and Mrs. Stovall, a chaplain's wife of no small spirit, took up the strains on the organ. Just as I was drawing in my breath to lead the singing, a thought flashed over me. I was overcome with embarrassment. None of these men could read.[130]

Wickersham would continue to offer services in the field regularly, to the literate and otherwise.

Wickersham soon received orders to proceed to Pearl Harbor, get outfitted for the field, and embark to the island of Saipan. He would be assigned to the Second Marine Division, Eighth Regiment.[131] From the chaplain he relieved, Wickersham inherited a schedule of Bible classes. Additionally, he was the designated education officer for the regiment.

> I would lead these classes each evening, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, rotating between battalions. Never especially large, these classes were nevertheless both spirited and revealing. I soon found that I was learning as much, if not more, than my pupils. Taking the Gospel of Mark for the text, I do not remember having gotten through it with any of the classes during the entire tour of the regiment. Every point was examined, and every verse hashed over in detail.[132]

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[129] Wickersham II, *Marine Chaplain 1943-1946*, 79.

[130] Wickersham II, 80.

[131] By 1945 The Fleet Marine Force in the field consisted of six divisions. The Second Marine Division had acquired fame for its participation in the battle of Guadalcanal, Saipan and Tinian. The regiment included 3,500 men and the Battalions under their guidance, 1,000 men each. Each Regiment had two Chaplains, a Protestant and a Roman Catholic, while each battalion had one chaplain.

[132] Wickersham II, *Marine Chaplain 1943-1946*, 121.

He would continue to teach Bible classes on Saipan and as the division moved closer to Japan.

Regular worship services continued, as Wickersham records the Sabbath being the "brightest day in the week," as it was an official day off. In addition to Bible classes, he inherited his chapel from the previous chaplain. As Navy chaplains did not rate chapels (tents erected as such), the congregation of Marines would often requisition needed supplies to build one. "Sandbags served as pews. My chapel provided enough to seat 220 men, and for each chapel the Navy provided a portable organ. I was supplied with a portable communion kit as well as a supply for hymn books."[133] Each Sunday, Wickersham had an order of worship that included prayer, hymns, communion, and preaching. The weekly routines of Bible classes and chapel services instituted a regular congregation and a following of Marines seeking the comfort of God. Following months of preparations on Saipan, the Eighth Marines were ordered to embark upon a transport ship. Their next operational assignment was the invasion of Okinawa. As they transited the PAC ocean, Wickersham held weekly services on the gun deck of the transport ship. The closer they got to Japan, the more these services grew to standing room only. Upon the invasion of Okinawa and the rapid push inland, Wickersham continued weekly services in the combat zone. He conducted services near and around the battalion aid station and also by request in various locations across the Okinawan combat zones. He regularly conducted worship services within close range of artillery fire, enemy snipers, and the sights, sounds, and smells of the combat zone.

[133] Wickersham II, 129.

Operation Watchtower was a complex and multi-faceted amphibious operation. Due to the Japanese forces around the area, smaller islands had to be secured before the larger operation could get underway. The island of Gavutu[134] was one of these smaller islands, and Willard soon found himself conducting his first service. As a result of chaotic circumstances, Willard was left with the primary task of conducting a memorial service for Marines killed in the initial days of the operation. Before doing so, he was tasked with finding a suitable burial site. Once established he led the burial party digging the graves. "As soon as eight or ten graves were dug, we would lay down the bodies of our friends. There were no caskets, no flowers, none of the niceties which had always been necessities at home. Some of the members of the working party fainted because of the heat or the sight of bloody and stiffened bodies of their friends."[135] Following the preparation of the field, Willard stood on a water tank and began the service. He read from John 14 and 15 and read each one of the deceased names aloud. He closed the service with a reading from Revelation and a committal. As he ministered in the combat zones of Guadalcanal, Willard would conduct many such services, as well as worship and Bible studies.

Willard recorded his view from the transport ship to shore during the invasion of Guadalcanal. "On August 7, I watched the Marines land from the Higgins boats and tank lighters. The Japs fled to the hills, thinking perhaps, that another air raid was in

[134] Gavutu is in the Solomon Island chain located directly across the island channel north east of the invasion beaches of Guadalcanal.

[135] W. Wyeth Willard, *The Leathernecks Come Through*, 6th ed. (Forestdale, MA: New England Classics, 1985), 30.

progress."[136] Willard arrived to visit the men of the Eighth Marines on August 29. Upon arrival, he immediately requested to visit the men in foxholes that were on the front lines. His request was granted, and he spent days and nights in the jungle surrounded by both Marines and enemy forces. From that day forward, Willard had first-hand experience of heavy casualties brought from the front, daily air raids by Japanese bombers, men killed next to him by enemy snipers, and US naval vessels sunk in the straights behind him. As with his men, he ate little and slept less in the initial days of Operation Watchtower. He and his command leadership decided not to hold "divine services" in the early days of the assault. He continued his ministry through prayer, the reading and passing of hundreds of Gideon's New Testaments, and short, encouraging sermons to those around him.

General Douglas MacArthur decided to take a westerly route leading to the invasion of the Philippines. The first major assault in this campaign was the landing of USA forces at Hollandia. The operation was codenamed "Reckless" and was the first in a leapfrog strategy with US forces. On Sunday, April 23, Stroup was one of 52,000 men who went ashore. Stroup accompanied the infantry forces as they moved to the inland jungles. *"*All along the way, we passed evidence of fighting still in progress: bomb craters, artillery holes, smashed equipment, and the unburied dead – something of a nightmare."[137] Sunday, May 7, provided the first opportunity for a formal worship service. *"*There were two services for this battalion, as our men are working three shifts, day and night. Then I had another service for an aviation engineers battalion that has a

[136] Willard, 95.

[137] Russell Cartwright Stroup, *Letters From the Pacific*, 1st ed. (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 52.

Catholic but no Protestant chaplain."[138] As Stroup led the service, machine gun fire and artillery were close by. Before the service Stroup had experienced the dehumanizing effects of the operation. He notes, *"*It is hard to get used to being where suffering and slaughter are the commonplace of every day, and returning squads say in an offhand manner, 'got three more Japs in the hills today' or 'one of our men got it on patrol.'"[139] This experience directly impacted his sermon. He chose Matthew 5:21-22 as his sermon text and noted the unease of the message, but his desire was to see his men return home *"*with as few spiritual scars as possible."[140] For the remainder of Operation Reckless, Stroup would maintain a steady schedule of Sunday worship services, in addition to performing field services by request. Similar to Willard and Wickersham, memorial services became routine.

The Ministry of Priests

Of the three biographical accounts presented, Wickersham documents more ministry with a relational and therapeutic aspect. Wickersham focused much of his pastoral counseling in two areas: Marines in combat or the field hospital. The amphibious assault and subsequent combat operations of Okinawa began on March 26, 1944. Codenamed "Iceberg," by May 31 the casualty total for allied forces was 26,044 and with weeks of fighting, the highest in the PAC war. During the months of April and May,

[138] Stroup, 59.

[139] Stroup, 60.

[140] Stroup, 60.

62,548 Japanese troops were killed.[141] Wickersham would spend most of March onboard a transport ship with the Third Battalion, Eighth Marines. Aware of their destination and the potential for fierce combat, Wickersham spent many hours counseling young Marines in his stateroom. On Sunday, June 17, Wickersham went ashore as part of the invasion force. As wounded personnel were transported back from the front lines, he spent many of his early days on Okinawa in the division hospital. *"*I found most of the wounded anxious for personal touch as for physical care."[142] Eventually, he became a permanent fixture to the staff and patients, who watched his close ministry and care for the broken.

Wickersham began a rotational schedule between the hospital and Marines on the front lines. Often the first Marines he ministered to would be the wounded in the field. He notes, *"*The work with the wounded was titanic in its rewards.*"*[143] For him, there were notable exceptions. These were the men whom he could not reach, who "cursed and swore, who only wanted a cigarette or to be written up for a medal and especially, those that had no use for preachers."[144] In his pastoral care, Wickersham looked at the soul of a man. In combat, he saw that any attempt to conceal the soul was futile. His diary records,

> There is not a human soul who doesn't hold himself or something as more sacred than himself. Often, he takes this personal deity for granted that he habitually, unintentionally, dishonors it. Sometimes by way of asserting his ego, he dishonors it deliberately. When his chest is ruptured by an inch of jagged steel, however, he suddenly realizes that nothing can be taken for granted. His state of mind is vulnerable and responsible indeed is the chaplain who can direct his thoughts.[145]

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[141] Wheelan, *Bloody Okinawa, The Last Great Battle of WWII*. (New York: Hachette Books, 2020), 75.

[142] Wickersham II, Marine Chaplain 1943-1946, 218.

[143] Wickersham II, 22.

[144] Wickersham II, 23.

[145] Wickersham II, 222.

Wickersham's leading question to the wounded and distraught would always be, *"*Where are you from?" With this he was able to draw out everything the man held dear and longed for. He noted many men who had never had time or talked to him now clung to him, and it would take the ambulance pulling away to separate them.

Prior to the invasion of Guadalcanal, Willard also spent many days on a transport ship. His days were filled with counseling of young Marines having vague familiarity with the south PAC and more so with jungle islands. In his context, the unknown was nearly palatable. Guadalcanal was the first US combat operation of the PAC campaign. Willard was once asked, "Sir, have you any verse from the Bible you could give us before we go into battle?" He quoted Psalm 34:7, and then *"*we all knelt down in an irregular circle, some beside my bed, and others at the side of the room. Each man prayed from the bottom of his heart. There were many earnest petitions. Every man committed his soul to the safe-keeping of God."[146] Willard noted that many of these men that knelt in prayer with him would die or be wounded the next day in combat.

In addition to the enlisted, Willard also provided pastoral counseling and advisement to the officers. One evening, while returning to the field hospital, he walked past a tent. He heard a voice calling him over and realized it was the battalion colonel. He joined his colonel and other officers, sitting on boxes, and opened the day's canned rations of cold beef stew, cookies, and chocolate. The talk and the counsel proceeded over dinner. Following their evening together, he slept among the officers within close distance of enemy snipers. In addition to his ministry of presence and counsel, he

[146] Willard, *The Leathernecks Come Through*, 39.

conducted prayer meetings every Friday night. Men requested prayer, and Willard led the group on their knees in prayer for each request.

For Stroup, D-Day held many opportunities for care and counseling. His immediate experience was with the wounded Japanese where he had a continual ministry. He made it a priority amidst the horrors of war to show the need to care for the enemy. Stroup spent two days on the beach with the infantry then began to make his way inland. As he and his unit were moving forward he encountered a wounded Japanese soldier being guarded by a US soldier. He records the setting: "The Jap reached out a pathetic hand holding a can for water, but apparently the soldier didn't realize his need. I insisted, and for the first but not the last time, I saw a grateful look in the eyes of a frightened, hurt, peasant boy as I gave him water and food."[147] Opposed to common beliefs and rumors, Stroup's experience with the Japanese military was one of accepting surrender. Stroup was one of very few chaplains who had his own Jeep and trailer. He saw this as an opportunity to contact scattered units throughout the AOR. By and large, the units did not have their own chaplains and in his opinion, needed them. In addition to his desire to visit dispersed units and soldiers, his own living arrangements were on the front lines. His exposure to enemy sniper and artillery fire was significant but he used the opportunity to be present and minister in combat as much as possible.

The Ministry of Kings

Wickersham had a missional focus: he wanted to be present with Marines wherever they were. He joined the Navy with hopes of being a chaplain on-board the

[147] Stroup, *Letters From The Pacific*, 49.

greyhounds.[148] When he found himself at MCRD Parris Island, he let go of those dreams to be in the place where God had him. He soon developed the reputation of being able to be in the field with the recruits for extended time periods and of being able to march and complete much of the field training alongside them, though not required of himself. *"*After a hiking platoon had cleared the main station, it fell into the informal 'route step,' and I found an opportunity to converse with individual members as they plodded along the road. Many an embryonic Marine unburdened his heavily laden soul to me while sweating under a heavy-laden pack."[149] His reputation with the recruits became so admired, it nearly affected his ministry capacity. His supervisory chaplain noted how well he had taken to being in the field. He admired Wickersham's leadership examples through his physical and ministerial capabilities. He informed Wickersham of his plan to have him minister in the field permanently. His assignment was to set up his necessities in the woods of Parris Island and minister to the exhausted and stressed troops at a static location, day in and day out.

Wickersham's concern was to minister to the constant flow of newly arriving recruits. He could not do this in an isolated static location. He pushed back. "The next morning, I arose, determined to talk the Old Man out of this one. I stormed out of the barracks and headed for his office. There was fire in my eyes. I had hardly opened my mouth before he cut in, 'You don't have to do it, Wickersham.'"[150] For the remainder of

[148] Cruisers and Destroyers of all classes were commonly referred to as "Greyhounds". Due to the amount of shipping across the ATL from the US to the UK, greyhounds were known by the US citizenry for their protection of the transports and their hunter/killer tactics used against German U-boats (submarines).

[149] Wickersham II, *Marine Chaplain 1943-1946*, 75.

[150] Wickersham II, 83.

his time in Parris Island, he felt his pushback cost his popularity with his supervisory chaplain. He would soon be given a new assignment as chaplain to the staff. From there, he would be assigned to the Eighth Marines where he would maintain a missional focus.

Following the initial invasion and the continual push to root Japanese forces from Guadalcanal, Willard's regiment was ordered to the front. He was assigned the task of directing the set-up of the quartermaster's equipment, the post exchange, the Jeep pool, the post office, and other subdivisions of his company. Willard exercised service, organization, and administrative skill in the execution of his tasks. *"*I was only too glad to fill in at any position which would ease the burden of Joe Private. And so, up at our new area, time permitting, I helped unload the trucks, clear the ground and set up the tents."[151] He felt this was "practicing what he preached."

Willard exercised his administrative talents in other contexts on Guadalcanal. Willard was repeatedly tasked with the ministry to the dead for the living. Often in rushed circumstance, he found a burial site, organize the working party to dig graves, remove items from the bodies for return home, oversee the physical committal of each body to the ground, and provide the memorial service. He also applied his administrative and organizational skills in order to minister effectively and meet the needs of the men of his regiment. He notes, "Of the first thousand men in my regiment, representing about five companies, approximately three fourths were Protestants and one fourth were Roman Catholic. There were seven good men true of the Jewish faith. The Baptists headed the list with 174."[152] To minister to the Protestant group, he coordinated and organized

[151] Willard, *The Leathernecks Come Through*, 106.

[152] Willard, 173.

multiple worship services each Sunday and throughout the week. “My first service was on the island of Tanambogo. By actual count, 97 men attended the meeting. At the next service, 99 men assembled. A boat took me to Tulagi where 196 men gathered. The last service of the day was held with 245 men crowded together among the tombstones of an old cemetery to hear the Gospel of Christ.”[153] As a chaplain and a staff officer on Guadalcanal, Willard continued using the administrative and organizational skills he had learned as a pastor.

One key aspect of Stroup’s ministry was writing. He considered the reader of his works an extension of his mission field, while writing was often a service he exercised on behalf of others. At the end of combat operations, he found himself still with the USA in the Philippines. He took to writing an historical account of his regiment throughout the campaign. One copy was given to each soldier of the regiment. *“*The Colonel talked to me about it this morning, as have many others who think it very fine, although in the publication, I’m given no credit for writing. However, both the general of the division and the general of the corps have commended me.”[154]

Soon after the history of the regiment was written and his commendations given, Stroup walked next door to his office and began organizing the Christmas entertainment for the celebrations. Earlier in the day he had to solicit volunteers for the event and in the afternoon, organize the details. Stroup is the only one of the three chaplains who provided a record of his daily routine. Stroup arose each day with reveille, had physical training, breakfast, personal organizing, and hygiene time. At 8 a.m., he met with his assistant and

[153] Willard, 153.

[154] Stroup, *Letters From The Pacific*, 164.

planned out the day's work. Often, his day was filled with meetings with chaplains from the division. Upon the meeting's conclusion, he returned to his office/tent and worked on reports. During lunch, men sought him out for counseling which would take most of the day. After dinner, he led a service that lasted until 6:45 p.m. Men came to his tent from 7-9 p.m. for counsel and discussions. By 9 p.m., he was in bed reading. Outside of combat operations, Stroup's daily routine was rigid and typical of being the chaplain to an infantry regiment. But also, his routine assisted him in the effectiveness of his ministry.

Contemporary Leadership Attributes Displayed

Dickson defines leadership as the *"*art of inspiring others in a team to contribute their best toward a goal."[155] For the generation that fought in both the ATL and PAC theatres of WWII, the concept of service seems more common than leadership. Service was at the heart of volunteering. People across America transitioned from many vocations into the US military service. In addition, as many people who found employment because of the war also found patriotic service in spite of it. The nation was moved by the desire to win the war and return home as soon as possible. Those who left were part of congregations. Pastors who served their families, prayed for the safety and return of members loved ones and members themselves. Early in the war, the spirit of service began to penetrate pastoral ministry across the religious landscape of America. Patriotic service, desire for missional ministry, and a desire to be a part of the war effort were motivational factors for pastors leaving parish ministry and volunteering for military service. Service was the call, but leadership was often found in the exercise of it.

[155] John Dickson, *Humilitas* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2011), 33.

All three chaplains displayed humility as a leadership virtue. In all three biographical and narrative references, not one letter or personal record demonstrates a desire for promotion. In fact, all displayed a desire to serve the military and then return to parish ministry upon the conclusion or near ending of the PAC war. Dickson defines humility as *"*the noble choice to forgo your status, deploy your resources, or use your influence for the good of others before yourself."[156] As pastors, each of these chaplains left an established place of ministry to serve alongside the vast armada of enlisted and volunteers for the war effort. For Willard and Wickersham, they joined early in the beginning stages of the PAC conflict. For Stroup, it came later with a desire to understand the returning troops better. These three chaplains trusted God in their work and their abilities, and their trust was often reflected in their prayers on their way to battle, in combat, worship, and memorial services. Thus, they became great influencers. Their presence was often requested by Marines, sailors, and soldiers around them, and their services were often standing room only. This trust of God and others is directly related to their character. As Thrall, McNicol, and McElrath note, "When we examine the natural talents of great influencers, we often find little that distinguishes them from others. But when we look at their character, we find the essential ingredients of their greatness. They trusted God and others."[157]

These three chaplains brought with them vision. They had a personal vision and a patriotic vision. Their personal vision was directly tied to their ministry and their

[156] Dickson, 24.

[157] Bill Thrail, Bruce McNicol and Ken McElrath, *The Ascent of a Leader* (Danvers, MA: Trueface, 1999), 146.

motivation to be with their men in and out of combat. For Willard, this vision was evangelistic. Willard had continual drive for evangelism on the front lines. Often, it would be through the distribution and use of the Gideon's New Testament. More so, it would be through one-on-one counseling and sermons. For Stroup this vision was to perform the well-rounded tasks of being a pastor. He desired pastoral ministry in all climates and environments with the men he was appointed to serve. This ministry included preaching and teaching, administering sacraments, and the administrative duties needed during combat operations and otherwise. Stroup possessed a shepherding heart that would carry him through ministry in and out of the military.

Wickersham possessed a vision of being priestly. His vision was directly tied to the office of an Episcopalian priest. He focused on administering the sacraments of baptism and communion in the midst of boredom and carnage. He took confessions and held to a continual administration of liturgy from the *Book of Common Prayer*. Leighton Ford states in his book *Transforming Leadership*, "By focusing attention on vision, leaders operate on the emotional and spiritual resources of their organizations, on their values, commitment and aspirations, rather than on their physical resources."[158] A patriotic vision existed to defeat the enemy, in the case of these three chaplains, the IJA. But a further vision existed for those they served: reconciliation with God through faith in Christ, and the ability to return home with something left to give.

Finally, these three chaplains demonstrated a level of adaptability that fueled their ministry. None of them were tied to performing their duties in a traditional manner. Each was biblical, orthodox, and convicted by the role of being a pastor in the military. But

[158] Leighton Ford, *Transforming Leadership* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Books, 1991), 100.

none needed a chapel or a peaceful setting to conduct his ministry. A common desire existed to "be with their men" wherever they were. For some, this was a hospital, but each one had the opportunity to minister to his appointed flock in combat. Willard had the largest amount of time in this setting, but Wickersham and Stroup experienced enough combat ministry to obtain first-hand knowledge of the carnage and the need for a chaplain. Bolsinger provides a framework for transformational leadership in *Canoeing the Mountains:* technical competence, adaptive capacity, and relational congruence.[159] It would be anachronistic to apply Bolsinger's model and transformational leadership to the context and work of these chaplains. However, Bolsinger's principle of adaptability illustrates their abilities and leadership. Due to the requirements and the carnage of PAC combat operations, those involved needed a chaplain. The faithful Christian on the front lines did not need his pastor back home. He needed pastoral care after he participated in the killing of another human being. The non-believer that never gave a thought to God before arriving in a combat zone needed someone to talk to about his guilty conscience. These chaplains were not only willing but also able and adaptable to their environment. In their reflective accounts, these three chaplains did not refer to themselves with the overarching language of individualism. They were defined by their role in society and their community as a pastor and subsequently, a chaplain. In his book *Preaching,* Tim Keller identifies one of today's late modern narratives as "the identity narrative," wherein identity is not found outside the person in roles or duties but only in the person's desires

[159] Tod Bolsinger*, Canoeing the Mountains: Christian Leadership in Uncharted Territory* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Books, 2015), 216.

and dreams. Self-worth becomes the dignity bestowed on the self.[160] Willard, Wickersham, and Stroup did not operate in this framework. Their longing for home and peace was frequently noted in their writing, but it was often a reflective note. These chaplains were defined and driven by their role as faithful disciples and pastors. Their calling defined much of their ministry and personal character as well as their capabilities. It also formed and preserved their leadership ability.

Summary of Literature Review

Titus 2:1-2, 15 states, "But as for you, teach what accords with sound doctrine. Older men are to be sober-minded, dignified, self-controlled, sound in faith, in love and in steadfastness. Declare these things; exhort and rebuke with all authority. Let no one disregard you." The leaders and war planners of the US military knew the enemy they and the forces they directed would face. The chaplains examined here did not enter the battle space with the same knowledge. They entered as ministers of the gospel, patriots and faithful members of their families and communities. They volunteered for the mission field that is the military out of both calling and patriotism with hearts to prepare service members for service, trauma, death and their return home. Their ministry was defined by sound doctrine and their personal lives by faith, love, sober-mindedness and dignity. They provided two historical models for chaplains serving in the military; ministry and leadership. For future generations of USA, USN and USAF chaplains entering the PAC theatre for another campaign of any scale, the question of "how do I

[160] Timothy Keller, *Preaching: Communicating Faith in an Age of Skepticism* (New York: Penguin Publishing Group, 2016), 127.

minister and lead here?" has been answered. It can be found in these chaplain's first-hand accounts that have been faithfully preserved and even "resurrected" for future generations.

Chapter 3

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to examine how the ministry and leadership of USN chaplains help combatants prepare for amphibious warfare. The literature review demonstrated a gap in the available research on the topic. Then, this study employed a general qualitative research design and sought out other chaplains who have developed methodologies in the absence of available literature. Sharan B. Merriam in her book, *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*, stated this method of research "is based on the belief that knowledge is constructed by people in an ongoing fashion as they engage in and make meaning of an activity, experience or phenomenon."[161] This qualitative process allows the researcher to achieve an understanding of how people make sense out of their lives, delineate the process rather than the outcome or product of meaning-making, and describe how people interpret what they experience.[162]

The assumption of this study was that both the ministry and leadership of USN chaplains spiritually prepare combatants for amphibious warfare. To examine these areas more closely, the following research questions guided the qualitative research:

1. How do USN chaplains describe combatants' preparation before amphibious warfare?
    a. In what ways do individuals and leaders prepare for amphibious warfare?

[161]Merriam, *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*, 15.

[162]Merriam, 6.

2. What elements of ministry do USN chaplains exercise to assist Marines and Sailors in preparation for amphibious warfare?
    a. What ministry activities were conducted to prepare for the unknown and/or traumatic experiences?
    b. What ministry activities were conducted in consideration of known factors within the contingency environment?
3. How do USN chaplains describe how corporate worship builds spiritual resilience prior to amphibious warfare?
    a. What are various orders of worship they have used in embarkation, contingency and post-contingency?
    b. How was individual and command resiliency affected through their ministry?
4. How do USN chaplains exercise leadership in preparation for amphibious warfare?
    a. Do they prescribe to a particular leadership framework or theory?
    b. In what ways did they exercise leadership throughout their command pre- and post-deployment?

Design of the Study

Merriam defines a general, basic qualitative study as an "attempt to understand the meaning people have constructed."[163] According to Merriam, qualitative research has four characteristics, summarized as follows. First, the focus is on process, understanding

[163] Merriam, 16.

and meaning. Second, the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis. Third, the process is inductive. Fourth, the product is richly descriptive.[164] By employing these characteristics, a qualitative study can uncover and interpret meaning.[165]

As the primary source of data gathering, this study employed a qualitative research design and conducted semi-structured interviews. Merriam describes this structure as using six or more flexible interview questions. "In this type of interview either all of the questions are more flexibly worded, or the interview is a mix of more and less structured questions."[166] This structure allows the interviewer "to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic."[167] This qualitative method provided for the discovery of the most comprehensive and descriptive data from the participants.

Participant Sample Selection

This study required participants who are able to communicate in depth about chaplain ministry and leadership prior to amphibious warfare. Therefore, the researcher selected a unique sample of six USN chaplains matching specific criteria and attributes necessary for this study. Purposeful sampling is described by Marriam as "based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and

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[164] Merriam, 17.

[165] Merriam, 18.

[166] Merriam, 110.

[167] Merriam, 111.

therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned."[168] These criteria were: at least ten years of USN chaplaincy experience, experience with leading full worship services on ships and shore, and doctrinal conviction of the role of the pastor as shepherd. The rationale for these criteria is discussed below.

First, over a ten-year career, a USN Chaplain should either have a ship tour as command chaplain on a USN ship or a USMC operational tour. In both or either of these roles, they should have scheduled and provided worship services as part of the command's battle rhythm. A tour, at minimum, consists of thirty or thirty-six months. In that time, the chaplain should have offered numerous services in varied environmental and geographic settings. This length of experience provides for best practices to surface in the data.

Second, the USN chaplain had to be the primary lead for ministry. Delegation of worship services to any degree did not qualify. The chaplain's service will be inclusive of sermons, hymns, and prayers. Preferably, the order of worship was prepared while partaking in ship or company movement and part of the chaplain's normal "battle rhythm."[169] Preferably, the chaplain led multiple services inclusive of the Lord's Supper in various environmental and geographic settings. These specifics provide for rich and detailed data most relevant to the research purpose focus.

Third, the chaplain interviewed held to both subjective and objective convictions of pastoral theology with shepherding metaphors. Objective convictions were derived from the chaplain's particular denomination and theological beliefs. Due to the vast

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[168] Merriam, 96.

[169] "Battle rhythm" is a Naval term used to describe a daily routine.

number of chaplains and their subsequent motivations for military service, the shepherding metaphor inclusive of a passionate pastoral theology provided assurance of ministry and the priority of leading worship for both believer and unbeliever. Chaplains serving merely as a "job" or "counselors" may dismiss or contradict the very passage of scripture this project seeks to study. Therefore, these criteria allow for a narrowly focused variable on the purpose of ministry and leadership required for data that would answer the research questions.

Data Collection

This study utilized semi-structured interviews for primary data gathering. The open-ended nature of interview questions allowed the researcher to reference corporate worship service narratives within the military context. Additionally, it allowed the interviewee to respond to issues and ideas as they surfaced. As Merriam states, "This format allows the researcher to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic."[170] Ultimately, these methods enabled this study to look for common themes or findings across the variation of participants. Again, Merriam states, "Making sense out of data involves consolidating, reducing, and interpreting what people have said and what the researcher has seen and read."[171]

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[170] Merriam, *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*, 111.

[171] Merriam, 202.

A pilot interview was conducted to test the protocol questions for clarity, usefulness, and relevant data.[172] Initial interview protocol categories were derived from the literature but evolved from the interviewing process through constant comparison across the pool of data. In order to best utilize the process, coding and analysis began and was used throughout the interview process.[173]

Six chaplains were interviewed for ninety minutes each. The researcher recorded the interviews on two digital devices for accuracy and to protect against loss. All six interviews were conducted within a seven-month time frame. As soon as possible after each interview the researcher wrote field notes annotating details not detected in the audio recordings such as facial expressions and body language.[174]

The interview protocol contained the following questions.

1. Tell me about a recent deployment that included an amphibious operation.
2. How did you spiritually prepare for the deployment?
3. What ministry preparations did you make before and even during the deployment?
4. How did you lead others before, during and after deployment?
5. What direct effects of your ministry and leadership did you experience?

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[172] Merriam, 117.

[173] Merriam, 197.

[174] Merriam, 150.

Data Analysis

Following each interview, the researcher personally transcribed each audio recording. This method enhanced the ongoing analysis of the interview data and the evolution of protocol questions and interview technique. The analysis focused on discovering and identifying common struggles, solutions, and methods across the variation of participants.[175]

Researcher Position

Since in qualitative studies the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis, all observations and analysis are filtered through the researcher's perspectives and values. Therefore, researchers must be aware of how their own biases or subjectivity shape the research process. As Merriam states, "Investigators need to explain their biases, dispositions, and assumptions regarding the research to be undertaken."[176]

The researcher conducting this study understands that his biases, personal opinions, and views of the world are contributing factors in how this study is conducted. This researcher is a military chaplain endorsed by the PRCC and an ordained teaching elder in the PCA.[177] The researcher's ministerial experience includes a staff position at a large church, a chaplain position in recovery ministry, and 7 years of active duty as a USN chaplain. As a USN chaplain, the researcher has been the command chaplain of an amphibious ship (LPD) and Naval Expeditionary command. While serving in both USN

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[175] Merriam, 229.

[176] Merriam, 139.

[177] Presbyterian Reformed Commission on Chaplaincy

and USMC commands, the researcher has experienced three deployments to the Mediterranean, Middle East, and Pacific AORs.

Merriam also cautions researchers to be aware of biases they bring in the form of their own personal beliefs and experiences.[178] This study has been shaped by at least three such positions. First, regardless of individual beliefs, chaplains view the designated commands in which they serve as their "flock." Second, chaplains are willing and able to lead and minister in austere environments. Third, chaplains have developed and adhere to a definitive personal pastoral theology.

With this information in mind, the researcher will not have any bias regarding the leadership style or ministry of particular chaplains. However, the researcher attends a church that is considered mainline Protestant in denomination. This bias might influence the reader's perspective when the study is read. However, the researcher plans to utilize the experience of pastors of multiple denominational and worship styles. The researcher is better acquainted with Protestant chaplains and will receive most of his information from them. However, the researcher will seek out the expertise of pastors of other denominations in order to get a well-rounded understanding.

Study Limitations

As stated in the previous section, participants interviewed for this study were limited to those serving in the USN. Therefore, a restrictive data set with predispositions was used. Some of the study's findings may be generalized to other military chaplains in similar context. Readers who desire to generalize some of the particular aspects of these

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[178] Merriam, 208.

conclusions on the basis of their personal experience should test those aspects in their particular context. As with all qualitative studies, readers bear the responsibility to determine what can be appropriately applied to their context. The results of this study may also have implications for chaplains in other civilian ministries.

Chapter 4

Findings

The purpose of this study was to explore how USN chaplains conduct ministry and leadership to prepare combatants for amphibious warfare, emphasizing the praxis of chaplain ministry and leadership throughout all stages of amphibious warfare. Specific to ministry, it explored what orders and elements of worship were implemented, what changes were made, depending on the stage of amphibious warfare, and what specific preparations were made for deployment, traumatic experiences, and combat engagements. Specific to leadership, the study examined how each chaplain identified with leadership models and how they exercised leadership while serving combatants and those directing combatant resources. To that end, this chapter compiles the perspectives gained using six qualitative interviews with seasoned USN chaplains to locate common themes and relevant insights pertaining to the four research questions for this study.

Introduction to the Participants

Six active duty USN chaplains were selected to participate in this study. All were well established in their chaplaincy ministry. By rank, the participants were either lieutenant commanders (O-4), commanders (O-5) or captains (O-6). All six had served both USN and USMC branches, and three had served in USCG assignments. Additionally, all six had served in USMC infantry or special operations commands either before or following USN ship assignments. All were deployed during OIF or OEF, and they had multiple deployments that included amphibious operations. Five of the six

chaplains had ministered in contingency environments involving combat trauma and wounded combatants and had performed memorial services for service members. Together, they averaged of 18.1 years of military service as USN chaplains. All six were males and came from Protestant backgrounds: two Southern Baptist, one Assembly of God, two non-denominational, and one Church of Christ.

All names and identifiable information have been changed to protect identities. At the time of their interviews, Chaplain Brady and Chaplain Russ were serving as chaplains of USMC expeditionary forces at their respective MCEs. They regularly liaise with USN chaplain corps leadership in Washington D.C. at the Pentagon and across multiple USMC and USN installations. Chaplain Harris had recently returned from serving as the chaplain to an expeditionary unit. Chaplain Jones was currently serving with an operational USMC division (infantry), while Chaplain Lewis and Chaplain Smith were serving as regimental chaplains for the same.

Combatant's Preparation Before Amphibious Warfare

The first research question sought to determine what personal preparations chaplains have observed combatants making before an amphibious operation. The operation had known factors of potential combat and lethality. One of the working assumptions made before the interviews was that combatants, as well as chaplains, were preparing spiritually, physically, mentally, and relationally for their upcoming deployment. Primarily, these preparations would occur with their deploying team through training. Secondarily, preparations were made in their personal faith, and quality time with friends and or family. From the qualitative data, several repeated aspects of their

work emerged: individual assessment models, preparation for the person as a whole, and the importance of goal-oriented training and repetition.

Observing the Combatant's Preparation

When asked about their observations of preparation for amphibious warfare, the participants answered using unstated assessment models. They spoke of three areas that personal and professional preparation impacts: spiritual, mental, and physical. The physical aspect of the person came up first. Chaplain Harris said that the physical training "helps the heart and the mind with understanding," while Chaplain Jones and Smith emphasized "reps and sets"[179] to prepare for harsh conditions in a hazardous environment, as well as the unexpected. Chaplains Russ and Brady provided a high-level perspective. Each drew attention to the eighteen month training cycles completed before deployment. They viewed the physical preparations conducted in a "crawl, walk, run" approach to assess where a person "is or may not be." Specifically, Chaplain Russ highlighted a "college format" with a tiered approach, where the physical elements culminate in live fire exercises before deployment. They underscored that this physical aspect of preparation takes place within the context of a structured, pre-determined, monitored, and guided training cycle, applying stress, and then diagnosing an individual's reaction.

The participants also focused upon the spiritual aspect of preparation. The term "spiritual" was not necessarily Christian but contained biblical themes and phrases.

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[179] "Reps and sets" – This is a common phrase used referring to muscle memory and resiliency built through repeated training cycles.

Common terms were “peace,” “encouragement,” “transcendent,” “death,” “welfare,” and “baptism.” They also expressed a common desire to go to war and experience combat. Each chaplain’s flock encouraged and enforced the cultural undertone of desiring to fight. Within this culture, the participants emphasized preparation and understanding for the potential hazards and effects of contingency and felt spiritual aspects were a defined and concrete component of the warfighter. This component needed to be addressed through guided training and experience, they noted. As with the physical, the spiritual nature of the person needed to be stressed in order to reveal where he or she “was or was not.” Chaplain Harris mentioned the spiritual aspect first and laid stress on the USMC training cycle as a tool to “help with the heart and also help to give them an understanding.” For him, the spiritual experience of an individual directly related to the mental and physical elements. Whether explicitly stated or ordered, the participants accepted the spiritual component as part of their organizational training of the warfighter.

Participants also highlighted the mental aspect of individual preparation. Chaplain Lewis discussed the mental preparations needed through “getting their minds ready” by reading. He provided specific reading from military history in the areas of deployment and conflict. Chaplain Smith valued mental preparation as “preparation for the unexpected” and for the “management of expectations.” These responses were in the context of the entry into a potentially hostile area, whether from a physical enemy, natural landscape, or environmental factors. He spoke of the necessity of this preparation for the impact on “morale, welfare, and preparing for what they will encounter.” They also spoke of mental preparations in general terms as part of the training cycle. Common

themes and phrases were: “the training requirements,”, “the preparation phase,”, “phase training,” “ship familiarization,” and “schedules of training.”

In summary, as participants reflected on an individual’s preparation before amphibious warfare, they answered using an unstated assessment model. Either specifically or topically, they described a person along three metrics: spiritual, mental, and physical. One participant included the additional category of “social,” and this answer related to the need for Marines to develop inter-personal relationships with other Marines before combat. Thus, two elements of personhood were highlighted most often: spiritual and mental. Chaplain Brady included the emotional aspect and his pastoral work in preparing them for “war, death and chaos.” But for all participants, the spiritual, mental, and physical components of the combatant were areas of focus for preparation and pastoral care for amphibious warfare.

Observing the Leader’s Preparation

Another area of preparation focused on the leaders, chaplain’s and otherwise. Participants provided observations of leader preparations before amphibious warfare. One chaplain blatantly detailed the lack of preparation by leaders. Chaplain Lewis specifically recalled their lack of personal awareness of the need for spiritual preparations before entering into the combat zone. He also recalled the effects of this lack of preparation. When leaders entered into a time of high stress, death, fear, and anger, they were not prepared to handle the overwhelming emotions and continuing disruptive elements of the environment. Chaplain Lewis recalled that the vast majority of his experience reflected such lack of preparation but also mentioned exceptions. In every amphibious operation, a small group took preparation for warfare seriously. For example, he noted a small group

of Marines who held each other accountable to the purity covenants they made with their wives while on deployment. But overall, his observations expressed "the exact opposite of spiritual performance" for leadership.

Other chaplains observed a proactive approach to the preparation for amphibious warfare. Leaders exercised this preparation in two ways: organizationally and personally. Organizationally, some common actions were observed. First, leaders empowered other leaders to stress physical, spiritual, emotional, and relational preparation using a top-down approach. Chaplain Harris observed his leaders highlighting *"*take care of your own business first." His leaders cared for other Marines and sailors internally before they addressed people and issues outside of the organization. Also, they encouraged leaders to ask others, *"*What am I personally doing to prepare?" Chaplain Smith observed his leadership building teamwork and unity of mind and mission, all with a motivational bent. Chaplain Jones noticed a heavy emphasis on the planning process. His leadership team focused more on the "big picture" and their ability to be "flexible" with the use of "intuition." Time was a big focus, along with an "intentional stretching" of the force. Chaplains Russ and Brady observed leaders from a broader organizational scale. Chaplain Russ placed the organizational preparations in two categories: physical and mental. This preparation was encouraged by leaders from the top through the ranks. For Chaplain Brady, preparation was broader. He observed leaders stressing the integration and co-operability of both the USN and USMC team. Preparations were made by the leaders in order to be able to "fight tonight" as one cohesive force. They used exercises and planning, a rehearsal of concept drills designed to "overcome the tyranny of distance."

Observations of the inter-personal aspect of preparation came up second and, in general, briefly. Chaplain Harris recalled his leadership placing a focus on the financial preparations of being deployed. In addition, his leadership encouraged the preparation of contact lists for emergency and non-emergency purposes for those they were leaving behind. Chaplain Smith recalled his leadership providing guidance, encouragement, support, and motivation to "get Marines talking" before the operation so verbal processing would be normal after combat and other stressful situations. Chaplain Jones' leadership accentuated a "mindset and emotional resilience" for their troops to prepare for warfare. Much of this preparation was deferred to the chaplain to shape individuals for any "climate, place and situation." Chaplain Russ observed his leadership framing an "understanding" of the combat environment through a "personal academic" emphasis. None of the participants detailed any knowledge of their leadership's personal preparation for amphibious warfare.

Summary of the RQ

Based on the answers to these two questions, combatants' preparations for amphibious warfare fit a simple assessment model. In particular, they observed their leader's preparation for warfare with an organizational emphasis and the encouragement of inter-personal instruction. From the data collected, preparation for amphibious warfare was emphasized organizationally, with a heavy concentration on the physical and mental aspects. Spiritual preparation was present but remains the subject matter of the chaplain and not the organization as a whole.

Ministry to Combatants

The second research question asked how chaplains ministered to combatants throughout all stages of amphibious warfare. The word "ministry" was general in nature to allow an open response indicative of the chaplain's professional skills and background. Additionally, the question was not directly tied to a timeframe or phase of amphibious warfare. Each chaplain responded with their practical theology. This theology was pragmatic in nature with the first response being a connection or ministry with those they serve. Second, they responded with a relational emphasis. In this sense, ministry to the warfighter incorporated a high degree of relationship. Relationships were built through presence, called deck-plating, and attending meetings. Deck-plating meant walking around and visiting and was directed to enlisted personnel. Ministry though meeting attendance was directed to the leaders and decision makers of the respective command. Third, the participants provided criticism and direction for chaplains in amphibious warfare. Phrases like "get out and about," "don't be a hermit in the office," and helping the warfighters "know who they are" were common. Orthopraxy, for the participants and their management of other chaplains, was the primary theme.

Chaplain Lewis provided the most direct response in reference to pragmatic advisement to troops. He stated his common ministry was in the advisement of pre-deployment planning. "Fail to plan, plan to fail*"* was his common phrase. He would also ask about goals and goal setting before and after deployment. He noted emphasizing *"*straight talks" with Marines and sailors. These conversations, for believers and non-believers, were in reference to personal purity and specifically, the use of pornography and prostitution during deployments. He would often bridge these discussions to the

"professional" aspects of their jobs, fulfilling their professional duties. Chaplain Jones exercised his practical theology in ministering to "the whole person," the emotional and spiritual aspects of the person, so that the Marine or sailor could perform their professional duties to the best of their abilities. Chaplain Russ focused on the ethics of warfare and addressed any ethical or moral issues related to the rules of engagement. He would also regularly engage in "decision making" and the code of conduct. He would connect these discussions with an "eternal perspective" and the spiritual preparedness needed. Similar to Chaplain Russ, Brady discussed the topic of death and dying well. He stated his desire to be "realistic" with troops, using historical narratives and perspectives of the WWII PAC campaign. He would bridge these stories to the future by relating the current generation's cultural tendencies and preferences to those of the WWII generation. Whatever the tactic or method, the data from this question revealed each chaplain using a practical perspective in their ministry.

Chaplain Harris emphasized the relational aspect of his ministry. Two weeks prior to this interview, he had returned from a seven month deployment. He recalled "developing a relational ministry that paved the way to deeper conversations." He noted that through this ministry, he was asked by his commanding officer to meet with him daily to pray and read scripture. He attributed this invitation to his "walking around the spaces and developing relationships, allowing Marines to know who I am and getting comfortable with me." Chaplain Smith also recalled exercising relational ministry through "encouragement and motivation." He was then able to lead counseling sessions addressing deeper topics. As a supervisory chaplain, Chaplain Jones based his career on leading and developing a relational ministry with those he supervised. He began with the

other chaplain's "humanity" and worked to build on this foundation through weekly lunches and regular gatherings. The purpose was to "walk with them as they are with their own battalions" and to "provide a ministry of pastoral care." The data thus show the relational dynamic as a particular focus of ministry.

The participants also offered either direct criticism or professional direction for other chaplains in the context of deployment and amphibious warfare. By far, the most common was to "deck-plate to be known by others you serve." Each viewed himself as meeting this standard of chaplaincy, noting long hours and multiple conversations outside of their offices or field locations. Through historical references, Chaplain Jones emphasized the need to acclimate in a "kinetic environment." Chaplain Jones provided a biblical word picture of "shepherding shepherds," while Chaplain Harris emphasized "making himself available" and monitoring how much time he spent in the office. As the participants reflected upon their combat deployments and otherwise, they noted examples of chaplains who spent more time in the office than in the field. These examples were more critical than laudatory in nature. Based on the data from these participants, mobility in ministry with a strong degree of presence was integral for themselves and as a professional standard.

According to this data, ministry was present throughout all stages of amphibious warfare. Regardless of the stage, ministry described by these participants contained common attributes: practical theology, relationship development, and presence. They expressed the presence of pastoral ministry, with several common elements: preaching, prayer, communion, and hymns, provided through all stages and at designated times. Informal ministry opportunities on a beach or in a combat zone still had an element of

formality through announcement and scheduling. As the data shows, the practical ministry was carried out through a highly mobile and relational way. This characteristic underscored each participant's ministry.

Ministry in the Unknown and Trauma

To draw out specific data for ministry in amphibious warfare, a follow-up question was asked. It focused on the ministry activities conducted when the assaulting force was entering a known hostile or combat environment. Chaplain Brady described his experience prior to the invasion of Iraq:

> Well, I remember back when I was stationed on my ship. It was just a couple of days before the start of OIF, and people were nervous, and you could literally hear a pin drop on a ship in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea. For the evening prayer that night, instead of offering a prayer, we sang "Amazing Grace." I think that brought a sense of peace, a divine peace, which we know scripture tells us, "surpasses all understanding" to the crew and allowed them focus on what we were there for.

Chaplain Lewis recalled his experiences before entering into a humanitarian operation. His command was ordered to deliver fresh water and containers to an area recently decimated by a tsunami:

> We sat on the dock, and I sat with people and talked about preparing their minds for seeing trauma and traumatic death. So that was very targeted. And at the same time, at the Bible studies and in the sermons on the ship, we'd also address those things. So, we hit it professionally, preparing them for that, and then I integrated that into my material for Sundays and religious services.

During his recent deployment, Chaplain Harris' command was alerted to a potential humanitarian mission. They received the stand-by message and entered into a planning stage for the potential response. He quickly realized that his team was planning for the movement of troops and the logistics involved in support, but they were not planning for work involved with corpses, a religious consideration in the native country, or whether

the Marines were equipped to handle the effect of burial and assembling dismembered adults and children. He was able to speak to the planning team and plan for the future mission. Chaplain Smith drew upon his experience in combat. His ministry in a combat zone centered upon the presence of God and God's peace, comfort, and reassurance throughout the experience of death and traumatic experiences. He emphasized the chaplain's ministry as *"*standing in the gap" for the warfighter. This stance was the bridge between the current traumatic experience and the eternal security, peace, and understanding that an individual's faith can provide. Chaplain Jones viewed his ministry as a chaplain as bringing some peace and sense to chaos or a potentially chaotic situation. He relied upon the exercise of liturgical ministry and any type of "sacred rhythm." He remembered how liturgy brought peace and patience to combatants in a time of chaos. He also noted the use of liturgy as preparing troops for future traumatic experiences, by providing them a place to "settle in."

In viewing this data as a whole, when a fighting unit entered the battle space or any other potentially traumatic environment, the chaplain's ministry provided preparation, peace, and understanding. In response to this sub-question, answers included an organizational and training framework yet linked it to the ability to remain calm with a sense of peace while performing essential duties in a contingent or kinetic environment. Pastoral theology and practical ministry examples in pre-combat/traumatic stages and throughout the kinetic environments were common throughout the interviews.

Ministry in Combat

An additional question related to the chaplain's role in and during combat. All participants surveyed had combat (contingency) experience, primarily from OIF (Iraq)

and OEF (Afghanistan). As USN chaplains, their combat experience was not directly tied to the USMC. USMC infantry and other ground combat elements (GCE) composed the bulk of their experience. All of the chaplains had surface warfare experience, serving as chaplains on a ship, with Chaplain Jones having served with a destroyer squadron in the Seventh Fleet (PAC), thus providing extensive details. When answering this question, participants placed themselves outside of their current role and reflected upon a stressful time and set of specific events. In addition, participants provided relational and spiritual components within their answers. In a combat environment, Chaplain Lewis observed those he served:

> The person who is spiritually fit, meaning there's nothing hidden in their life and they are there fully known and fully loved within their communities, their small group, their church -- that's the type of person who's going to lay down their life for their brother or sister, and, maybe the other type, the opposite of that is someone who has all these secrets and pent-up shame and toxic shame in their soul. They might run the other way or push someone out of their way to get out of the sinking track.

He also observed that the best warriors would have a life of confession and repentance in the midst of community. This vulnerability allowed the Marine or sailor to be "fully known" by others they were fighting alongside. He encouraged and facilitated this behavior within his fighting unit, a continual area of ministry particular to the combat environment. He termed this the "bio-psycho-social and spiritual" effect of his ministry. Chaplain Jones sought out stress flare-ups while making random visits into work spaces on board ships by starting conversations. He noted many sailors and Marines "on edge" as he walked into their spaces, where he felt his ministry had the greatest impact. Others recalled this type of relational or inter-personal ministry with Marines and sailors.

Others reflected upon a more spiritual and pastoral ministry in the combat environment. Chaplain Russ noted that he wanted to care for those in his command but also for other chaplains. As he ministered to other chaplains, he met them where they were ministering. He noted them often being "alone and afraid." His primary ministry was to remind them that "God is in control," and they are not doing ministry alone. He saw his presence as connecting them to a broader community and allowing them to "draw something from me." He noted his irritation when he would find a chaplain isolated and "sitting at his desk," a symptom of being "spiritually unfit." Chaplain Brady recalled his time with the Marines in Iraq. He provided daily prayer services, Bible studies, and a ministry of presence to remind them of "the sacred" and to "bring a sense of peace and calm." He noted multiple incidents of leading corporate prayer to "refocus." Chaplain Harris detailed his desires and ability to minister "outside the wire." While with the Marines in Afghanistan, their command experienced 108 IEDs (improvised explosive devices). He managed to join Marines on convoys and visit multiple FOBs (forward operating bases) to provide religious services and support. He tried to go to every FOB, normally via convoy. He remembered:

> We tried to scatter about where we could go to every location or FOB. Often, other companies would realize that my religious program specialist (RP) and I were actually riding with the Marines sometimes on the log train, sometimes in the LHDs. So, every time, one of the companies would ask my RP, "Can the chaplain come by and put his hands on our vehicle say a prayer for us?"

He would often spend two to four days visiting FOBs and riding in convoys. He would perform services and provide counseling as much as possible. An additional aspect of his ministry was delivering care packages to those located far from any access to mail. He would bring letters and gifts and facilitated a service for Marines to record a video via

CD for their loved ones. He would then mail the CD to their friends and family. He remembered developing "rapport" with the Marines, since many would have "never stepped foot in a chapel."

Summary of the RQ

Based on the participant's responses and details, ministry in the combat environment incorporates inter-personal skill along with the ability and will to be mobile. It also demands the ability to be creative and flexible in providing ministry programming. The essential element for all programming was prayer, incorporated into services but also leading to services specifically dedicated to prayer. Prayer was also an integral part of ministering to an individual in this environment. Another common aspect of chaplain ministry was words of encouragement. It was part of the personal interaction with Marines and sailors and key to inter-personal growth. Prayer and encouragement provided a calming and stabilizing element to the specific context of ministry in combat.

Corporate Worship and Resiliency

The third research question traced how corporate worship affects resiliency. In chaplain ministry, worship service attendance can vary. In historical accounts of combat, worship attendance grows before known engagements and during conflict. In the stages of amphibious warfare, attendance may vary depending on transit, operational intelligence, or environmental factors such as sights and sounds. This question evaluated the participants' experiences leading worship throughout their careers. This experience could have been at sea or on land, but the context was during amphibious operations.

The participants highlighted the community aspect of worship as the primary determining factor for resiliency—for a command or an individual. Each chaplain felt that the presence of community positively correlated to the mental and spiritual health of the individual warfighter. This effect was not relegated only to Christians but throughout an entire command. Chaplain Jones provided a sea-going aspect of corporate worship. When corporate worship was part of the ship's routine, its "battle rhythm" it provided a *"*sacred space" for people to feel human again. Worship on a ship built a "different kind of community" from other community experiences. It allowed the person, and even an entire command, to slow down within a time and space set aside for remembering God's presence and their humanity. As he would advocate to keep worship services in the ship's weekly schedule, he expressed frustration when the schedule would be changed due to operational requirements. He saw an entire command's resiliency affected when services were cancelled.

Chaplain Lewis remembered witnessing the "power of community" during worship services. Similar to Chaplain Jones, he noted Marines having a strong sense of community outside of worship services, but it varied. Corporate worship provided a "moment of connection" when those present were focused on one thing together: worshipping the Lord. Chaplain Russ emphasized the need for other Marines and sailors to feel they are "not alone."

Worship among "like-minded believers" allowed that emotional experience. He stated, "Worship allows for the building of connections which in turn builds quiet confidence and assurance helping someone know it's going to be ok, and they can trust in God." Chaplain Brady experienced revival and self-realization. He saw people realize

that war is never pretty, and there is going to be loss of life. However, he also noted that others focus not only on the sacred and divine but also the freedom to share "fears, frustrations, joys, anger, all of that." They do this in a "collective body," knowing others are praying for them or even "laying hands on them before their departure." He said that Marines and sailors are "like submarines. When things are going well, you never see them. When things go bad, they pop up." But he also remarked that when things go badly, they usually look for a pastor or priest or community for comfort. He also noted that in combat operations, the "religious" become "even more religious." Regardless of faith, their interest piques, drawing from what faith they have or what they may hear. With all these aspects of a Marine or sailor's corporate worship, Chaplain Brady remembered, "Revivals take place" when people realize the seriousness of their future and the realities of war. Thus, the participants affirmed that corporate worship built resiliency and that during amphibious warfare, it built community unique for their context.

Two chaplains, in addition to the commonalities expressed above, noted an additional personal aspect of corporate worship. Chaplain Smith remembers his preparation for conducting corporate worship services. His focus was upon "exegeting to your audience" and considering where those you are preaching to may be going and things they may encounter in their future. He also placed effort into thinking about what is on many Marine's and sailor's hearts and minds and working to speak and tailor worship elements to those things. He saw his role as "bringing those things to God, the needs of the people, normalizing those things" and "bringing a message of hope and encouragement." Personally, he remembered identifying with his people and the things

that were on their hearts. As a chaplain, he found hope and encouragement and was "strengthened" by experiencing the same spiritual stress and emotions as those to whom he ministered. Chaplain Harris also noted his personal memories of corporate worship. He reflected on his time conducting and attending worship as,

> Building my spiritual readiness because it's important for me to be in a right relationship with God as a chaplain. I got to make sure that I'm right with God before I can actually minister to my people.

Attending corporate worship facilitated his personal resilience so he could minister to his flock. He also remembered the importance of fellowship. He noted those that he ministered to needed people praying for them when in harmful situations. "Feeling the prayers" allowed others to express what they felt and their relationship with God. It allowed other believers to be encouraged. For these chaplains, corporate worship strengthened their resiliency by seeing its effects on other believers.

From this data, the primary effect upon resiliency was the availability and the building of community. Within the amphibious warfare context, having a community provided encouragement and hope in times of stress and potential harm. When a command had an established rhythm of corporate worship, Marines and sailors were strengthened and more resilient through the stages of amphibious warfare. This strength grew regardless of Christian faith or personal belief. The scheduling of corporate worship amidst amphibious operations provided a space of pause and rest for all involved. It also lent an inspirational atmosphere to their higher calling.

The Order of Worship

As noted in the introduction, the chaplains participating were from differing denominational and theological backgrounds, but all were Christian. With this in mind, a

sub-question asked for the specific elements of worship used. The responses varied according to the various services, with several common elements. These were prayer, preaching, music, scripture, and communion.

Chaplain Harris used short devotionals combined with communion. He would often lead worship with this format in "the field." Always with a Bible, he would also have the elements for communion ready. His "five-minute sermons" consisted of reading a few verses, talking about them, then offering prayer and communion. He believed communion was a "tangible thing" that brought individuals closer to God via something they could touch. The format for longer, more formal services in and outside of the field were as follows: worship, prayer, songs, scripture reading, prayer, sermon, closing hymn, and prayer. He would often include members of the congregation—Marines and sailors—to read pre-selected scriptures before the service. He noted, when planning for worship services, "Time is very precious; if you are given time don't belabor." Thus, his field sermons were five minutes, and his more formal in-garrison sermons were an average of fifteen minutes. Chaplain Smith referred to his services as a "hip-pocket thing." He would often use the *USMC Field Services Devotional* as a format. In expeditionary warfare, he found a mixed audience of Catholic and Protestant, and the *Field Guide* provided for both. It provided for a "liturgical experience," something familiar to all attendees. He remembered the Lord's Prayer and other passages providing common ground for all attendees to voice their prayers and concerns to God. When he conducted worship service in the field, he brought familiarity to those worshipping. He found using the guide provided "a few words of force" to help people connect with God. Chaplain Lewis recalled that his services did not change based on location. Worship services on a

flight deck or in the field were the same in format. He would open in prayer, have an open prayer time where the congregation could voice their concerns to God, lead in hymns, scripture reading, and preaching, then closing in prayer. In his sermons, Chaplain Lewis would not use application as "he left that up to God." Chaplain Jones provided details for his worship services. He recalled:

> Worship services typically are one hour. Some common things are three different songs, some point, maybe four on average, a couple of prayers, a couple different scriptures, a sermon homily more like fifteen to twenty minutes.

For him, Bible studies were in a different category and did not have an order of worship. Chaplain Jones broke away from answering the question to reflect on how his past services have informed the present. He has begun to focus more on the "importance of music and ministry." He said, "Music gives voice to things we sometimes are not even aware of that we really need." His current focus has contrasted with worship services that place little emphasis on hymns. As he has interacted and deployed with the younger generations, he has found "they really hunger and desire to make space" through the use of multiple hymns in worship. Similar to Chaplain Smith, Jones finds the use of liturgical resources a tool for connecting others to the past and the traditions of their worship community. In addition, he recalls his personal experience with having communion in the field with Marines:

> Communion as such, when you're at table in the field or when you're at table on a ship that is some of the most meaningful, sacred, spiritual experience I've ever had. I'll never forget being in Bridgeport, mountain warfare and being in the field, having communion with Marines, like time stood still.

Chaplain Jones believed the most powerful and engaging event in worship was communion. Of all participants, Chaplain Russ responded with potential changes through

different phases of amphibious warfare. His elements were similar to the other chaplains, and he noted:

> I would say that words of worship are going to be similar, but I think the prayers are going to be different. If your focus is probably, "Lord, prepare our hearts, get us ready for whatever, Lord, keep us safe," then "Lord, thank you for delivering us, bringing us through." Different focuses. I think even your focus of services is going to be different.

He remembered the order of worship staying similar if not the same, but the context changed the prayers, hymns, and sermons. Similar to Chaplain Smith, Brady felt "timing is crucial." He remembered that in the context of amphibious operations, the mission always comes first. The chaplain, therefore must be prepared at a moment's notice with a "hip-pocket sermon." Instead of a firm order of worship, he felt a mental template was more valuable. This template of prayer, scripture, sermon, and even a hymn would allow for a service any time and any place when requested or appropriate. He remembered many COs saying, "Hey chaps, you got five minutes; what do you got?" In that moment he sought to "bring the sacred, the divine" into that five minutes. He even noted that words do not have to be spoken. Sometimes a moment of silence or bowed heads and a brief prayer allowed people to focus their thoughts. By having a brief service or word prepared for any situation, he felt the chaplain would be given longer and more thorough opportunities to minister when time was not as compressed.

Summary of the RQ

The data from question three can be viewed in the following chart:

	Harris	Smith	Lewis	Jones	Russ	Brady
Prayer	X	X	X	X	X	X
Congregation/Individual Prayer			X			
Hymns	X	X	X	X	X	
Scripture Reading	X	X	X	X	X	X
Preaching	X		X	X	X	X
Reading/Responsive Reading	X	X				
Communion	X			X		
Liturgy	X	X		X		
USMC Field Services Guide		X				
Benediction	X					
Field Service Time (Minutes)	5			15-20		5
Garrison Service Time (Minutes)	30			60		

All participants agreed on the distinct importance of an order of worship. For field services, none followed a formal guide or handout to direct and structure worship. For services at an installation or in a chapel, a formalized order of worship was used. Regardless of the use of an order of worship or bulletin or where the service was held, the data demonstrates three common elements of worship: prayer, scripture reading, preaching and hymns. A distinction in service times can also be seen in the data. For the participants who provided the details, field services were brief while services in chapel were lengthier. In addition, the use of liturgy or a liturgical service was common, sometimes but not always including communion. The participants noted their personal enthusiasm for offering worship services throughout all stages of amphibious warfare.

Exercising Leadership in Amphibious Warfare

The fourth and final research question explored the participating chaplains' leadership throughout an amphibious warfare campaign. This research question included two sub-questions exploring personal adherence to a leadership framework or theory and

specific examples of leadership before and after a deployment. Common elements emerged in the exercise of their leadership. First, they described their personal experience as engaging and relational. They often used the word "relational" or "relationship," through sharing meals or coffee with their subordinates. They were present through exercises and meetings and actively engaged leaders in their commands. Second, they believed in a "transparent" style of leadership. This transparency was a personal expectation and also one for those in leadership over them. The ability to know their leaders and to be known by them was a foundational aspect of leadership. For these participants, personal transparency included morality and ethics. If this aspect of leadership was expected of their leaders, the consensus was that it was expected by the chaplain too. The third common detail was the lack of adherence to any particular leadership framework. Leadership style descriptions were: "open," "intentional," and "all things to all people." None referred to a specific author, historical example, or academic theory of leadership.

Chaplain Harris' experience with supervisory chaplains was less than memorable. As he reflected, he stated, *"*Working with other chaplains hasn't always been that great." Negative examples shaped his leadership so that, as he supervised other chaplains before deployment, he "established rapport right off the bat." He shared regular meals and coffee with them and also established a relational ministry with his subordinates. He self-monitored and encouraged others to "take care of yourself," encouraging chaplains to do things that built spiritual resiliency within themselves. This resiliency could be developed through the reading of leadership, ethical and professional books, self-examination, and rest. Another exercise of leadership was the proactive "checking up on the command."

He felt that his leadership was exercised when he regularly inquired after his commanding officer, executive officer, and Sergeant Major. Within this leadership triad, he noticed the potential for isolation and self-contained burdens. He stated:

> Chaplains are sometimes shy or hesitant, and they don't want to breach that level. Well, you're the chaplain. You're the only guy in town, right? That's your job. Whereas they could tell you to get out. Well, no one else is going to ask how the Sergeant Major's really doing. No one's going to ask the executive officer (XO) how they're doing. No one's going to ask the Colonel how he's doing, except the chaplain.

In a similar way, Chaplain Smith exercised leadership by "taking the initiative" and being ready to "provide and advise." This is a phrase often used when referring to the triad. He felt he exercised a relational form of leadership because he knew the need and "had a finger on the pulse" of the command, due to the inherent nature of being a chaplain. He felt that relationships established through care and provision allowed him to have an audience and "stand up in front of people." In doing so, he helped them connect, leading by example, and encouraged others toward a particular direction. In these moments he could provide "spiritual leadership." Chaplain Lewis did cite a personal leadership philosophy, highlighting the leadership philosophy of three commanding officers. His fondest memory of a leadership speech during an amphibious operation was:

> Just know what you're going to remember when you're an old man with your grandchildren on your lap. It's not going to be how much work you got done, but it's going to be the relationships you built in the Marine Corps.

He used this philosophy as a reminder to those he counseled. He would also encourage leaders not to view Marines through their physical capabilities and would remind his leaders to consider the spiritual and emotional condition of their Marines and sailors. One indicator was the health of their relationships within the home. He encouraged leaders to model transparency and vulnerability within the command and at home, as he believed

the health of these elements “prepare us for battle.” Chaplain Jones also understood his exercise of leadership through a relational model. He stated:

> I wanted to find better ways of building rapport with our command and leaders. I intentionally was dedicated to going to my command post and building those and looking for those meetings that they're having. The ones that I was probably not aware of. In those meetings I listened for common trends. We don't do that enough to build strategic engagement leadership.

Chaplain Jones used the phrase “strategic engagement leadership” to define proactive inquiry with leadership circles. Chaplain Russ stated he believed he should “come alongside the chain of command” and that other chaplains should “inject themselves” into their presence. In doing so, he was able to build the commanding officer’s confidence in the religious ministry team (RMT) and demonstrate the value a chaplain brings to the command. He believed that once this value was established, he could demonstrate the chaplain’s ability to keep Marines and sailors fighting by giving them “emotional and psychological fuel.” Chaplain Brady believed that he exercised leadership through presence that resulted in relationships. He desired to be with a different company every month in the field. He wanted to “be doing whatever they do, just to be with them.” He remembered this strategy providing the opportunity to “speak about God instead of luck” and remind others what God did and how he “brought them through.” He also felt presence and relationship allowed him to speak to commanders in such a way that “they would listen.” As the data shows, the participants explained their exercise of leadership was engaging and relational in nature.

Leadership Styles

In order to explore the leadership styles of the chaplains interviewed, a sub-question asked if any of the participants followed a specific leadership framework or

style. No single participant adhered to one style or theory. All held to a flexible definition, largely undefined, with a couple of examples of an author or leadership theory. Chaplain Harris stated he was open to any theory. Further in the interview he referred to the book *Lincoln on Leadership*.[180] Again, he used Phillips' work to endorse a *"*get out of your office" aspect of leadership. But by his own description, he defines his leadership style as a "relational learner, encouraging and empowering and not micromanaging." Chaplain Smith defined the philosophy of leadership as *"*influence." He believed that leaders in his command referred people to his care as a result of the influence he had upon them. His influence grew through his "intentionality" and his efforts to "lead with a purpose." Chaplain Jones defined his leadership style as "modeling integrity" with "transparency." He noted an example of leadership that shaped his own:

> Oftentimes we get a command, and you get a CO and they go, "Well, this is my leadership" and you see it one time, and then a year and a half later when you're like, "Oh yeah, that's right, he did have that idea," and now it's kind of lost. I try to think about that every couple of months. At least check in with my folks to see if I am kind of walking that line of what I said.

As a proponent of reading books on leadership and being present with people, he noted, "Good leaders have a healthy tension of being on the dance floor but also stepping out intentionally from that." He believes leaders, and chaplains, need to have times when they are observing "systemic things" and not just a "technical answer" to a problem. He verbalized the need for leaders to articulate cultural problems and larger issues with their commands. Chaplain Russ referred to his style as "servant leadership." He felt that he could not articulate a specific theory for his leadership style but more of "doing my own things when I am supporting the command." One way he exercised leadership is to "bring

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[180] Phillips, Donald T., Lincoln on Leadership (Chicago, IL: Hatchette Book Group, 2009), 101.

religious ministry." He felt that it was an imperative to understand the commander's intent,[181] discover the boundaries, and bring religious ministry into that area of opportunity. Chaplain Brady described his leadership style as a "conglomerate" or "cornucopia." His philosophy of leadership has been influenced by "things that he has learned over the years." He has put these leadership principles together like "panoramic sayings" and never committed himself to one style. He has also continually searched for "what works" and melded that with his panoramic sayings. He stated that his leadership philosophy does not come from one book, but he mentioned the Bible as a resource. He believes a good leadership style is one that "works best for you." More important than any other style or philosophy is the ability for a "true leader" to "look beyond themselves and to their subordinates." He asked a reflective question to illustrate a "good leader" "How can I, with the knowledge, skills and abilities that I have, give them the requisite tools, resources, knowledge, skills and abilities they need in order to be successful?" His summary principle acknowledges that a "true leader" never focuses upon self but rather on others. Reviewing the data in total, participants adhered to no single published or pre-defined leadership philosophy or theory, referring to a specific author or the Bible on occasion. They expressed a belief that leadership is subjective and proven effective if noted by the individual.

[181] Upon assuming command, every Commanding Officer details their intent. This intent is often intertwined with the mission of the command, personal philosophy of leadership, and the overall mission of the USN and USMC.

Pre- and Post-Deployment Leadership

A second sub-question explored how these chaplains implemented their leadership philosophy before and after an amphibious warfare deployment. They emphasized "presence" carried out in different ways before and after deployment. For Chaplain Smith, he worked to be present for every pre-deployment exercise or command meeting. This presence was an exercise of "care, concern, and provision" in which he noticed being seen and recognized. He felt this presence provided him the opportunity to *"*take the weight off someone else" and reinforce a "family concept." He viewed deployments as a process and a journey. The way Marines and sailors leave is often the way they come home. He remembered helping some in devising a plan to reintegrate upon their return home and manage expectations of their return. His exercise of leadership after deployment meant allowing people to "grieve and heal" while facing the realities of their deployment along with their return home. Chaplain Jones recalled visiting the chaplains he supervised and those he cared for in the field. Before deployment, he checked in on their morale and overall health. The same held true after deployment. Again, he recalled a moment that shaped his current leadership style:

> One of the most important things that ever happened to me for my own post-deployment was when I landed off that plane or came back on that bus or came off the ship onto the pier that one of my supervising or mentor chaplains was right there.

He remembered this chaplain's actions as "having a presence of real felt care." Because of these memories and principles, his exercise of leadership was also one of presence. Chaplain Brady's response included an experience he had as a younger officer. Before deployment, his CO invited the leadership team to his home for dinner to "relax and unwind." His leadership team could "take a deep sigh and be human," sharing their fears

and concerns of the upcoming deployment. He highlighted leadership vulnerability, or, the idea of "being human," in an environment and context with other leaders. Other leaders could see the human side of the individual and their transparent emotions. Chaplain Brady cited an example from someone other than a chaplain. Thus, presence and care defined the participants' leadership before and after deployments.

Summary of the RQ

In summary, the participants viewed their leadership methodology and philosophy as relational, transparent, and subjective. Also, they exercised these elements by being present with those they served, before and after deployments, through meetings, training events, and re-integration opportunities. Primarily, leadership through presence was emphasized post-deployment if the chaplain was supervising other chaplains. Outside of this context, leadership through presence was emphasized in pre-deployment training cycles and during the various amphibious operations. They described their leadership philosophy in subjective terms. If an outside reference was used, it was to a single author or philosophy, e.g. servant leadership, informing their personal philosophy to a limited degree. Personal philosophies of leadership included elements of spirituality, morality, transparency, and congruency.

Summary of Findings

This chapter explored how, based on qualitative data drawn from six interviews with six seasoned participants, USN chaplains prepare and lead combatants in amphibious warfare. It began by examining examples of combatants' and leaders' preparation for amphibious warfare. These examples were defined in physical, spiritual,

mental and relational terms. Though citing similar terms, higher ranking participants viewed preparation through training contexts, while lower ranking participants explained preparation through personal contexts. From this point, these chaplains were asked about their personal ministry efforts in preparation for warfare, traumatic circumstances, and combat. The participants emphasized inter-personal ministry with those they served as crucial. Additionally, mobility was necessary to minister in these contexts. The chaplains provided a stabilizing element to those they served through flexibility of ministry, prayer, and encouragement.

At this point in the interview, the term "worship" became defined as corporate worship. The participants provided corporate worship services during amphibious operations. Services included three common elements: prayer, scripture reading, and preaching, using hymns as part of their services. The participants remembered these elements as providing a degree of humanity and connection with home and God. Services conducted in remote environments and stressful circumstances carried the fondest memories. The final interview data examined their exercise of leadership. Leadership was personal and organizationally important. Leadership affected performance in combat and as a unit. They acknowledged their CO's personal leadership philosophy while exercising their own. In this sense, the CO's philosophy was not augmented by theirs but rather stood apart.

Finally, as these chaplains participated in this interview, they provided a wealth of data on leadership, ministry, and chaplaincy. They were concerned with physical health and preparation, but they also emphasized spiritual health and resiliency. While physical health is the primary goal for Marines and sailors, their spiritual health is often

unaddressed. Each emphasized leadership as having various and mostly limited capacities in addressing spiritual health, with deference given to the chaplain. Each also emphasized their commands seeking their spiritual guidance in times of need.

Chapter 5

Discussion and Recommendations

The purpose of this study was to understand how USN chaplains prepare combatants for amphibious warfare. The working assumption is that the US and its allies will be engaged in a PAC theatre conflict in the future. Both the USN and USMC are in the process of organizational change and continual strategy development in order to confront potential aggression through amphibious warfare. It has been seventy-six years since both branches have been engaged in any conflict in the PAC island chain PAC island chain. Chaplains will be imbedded in both branches when this conflict occurs. The working assumption has been that chaplains will follow their core competencies in exercising ministry in the context of amphibious operations. These core competencies are adhered to broadly by chaplains across many contexts of ministry in the sea services, but an historical, more specific model of ministry exists. USN chaplains served in both USMC and USN assignments throughout the PAC island campaign of WWII using this model. Chaplains have received little or no formal training on this ministry practiced during the PAC campaign.

Summary of the Study and Findings

Chaplains in Amphibious Warfare

In the literature review, several references noted chaplains who volunteered to serve in the USN for various reasons. All had an underlying patriotic call, especially those who joined as a result of the attack on Pearl Harbor or learning of the actions and

ultimate goals of the Nazi government. But secondary callings existed as well. These chaplains were serving in church ministry as pastors before the war. The patriotic call, combined with the all-consuming nature of the US war effort upon American culture, left many feeling a sense of obligation to serve. In addition, the vast number of citizens being drafted and recruited into the military created the need for pastors to join and serve in the public ministry of chaplaincy. Men like Wickersham and Stroup believed the war effort would not last forever and that their mission included preparing service members to return to society, spiritually healed from the effects of war. But none of these men, and chaplains in general, worked to avoid the difficulties of serving with Marines and sailors.

Wyeth Willard found himself rapidly moving from a congregational church in New England, through training, and onto serving the Fifth Marines on Guadalcanal. His preparation for service and the combat that would follow was undergirded by his church community and spiritual disciplines. Serving in combat with Marines and sailors was the mission God had provided in his sovereignty. He helped Marines prepare for combat on Guadalcanal and Tarawa in the same way. In the long transits aboard ships and in the rehearsal landings ashore, he would spend hours in prayer, preach evangelistic sermons, and distribute Gideon's New Testaments by the thousands. Like so many other chaplains, he felt his Marines and sailors could face combat effectively through spiritual preparation. In many of their sermons, they were unafraid to label the Japanese forces they faced as their enemy. But almost in the same breath, they would pray for safety, peace, and an end to the conflict. In general, they were well accepted by their leadership teams. CO's would rely upon them to establish the ship's routines of worship services and Bible studies. These chaplains were sought after for wisdom and advice due to their

age and their experience serving their congregations. More importantly, they were regularly solicited to intercede in prayer for their troops entering the combat zone to face a known and feared enemy. They became integral to the functioning of their commands by being present in training, available at all hours, and willing to enter the traumatic and depraved effects of warfare. Often, they were prevented from being on the front lines to avoid death for worse yet to come.

As these chaplains served Marines and sailors aboard their transport ships, training cycles, and even in garrison, a consistent pattern emerged. First, the offering of divine services set their weekly routine. Additionally, some chaplains would hold religious education (Bible study, catechism) daily. The majority held some form of religious education at least once per week in addition to regular worship services. USN chaplains serving Marines would hold services and bible studies on the deck of a ship, mess decks, or chapel, wherever space was available.

Second, chaplains maintained consistent office hours for sermon preparation and counseling. Most of their office hours were spent in counseling. The primary topic, in broad terms, was fear of the unknown and fear of death. Other common topics were the ethics of warfare, killing, and homesickness. A sub-theme was always prayer. Chaplains in the PAC campaign continually prayed for and with the members of their command, regardless of rank.

In addition to worship services and religious education, a third pattern that emerged was their attendance of every operational brief possible. Many of the first-hand accounts note the length of the briefs. But they also note that briefs were given for the operation within three days of the landing force arriving to the target. Secrecy was

demanded, even for chaplains and members of the crew. But soon after the completion of the mission briefs, the air assets would be heard attacking enemy positions along with other ships' guns. Within this context, lines were long for counseling, worship services were attended by many, and the aggressive talk of bravado and killing ceased. Chaplains prepared their Marines in and through their fear.

The interviews provided granularity in the preparation phases. Similar to the historical examples, the chaplains interviewed had a ministry of presence. Presence was key for their own ministry, and the lack of presence was the primary criticism leveled against other chaplains. But chaplains do not minister by just being present in trainings, meetings, command events, and with families. Presence is the first step. An awareness, tactfulness, and spiritual sensitivity are needed as they are present. These things allow entrances for ministry the open door to the soul keeping of Marines and sailors. Presence in training events, even if uninvolved, is crucial because it builds credibility with the leadership and members of the command. The act of being present does not necessarily open souls but provides an awareness that the Marine or sailor has a chaplain and, moreover, that the chaplain is willing to live through the experience with them.

Presence in the meetings also builds an unspoken proficiency. This proficiency is in the knowledge of the mission for the command and the status of the mission's fulfillment. When chaplains have been present, they can be relied upon to perform their duties in the context of the command's mission, wherever and whenever this may occur.

All the chaplains interviewed held the same perspective as that in the historical references. They saw the need for the individual to be prepared spiritually. For the US military, physical preparation is the focus, due to operational requirements, resiliency,

and survivability in combat. But it often becomes the only measure of a service member's health. The vast majority of leadership teams are neither trained nor proficient in addressing the health of the soul. Command metrics for deployment preparations are physical. Historically and in the interviews, chaplains focused on both the physical and the immaterial. No chaplain interviewed shunned physical preparation, but each acknowledged the physical aspect was the primary focus for training in amphibious operations. For this reason, chaplains interviewed and those in the historical examples focused on both the physical and spiritual in preparation for warfare. Those with the heart of a pastor see the humanity of the Marine and sailor as physical and spiritual.

From both the interviews and the historical examples, most Marines and sailors are not prepared for the spiritual effects of the training cycle or, for that matter, combat, due in part to the military and American culture. Through the training cycles and preparation for deployment, death is not a common topic of discussion. In fact, it is abnormal. But memorial services are a part of the chaplain's duties. The military is inherently dangerous, even without combat. The chaplain ensures the dignity of the dead, whether friend or foe. In combat, this responsibility allows the grieving process to begin and the friends and command members to move forward. For those performing the killing, it allows the recognition of what they have done along with the honoring of an enemy. For most chaplains, it is a demonstration of humanity's bearing the image of God.

Memorial services were included in the account of each of the chaplains examined in the literature review. Each chaplain interviewed had experience leading or partaking in memorial services for their command. Chaplains examined in the literature review performed memorial services to exhaustion. In the PAC theatre, chaplains would

be brought to the burial grounds for weekly shifts in order to limit the exhaustion. Following duties, they would return to the front or aid station to be with the fighting and wounded. But lack of discussion in reference to memorial services and the burial of the dead is symptomatic of the level of spiritual preparation. Chapter two demonstrates it was lacking in WWII, and it is lacking today. This is a grave oversight since combat casualties and the trauma resulting from them are part of amphibious warfare.

According to the interviews and historical information, chaplains and leaders were more prepared for amphibious operations and combat than others. Higher ranking officers and senior enlisted tended to prepare for amphibious operations through an organizational lens. Preparation was derived from "checking the boxes" and more pointed to a sense of "I'm prepared if my men are prepared." But leadership did emphasize preparedness through both physical and spiritual elements. Many of the chaplains interviewed remembered their CO's emphasizing "mindset and emotional resilience" and the need for members of the command to be knowledgeable of "climate, place and location." From the interviews, leadership's emphasis upon spiritual preparation seemed obligatory. The participants acknowledged their CO's addressing the spiritual needs of those in their command but the development, preservation and strengthening of those needs was left to the chaplain to implement. In contrast, physical preparation was often addressed freely and in an encouraging and developmental manner.

Though the leadership focus was on the members of their commands, chaplains focused on all ranks, from high to low. Whether seen in the research for chapter two or four, all the chaplains in the scope of this work had close relationships with their commanding officers or leadership teams, something often inherent in the organizational

position of the chaplain in the US military, but not necessarily automatic. Often, chaplains had dedicated devotional times with their leaders and prayed for and with them. As mentioned in chapter one, USN chaplains core competencies are to provide, facilitate, care, and advise. Through their focus on spiritual and physical preparedness across the ranks, chaplains care for their command members through all stages of amphibious warfare.

The design of the research questions had the historical examples of WWII in mind. These chaplains dealt with death, trauma, and the unknown every day of their ministry. They deployed to environments that, aside from the occupation of IJA forces, were environmentally hostile. As their Marines and sailors suffered, so did they. Many of their accounts recall sleep deprivation lasting days, meal rations, intestinal sickness, and prolonged exhaustion. As pastors joining the military from churches across the US, there was no way to adequately prepare for what they were to experience.

Their organizational training helped. Rehearsals of amphibious assault and exposure to ordinance and live fire helped too. But the majority left their experiences of war and trauma and went back to pastoring churches. Many would go on to lead vibrant congregations and have successful ministries. In a culture that assumes trauma has lasting effects, how did this occur? How could these chaplains experience the most traumatic circumstances of a global conflict and return home as productive members of society and shepherds of the flock? The research and interview data reveal common themes in their backgrounds and the chaplain interviews. First, they each had a "calling" to be a "shepherd of God's flock." The shepherding metaphor is not a clean and neat picture. Through providence, God had prepared them for the mess. Because of their experience of

worldly messes, they did not hope in any government to save them. Their hope was in the Savior.

Second, they had community before, during, and after military service. Their churches prayed for them and supported them. Often, their churches supported their families (financially and otherwise) while they were gone. As a chaplain, they established a community of believers in their command. When they returned home, they were surrounded by other men in their communities who had witnessed the same things they did. Common bonds, and the pain that is associated with their experiences, were shared. Third, they exercised spiritual disciplines of prayer, worship, service, discipleship, and spiritual growth. Multiple accounts exist of their personal Bible reading and prayer along with service to others outside of their working duties. They would seek local missionaries on the islands and work to encourage and equip their ministries. As leaders and as participants, they kept worship as a part of their spiritual rhythms on and off the battlefield.

Finally, they possessed a framework for the death and carnage around them. Psychologists and psychiatrists were in the military throughout WWII, but the chaplains examined did not prepare themselves for combat through the use of psychological terms and means. Their preparation was grounded in their trust and faith in God and was reinforced by scripture and their close adherence to it. These common themes emerging from preparation and experience provide an archetype for future generations.

Elements and Models of Ministry

Every USN chaplain who enters the fleet has a model of ministry. The core competencies (provide, facilitate, care, and advise) give a broad model of ministry. The

ways that chaplains exercise this ministry are often creative but, at the same time, consistent. From the literature review and interviews, both Protestant and Catholic chaplains exercised ministry through the core competencies. Each prioritized providing worship services in the field and throughout all phases of preparation. Each facilitated the space and the requisition of materials for those outside their faith group. Each counseled and held confession for their commands and aided in the care of the wounded. Each advised the leaders of their commands in morale, decision making, and the general emergent human factors of military service, leadership, and life. Within these common factors, each had their own art of ministry, unique to personality and denomination, and also to the Marines and sailors they served.

This art was exercised through a ministry of presence, a common word and action exercised by the WWII chaplains and those interviewed. Often the term "deck-plate" arose in the interviews, a term referring to walking around the ship during embarkation leading to conversations. Chaplains would enter work spaces and ask teams about their work, life, and experience at sea. The simple act of visitation generated trust because of the chaplain's willingness to ask. Chaplain Wickersham would always start out by asking, "Where are you from?" Chaplain Jones would ask, "How is the deployment going for you?" or in reference to recent events, "What do you think?" This engagement allowed chaplains to discuss human factors other than the military, the operation, and current fears. In amphibious operations, the chaplain's presence was often a necessary and needed distraction. But this ministry of presence was also exercised in the sharing of meals, by taking part in long meetings and exercises, and in checking on the sick and wounded. The chaplain was there when he was needed, at the right time and place.

Amphibious operations in WWII possessed a closely guarded degree of secrecy. As a fleet of transport ships carrying thousands of Marines and sailors sailed to foreign islands, secrecy of the final destination was of utmost importance. In short, the fleet was sailing into enemy-held territory guarded by air, surface, and submarine assets. A convoy of ship locations was an easy target. This secrecy provided an intense context for ministry. Chaplains ministered in the fear and stress of the unknown destination. Yet, the enemy was known. Before the Battle of Guadalcanal, the IJA had never been defeated in a land battle. Marines knew they would face a battle-hardened enemy, and they were told casualties would occur. Chaplain accounts from the embarkation and rehearsal phases are filled with accounts of reconciliation with God. Before the assault, sermons centered around this topic. The chaplain's counseling or confession and subsequent prayers were for peace with God.

This aspect of ministry has not changed with time. The chaplains interviewed mentioned assisting those entering combat with developing a sense of peace with the unknown and even death. Many emphasized having a right relationship with God in addition to one with their brothers and sisters in the faith going into battle with them. Before invading a beach or through a protracted campaign, chaplains provided spiritual and rational peace with God through reconciliation and a conceptual framework for death and trauma.

For all chaplains in this study, leading worship service was a priority. Conducting services with a structured order of worship was an operating assumption of ministry at sea. As detailed in the interview data, a structured order of worship existed either in the chaplain's head or in a published bulletin. Worship services were conducted in hostile

environments or otherwise. If appropriate and if the mission allowed, chaplains would visit dispersed units across the battle space, announce their services, and for those attending, time would pause. This pause would occur for the spiritual, mental, and emotional health of those in the fight. Simply, it was the care of souls in a traumatic and stressful environment. Worship included elements of prayer, sermons, hymns, liturgy, and encouraging words, bringing reminders of home and the possibility of returning there. Further, in both the historical accounts and interviews, attendance increased before and during combat. When in peaceful waters or times of rest, many Marines and sailors chose to seek peace through prostitution or over consumption of alcohol. But this fluctuation was a known part of the chaplain's ministry. Their work consistently required long-suffering for those they served. Regardless of the unit's behavior, chaplains who were consistent in leading worship services established an awareness within their command. This awareness presented the opportunity to acknowledge God's presence and sovereignty, thereby providing comfort in times of stress. In addition, chaplains who prioritized worship were better known by Marines and sailors.

Three elements of a chaplain's ministry stand out: presence, reconciliation, and worship. In comparison to the overall size of any landing force, chaplains were few. But their ministry, though exhausting, had great impact. This impact resulted directly from the spiritual care of Marines, sailors, and their leaders. The chaplains examined and interviewed were often overworked and spread thin. But through diligence in answer to their calling, they ministered to thousands, often at their own expense. Chaplain Jones mentioned another chaplain ministering to his soul during or after operations, but this type of care was rare. Chaplain Russ incorporated ministering to other chaplains in his

ministry. He maintained an active role in meeting with other chaplains in order to develop connections and community across the chaplain corps. Accounts exist from the literature review of higher-ranking chaplains visiting the battlefield to minister to their chaplains, but these accounts also highlight the brevity of this care. The calling of the chaplain is one of exercising soul care in a personally isolating environment.

Exercising Leadership

In the literature review of chaplains from WWII, none referred to them as being a "leader." This omission can be attributed to two factors. First, the circumstances of the war and the various locations and ferocity of combat drew out natural leaders. These chaplains were leaders among multiple leaders. In the stress and the trauma, leaders emerged. Many of those noted leaders would die in combat or be awarded significant honors. Second, inherent in ministry, chaplains were leaders in their own right but not normally included in the command leadership team. Similar to doctors serving on the field, chaplains were seen as the wisdom providers and sages. By law, being non-combatants, they did not lead in traditional terms on the battlefield. Their leadership was exercised in the immaterial realms of courage, morality, ethics, and patient endurance. Data from the literature review revealed chaplains serving a generation that had been raised in some type of faith tradition. The literature did not reveal service members being greater adherents of the faith of their family but more of an understanding, exposure and framework for life. By and large, chaplains did not describe their contribution to the military. As pastors, priests and rabbis, this was known or assumed, the religious and even spiritual needs of an individual were often met in battle. As in their daily lives before volunteering or being drafted, the church was part of their community and the

American culture at large. The presence of a chaplain on the battlefield often acted as a bridge from home to the military. Personal faith, or lack thereof, was a direct connection to their families and communities in addition to God.

From the interviews, chaplains understood leadership in a different way. Their opinions were as members of the leadership team. Chaplain Lewis proactively examined leadership doctrine at his command. He felt knowing the doctrines of this commanders and the USMC allowed him to emphasize preparation for warfare with the leadership team. This allowed his identification as a leader within the command. An integration and sense of cooperation existed not only with the medical team but also with the CO and other high-ranking decision makers. They viewed themselves as part of this leadership circle, advising it or criticizing those chaplains who were not a part of their own leadership (mostly due to their desire not to be). Historically and for those interviewed, "staying in the office" is simply not an option for ministry.

The chaplains of WWII and previous conflicts emphasized their roles primarily as pastors. Advising the CO and leadership team was common, but in many accounts, they viewed themselves as separate and sometimes victims of the leader's decision making. From the data, a sense of being a fellow sufferer often emerged. From the contemporary data, a stronger sense of being an advisor and member of the team emerged. In seventy-six years cultural shifts have occurred. Tim Keller illustrates the late modern baseline narrative. He states, "the identity narrative is not discovered outside ourselves (roles and duties in society) but only in ourselves, our desires and dreams. The individual's self-worth becomes the dignity we bestow upon ourselves.[182] This could be a contributing

[182] Timothy Keller, *Preaching: Communicating Faith in an Age of Skepticism*, 136.

factor to the identity as leaders USN chaplains have adopted. As the culture has shifted away from identity previously found in religious beliefs and community, the USN Chaplain Corps has adapted the role of chaplains. Leadership has been emphasized in order to minister to the unacknowledged spiritual needs of service members. Simply, being a leader with the triad rather than with the command as a whole has allowed for a ministerial voice "at the table". Despite this difference, similarities exist between the generations.

Both the chaplains interviewed and those examined in the literature possessed clear perspectives of the military's mission. As noted earlier, a patriotic call drove many chaplains to volunteer for service in WWII. Facing the Japanese as an enemy seemed clear. In sermons chaplains recalled the conquering of other nations by the IJA and IJN. They openly noted the brutality of the Emperor's military machine and its leaders. With this in mind, they worked to motivate the duty of Marines and sailors. The mission was clear: defeat the Japanese. This mission was to be carried out by following orders and completing the assigned job. For every beach invasion and every protracted campaign, the mission was first, and the mission was for the nation. As pastors, they saw themselves serving the needs of the nation while also serving the needs of those around them. Often, these were not distinguishable.

From the interviews, participants held a similar view. The provision of ministry was important, but deference was given to the mission. Chaplain Smith always remained focused on what he referred to as he "corporate concerns." He adapted his sermons and ministry overall to the context of the mission. He always wanted to know what was on the minds and hearts of his Marines and he wanted to minister to them in that place. In

many instances, the chaplains noted “mission first.” This primary job required flexibility and obedience to the chain of authority. In this way, contemporary accounts demonstrate membership of the leadership team.

Second, ministry in austerity was exercised by both. The culture of the USN generally views the PAC island campaign of WWII as “the golden years” of naval history, due to the size of the fleet and also the accomplishments and heroes who emerged. The Chaplain Corps is no different. The PAC island campaign contained examples of chaplains serving in austere environments. Across numerous islands of the Pacific, chaplains ministered at the expense of their personal health, from the geography, or air, sea, and land-based attacks of the enemy. As the island campaign inched closer to Japan, the casualty rates at sea and on land grew significantly. Chaplains did not hesitate to be present in these circumstances and environments. Similarly, those interviewed had volunteered for service, deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan during combat deployments, and experienced the constant dangers of sea duty. For both generations, they were non-combatants. But also, they were present throughout the fighting, ministering to those around them. Chaplain Harris reflected in his time with a light armored unit. His command had experienced over one-hundred vehicle attacks during their deployment. He was determined to be present throughout their time in Afghanistan regardless of the danger or context. He would “go outside the wire” riding along in the armored units in dangerous areas of engagement. At sea, chaplain Jones ministered to multiple ships within a destroyer squadron being transported in inclement weather and sea states. For both generations, they were not forced to leave their congregations but willingly followed

the leading of the Holy Spirit into the ministry of the sea services. Their pastoral ministry was exercised in the mission field of the military.

Third, throughout all of the trauma and stress associated with amphibious warfare, these chaplains maintained focus on the human needs of those they served. For many, this focus extended beyond their immediate circles to the friends and family of the service member. Whether directly spoken or recorded, their ministry to the service member fit the broad category of soul care. As noted in chapter four, many of the contemporary chaplains spoke in terms of an assessment model. This included the "mind, body, spirit" categories or the "emotional, mental, spiritual" focus of their ministry. Chaplain Brady described this as the "holistic" care for the individual. His focus was upon the humanity of the individual. This included their ability to operate effectively in combat along with obtaining the emotional capacity for the death of the fellow warriors. Chaplains from the PAC island campaigns used the terms "soul" or "spirit." Cases of shell shock (PTSD) were normally described as mental wounds or the effects of fighting, but in both, chaplains ministered to the human needs of those around them.

These needs included the physical as well as the spiritual, especially when the physical needs fed the soul. For example, WWII chaplains would advise Marines, sailors, and leadership to get sleep, eat a good meal, or enjoy the company of a friend. When able, they would suggest ways to pass boredom by reading, experiencing the culture around them, writing home, or engaging in "moral" activity, but the focal point was always the care of the soul. For the chaplains interviewed, dissection of the symptoms seemed to be more common. A threefold pattern was prevalent: spiritual, emotional, and mental. Chaplains still viewed the physical experiences of the person as having a direct

effect upon the soul, knowing the close relationship between the physical and the spiritual and their subsequent effects on other aspects of the person. Both groups exercised moral and ethical leadership to care for the soul.

No particular leadership framework was used by the chaplains interviewed, something also true for the WWII generation. Leading was seen more as a given than a theory. If someone was doing the work of a pastor or chaplain, then that person was leading. This summary from the data lends itself to a subjective view of leadership excellence and theory for chaplains. The lack of adherence to one author or academic position of leadership is valid in this sense. A pastor who is fulfilling the calling as chaplain is functioning as a leader. From the literature review, chaplains in the PAC island campaign held moral and ethical integrity as an aspect of their identity as pastors and their ministry. Their effectiveness on the battlefield was directly related to their integrity outside the context of combat. From the data, as moral and ethical integrity accompany chaplains in an effective ministry, efficacy as a leader was revealed. For those examined, this integrity is unvarnished.

Leadership Typology of Prophet, Priest and King

Timothy Paul Jones, a pastor writing for the Gospel Coalition, states, "Don't use prophet, priest, and king as a modern leadership typology."[183] In his research, he found pastors dissecting these offices and dismissing certain aspects of pastoral work. For example, some refused to counsel because they were more king than pastor. Others

[183] Timothy Jones Paul, "Don't Use Prophet, Priest and King as a Modern Leadership Typology," August 30, 2018.

refused to engage or improve in administrative skill because they were more pastor than king. The work of a pastor is inclusive of many different skills sets, and each requires refinement, continual personal study, and improvement to minister. As the interviews in this study demonstrated, the chaplains did not adhere to any particular model of leadership. Based on Belcher's work, the leadership typology of prophet, priest, and king provides a useful framework for the work of the chaplain.

In a comprehensive model, a USN chaplain executes three primary duties: administration, teaching, and counseling. These categories overlap the core competencies, and they align with the roles of prophet, priest, and king. In modern terms, the role of prophet is responsible for patterned learning. This work includes preaching, teaching, and establishing curriculum for learning and even includes leading efforts in education to improve one's station in life. In this way, chaplains lead worship services and religious education and have functioned as education officers throughout the history of the chaplain corps. The role of priest is one of relational and inspirational ministry. Care for others is provided through counseling, and priests share the same experiences as those they serve. The role of king is characterized by administration and service as well as providing organization, mission direction, and fulfillment. These three offices align with the core competencies in providing, facilitating, and caring.

A fourth role exists for the prophet, priest, and king model. It is the role of sage. A sage carries wisdom, and chaplains exercise wisdom when they advise their leadership. The sage role underscores the other roles of prophet, priest, and king. It is derived from two pillars of the Christian faith: justification and sanctification. Again, as chaplains

exercise their calling with integrity, the leadership typology can provide an adequate framework for the work.

In final review of this research and its findings, chaplains actively execute pastoral ministry within the military context. The roles of prophet, priest, king, and sage are well suited to describe the work of the chaplain. Whether in preparation for amphibious warfare, leading worship services, or exercising leadership in the military context, these offices are fulfilled. This historical model provides indispensable value for new and serving chaplains. At a time when the US has once again placed strategic focus upon the PAC, the historical accounts of ministry in the island campaigns is paramount to USN chaplains serving with both Marines and aboard ship.

Recommendations for Practice

Implementing Ministry Models into the NCSC Curriculum

Considering the findings in this research, chaplains should be schooled in the PAC theatre ministry. The NCSC (Naval Chaplaincy School and Center) could incorporate a brief training segment on the historical ministry models exercised throughout the campaign. This curriculum could include a brief summary of historical events, chaplain presence, and the ministry to the USMC, USN, and USA throughout the campaigns. This curriculum would provide effective orientation for new chaplains. Each chaplain enters with pastoral ministry from their faith background. In viewing the ministry activities of the PAC theatre, each would gain a framework for operational chaplaincy, as well as the historical reference for additional research and understanding of the ministry to be undertaken. They could also apply the personal experience of a

pastor to the context of amphibious warfare. As they report to their newly assigned commands, chaplains would be better suited to minister alongside the leadership of their respective commands.

Pre-Deployment Training in Ministry Models

From the data in this research, many chaplains assigned to deploying USMC and USN commands experienced training for amphibious warfare and subsequent operations for the first time. Their previous commands were either shore billets (chapels, installations, training commands), or they were assigned to ships or USMC commands in their first assignment. For some, their experiences with Marines in combat came mid-career. As they shifted from previous assignments, they adapted their ministry to the context in which they were assigned. Implementing a program of historical ministry models from the PAC theatre would benefit chaplains in these circumstances. A cursory knowledge of chaplain ministry from the PAC island campaign would provide a composition of ministry for an island-oriented or displaced asset campaign. Secondarily, encouragement in pastoral ministry and the need for the reconciling ministry of a chaplain would provide strength and courage as they enter the unknown.

Embracing Death and Trauma

Finally, if the nation enters a PAC campaign once again, chaplains should be prepared to minister in an austere context. As the data from chapter two showed, aside from enemy activity, the ecological challenges of the PAC islands are more than intimidating. Chaplains should be prepared to minister in a sphere of disease and discomfort, surrounded by inhospitable weather, vegetation, and geography. In this

geographic setting, movement in the battle space may be limited to sea transport by small boat and by foot. This context translates to a heightened emphasis on individual conditioning and health before deployments. Based on historical accounts, ministry in this realm may lead to malnutrition and disease.

In reference to the contingency, military chaplains may once again be confronted with an overwhelming experience of trauma and death. Their own death should be considered before deploying. Also, chaplains should be adequately equipped to conduct frequent memorial services for individuals and those in mass graves. Regardless of technological advances, military operations occurring throughout an island campaign necessitate this level of personal and organizational comprehension. US forces have not been engaged in the PAC island chain in seventy-six years. Considering the geopolitical climate of the PAC region and the current strategy of US forces, it is possible such warfare may occur again. As chaplains minister to the spiritual needs of Marines and sailors, embracing death and its ultimate arrival would prove beneficial in preparation, ministry, and leadership to the warfighter.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study focused on how USN chaplains prepared combatants for amphibious warfare. As with any study, limitations existed. Therefore, further pursuit of the following areas could prove beneficial for developing the USN chaplain corps corporate knowledge of the topic.

First, with the exception of one USA chaplain (Stroup), this study included only USN chaplains. The USA has a robust history of conducting amphibious operations. Historically, many of these operations have been protracted in nature (e.g. MacArthur's

Papua New Guinea and Philippines campaigns). The USA follows similar expeditionary warfare models with the USN providing ships and personnel. Chaplains have accompanied the landing forces from the beaches to the inland objectives. Additionally, some chaplains have been present for the entire campaign while others arrive in different phases. It would be beneficial for both the USN and USA to examine the historical ministry models utilized in the PAC during WWII, Korea, and Vietnam. Particular focus could be given to changes in ministry due to the introduction of air travel, helicopters, and the rapid deployment and re-deployment to and from the battlespace. Also, since the founding of the USAF on September 18, 1947, US forces have not been submitted to a single enemy attack by air. USAF chaplains have been deployed throughout all US military campaigns since 1949. For this reason, USAF history and ministry models would be beneficial to explore as a recommendation for further research.

Second, a common experience documented and shared in interviews was the care of the wounded. This care has occurred on ships, hospitals, and field medical stations. From the flow of casualties during combat through to recovery, phases and variations of the chaplain's ministry adapt. For future and current generations of chaplains, the ministry models exercised in this context would prove beneficial in preparation and execution. US military medical facilities are continuing to transform into joint care facilities. USA, USN, and USAF medical treatment facilities include growing staff from across the military branches. Focusing upon this area for research would provide a joint perspective and knowledge base for all branches of the military. It would also assist newly arriving chaplains with a historical database and framework for ministry within the clinical setting.

As chaplains deploy and re-deploy (return home) with their commands, they are called to minister through the returning home phases. These phases can be challenging for the returning Marine or sailor from a stressful environment or combat zone. Examining the returning home phases in light of the chaplain's adaptive ministry practices would be proven beneficial to both seasoned and new chaplains.

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