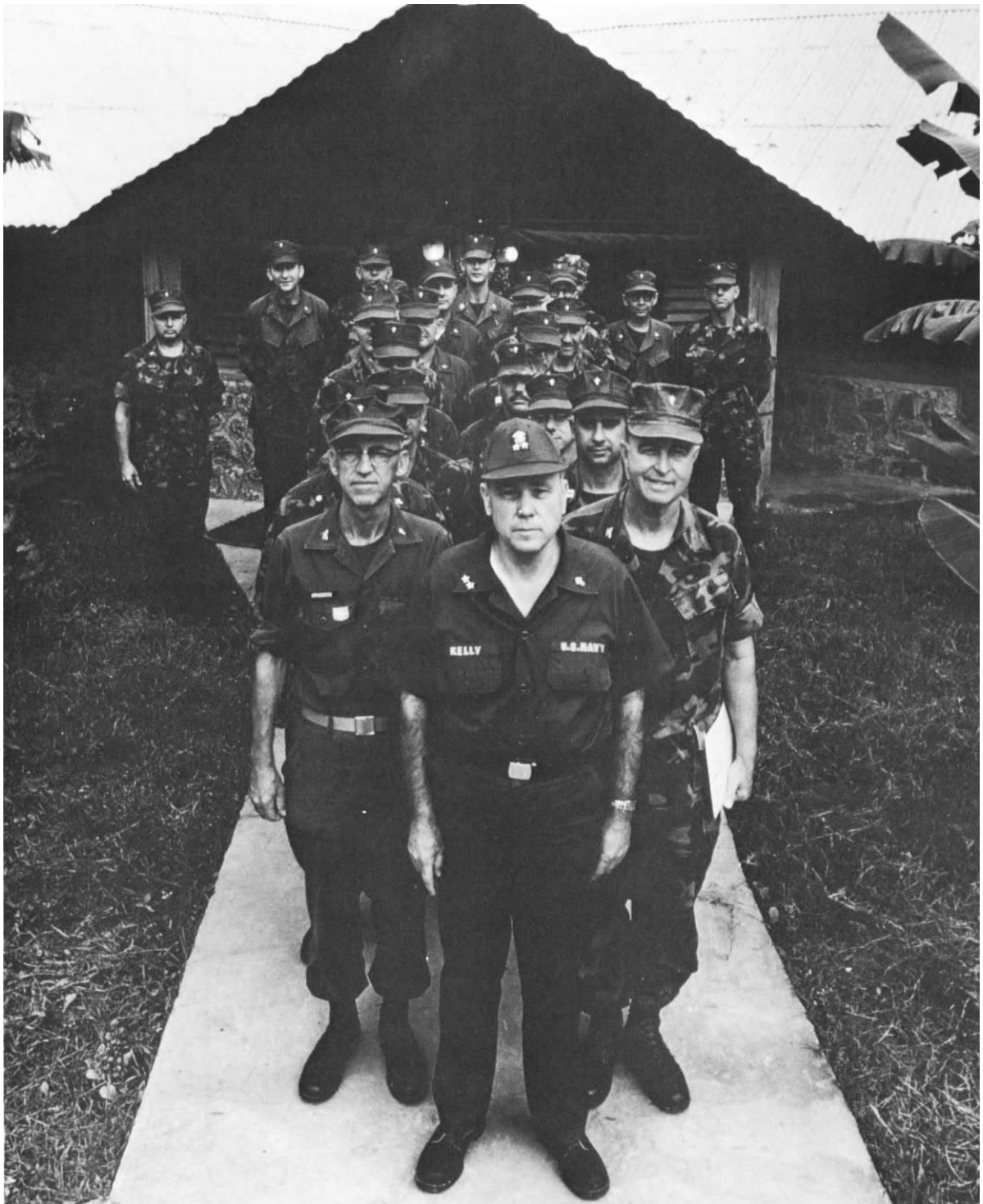


PART IV  
THE HEIGHTS AND THE DEPTHS



Department of Defense (USN) Photo K-80351

*RAdm James W. Kelly, Chief of Chaplains, poses with 1st Marine Division chaplains in front of the division chapel at Da Nang during the Christmas 1969 holiday period. The occasion marked Adm Kelly's fifth Christmas season tour of Marine units in Vietnam.*

## CHAPTER 9

# Encouraging and Giving (January-December 1967)

*Combat Ministry-Early 1967—The Chaplain Civic Action Program—Easter—Summer Combat—"Greater Love Hath No Man..."—I Corps Pacification Efforts—Changes and Administration*

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The year 1967 found both U.S. forces and casualties in Vietnam rising sharply. Opposition to the war was growing at home and the reports of riot and protest were causing some early reactions by chaplains. In August, President Johnson announced a new ceiling on U.S. troops for the war zone at 525,000. By mid-year the total already stood at 463,000. At the end of the year the casualty figure since 1961 would total 15,812 killed and 99,305 wounded. In the mid-summer Marine casualties exceeded those sustained in the Korean War;<sup>1</sup> Vietnam had become the second largest war for the Marine Corps in terms of combat deaths, and would become its largest in terms of those wounded.<sup>2</sup> The total Marine wounded figure for Vietnam would stand at 88,542; 21,335 more than those listed as wounded in World War II, a figure that reflects in part that Vietnam was America's longest foreign war.

Bombing raids on the north were intensified and U.S. and North Vietnamese forces entered the demilitarized zone (DMZ) for the first time. President Johnson repeatedly offered peace negotiations only to have them consistently turned down.<sup>3</sup>

While demonstrations at home continued to display the skepticism of some Americans, military leaders were surprisingly optimistic about the progress of the war. General Westmoreland said that he had "never been more encouraged in my four years in Vietnam."<sup>4</sup> Army Chief of Staff General Harold K. Johnson maintained, "We are definitely winning in Vietnam. . . . If my observations are borne out—I recently returned from my eighth visit to Vietnam—then I believe we will see more real evidence of progress in the next few months."<sup>5</sup>

For chaplains with Marines, such optimism was not so clear. They found their ministry of encouragement was strongly needed in 1967 and the giving of the ministry also meant the giving of themselves.

### *Combat Ministry-Early 1967*

For awhile during early 1967 all that appeared to

Navy chaplains committed to combat with Marine units near Vietnam's DMZ, was that the face of the war had changed. Massed within the demilitarized zone itself and occupying strategic high ground just south of its western extremity, North Vietnamese regulars appeared to be getting set to mount a full-scale frontal assault, an invasion of South Vietnam, across the six-mile strip of no man's land which divided the country. A mile to the south in Con Thien, dug in and ready, the U.S. 3d Marine Division anticipated that they would soon make the try.

Navy chaplains with their battalions at Khe Sanh, Con Thien, and Dong Ha noted that the prospect of such an encounter was reminiscent of the battles of World War II and Korea. Counterinsurgency warfare with which they had become intimately acquainted in Vietnam and to which they had successfully adapted their ministry, seemed at the moment to belong to another theater of operations or some other war.

The chaplains in the northernmost defense perimeter were reminded that the shape of their ministry had changed considerably in response to the requirements of guerrilla warfare. They had not been accustomed to fixed positions, or as in Korea, to trooping the line from fighting pit to foxhole tending the wounded and dying, and offering encouragement to their people. No longer were they oriented to the battalion aid station as the central collection and clearing point for the wounded and the KIAs. Nevertheless the configuration of things along the DMZ indicated that this was to be a fight for real estate, with fixed positions to be defended, and the effectiveness of their ministry depended upon the facility with which they could adapt themselves to the traditional battleline situation.

During the early days in May 1967, artillery, rocket, and mortar exchanges, both in number and intensity, increased all along the DMZ. It became clear that to neutralize the enemy's offensive capability in the area, the Communist forces would

have to be routed from their sturdy, well-concealed bunkers, removed from the high ground on Hills 881 North and South, and 861 near Khe Sanh, and driven from their positions below and in the DMZ.

In the early morning of 8 May, a Communist assault force, driving south, attacked the Marine garrison at Con Thien. Casualties mounted. In a letter to the Chief of Chaplains, describing the ministry of Navy chaplains in the sector, the Division Chaplain, 3d Marine Division stated that when he arrived at D Med, Dong Ha:

. . . Everywhere you looked there were wounded and dead being tended. Many of the walking wounded had shrapnel in two, three or as many as five places on their bodies. The seriously wounded were given immediate attention and in two or three cases I saw men who were to all appearances dead, brought back to life by dedicated doctors and corpsmen who worked smoothly and efficiently amid what appeared to the layman to be absolute chaos.<sup>6</sup>

The chaplains responded also. Both with their units on the line and D Med, they moved among the casualties consoling, encouraging, offering prayer, or giving the last rites of the church. The dead were removed to the morgue, half a block away from the hospital where the ritual of the last rite continued.

When the furious pace of the day was at length over in Dong Ha, the division chaplain moved west to the Khe Sanh sector where for several days men of the 3d Marines had laid siege to Communist-held Hills 881N and S and 861, finally wresting them from NVA control. Chaplain Oliver, 3d Marines regimental chaplain, and Chaplain Urbano with the 3d Battalion, 3d Marines ministered to the assault troops. Chaplain Lavin stated: "What a job these two had done! They were everywhere, consoling the wounded and ministering to the dead. The toll of dead and wounded exacted to take these hills was terribly high, but true to Marine Corps tradition, it had been done."<sup>7</sup>

Recounting his participation in the effort to drive the Communist troops from the strategic high ground, Chaplain Urbano attached to the 3d Battalion, 3d Marines at Khe Sanh, said:

Arriving in country and joining the Third Battalion, Third Marines less than two weeks before the battle at Khe Sanh was the most electrifying experience of my life. The Colonel invited me to go with him from our CP at the "Rockpile" on a visit to Khe Sanh. Less than twenty four hours later we were back again when our Kilo Company and the Command Group were committed to a battle the

likes of which I could never have imagined. The days that followed turned the beautifully landscaped, jungle covered mountains into a barren wasteland with pock-mark scars everywhere.<sup>8</sup>

Following the victory at Khe Sanh, chaplains held both Protestant and Roman Catholic memorial services atop the recently taken hills. It was fitting that they should pray for the dead at the place where they actually died. Services were conducted in bomb craters large enough to hold sixty men with little difficulty.

The 3d Battalion, 3d Marines chaplain reported that following the battle, near the battalion CP at the "Rockpile," men of the unit built a chapel in memory of their fallen comrades. The chapel was constructed not with appropriated funds, he noted, but with appropriated materials. Native materials appropriated from the surrounding jungles were employed to build a tropical, one-hundred seat structure with two office spaces in the rear.

Pursuing the retreating Communists into the southern half of the DMZ, in the days that followed, the Marines drove the NVA troops north of the demarkation line at the 17th Parallel. Chaplain Lavin indicated that mortar and artillery exchanges continued, but "thanks to very vigilant Marines on the night scopes, the NVA and VC get far more than they give."<sup>9</sup>

The overall impression indicated by Navy chaplains participating in I Corps combat in May was that circumstances within which they pursued their mission, the intensified and altered structure of the combat situation, had no appreciable effect upon the essence of their ministry. The exhausted, the fearful, the wounded, and the dying needed the consolation, the encouragement, the absolution, the reassurance, the prayers which they provided, irrespective of the configuration of circumstances surrounding them. To bring God to man and man to God, and to apply God's divine resources to the individual, precisely at the point of his deepest need, remained the essence of their mission.

The going was as rough near the DMZ in early 1967 as it was anywhere and anytime in Vietnam. As the units of the 3d Marine Division had moved north they noticed the change in weather as well as terrain. One chaplain remembered, "It was cold, wet and muddy, spelled with a capital M."<sup>10</sup> And other rude awakenings were waiting. Lieutenant John J. Wilson

(Southern Baptist) remembered his introduction to the 2d Battalion, 3d Marines:

Chaplain Lavin said, "Jack, I hope you are familiar with the field!" I replied, "Yes, sir, a little," my reply being based on thoughts of the fields I had plowed as a boy and experienced during eight summer camps with the National Guard . . . . Though I made jokes about Camp Carroll when we got there I was happy to be with a battalion in the field.<sup>11</sup>

The Assistant Division Chaplain, Chaplain Seiders, took the new 2d Battalion, 3d Marines Chaplain to meet the 3d Division (Forward) Chaplain, Captain Joseph Ryan (Roman Catholic), and also his battalion commanding officer. Shortly thereafter word was received that Golf Company of his battalion had made contact with the enemy and the entire battalion command post moved northeast of Camp Carroll on a one-day sweep to assist. Chaplain Wilson remembered:

We arrived where the fighting had been going on to find the wounded and dead, at which time I began to realize I was in "the field." We did what we could and Med Evac's soon carried all the wounded and dead out. As we moved to link up with Golf Company everything was going fine until we found ourselves in the middle of an ambush which had bullets flying through the air and mortar shells popping like pop corn.<sup>12</sup>

The chaplain participated in carrying the wounded and dead back to the landing zone for Med Evac but found the LZ so blanketed with automatic weapons fire and mortars that the helicopters could not land. During the night the commanding officer and the sergeant major of the battalion died along with others who had been wounded earlier in the day. Those who remained alive listened to the constant mortar barrage throughout the night. Chaplain Wilson recorded two grim facts that he derived from his experience:

I became fully aware of what Chaplain Lavin had said as opposed to what I had heard. There is "the field" and there is "the field." The other fact came in the realization that not only had the battalion had 14 killed and 124 wounded, but "I" had lost 14 of "my" men and 124 of "my" men had been wounded. There is a difference.<sup>13</sup>

The difficulties of the northern I Corps in early 1967 had the effect of drawing Marines and their chaplains close together, which proved to be a blessing but also a painful situation in the face of the loss

of close comrades. The 2d Battalion, 3d Marines lost 77 men dead and hundreds wounded fighting for Hills 881 and 861 near Khe Sanh. The battalion chaplain reflected, "I wanted to quit and leave, just as other combat chaplains must have felt, but we were given the strength to stay through prayer and the knowledge that someone else would have to do my part and his too if I didn't."<sup>14</sup> Another chaplain stated: "I shall miss them, the living and the dead . . . . These men were the only true and real values in this war for me."<sup>15</sup>

Lieutenant Clark A. Tea, Jr. (Episcopal) found the same tie developing with the 2d Battalion, 9th Marines. The battalion was stretched out along Route 9 from Landing Zone Stud, at Ca Lu, to Khe Sanh, and Chaplain Tea was obliged to "travel the route" constantly in order to hold services. Once a Marine came up to him after the service and said, "Chaplain, we were talking last night and wondered if you would be around for services today."<sup>16</sup> Chaplain Tea reported, "That sort of got to me; It's little things like that that make it all worthwhile."<sup>17</sup>

Chaplain Tea was typical of most chaplains in that he spent time with a line battalion and then later was assigned to a rear unit, in his case the 3d Medical Battalion. Ever since chaplain routines had stabilized in early 1966, the rotation pattern that was attempted for each chaplain included an approximately six-month stint with a forward unit, and the rest of the tour spent with a unit thought to be in the rear. This was often a myth, however, since the conflict rarely could draw rear lines with safety in northern I Corps, given the mortar and rocket barrages from the DMZ and the unpredictability and infiltration capability of the enemy.

Some of the most rewarding rearward duty was with the medical aid station, even though it was also some of the most exhausting. Lieutenant Lester L. Westling, Jr. (Episcopal) was a chaplain at the 3d Medical Battalion at Phu Bai in 1967, serving there for seven months. He recorded an important factor in the hospital crisis ministry when he remarked that a line battalion chaplain has six months or more to get to know most of his men, whereas with patients in a medical battalion there are but a matter of hours or days in which to build a relationship of trust strong enough that a man can open his soul to God in the chaplain's presence if he needs to. And yet, this was possible to do. Chaplain Westling remembered:

One of the greatest rewards of this service often came to me after I had spent a number of months with the Medical Battalion when a man would come in from the field for a second and third Purple Heart and fondly remember "his chaplain." I recall particularly once amidst the frenzy in the fringe area when Chinook helicopters were unloading mass casualties, how a man with a bleeding leg and a wounded arm hopped through the door and threw his good arm around me and gave me a big "bear hug" and said *joyfully*: "Chaplain, I'm back again!"<sup>18</sup>

It would be erroneous to state that all the experiences of chaplains were rewarding and relationships were uniformly excellent. When the tension of the war and its duration continued to expand, the pressures on commands and chaplains also mounted, and some chaplains' reports complained of lack of command support for their ministry. But by far the majority reported excellent relationships and some, exceptional cooperation. Chaplain Westling, who joined 1st Battalion, 9th Marines at Camp Carroll after his tour with the 3d Medical Battalion, remembered the hazards and the marches during the summer offensives in 1967 and reported:

My greatest encouragement came from being blessed with a Commanding Officer and Executive Officer, Protestant and Catholic respectively, who took it very seriously that providing a religious program for the battalion was a command function. To my knowledge, few chaplains have served Commanding Officers who have called for prayers each morning on operations before the decisions were made. "No amount of military education can completely prepare a man for the responsibility of taking 1000 men into combat. Supporting Arms are not enough without God's help and guidance," he once told me. It is a humbling experience to serve such a man.<sup>19</sup>

#### *The Chaplain Civic Action Program*

During the month of January 1967 the chaplain civic action story in RVN centered upon the northernmost provinces of I CTZ. Elsewhere in Vietnam chaplains attached to Navy and Marine Corps activities routinely continued their impressive program of assistance to institutions of human welfare operated by indigenous religious organizations.

Further chaplain civil action efforts were focused on the extreme north for obvious reasons. Following the redeployment of the 3d Marine Division CP and combat redeployment north from Da Nang to the Phu Bai and Dong Ha defense perimeters in mid-October 1966, the civic action program was begun afresh in undeveloped territory. The program

reentered Phase I of the tested and now sophisticated formula of humanitarian assistance. Chaplains of the 3d Marine Division reported a variety of activities during the month. Distribution of food, clothing, and school supplies; financial and material assistance to indigenous churches, orphanages, and hospitals; and heavy involvement in the Marine village Medical Care Program (MEDCAP) led chaplain civic action projects numerically and in man hours and dollars expended.

The 3d Marine Division's Protestant Chapel Fund made a substantial contribution to the Christian and Missionary Alliance mission to ARVN personnel and their dependents at the Dong Ha basic training camp near the Division CP. The same fund donated 24,000 piastres to the Catholic Archdiocese of Hue for support of religious orphanages and schools. The Catholic Chapel Fund of the 3d Marine Division gave 4,500 piastres and 1,200 pounds of food, medicine, and clothing from American donors to the Reverend Tho in Hue for distribution among Catholics of the ancient provincial capital.<sup>20</sup>

Early in the war it became clear that pacification of the countryside required that Vietnamese villagers be given the means and the incentive necessary for a successful self-help program of social and economic betterment. Humanitarian projects for the first time in history assumed a position of importance and priority equal to that of active combat. Winning the war in Vietnam required both military protection and social and economic reconstruction from the grass roots hamlet through the village, province, district, and nation, and the civic action program provided the best means for meeting the requirements.

The first project noted in 1967 was an 11th Marines chaplain's project in which indigenous leaders were being encouraged to establish Chu Lai Youth Centers, equipped with small hobby shops where young people of the villages could learn the rudiments of selected mechanical and technical skills under the guidance of Marine instructors.

The III MAF Chaplain of the previous year had predicted the progress of the program as he saw it. He said:

I would expect that this program will "peak" within the next year. Once contacts are complete and the surge of projects is past I would expect this program to diminish to the point where it is concerned more with specific, short-termed projects as opposed to the larger and costlier construction-type projects in which we are now engaged.



Department of Defense (USMC) Photo A187207  
*LCpl Gary L. Frame of the 2d Battalion, 9th Marines, 3d Marine Division puts a new pair of shoes on a Vietnamese girl at the Sacred Heart Orphanage in Da Nang in 1966. The shoes were sent to Frame by members of the Veterans Administration Hospital in his hometown of Muskogee, Oklahoma.*

Ideally, the program should taper off so that when U.S. Forces are ultimately withdrawn from Vietnam, these religious institutions will be virtually independent of our support.<sup>24</sup>

By 1967, the ideal was still being pursued. The new *Standing Operating Procedure for Chaplain Service* was then in the final stages of preparation by the Commanding General, III MAF. Section IV, entitled "Chaplains Civic Action Program" placed in official form both the structure and the philosophy for the program of the future.

During 1967 chaplains reporting on civic action projects, while recognizing the difficulty of accurate measurement, consistently attributed the stable, high-level morale among young sailors and Marines in Vietnam to some degree to the healthful emotional outlet provided them by regular involvement in humanitarian projects among the Vietnamese people.

Upon his return from a visit to RVN in early 1967, Methodist Bishop W. Angie Smith reported that he

had seen less hatred among combat troops in Vietnam than anywhere else he had observed or in which he had participated. He praised American Armed Forces personnel for their liberal giving to the people's needs, for their high morale, and for the commendable state of morality among them.<sup>25</sup>

In a sense the Chaplains Civic Action Program did peak in 1967, since the remaining years of Marine involvement in Vietnam centered strongly around forced combat and planning for disengagement.

### *Easter*

March 1967 marked the fifth year in which Easter was celebrated by Navy chaplains in Vietnam. All previous attendance records were broken when the largest participation ever was recorded. While individual response and program impact were difficult to measure, chaplains reporting on their holy day activities expressed a sense of satisfaction with the im-

*Chaplain Francis L. Garrett, III Marine Amphibious Force, gives 100,000 piasters (about \$8,500) to the Venerable Thich Minh Chieu, senior Buddhist priest of Da Nang. The money, raised through the Chaplain's Civic Action Program from Marines, will be applied toward the building of an orphanage.*

Department of Defense (USMC) Photo A187010





*The distribution of 2,700 bars of soap to the residents of Quang Xuyen in the Rung Sat Special Zone south of Saigon was a present of the United Church Women of Hawaii. The presentation took place 31 March 1966 during Operation Jackstay. The chaplains pictured are Richard E. Barcus of BLT 1/5 and John Pegnam of the SLF staff.*

pact of the Easter program upon Navy and Marine Corps personnel ashore in the I Corps Tactical Zone.

Four Navy Chaplains were in Vietnam on Easter 1965, two with the first two battalions of the 9th Marine Expeditionary Brigade then arriving in the I Corps area as the first units of the American defensive buildup, and one each with Shufly and Headquarters Support Activity, Saigon. At this time news coverage of American military personnel and their activities in Vietnam had assumed worldwide significance and an urgent priority. In Japanese and American newspapers United Press International published photographs of the sunrise service provided by the 1st Battalion, 3d Marines Chaplain at the Hawk missile emplacement atop Hill 327 on the Da Nang defensive perimeter.

On Easter, 26 March 1967, a number of sunrise services were held by unit chaplains in their individual units in Chu Lai, Phu Bai, and Da Nang TAORs. Because of unsafe conditions of the roads in the early, pre-dawn hours, the decision was made by the division chaplain not to have large, centrally located services. Chaplains were encouraged to hold area services where men of several contiguous units could assemble for local early morning worship. III MAF Chaplain Lyons concurred and issued this advice to the Chaplain Corps. In a report on the season to the Chief of Chaplains he further reported:

The combined III MAF and Da Nang Air Base choirs presented a concert of sacred music on Good Friday at the Air Base Chapel and on Easter Sunday evening in the III MAF chapel. The choir was composed of Navy, Marine,





Department of Defense (USMC) Photo A187196

*HM3 Ronald L. Williams, 1st Hospital Company, 1st Marine Division, is surrounded by his patients, children from the village of An Tan, as he treats a child's infected leg.*

Army and Air Force personnel stationed in the Da Nang area.<sup>26</sup>

During March, Eastern Orthodox and Jewish personnel made preparation for their Easter and Passover observances, respectively, to occur the following month. Both made their usual, faithful, albeit small, contribution to divine worship attendance figures for March. For April it was noted with both groups, participation in their High Holy Days celebrations set new attendance records in Vietnam.

Largely as a result of record participation in Corps Lenten and Easter religious activities, statistics for the month of March 1967 showed a marked increase in attendance at worship. During the month a total of 57,638 persons attended 2,139 worship services

provided by 90 Navy Chaplains in the I Corps area.

#### *Summer Combat*

The month of July 1967 produced two important firsts for Navy chaplains assigned to duty ashore in Vietnam. One of these related to an important Chaplain Corps objective, the extension of the Corps' ministry to every sailor, Seabee, and Marine deployed to the combat area.

Since mid-1966 more Navy chaplains had been assigned to combat units ashore in a single geographical area than ever before in the history of naval warfare. Coupled with circuit riding and cross-organizational concepts of multi-unit religious coverage, assignment of chaplains ashore in such



Photo courtesy of Chaplain William H. Gibson  
*Capt William H. Gibson (right), Civic Action Officer of the 1st Marine Division, presents clothing, books, and games to a nun at an orphanage near Da Nang. Capt Gibson later became a Navy chaplain.*

numbers represented the most comprehensive religious coverage ever known in the Navy to that point. Progressively, in the months following July 1966, increases in in-country Chaplain Corps strength were recorded. In July 1967, the number exceeded 100 chaplains assigned to duty ashore.

The Chaplain Corps ministry to Navy and Marine Corps personnel in Vietnam increased both in breadth and in saturation. The most notable increase in breadth occurred in U.S. Naval Forces Vietnam chaplain assignments. Circuit riding chaplains of Naval Support Activity (NavSupAct), Saigon were assigned to four circuits, the geographical limits of which encompassed the II, III, and IV Corps administrative-tactical zones. The four circuits were geographically so situated that centers of naval population at Saigon, Cam Ranh Bay, Cat Lo, and Can Tho provided bases from which the 10 NavSupAct Saigon detachments, Coastal Surveillance Forces, and River Patrol Forces units were covered. Without exception Navy and Coast Guard units operating ashore and afloat from bases extending from the southwestern extremity of the Mekong Delta north to Vietnam's central panhandle were assured routine religious coverage. Personnel of the units were assured ready access to the ministry of a Navy chaplain.

The other first was not specifically related to Chaplain Corps coverage or to personnel statistics,

rather it was related to the mounting cost of the war to Corps personnel. Navy chaplains attached to the Marines in the I Corps Tactical Zone, and specifically in the Con Thien and Dong Ha sectors immediately below the DMZ, reported receiving intermittent but heavy mortar and rocket fire upon their positions during the entire month. For the first time during the war three Navy chaplains sustained wounds in a single month. The number of chaplains wounded in action, by the end of July, reached a total of 15.

A moving story was recorded by one of the three chaplains wounded. It was not so much his story as that of the Marine corporal who worked with him as a chaplain's assistant. The corporal had served the chaplain to whom he was assigned as yeoman, messenger, driver, and bodyguard. He had rigged for divine worship, served Mass, and generally made it possible for the chaplain, "to be in two places at one time." The chaplain had come to depend heavily upon his assistant and to know and appreciate him as a faithful Christian friend. The climate of those days were reflected in a letter to the Chief of Chaplains. The chaplain wrote:

On Monday morning, 3 July, at 0500 we were awakened by the scream of artillery shells. I raced to the door of my hut and started for my bunker when I was thrown into the air by the impact of a shell exploding across the street. I was hurled into the bunker head first, sustaining heavy lacerations on my legs, arms and back. The Ninth Marine Regiment Chaplain was also hurt in this attack which continued for about thirty minutes.<sup>27</sup>

The next day, 4 July, the chaplain, Joseph Ryan, went to the Dong Ha Memorial Chapel for his daily 1630 Mass. His clerk, Corporal George A. Pace, had rigged the altar, and made other required preparations while the chaplain heard confessions. He offered the Mass for "Peace in the World" and spoke for a few minutes about the meaning of our Declaration of Independence. Just after the Communion hymn, another artillery shell exploded near the chapel. He later remembered:

My clerk and I were both thrown to the ground. I turned him over in my arms, and he looked at me in amazement. He said, "I am hit", and lapsed into unconsciousness. Our congregation scattered into our area. George was hit right through the heart and was bleeding profusely. I realized that I had to take a chance and go out of the bunker if we were going to save him.<sup>28</sup>

One of the Marines raced out to a nearby jeep ambulance and rushed the chaplain's assistant to D



*Chaplain Fred Zobel, of MCB 5, presents \$180 to Mr. De of the Bo De Kahn School, for four scholarships for the boys on the left. They were donated in memory of EOCN John Gito of Company A, who was killed in an accident at the Hai Van Pass.*

Med. The doctors and corpsmen were still in their bunkers because they were on "red alert." But when the wounded assistant arrived, the needed people immediately came to his assistance and rushed him into surgery. They had him in the operating room from 1710 to 2000. At 2000 he was doing very well. His blood pressure was stabilized, his heart was beating steadily, and all conditions were favorable for recovery. Chaplain Ryan reported later, "It was in the hands of God, and we remained at his bedside imploring God to spare him. About 2100 George stopped breathing and once again the doctors did everything in their power to get his heart beating,

but God had called him home. . . ."29 Death was constant those days in Vietnam, but never common.

During July visible evidences of the effectiveness of the Navy chaplains' combat ministry continued to be shown in many ways. The mother of a wounded Marine wrote a grateful letter to General Walt, who had presented the Purple Heart to her son at the Naval Hospital in Da Nang. So inspired was she by a letter from her son, in which he referred to the ministry of Navy chaplains to him in the heat of combat and in the hospital, that she wrote a poem for publication in the Marine Corps Magazine *Leatherneck*. In the poem which was entitled, "The



Department of Defense (USMC) Photo  
*LtGen Lewis W. Walt, Commanding General, III MAF, congratulates Maj T. J. Brantley, USA, director of the combined III MAF and Da Nang Air Base Choirs, on its performance, Easter Sunday, 1967.*

Invisible Church,” and about which she wrote to General Walt, she expressed her conviction and gratitude that the Church was as really present and as meaningfully active through the ministry of chaplains half a world away in Vietnam, as in her own home community.<sup>30</sup>

Chaplains themselves continued to derive personal satisfaction and spiritual benefit from their respective combat ministries. One chaplain, writing about his ministry in the Khe Sanh sector, stated:

On Friday I suggested to the regimental commander and to the 3d Battalion, 3d Marines C.O. that Chaplain Urbano be left at the collection and clearing location on the airstrip to receive casualties, because that is where the services of a Catholic Priest could best be utilized. So Frank and I served together night and day during the next two weeks, helping the outstanding medical team in every way we could, and providing much needed spiritual aid and comfort. Our joint ministry to these young American dead, dying and wounded was a profoundly moving experience and a deeply personal one. One felt humbly grateful to be ordained and privileged for the opportunity of such service.<sup>31</sup>

During August 1967 much of the combat activity

in which chaplains were intimately involved in Vietnam continued to take place in Quang Tri Province immediately below the demilitarized zone. Reports from chaplains in that northernmost province of I Corps Tactical Zone focused upon their religious ministry during the defense of the key position at Con Thien and during artillery, rocket, and mortar barrages directed toward personnel of the 3d, 9th, and 12th Marines defending it. Noticeable and mounting pressures upon Marine units in the area began in March. Increased infiltration across the DMZ and massive artillery and troop concentrations building behind it gave evidence that an impressive artillery and troop confrontation, reminiscent of conventional battlegrounds of previous wars, was in the making.

The most significant victory for the Marine forces in early 1967 was still the victory at the “First Battle of Khe Sanh.” On 11 May, Companies M and K of the 3d Battalion, 3d Marines assaulted Hill 861, with heavy casualties but without achieving their objectives. It was decided that the following day 861 would be hit extremely hard with air strikes and artillery. This was done, and by late afternoon the companies of 2d Battalion, 3d Marines had taken the hill without opposition.

Then came Hills 881 North and South. The enemy had previously prepared extensive and elaborate bunkers, fighting pits, and fortifications on well-chosen terrain locations. These hill positions were ingeniously and mutually supported and covered

*Chaplain Joseph E. Ryan, assisted by his Marine clerk Cpl George A. Pace, conducts Catholic services in the Dong Ha Memorial Chapel in summer 1967.*

Courtesy of Mrs. Edwin Pace





Courtesy of Mrs. Edwin Pace  
*Cpl George A. Pace, clerk of Chaplain Joseph E. Ryan, was fatally wounded at Dong Ha, 4 July 1967. This view depicts one side of a shelter where the two of them stayed during attacks. Pace had constructed a desk for Father Ryan and this one for himself.*

by other hill positions. The taking of Hills 881 North and South was costly in American casualties, but as almost the entire Khe Sanh battle took place within two to four miles of the airstrip, the wounded were quickly brought out by helicopter. Except when the tactical situation was such that the wounded could not be reached, the rapidity with which casualties reached the aid station was remarkable. There is no question that many lives were saved by the speed of helicopter evacuation in coordination with the skill of the medical teams on the airstrip waiting and ready to give emergency treatment. Subsequent evacuation of the wounded to hospitals for immediate surgery, while receiving plasma or whole blood enroute, was accomplished with equal speed and further reduced the number of deaths.

The Khe Sanh victory successfully thwarted NVA attempts to flank Con Thien with offensive positions

*The U. S. Navy and Marine Corps Memorial Chapel at Dong Ha was dedicated to those Marines and Navy corpsmen who lost their lives on Operations Hastings and Prairie.*

Department of Defense (USMC) Photo A188248



to the west, and to impose pressures from two sides simultaneously.

During the following months it appeared as if the NVA frontal strategy, even without a firm flanking position to the west, remained unchanged and firm. Pressures on Con Thien increased. It became clear that the enemy was experiencing increasing difficulty with infiltration into the southern provinces of South Vietnam along traditional routes and had mounting logistic problems. Capitalizing upon the invasion-immune sanctuary north of the DMZ and in the Laotian province of Khammouanne, the NVA appeared to be counting upon a direct frontal assault upon Con Thien to produce their hope for significant, if transitory, tactical and propaganda victory.

Ground action in the southern I Corps and in the three other military-administrative zones of South Vietnam remained sporadic, attention being focused upon attacks near population centers well covered by world-wide news media. Chaplains riding Naval Support Activity Saigon circuits in the II, III, and IV Corps areas, reported that their activities with the River Patrol Force, and transportation from each of their scattered units to the others, was extremely hazardous. Occasional firefights were engaged and the danger of treacherous ambush remained constant. It remained clear, however, that the only sector of the war in which North Vietnamese regulars or insurgent Viet Cong guerrillas retained and continued to press a military initiative was along the DMZ.

During June and July action immediately south of the DMZ presented all the characteristics of a conventional frontline confrontation with fortified positions to be defended. Intelligence reports confirmed a continuing massive buildup of NVA forces in the northern half of the DMZ. Artillery, mortar, and rocket fire from within the DMZ increased in intensity in spite of all strikes directed against them, and in spite of a reported 10 rounds of 12th Marines' artillery fire delivered in response to each one received. Frontal assaults by reinforced NVA battalions, evidencing obvious attempts by North Vietnam to invade the southern republic, were systematically repulsed by American Marines.

Later in the year it became evident that increasing attempts were being made to infiltrate entire units of North Vietnamese regulars directly across the DMZ. The result was a curious combination of guerrilla and conventional tactics. Battalion-sized North Vietnamese units moved with stealth among the

dense jungles of Quang Tri Province preparing for an assault upon Con Thien in coordination with the expected frontal attack. To take the initiative away from the invaders, to keep them off balance, and to destroy them if firm contact could be established, Marine battalions in similar manner moved about the countryside.

One chaplain wrote to the Chief of Chaplains:

I just returned with my Battalion from forty days and nights out in the bush around Con Thien. We kept moving around in that general area to dissuade the enemy from attempting to overrun Con Thien. So far they have not been able to, but they have tried and will undoubtedly try again.<sup>33</sup>

Reports of the chaplains' ministry to Navy and Marine Corps personnel during August reflected the general military situation. In the rear at Dong Ha, seven miles to the south, regular worship was conducted as time permitted between sporadic mortar attacks. Chaplains continued to move among personnel of their units pursuing a combat ministry similar to that which they had provided in I CTZ since March 1965. Chaplain coverage of the combined action companies in the hamlets protected by Marine squads continued uninterrupted. From the Con Thien sector a chaplain wrote, "Whenever possible we have field services for our men, and always we go foxhole to foxhole for private or general prayers. Our chapel attendance when we are in a rear area is outstanding. The troops really feel close to God when their lives are at stake. The ministry here is a vital one for all troops, and I am proud to be a small part of it."<sup>34</sup> The mode of chaplain operation was necessarily movement. A Camp Carroll chaplain wrote:

The chaplain was constantly on the move in order to spend time with companies in the outlying areas, to visit the men and to hold services. When the command post itself moved out on operations the chaplain moved with it carrying his pack and prayerbook. It was a common thing for Marines to react with surprise and pleasure to find the chaplains with them sharing the hardships and hazards of the field. I would try to hold weekly services in each platoon while in the field, and found the attendance to be exceptionally high in such small group field services. Much foxhole counselling transpired as companies from Camp Carroll rotated to the field for security duty. Invariably the chaplain travelled as close as possible to the Battalion Aid Station in order to minister to casualties, to give last rites to the dead, and to assist with medical evacuations. Combat was getting less predictable and more costly.<sup>35</sup>

But this combat period was also more costly for the Chaplains Corps.

*"Greater Love Hath No Man..."*

At 0200 on 5 September 1967, this chaplain received an unofficial report that Lieutenant Vincent R. Capodanno, CHC, USN, had been killed in action late Monday, 4 September 1967. Colonel Sam Davis, Regimental Commander of the 5th Marines, confirmed this officially at 0730 this date.<sup>36</sup>

This statement from the division chaplain to the force chaplain concerning Chaplain Capodanno's death was the first to leave his command. The abrupt style resulted from the need to simply communicate information. A man had been killed and his death duly and officially noted. A preliminary report was forwarded up the chain of command. But the fact that the man was a chaplain was of more than passing interest and concern to many, for men of God were not routinely found in the casualty reports of combat actions. No Navy chaplain had as yet been killed in Vietnam.

As the story of this chaplain's last hours of life gradually emerged to fill the outline of spare facts first reported by the division chaplain, it became apparent that Chaplain Vincent Capodanno's actions on that day had been inspired by an inordinate devotion to his men and to God. For his ministry to Marines during a combat situation that ultimately cost him his life, Chaplain Capodanno was awarded the Medal of Honor on 7 January 1969. He was the fourth Navy man to receive the nation's highest honor for valor in the Vietnam war.

Chaplain Capodanno's action on that day symbolized an idea of the ministry to men in combat that transcended the immediacy of personal sacrifices and illuminated a concept of ministry which became unique to Vietnam, the ministry of adaptation that enabled the chaplain to be present as much as possible where needed.

Chaplain Capodanno was born in Richmond County, New York in 1929. He attended the Curtis High School on Staten Island, the Maryknoll Seminary College in Glen Ellyn, Illinois and the Maryknoll Seminaries in Bedford, Massachusetts and in New York City before his ordination in June 1957. Father Capodanno belonged to the Catholic Foreign Mission Society and was dedicated to serving in the Far East. He served as a missionary in Taiwan and in Hong Kong from 1958 until 1965. When the



Department of Defense (USMC) Photo A369476  
*A field prayer service is held by Chaplain Vincent R. Capodanno for men of Company A, 1st Battalion, 7th Marines, in the Muo Douc area of Vietnam.*

Vietnam conflict became a full-scale involvement for United States combat forces early in 1965, Father Capodanno volunteered to serve as a Navy chaplain and requested duty with the Marines in-country. He served with a Marine infantry battalion for 12 months and was thoroughly devoted to this kind of duty and to his men and requested a six-month extension. It was during the fourth month of this extension that he was killed in action in Quang Tin Province.

Chaplain Capodanno was compelled to be with his men according to the dictates of his conscience and an overwhelming desire to serve his "grunts." The priorities of ministry, as interpreted by him, did not allow another course of action. His conviction and dedication to a ministry, practically applied, cost him his life on the afternoon of 4 September 1967, yet both his life and his ministry were fulfilled by serving the Marines he loved. One chaplain confirmed this with a delightful anecdote. Lieutenant Conon J. Meehan (Roman Catholic) wrote:

With the death of Vincent Capodanno fresh in my mind, I am tempted to include a eulogy of him in this report. But it is not necessary because so many others, par-

ticularly the young men who came in contact with him, will eulogize him. A little known fact about Vince was the fact that when he applied for military service as a chaplain, he sought out the Marine Recruiting Office in Hong Kong. He wanted to serve with the Marines in Vietnam. It was not until he got to the west coast of the United States, did he find out that the Marines' chaplain was a Navy chaplain, and that he actually had joined the Navy.<sup>37</sup>

On the day of his death Chaplain Capodanno had been traveling with the command post of Company M, 3d Battalion, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division (Rein), which was moving to join other Marine companies reacting to enemy opposition developing in Operation Swift.<sup>38</sup> Observers' accounts noted that the 1st Platoon of the company had traversed the slope of a hill and had begun ascending an opposite hill when it was halted by sniper fire. At the onset of the action the command post situated itself in a crater slightly behind the crest of the hill, while the 2d Platoon occupied a blocking position across the brow of the hill and then moved forward to assist the 1st Platoon and clear out the snipers. As the two platoons began to advance up the hill, a hail of enemy mortar, machine gun, and heavy weapons fire halted their advance. What had initially been estimated as a small clearing operation evolved into a full-scale attack in an engagement with elements of a North Vietnamese Army force. The advancing Marines radioed to the command post that they were in danger of being overrun and wiped out. At this news Chaplain Capodanno left the command post and hurried to the positions of the 1st and 2d platoons; in the meantime an order was given for the engaged Marines to fall back to form a defensive perimeter on the hill.

Lance Corporal Lovejoy, a radio operator, remembered that he was lying in the dirt, having been forced down by a burst of automatic weapons fire when the chaplain ran down the hill, grabbed a strap of the radio, and helped him to pull it up the hill. Twice they had to hit the dirt as grazing automatic weapons fire traversed the hill in front of them. When they finally made it within the perimeter on top of the hill, Chaplain Capodanno began to minister to the wounded and dying. Lance Corporal Lovejoy reflected afterwards that he would never have made it up the hillside alive if it had not been for the chaplain's assistance.

Later during the firefight Chaplain Capodanno was giving the last rites to a dying Marine when riot control agents were employed to help blunt the

enemy fire. At the beginning of the engagement some of the Marines had dropped their gear, including their gas masks, at the bottom of the hill. The chaplain surrendered his mask to one of the riflemen, casually remarking, "you need this more than I do." and continued despite murderous fire, to assist the wounded.

After caring for about seven men, Chaplain Capodanno maneuvered forward in a crouching run to a position forward on the hill; as he ran, a mortar impacted about 20 meters from him. The explosion seemed to affect his arm for he carried it stiffly thereafter and spatters of blood were observed on his sleeve. But he did not break stride, and continued to the side of Sergeant Peters, who had just fallen. Chaplain Capodanno said the "Our Father" with him just before he died, and then tended to five or six other wounded men in that squad. He continued to move forward and found another Marine lying in a crisscross of fire between two enemy automatic weapons. Sergeant Manfra had already been hit five times and no longer knew where he was. Three other Marines were in a slight depression just off the knoll but because of the crossfire they had been unable to maneuver the wounded sergeant to cover. Chaplain Capodanno managed to reach the dazed man, calm him, and move him into the depression with his companions. As he was tending other wounded another of the Marines cried, "Chaplain, my rifle's jammed!" Chaplain Capodanno then made his way out into the fire again, retrieved the wounded sergeant's rifle, and handed it to the Marine. After bandaging Sergeant Manfra's wounds Father Capodanno departed with the words, "I have to go to others now." Today Sergeant Manfra has completely recovered from those wounds, which, miraculously, were not crippling or permanently disabling.<sup>39</sup>

Below the knoll, outside of the perimeter, Lance Corporal Tanke was holding the thigh artery of Hospital Corpsman Leal, who was in danger of bleeding to death. At this time the North Vietnamese changed their position; Tanke saw an enemy machine gunner set up his weapon about 15 meters away. He fired at the man but his weapon jammed. Tanke ran for cover. He looked to see Chaplain Capodanno, who heard the weapon and could probably see its position, come down from the perimeter, gather Leal into his arms, place his body between Leal and the enemy gunner, and begin to



bandage his thigh. The NVA gunner opened up and it was there, hours after the action, that Father Capodanno's body was recovered.

Chaplain Capodanno's ministry to his men on that day of crisis illuminated the very best attitude toward the chaplain's ministry. His was a ministry of love and personal concern, and his conduct on the field of battle was inspired by his belief that this type of service to man was temporarily and eternally profitable. Commander Carl Auel (Lutheran) clearly articulated the motive behind this attitude: "It might be said that that 'the ministry' has a chief concern with sainthood; it takes seriously the quiet statement that love is greater than either faith or hope and that to serve our Lord is not to serve him at all but others."<sup>40</sup>

Chaplain Capodanno was devoted to his Marines in a way that was extraordinary. Chaplain David J. Casazza noted in his memorial remarks at the dedication of Capodanno Memorial Chapel at the Naval Chaplains School in Newport, R.I., that Father Capodanno always wanted more time with his troops. "He was a hungry man. Hungry to be with his troops. Hungry for more time to seek out the lonely Marine, more time to sit with the scared boy, more time to explain things to the confused platoon leader."<sup>41</sup>

On the day following his death, a letter from Chaplain Capodanno was delivered to the regimental commander. It said, "I am due to go home in late November or early December. I humbly request that I stay over Christmas and New Year's with my men. I am willing to relinquish my thirty days leave. . . ."<sup>42</sup>

All who knew this priest were familiar with the selflessness he made the core of his ministry, a selflessness that was to promote the actions which placed his life in jeopardy. Under critical analysis the reasoning behind this kind of human behavior, behavior that led in Chaplain Capodanno's instance to the giving up of his life, appears complex and not easily understood. But in the case of this sacrifice there also lies simplicity of purpose—Chaplain Capodanno knew where he had to be and why. Lieutenant Commander Eli Takesian (United Presbyterian), who knew Chaplain Capodanno well, had only this brief answer to explain Chaplain Capodanno's actions; it is perhaps the most deeply moving and eloquent tribute to that man of God: "He just wanted to be with the 'grunts'. He was more a Marine than anything else. . . ."<sup>43</sup>

### *I Corps Pacification Efforts*

During the latter months of 1967, Navy chaplains serving U.S. Marine Corps units in South Vietnam's I Corps area observed a number of subtle but significant evolutions occurring in established patterns of pacification.

With regard to the civic action program chaplains confirmed predictions which their predecessors made a year earlier. In September 1966 it appeared inevitable that the more urgent, essential-to-life needs of the beleaguered Vietnamese civilians in I Corps would eventually be identified. Humanitarian projects designed to provide food, clothing, medical aid, elementary education, and care for orphans and the elderly were fully implemented, generously funded by voluntary donations, and capable of multiplication to meet newly identified requirements as they emerged into view. Channels for efficient distribution of Project Handclasp materials were established. It stood to reason that the incidence of new projects would subside to readily manageable proportions and when that degree of project saturation occurred the program, while continuing to be tremendously important, would be considered to be a routine operation.

Coupled with chaplains and S-5 successes in identifying the more urgent civic action requirements, and implementing organizational machinery to handle them, the geographical area to be covered diminished. NVA pressures upon units of the 3d Marine Division near the DMZ had increased steadily during the first eight months of 1967. To meet the quickened pace of combat activity, regiments of the 3d Marine Division consolidated their positions at Con Thien, Gio Linh, Khe Sanh, and Dong Ha while the 1st Marine Division gradually moved northward for reinforcement. A huge new base complex, already under construction by Seabees and Marine Corps engineers at Quang Tri, was to become the enclave's nerve and materiel center. Plans were made to turn the Chu Lai TAOR in southern Quang Tin Province over the U.S. Army units operating from II Corps bases, and while retaining the Marine Corps airstrip there, to move the bulk of Marine forces in the area to the north, to Da Nang and beyond. This gradual northerly movement of forces in effect compressed the geographical area of III Marine Amphibious Force's civic action program and responsibility to that area encompassed within the three northernmost provinces of South Vietnam. The

influx of new Marine Corps units in Quang Nam and Thua Thien Provinces and the faster pace of military activity in Quang Tri Province considerably reduced the civic action load for each individual unit. The end results, as observed by Navy chaplains in South Vietnam's northern panhandle, was a manageable and efficient civic action program somewhat diminished in geographical scope.

During September 1967 Navy Chaplains noted that village relocation, precipitated by the desire to reduce the possibility of civilians being endangered by military activity, produced larger numbers of Vietnamese to be housed in government-sponsored temporary refugee centers. Efforts of the Government of Vietnam to provide the evacuees with the basic essentials for existence appeared to be generally inadequate and civic action program activity in the relocation centers increased with the need.

The most significant and promising evolution in Marine Corps pacification efforts appeared to be taking place in the Corps' Revolutionary Development program. Combined action platoons (CAPs), small detachments of Marines and Navy Hospital Corpsmen assigned to live for extended periods in or near remote villages in I Corps, appeared to be highly successful in relating to the villagers. Their mission included military security of the hamlets, medical treatment and instruction in personal hygiene, humanitarian assistance work projects, and instruction in rudimentary mechanical skills.

Organizational structure of the CAP normally included a carefully selected, mature, and morally responsible noncommissioned officer, from 12 to 20 Marines, a Corpsman and a detachment of South Vietnamese Popular Forces personnel. Americans and Vietnamese lived side by side, each learning from and supporting the other in a joint effort to reduce terrorism by Viet Cong marauders and to encourage the development of individual self-reliance and local leadership among the villagers. One chaplain described the CAPs as a realistic attempt to win the hearts and minds of the people naturally, by assisting with forms of humanitarian aid instead of forcing their allegiance and sympathy by threat of violence as was the case with the Viet Cong. The major role of CAP personnel lay in understanding the cultural patterns and human needs of the people. The program was designed to offset the years of indoctrination and patterns of fear established by the Viet Cong.

CAP personnel in remote hamlets depended heavily for their personal safety and that of the village upon information freely given them by local Vietnamese civilians. "Charlie's" presence in the area was routinely reported, enabling timely precautions to be taken. As vulnerable as CAP personnel were to being overrun and annihilated by hostile assault, through the end of September 1967 few of the nearly 80 detachments had been successfully overrun. Marine successes in occasional firefights were due both to timely intelligence reports and to the integrity and courage of Popular Force personnel fighting by their side.

CAP team skills in establishing cross-cultural communication and interpersonal relations with the PF and civilian Vietnamese counterparts were enhanced by Navy chaplains' periodic visits to the hamlets. As a rule the chaplain attached to the nearest battalion was assigned responsibility for religious coverage of the CAP team. On a weekly basis he visited the remote hamlets to conduct divine worship services and informal discussions on the culture and customs of Vietnam and to acquire first-hand knowledge of civic action materiel requirements of the village.

From his visits emerged an unnumbered succession of requests for mundane assistance, ranging from personal inquiries about mail and pay to general requests for literature, sports equipment, and miscellaneous material for use in humanitarian projects. The chaplain's counselling contacts multiplied and the scope of his religious ministry was significantly enlarged.

The chaplain discovered that CAP religious coverage, which produced small numerical-statistical rewards, was both professionally challenging and spiritually rewarding. Not unlike his work in a larger unit, the key to his personal effectiveness with CAP teams in remote villages was intimate, personal contact with individuals of the detachments. Both Protestant and Catholic chaplains reported increasing numbers of PF and civilian Vietnamese attending their services of worship. They appeared convinced that the spirit of camaraderie, friendship, and mutual trust existing between Americans and Vietnamese in the villages enhanced the inherent curiosity of the indigenous population concerning the American way of life and produced a desire to identify with the friendly and helpful foreigners.

By the end of year the results of the Marine Corps

Revolutionary Development Program were not ready for final evaluation. The crucial test to follow the withdrawal of CAP teams from individual villages would be the strength of residual loyalties and local self-reliance inculcated within the indigenous population. At the end of the year, however, chaplains noted that under the program several villages had progressed so favorably that they were expected to be ready for the crucial test before the end of 1968.

Evaluating reports of chaplains concerning Marine Corps pacification efforts in I Corps, the Navy Chief of Chaplains, Rear Admiral James W. Kelly, stated:

The explanation for the phenomenally high morale of our combat troops in Vietnam is related to the fact that for the first time in the history of military combat humanitarian activity is considered to be of equal importance with tactical activity. The one balances the other in competition for the attention, the time and energy of the individual. If any war can be described as emotionally and spiritually healthier than any other war, it occurs to me that the curious balance of constructive and destructive activity in Vietnam had produced a healthier combat environment than existed in previous wars.<sup>44</sup>

#### *Changes and Administration*

On 29 September Captain Robert C. Fenning (Lutheran) arrived to become the 3d Division Chaplain relieving Chaplain Lavin from one of the most eventful and difficult years of his life, but one which as he stated in his final report, he "... wouldn't have missed it for the world."<sup>45</sup>

Chaplain Fenning came to the division job from Marine Corps Schools at Quantico, Virginia and was well oriented both toward Marines and the war in Vietnam. Since Chaplain Seiders, the assistant division chaplain, had completed his tour in September and since it was known that a Protestant would become division chaplain, Chaplain Ryan had been brought from Dong Ha to function as assistant to Chaplain Fenning until November when Commander Bernard G. Filmeyer (Roman Catholic) came from the 4th Marines to relieve Chaplain Ryan whose tour was complete. Chaplains Fenning and Ryan immediately began to visit the 3d Division areas and program the chaplain needs of the next months and meet the available Marine commanders. Within a week of his arrival, Chaplain Fenning was hosted by III MAF Chaplain Lyons at the MAF Headquarters and received a comprehensive overview of the entire I Corps deployment of chaplains,

and participated in the planning for the Chief of Chaplains' Christmas visit. Chaplain Fenning served as an important link in this planning since by 1 November Chaplain Lyons was to be relieved by Captain Ralph W. Below (Southern Baptist) as III MAF Chaplain and Chaplain Hershberger, the assistant MAF chaplain, would be relieved by Commander Leon S. Darkowski (Roman Catholic). Chaplain Darkowski had recently been selected for captain and would relieve Chaplain Ferreri as Wing Chaplain, 1st Marine Aircraft Wing by the first of the year. Commander John T. McDonnell (Roman Catholic) would replace Chaplain Darkowski as assistant division chaplain on 1 January and the supervisory chaplain adjustments would be complete.

In the course of the next two weeks the division chaplain made as many trips as he was given opportunity to, in order to visit all the chaplains of the division now scattered, in the words of Chaplain Lavin, "... literally from Da Nang to the DMZ and from the Sea to the Laotian border."<sup>46</sup> Most of these trips were flown in the helicopter belonging to the 3d Division Commanding General, Major General Bruno A. Hochmuth, who, Chaplain Fenning wrote, "... was most accommodating in allowing me to accompany him so that I might be able to meet the chaplains of the Division."<sup>47</sup>

On 14 November Chaplain Fenning sent a memo to General Hochmuth requesting space on his helo for that day in order to attend a chapel dedication ceremony at Camp Carroll. He later wrote to the Force Chaplain, Captain Vincent J. Lonergan (Roman Catholic) at FMFPac in Hawaii:

My helmet and jacket was beside my desk and I was waiting for a staff sergeant to whom I had earlier given the memorandum. When I suddenly realized that the General's chopper was about to take off, I grabbed my gear and ran. But it was too late. The sergeant was standing beside my desk with an apology for having failed to get my memorandum to General Hochmuth. I then got on the helicopter that was to go north to pick up General Metzger at Dong Ha . . . North of Hue I saw the explosion that brought the General's plane down and we hovered over it for twenty minutes. It was aflame and mostly submerged in a flooded rice paddy. It was a heartbreaking experience.<sup>48</sup>

General Hochmuth died in the crash of his UH-1E helicopter on 14 October, the first Marine general officer casualty of the conflict, and the Chaplain Corps had lost a friend.

Chaplain Fenning, in his message at the general's memorial service in Phu Bai on 16 November said:

General Hochmuth was obsessed with the justice and righteousness of the cause for which he and his forces fought. He would not yield one inch of Con Thien, Cam Lo or Khe Sanh to the enemy, nor could he hear the whimpering of those who would read inhumanity into his actions. He had no time to be concerned with his own public image; but he was gravely concerned about the image of Americans . . . As his Division Chaplain, we spent a considerable amount of time together in the past weeks, much of it aloft . . . He said, "Mary, my wife, said to me on a tape last night, 'I hope you don't spend too much time in helicopters.' She worries." But he implied it could never be otherwise. He had to be with his troops.<sup>49</sup>

General Hochmuth was replaced by Major General Rathvon McC. Tompkins as Commanding General, 3d Marine Division.

A continued pressing administration problem that now surfaced in the division centered on ecclesiastical supplies. When Chaplain Casazza, division chaplain of the 1st Division, arrived in Da Nang, taking over the spaces and area recently vacated by the 3d Division, in October 1966, he had complained:

Wine and hosts were in short supply. Getting over from Okinawa was always a problem. It took a long time to get here and very often when it did arrive it sat around in an open field at Force Logistic Command until someone spotted it and was decent enough to call and tell us about it being there. Much of my Christmas gear was ruined by the rain. Things are just a little better lately but there is room for improvement. A safer and more expeditious manner of shipping gear to us is needed.<sup>50</sup>

The problem was never solved to complete satisfaction, but not because tremendous efforts were lacking in the attempt. A capsuled look into the difficulties encountered by the Regimental Chaplain, 3d Force Service Regiment (FSR) in Okinawa during 1967 provides a framework to the challenges of supply processes for chaplains.

Lieutenant James D. Pfannenstiel (United Methodist) had joined the Chaplain Corps in 1962 and had duty with naval hospitals at Great Lakes, Illinois, and Portsmouth, New Hampshire, as well as tours with the Military Sea Transport Service and the USS *LaSalle* before he landed at Okinawa in December 1966.

He was ordered to 3d FSR with the understanding that he was to be the junior of three or four chaplains. Due to Vietnam priorities and an unfortunate series of troubles in chaplain detailing, soon after arrival he was left alone with 3,700 Marines and no chaplain help for 10 months. He was located at an area then called Sukiran, but soon changed to

Camp Foster, named in honor of a World War II Medal of Honor winner.

Trying to be chaplain to 3,700 Marines was enough, but he also quickly discovered that 3d FSR, being primarily a logistic support unit, logically became the source of logistic support for all chaplains in Vietnam who numbered about 100 at the time.

His function became one of supply officer in that he had to procure, stock, and ship all chaplains' supplies needed in Vietnam. It was estimated that this was about a \$50,000 operation. He handled everything from consumables (wine, hosts, rosaries, bulletins, candles, etc.) to hardware like crosses, combat altar kits, and tape recorders; and was successful in getting his commanding officer to spend large amounts of money on typewriters. He also tried to develop a field organ that would not rot and mildew in Vietnam. Problems were multifold. He reported:

About two weeks after arrival, and at Christmas time I was receiving messages from the Division and Wing Chaplains in country that they were dangerously low on wine. It was quickly evident that the supply system was no good for shipping wine to Vietnam. Almost any kind of shipment labeled for a chaplain was broken into by hands along the way in hope of coming upon shipment of wine. My only solution was to get TAD orders and hand carry the wine into Vietnam.<sup>51</sup>

Chaplain Pfannenstiel's salvation in this impossible job came in the form of a young Marine, former pro baseball player and all-state football star, who found himself drafted for two years. He had just arrived on Okinawa about a month before. He was a recent convert to Catholicism and was very conscious of his religious commitment. He asked for a job in the chaplain's office and when the chaplain negotiated his transfer, really took charge. He managed the supply system like a professional. He took initiatives in setting up procedures for ordering and stocking and getting the gear to chaplains. Upon detachment he was put in for the Navy Achievement Medal. Chaplain Pfannenstiel reported, "His name was Corporal Charles M. Veddern. To my knowledge he received the only personal decoration in the Regiment in the year I was on Okinawa. But a lot of people did outstanding round-the-clock work in that unsung Regiment."<sup>52</sup>

Interestingly enough, two months after the chaplain departed Okinawa, 3d FSR had its full compliment of four chaplains. For almost a year the supply line was thin, but it did not snap.

## CHAPTER 10

# Agonizing and Reasoning (January-December 1968)

*Ministry Along the DMZ—The Tet Offensive—The Siege of Khe Sanh—The 27th Marines—The Ministry of Mercy—The 3d Marine Division Memorial Children's Hospital—Ministry Grows at the Force Logistic Command—Dealing with Debate*

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As the year 1967 brought itself steadily to a close in Vietnam the situation was in a state of flux. After the hard fighting of the summer and early fall had produced satisfying results, the American command in Saigon looked forward to consolidating its gains and maintaining the security necessary to pursue an even more aggressive pacification program. The optimism with which the year began had not dissipated. Then, in the month of December, massive enemy troop movements forced a cancellation of status quo strategy, and caused a large-scale realignment of American troops. The Marines of the 3d Division were relieved of the task of protecting the approaches to Hue City from the west, and concentrated on the threat of invasion in northernmost Quang Tri province. This section was comprised of the area of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), Khe Sanh, Cam Lo, largely along the Cua Viet River, and along Route 9, which ran mostly east from Dong Ha almost to Laos. This move necessitated relocation north and west. Broadly speaking, the 1st Marine Division filled in behind the 3d Division, both divisions redeploying north from their previous positions. The United States Army and the Korean Blue Dragon Brigade then occupied the area vacated by the 1st Division with the Army's 1st Cavalry Division (Airmobile) and the 2d Brigade, 101st Airborne Division being ordered to the ICTZ to accomplish the realignment. The Americal Division of the Army was already present in I Corps. By year's end the Marine Corps had 21 battalions of infantry and supporting troops totaling 81,249 serving in Vietnam. One Marine Historian wrote: "Proportionally, no other U.S. Service had anything approaching this investment in the war."<sup>2</sup>

This personal investment of Marines in Vietnam was also reflected by the Chaplain Corps statistics. On the first of January 1968 there were 1,082 Navy Chaplains serving Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Merchant Marine personnel and their families, afloat and ashore, all over the world. That

number of chaplains on duty was the largest since World War II when 2,800 men of the cloth brought the ministry of the American churches to men and women of the sea services. The peak strength of Navy Chaplains who served during the Korean conflict was 921.

At the start of the seventh year of the U.S. Marines presence in Vietnam, 203 chaplains were serving with Marine units worldwide and 110 were serving with Navy and Marine Corps units in Vietnam, and with the large-scale Marine relocation taking place, many of them were on the move. The situation was fluid.

Rear Admiral James W. Kelly, the Chief of Chaplains, encountered this ambivalent situation on his 1967 Christmas visit to Vietnam, his third such trip in as many years. Chaplain Kelly was most courteously received by the Commanding General, III MAF, Lieutenant General Robert E. Cushman and his staff, particularly the staff chaplain, Captain Ralph W. Below, and was free to visit all chaplains and areas of his interest in the III MAF TAOR. On 22 December, the chaplain flew in General Cushman's personal helicopter to visit the troops in the field. He literally dropped in successively at Force Logistic Command, Hoa Khanh Children's Hospital, 1st Division Headquarters, 1st Medical Battalion, and the 7th Marine's Hill 55 complex southwest of Da Nang. In succeeding days Chief Kelly met with chaplains and men assigned to the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing at Da Nang and Chu Lai when he also paid a call on Major General Samuel Koster, USA, Commanding General, Americal Division, and dedicated the MAG-13 Chapel. The additional points of contact desired by the Chief of Chaplains included a comprehensive tour of the Northern I Corps from Phu Bai to Dong Ha, A and D Medical Companies, and the hospital ship USS *Repose* (AH 16) off shore. His Christmas message was given aboard the USS *Valley Forge* (LPH 8) to some 700 sailors and Marines. Other Christmas visits

included the USS *Iwo Jima* (LPH 2), and the USS *Arlington* (AGMR 1).

The substance of the visit of the Chief of Chaplains to the combat zone was not measured only in terms of places visited and courtesies observed; his presence was uniformly accepted with joy. One chaplain remembered:

Chaplain Kelly's charismatic qualities were nowhere more clearly demonstrated than when visiting the wounded in the hospitals, medical companies and battalions, and in collecting stations. He has that unique quality of making each man feel for that moment of encounter that for the Chief, he is the person who supremely matters.<sup>3</sup>

Upon his return it was obvious the Chief of Chaplains had relished his Christmas ministry in Vietnam but also gave evidence of having noted an alteration in the tenor of the way in which the Vietnam question was being approached. Supportive and positive as he had been following his other Christmas visits, on this occasion Chief Kelly saw fit to sound a mildly guarded note in a 10 January press release dealing with protest and dissent. Citing the impact the Marines and sailors had upon him while in Vietnam Admiral Kelly said, "I resolved then and there to issue an appeal for united support for their gallant efforts, to the limits of my influence and as often as the occasion presents itself."<sup>4</sup>

Exhibiting deep pastoral feeling particularly for the fighting Marines, the Chief of Chaplains classified what he perceived as the major classes of persons engaging in dissent: the informed, the uninformed, the misinformed, and the deformed, and concluded: "These . . . attitudes and positions with regard to an involvement in Vietnam . . . have the inalienable right to be held. I only question the judgement and the propriety of their dissent which does detriment to those young Americans who in good faith responded to the requirements of their homeland. . . ."<sup>5</sup>

The Chief of Chaplains was constant in his leadership of the Corps of Navy Chaplains in his conviction that the ministry to the service member and his or her family must include the utmost in loyal support. He sensed the agony that would be called for in giving that support in a climate surrounding the Vietnam conflict that was growing increasingly skeptical at home. The events of 1968 in Vietnam did little to ease that agony. In fact, after almost three full years of large-scale troop commitment, some of the

hardest, most tragic fighting and painful national and personal soul-searching was still ahead for Americans at home and in Vietnam.

### *Ministry Along the DMZ*

The tactical area of responsibility of the 3d Marine Division in February 1968 was Quang Tri Province, bounded on the north by the DMZ, on the south by Thua Thien Province, on the east by the South China Sea, and on the west by Laos. The terrain of the area consisted of a flat, somewhat marshy coastal plain succeeded by a rolling piedmont section. The western half of the province was rugged mountains covered with thick jungle growth and elephant grass. The Cua Viet river intersected the province west to east and emptied into the sea approximately five miles south of the DMZ. It was used as a water-borne logistics route for bringing supplies to Dong Ha combat base, approximately eight miles south of the DMZ. Two main roads were used for overland transport of supplies and personnel: Highway 1, north and south on the eastern side of the province, roughly along the coast, and Highway 9 west from Highway 1, to Laos. This road west provided access to Camp Carroll, Elliott Combat Base (the Rockpile), Vandegrift Combat Base (Stud), and the Khe Sanh Combat Base (KSCB).

The 3d Division Headquarters was split. The tactical headquarters was at Dong Ha Combat Base where the Commanding General, Chief of Staff, G-2, G-3, G-4, and Communications Officers were located. The administrative headquarters was at Quang Tri, five miles south of Dong Ha, where the Assistant Division Commander, G-1, G-5, Division Supply, Staff Judge Advocate, Division Surgeon, Division Dental Officer, Division Chaplain, and Headquarters Battalion were located. Infantry and artillery battalion rear personnel were at both places.

Chaplain Fenning of the 3d Division had 30 Chaplains under his supervision, scattered with units across the province largely along Route 9 and at the Khe Sanh Combat Base. The division was soon to be committed to a mobile concept of operations utilizing small support bases strategically placed on mountain peaks in such a pattern that they would be mutually supporting, and would provide artillery cover over the entire area where infantry were operating. These small bases could be quickly closed or opened, in immediate response to the shifting combat situation. Mountain peaks were selected

primarily because they are more easily defended, having smaller perimeters and more difficult ground access, need fewer infantry troops to provide security, and, of course, have the elevation to afford greater effective range to the artillery. But this concept was not able to be implemented from the tactical point of view until after the battles of Tet and the siege of Khe Sanh. This tactical situation posed problems for the 3d Division chaplains which, if they were not exactly new problems, took on new degrees of intensity. From the spiritual point of view the ministry of comfort and reassurance was increasingly necessary and apparent. The major problem with isolated outposts was their vulnerability to rocket, mortar, and artillery attacks. If the enemy could not easily overrun them because of elevation and difficult accessibility, they at least knew where the Marines were and bombarded them both regularly and irregularly. The Marines were forced underground as much as possible and often during this period any movement outside of bunkers and reinforced gun positions was perilous. The potential climate of morale was understandably one of constant anxiety and fear, and a sense of isolation and abandonment was often strong. Lieutenant James H. Rutherford (Southern Baptist) reported it well: "Battle casualties could be Med-Evaced, but there was no relief readily available for concern over worried parents, a new-born child not yet seen, or a wife whose fidelity came to be doubted."<sup>6</sup> The Marines thus sought out their chaplains to ventilate their fears, frustrations, and sufferings. Many times the chaplain could do little or nothing about the situation. The agony was unspoken but the chaplain was there ministering in the same circumstances, and that was often as profound a message as was ever communicated in Vietnam.

Although infantry sweeps in the area of these isolated bases were regularly sent out, it seemed no amount of sweeping could capture or dislodge the shifting NVA forces that infested the DMZ and the area immediately to its south. While serving the outposts and the infantry near the DMZ one chaplain remembered, "Mass gathering for worship was impractical, but small prayer groups, often postured in the prone position, were feasible and supplied much balm to the anguished and hungry of spirit."<sup>7</sup>

In the current concept of operations the helicopter was indispensable not only to the combat effort but also to the solution of the other agonizing problem

chaplains faced: adequate religious coverage of the scattered bases. There was no other means of transporting personnel, equipment, and supplies to and from such inaccessible places. Chaplains attached to field units were dependent upon helicopter transportation to get to their men, and helicopters were always in short supply. Duplication of chaplain coverage had to be minimized and optimum Protestant/Catholic cross-coverage provided. This demanded cooperation and understanding of the highest sort among chaplains. Lieutenant Commander John W. McElroy (Roman Catholic) with the 3d Battalion, 26th Marines early in his tour, said:

My time was dominated covering all the units in the area. Hills 881, 861, 950, Lang Vei and CAP units in the Khe Sanh area left me with very little time on my hands . . . . "Coverage" is the "name of the game" in Vietnam. And it was my experience, as I am sure for so many other chaplains, that the cooperation between chaplains of all faiths has never been closer than here in Vietnam . . . . For their cooperation and companionship I shall be forever grateful."<sup>8</sup>

The problem of proper coverage was an ever-present one diligently worked at and worried over by division chaplain Fenning and his successor, Captain John E. Zoller (United Methodist), who arrived in September. Chaplain Zoller, who had served the Marines twice previously, implemented a unique coverage concept that bore fruit for him the following spring. In his final report he noted:

Each infantry regiment was "wedded" to an artillery battalion; each fire support base's infantry troops provided security for a battery (or more) of artillery. Thus, if each infantry battalion chaplain could be Protestant and each artillery battalion chaplain could be Roman Catholic, an automatic cross-coverage would be achieved as each chaplain made his rounds visiting his men. Then if each infantry regimental chaplain could be Roman Catholic and the artillery regimental chaplain could be Protestant they could provide cross-coverage in situations where the infantry-artillery combination did not exist. This became my goal and was finally accomplished . . . . It worked well.<sup>9</sup>

When Chaplain Zoller spoke about a chaplain "making his rounds visiting his men," he could well have been referring to Lieutenant Commander John F. Seibert (Lutheran) assigned for 10 months to the 2d Battalion, 9th Marines. Chaplain Seibert had experienced the fierce bombardment of Con Thien with his battalion and later continually visited the companies as they were spread all along Route 9 bet-

ween Cam Lo and the Rockpile. He commented in his final report:

My chapel consisted of a running, crawling flak jacket and helmet, with me inside carrying a small Bible. Daily I would try to go from hole-to-hole, Marine-to-Marine for scripture and prayer. In their moment of hell, many Marines would ask their maker, why me? Others would say, God must be dead, or he wouldn't allow this to happen to a snake! But most Marines would join me in praying to God, forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us.<sup>10</sup>

For the infantry chaplain, coverage also meant training lay leaders of the faith unrepresented by the chaplain. The results were often touching and always significant. Chaplain Seibert recalled:

Once our battalion worshipped in a beautiful but now gutted Catholic church along the DMZ. While the Catholics held a lay rosary service inside, the Protestants guarded all around outside; then the Catholics went outside to guard while I conducted a general Protestant worship inside.<sup>11</sup>

This ecumenical spirit enabled the efforts toward adequate and complete coverage to achieve success. Other coverage was not as convenient but was as comprehensive. Religious coverage of Jewish, Orthodox, Latter Day Saints, Christian Science, and Seventh Day Adventist religious preference had to be arranged, since the 3d Marine Division had no chaplains of these denominations. The Jewish chaplain on the staff of XXIV Corps (Army) visited the 3d Division TAOR and directed the I Corps Jewish Holy Days observances in Da Nang. Divine services for Orthodox personnel were conducted by an Orthodox chaplain (Army) from Phu Bai who visited the Quang Tri-Dong Ha area about twice a month. In addition periodic conferences were held in Da Nang for Christian Science and Seventh Day Adventist personnel.

### *The Tet Offensive*

The celebration of the Tet festival in Vietnam begins on the 29th or 30th day of the 12th lunar month. It is Vietnam's most important holiday. It includes gaiety and serious thought regarding the adequacy of the past and the projections for the future, and concern about the living and the dead. In practice it combines a family reunion, a spring festival, a national holiday, and everybody's birthday. Traditional foods are prepared, new clothes are

sewed, gifts of money are given, especially to children, and good times are planned in every family.

Tet has spiritual significance too. Since the basis of Vietnamese society is the family, including the living and the dead, the essential character of Tet is to lay stress upon that foundation by honoring one's ancestors and parents, receiving respect from one's children, and visiting and giving best wishes to one's relatives and friends. A further look into the nature of Tet can be had by noting a partial list of do's and don'ts published by the U.S. Navy Personal Response office in preparation for Tet 1968:

1. Don't refuse an invitation. Remember that visits are an important part of the Vietnamese Tet celebration. The superstition is that people pay an unusual amount of attention to what happens during the first three days of Tet.
2. Don't give gifts such as: medicines, sharp objects or anything used.
3. Don't engage in arguments, violent emotions or insults.
4. Do not discuss unpleasant things during Tet with the Vietnamese.
5. Do not display grief.
- ...
12. Do give children and unmarried people red envelopes with money placed inside.
13. Do pay taxi drivers double fare.
14. Do send greeting cards.<sup>12</sup>

From this sketch something of the special trauma produced by warfare during Tet can be understood. Perhaps that was why the NVA regularly chose to violate proclaimed truces during Tet in previous years, and determined to launch an all-out effort in February 1968. The enemy's need for a psychological victory was strong. And the effect of the shattering of a joyous and peaceful season of celebration was not lost on the Vietnamese. Chaplains heavily engaged in civic action had worked for weeks to assist their respective villages in Tet preparation, yet after the massive attacks on key villages and large population centers, many chaplains were not able to return to their villages until much later, when reasonable safety could be insured.

The confidence of American-South Vietnamese pacification efforts thus received a significant blow throughout the I Corps as did confidence at home in the United States in the wisdom of continuing the war. It seemed insufficient to point out that the Tet



offensive gained little for the North Vietnamese. By the middle of March the offensive across the DMZ was over; popular support for the invaders had not risen; they controlled no new territory and had lost an enormous number of men. “. . . in the I Corps alone [they] had used up the equivalent of three divisions. And the Marines were still firmly in place.”<sup>13</sup>

The Tet offensive began on 29 January with a mortar and rocket attack on the Marble Mountain Air Facility near Da Nang where MAG-16 was located and out of which it flew helicopters in support of the ground troops. Within the next few days enemy attacks were mounted against such province headquarters as Tam Ky and Quang Ngai. The major efforts of the offensive were directed at Da Nang and Hue City. Both of these were blunted; the enemy suffered over 1,000 casualties in the Da Nang area alone and no positions were ultimately lost.

However, Tet was not explainable only in terms of casualties and positions. One of the battalions singled out for special commendations by the 1st Marine Division Commander, Major General Donn J. Robertson, in his congratulatory message to his division was the 3d Battalion, 5th Marines. Lieutenant John Lepore (Roman Catholic) was the battalion chaplain and had been decorated for both exemplary conduct and for personal wounds. His response to a questionnaire sent from the Chief of Chaplains office regarding the morale of the troops since the Tet offensive, while only one chaplain's perception, gives an insight into the effect of Tet beyond casualty figures and positions held. He reported:

I feel morale had worsened since Tet. The VC and NVA are known to be extremely dedicated. Tet merely proved it conclusively. They gave the world, especially in Hue, the image of themselves as modern day freedom-fighters. Life magazine's portrayal of the famed battle for the citadel

*Of Hue's 145,000 residents, 60,000, like the families shown here, became refugees during the 25-day Tet Offensive battle for control of the former Vietnamese capital city.*



assisted this. What morale exists among our troops is purchased at the price of Rest and Recreation, good food, comfortable base camps, movies, expensive weapons and sophisticated air support . . . not one of the above guarantees a dedicated soldier. I fear the will to see this through is just not present.<sup>14</sup>

Such an honest and disturbing appraisal was reflective of growing questions about the length of the war and the way it was being directed in Washington. President Johnson, facing the turmoil over the war and striving to take politics out of the appeals to end the fighting, announced both a bombing halt and his own retirement at the end of his term and further appealed for truce talks.

It is undoubtedly true that the battle of Hue had a significant impact upon attitudes toward the war out of proportion to the military objective itself. Hue City was the scene of some of the fiercest fighting of the war. The enemy tactics were unique. With many enemy troops posing as civilians, they infiltrated the city and once the Tet mortar and rocket attacks began, they evidenced themselves and took control of almost all strategic points. It took the entire month of February to root them out. That was accomplished, however, and by 2 March the fighting was over with the enemy losing more than 1,000 dead.

Chaplains distinguished themselves in their own unique ways, and the memories of Tet includes some of the most exemplary ministry of the war. The reflection of the context and intensity of Hue, 1968, came from a chaplain who had spent the first half of his tour with the 3d Battalion, 3d Marines and was due, at the time of Tet, for transfer to a "rear" unit. Lieutenant Commander Bobby W. Myatt (Southern Baptist) wrote:

The prospects for a "rest" period at "A" Med were welcomed. The second night at "A" Med, Phu Bai Combat Base was hit by a barrage of 122mm rockets and 82mm mortars. This was the start of the famous Tet offensive. It was my introduction to mass casualties. The first three weeks of "A" Med the Catholic chaplain and I received approximately four hours sleep out of each 24. We were constantly ministering to the wounded and killed and visiting in the wards.<sup>15</sup>

As the Marines had no garrison or base in Hue City and its control had swept so surprisingly fast into Communist hands, the retaking of the city had to be from outside, often involving house-to-house and street-to-street fighting such as was more common in

World War II. It was a difficult battle. An entrenched enemy is always in the stronger position than the attacker. In addition, the wet weather complicated movement and air cover. Even so the city was totally retaken within a month in large part by elements of the 1st Battalion, 1st Marines, and 2d Battalion, 5th Marines, and South Vietnamese troops.

Lieutenant Richard M. Lyons (Roman Catholic) was the first Navy chaplain to move with a Marine unit into Hue after the battle in the city began. Attached to the 1st Battalion, 1st Marines, Chaplain Lyons accompanied the command post group which commanded two companies of the battalion. The Commanding General, 1st ARVN Division, requested the assistance of the Marines, and the 1st Battalion, 1st Marines was given the mission of relieving the pressure on the military advisors compound, and generally to engage the enemy east of the Perfume River. Resistance was heavy as the 1st Battalion fought its way into the city. Although elements of the CP group and one company crossed the Perfume River, they eventually moved back to positions east of the river, the area in which the battalion remained during the operation.

Chaplains Lyons distinguished himself in the heat of the battle by his efforts in evacuating wounded and dead Marines. The area in which he found himself was the scene of heavy fighting, and Chaplain Lyons and other officers and men were in the midst of their attempt to assist in casualty evacuation, when an explosive device, later assumed to be a grenade or an M-79 round, was thrown or launched into the group. Several officers and men were wounded, one of whom, the Battalion Operations Officer (S-3), died the next day. Chaplain Lyons received shrapnel wounds in the thigh and hand and was med-evaced to A Med in Phu Bai. After several weeks he was returned to duty and rejoined his battalion in Hue, just prior to the end of Operation Hue City. Chaplain Lyons was the only chaplain serving the Marines to receive the Silver Star for valor during the Vietnam conflict.

Lieutenant Charles R. Parker (Southern Baptist) was serving with the 1st Battalion, 5th Marines at this time when he, too, was wounded. Shortly before the beginning of Operation Hue City, the 1st Battalion, 5th Marines had been moved from the Da Nang area of operations to Phu Loc. Set in at the foot of a mountain range, Phu Loc experienced fre-

quent and heavy mortar attacks. During one such attack, debris from an enemy mortar shell struck Chaplain Parker in the head. Although it proved not to be serious, the wound was none the less extremely painful.

Since the combat was so heavy and close and also involved such great amounts of artillery rocket and mortar shellings, chaplains other than those with line units increasingly came under fire also, and that fact was reflected in the rising number of chaplains wounded. By April 1968, 27 chaplains had been wounded, and the total number of chaplains to wear the Purple Heart as a result of Vietnam combat would ultimately rest at 35 as compared to only 15 in the Korean conflict.

There was one chaplain death in connection with Operation Hue City. It was that of Army Major Aloysius P. McGonigal (Roman Catholic), who was serving voluntarily with the 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, which operated across the Perfumé River in the city proper. As one reporter mentioned, he “. . . really had no business being there. But the infantrymen he loved were being killed before the battlements of Hue’s imperial Citadel and the Rev. Aloysius P. McGonigal wanted to go. . . . He practically fought his way to the battlefield.”<sup>16</sup>

Volume V of the *The History of United States Army Chaplaincy 1945-1975* states:

Chaplain McGonigal was a Roman Catholic Jesuit who held a graduate degree in physics and was working on his Ph.D when he entered the chaplaincy for the second time in 1966. He arrived in Vietnam in October 1967 and was actually assigned to Advisory Team No. 1 MACV, 1st Aviation Brigade. Apparently, however, in thorough harmony with the area coverage approach, he made a habit of wandering throughout the I Corps area to visit the men in the field. He was determined to be with those most in need rather than restricted to one unit. Precisely because of his dedication to that philosophy, he was killed at Hue on 17 February 1968, “with a unit that was not his own in a battle he could have missed.”<sup>17</sup>

The number of chaplains wounded during the first part of 1968 occasioned great concern in the office of the Chief of Chaplains, and the Chief sent a pastoral letter on 5 April pledging his continuing prayers for the combat chaplains, and encouraging them in their ministry. His concern was also indicated in separate communications in which the Chief of Chaplains questioned all chaplains specifically about the wounded chaplains and about post-Tet morale.

Regarding the wounded, one supervisory chaplain alertly responded:

I should like to add a comment about chaplains who were not wounded or killed . . . All chaplains . . . fulfilled their mission and carried out their duties often under heavy fire and in the midst of great personal danger, in an honorable and commendable manner. The fact that the laws of chance were such, that some were wounded and one killed, in no way should lead to the conclusion that they were more exposed. Every chaplain in Hue was for many days in the midst of heavy fighting. Each daily ministered to men in situations in which he was under small arms or mortar attack. And each gave of himself selflessly, along with the combat troops whom they served. Each was, indeed, a “faithful steward.”<sup>18</sup>

The inquiry about the morale of the troops after the Tet offensive reflected the growing disturbance in Washington occasioned by the war and the twists and turns it had taken. Hardly a more accurate and balanced answer to the Chief’s question could have been that of Commander Carl A. Auel (American Lutheran), chaplain on the staff of Commanding General, Task Force X-Ray:

To answer this question one must admit at the outset that the answer is commentary on one’s own “morale.” At best it is a reflection of exposure to relatively few men, when considered against the total force in-country. To speak meaningfully of “morale,” assuming that you might be interested in the “universal” and not the “specific”—that is, interest is in the group and not in my morale—would require a relatively complex socio-psychological study. These exposures were to truly limited numbers of men—and at that, men who were seen in moments of personal crisis. It is my impression, nothing more than that, that Marines in general came away from Hue City with the obvious belief that the people of the city had aided the enemy either actively or passively during what was a major preparatory period. If this is an accurate reflection, the effects of this, if any, are yet to be seen. Beyond this I could only speak to “morale” as observed on the basis of individual contact. “Morale” in that light is as varied as are individuals.<sup>19</sup>

By March, the Tet Offensive was over. Chaplains for years to come would remember it with a shudder. The Communists had captured Hue and held it for 26 days. Upon retaking Hue, Marines found evidence of mass assassinations and nearly a year later construction crews would find mass graves of hundreds of the city’s former citizens who had been ruthlessly destroyed during the brief occupation.

### *The Siege of Khe Sanh*

Khe Sanh had not attracted much attention since battalions fought on Hills 881 and 861 in April of 1967. Throughout December and January the pressure against Khe Sanh began to build again. By the middle of January the three battalions of the 26th Marines plus the regimental headquarters were positioned in defense of Khe Sanh. Lieutenant Ray W. Stubbe (Lutheran) was with 1st Battalion, 26th Marines for eight months from July 1967 until February of 1968 and, with his battalion, experienced some of the worst shelling of the war. His memories of the siege are especially sensitive. Writing to a worried father of a Marine, wounded at the Khe Sanh Combat Base in February, he spoke about the quality of the Marines and concluded, "This bravery is something those who have not been to Khe Sanh under fire can perhaps never adequately comprehend or appreciate."<sup>20</sup>

The term "under fire" was certainly appropriate. The men on Hills 881, 861, and 950 literally lived both underground and under fire. The North Vietnamese were able to devastate the topography of the hills and surrounding defensive area with rockets, artillery, and mortar fire which could come in any time of day or night. The NVA weapons were especially hard to root out from their sanctuaries in Laos, and their accuracy was often very good.

Movement during the day required dodging the incoming rockets and shells, and the chaplain on his rounds of the base had to know the location of all the handy mortar pits, trenches, and protective holes so that he'd know where to run if the cry "incoming" was heard. At the height of the shelling on 23 February, 1,307 mortar and artillery rounds landed within the rather small perimeter of the combat base. Under some of the most intensely beleaguered conditions of that war, the chaplain became very close to his men, as the men often did to each other, and the conditions were rarely usual. Chaplain Stubbe wrote:

During the siege, the recon Marines were especially hurt—over 75 percent of the Company became casualties because of the incoming rounds. The Company was sandwiched between the airstrip and the regimental headquarters—as well as being near the ammo dump. One night my bunker was so full of casualties that couldn't be evacuated, that I slept atop a 3'x3' field desk, the doctor slept on the deck inside with his feet outside the "door" and five Marines fell asleep sitting up on my rack . . .<sup>21</sup>

Living, as everyone was, under the threat of violent death from the skies, the level of spiritual discussion and activity was deep. Marines sought Baptism and the Eucharist. Chaplain Stubbe baptized a camouflaged Marine just before the siege and was to write touchingly about finding his body at graves registration a few weeks later. Lieutenant William R. Hampton (Lutheran) assigned to the 3d Battalion, 26th Marines baptized a young man after two weeks of daily instruction. Chaplain Hampton remembered, "The service took place to the accompaniment of a continual anthem of incoming rockets, mortars, and artillery strikes which shook the ground on which we stood after striking dangerously close."<sup>22</sup>

The incoming rounds and North Vietnamese attacks on the perimeter of the Marine defense exacted a painful toll. Lieutenant William D. Weaver (Disciples of Christ) attached to the 1st Battalion, 9th Marines, which guarded the southwest edge of the Khe Sanh defenses, reported that during the siege and shortly thereafter his unit had more than 165 of its men killed in action. This period found the agony of war at its height and called out the best from the unit chaplains. Chaplain Hampton left the base to bring his ministry to Hill 861 which had not seen a chaplain in recent weeks because of its isolation and the heavy bombardment. He had 10 consecutive services. When he finally returned to KSCB his executive officer asked him to go to Hill 881 immediately, but he couldn't because of his exhaustion. He went the next day, for both regular services and memorial service for the dead Marines.

Marines were not the only ones to render the "last full measure." Tragedy struck with blinding swiftness at Khe Sanh, and on 22 February 1968 the U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps lost its second chaplain in Vietnam. Lieutenant Robert R. Brett (Roman Catholic) serving the 2d Battalion, 26th Marines was waiting to board a helicopter to return to the battalion headquarters from one of his frequent trips to the outposts. An enemy round landed in the trench in which Chaplain Brett was waiting and he received multiple shrapnel wounds to the chest, head, and arms, instantly killing him.

Lieutenant Commander Hollis H. Bond (Southern Baptist) was sent promptly to the 2d Battalion, 26th Marines as a replacement for Chaplain Brett and amplified the circumstances concerning his death. The 2d Battalion, 26th Marines occupied two

hills near the Khe Sanh Combat Base: Hill 558 and Hill 861-A. Chaplain Brett would alternate visits to these locations, serving not only his personnel but also other personnel present. On 18 February he went to Hill 861-A, where he remained four days. During this time he celebrated Mass almost continuously, both on Hill 861-A and on Hill 861, where personnel from 3d Battalion, 26th Marines were located. The distance between these two positions was perhaps one-half mile.

For three reasons it was not possible to hold any large services at these outposts. First, the outdoor congregating of any significant number of personnel invited enemy mortar or artillery fire. Second, there was no shelter large enough to accommodate more than 10 or a dozen personnel at once. Third, the essential employment of personnel was such that not more than a few could be spared at a time. Thus Chaplain Brett celebrated one Mass after another in the Company Aid Station on Hill 861-A until all who desired to attend Mass had done so. Then, escorted by two fire teams, he hiked up to Hill 861 where he followed the same procedure in the company command post. It was reported that he celebrated up to 10 Masses per day under these circumstances.

On 22 February Chaplain Brett rode a helicopter to Khe Sanh Combat Base where he and his clerk, Lance Corporal Alexander Chin, waited in a covered trench for a helicopter to go to Hill 558, and then return to his battalion headquarters. The trench was covered with a steel plate and two or three layers of sand bags. It was considered safe from mortar rounds, even a direct hit. Therefore, it is believed that the enemy round was armor piercing artillery with a delayed fuse, which penetrated the cover on the trench and exploded within a few feet of Chaplain Brett. Eight people were killed and 15 were wounded from that one round. Chaplain Brett's clerk was also among those killed.<sup>23</sup>

Chaplain Brett had been in Vietnam since September of 1967, and had been in a major combat chaplain role virtually his whole tour. The 32-year-old native of Pennsylvania received both a bachelor of arts and master of arts degree from Catholic University in Washington, D.C. He attended the Marist College Theologate in Washington, D.C., and was ordained in 1962. He belonged to the Society of Mary.

The assignment to 2d Battalion, 26th Marines was

essentially Chaplain Brett's first. Prior to that, he had only attended Chaplain School and a brief training period at Camp Pendleton during the period between 29 June 1967 when he entered the Chaplain Corps as an active duty chaplain and his September arrival in Vietnam.

Although he died in a tragic and undramatic way, Chaplain Brett gave himself selflessly to his ministry, and was not forgotten by his Marines. Shortly after his death, a chapel was built at Camp Carroll. Chaplain Seibert, assigned to the 2d Battalion, 9th Marines, explained:

The chapel was made from materials of an old mess hall. It was built by Marines for Marines. We were able to worship in it on Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday to standing room only crowds. This chapel was recently dedicated in honor of Chaplain Brett, who was killed in action during the battle for Khe Sanh.<sup>24</sup>

Enlisted Marines assigned to the chaplains at Khe Sanh suffered great loss. In addition to PFC Alexander Chin who was killed along with Father Brett, Chaplain Hampton lost his clerk, and Chaplain Stubbe, without a clerk at the beginning of the battle, had PFC Jonathan Nathaniel Spicer transferred to him, since the man had applied for conscientious objector status. Chaplain Stubbe had him work in the C Med area as a stretcher bearer, the area where both Chaplains Driscoll and Stubbe "lived" at night. Spicer, a mild-mannered and caring person, frequently threw himself over the bodies of casualties during incoming, and during one evacuation of wounded, was fatally wounded himself, dying several days later after having been evacuated. This Marine, although a conscientious objector, was awarded the Navy Cross for his heroism.

In time it became obvious to the NVA that they were not going to overrun Khe Sanh Combat Base. C-123 and C-130 fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters kept the base supplied and got the wounded out. Air Force and Marine tactical air strikes and B-52 bombing runs pounded the enemy in a ring around the base. One chaplain within the perimeter remarked that the explosion of B-52 ordinance was the sweetest sound he heard during the entire two months. This around-the-clock air support was credited as an enormous factor in breaking the siege. Between late January and the end of March, the B-52's dropped 75,000 tons of bombs and tactical aircraft expended 35,000 tons of bombs and rockets.

Marine artillery fired nearly 1,500 shells a day during the period and the Khe Sanh base and surround-

ding strategic outposts received almost as much NVA firepower. The strain of dodging the incoming rounds, evacuating the wounded, retrieving the helicopter-supply drops, and living underground was bound to tell on the personnel. Chaplain Rutherford reflected:

Can one ever forget the . . . pale bodies and ashen faces of the 26th Marines after the Khe Sanh siege? But there are those who begin to look at the meaning of life or death in a new light. "I've discovered that God wants the man here as well as hereafter," is the way one young sergeant expressed it.

It's ironic that so many leave "churchy" America with her temples and cathedrals, only to make Life's Greatest Discovery beside a paddie or on a bridge or in a bunker half a world away. But there's joy in heaven whenever and wherever it happens. And many find God in Vietnam.<sup>25</sup>

On 1 April, Operation Pegasus was launched which included the opening of land-supply routes and the relief of Khe Sanh, and by 12 April its success was complete. In the months following, additional operations were undertaken to secure the entire area and by late June the strategic value of Khe Sanh was minimal and the base was dismantled and evacuated. Whatever was not taken was blown up and bulldozed into the dusty red clay.

The sacrifices of the Marines at Khe Sanh were not forgotten, however. On Monday, 7 October 1968, Brigadier General Frank E. Garretson, Commanding General, Task Force Hotel, indicated to 3d Division Chaplain Zoller, that he wanted a memorial service at Khe Sanh in approximately 48 hours. This timing was to be shortly after the arrival of 4th Marines troops ending a major sweep operation into the area. This would be the first and probably the only occupation by Marine troops of the historic spot since the base was vacated and destroyed in July. The service would be in memory of 3d Marine Division and ARVN personnel and their supporting units who gave their lives there.

The sweep was being conducted primarily by the 4th Marines and the regimental chaplain, Commander Nilus W. Hubble was in the field with his men. Chaplain Hubble was one of nine chaplains in Vietnam for a second tour of duty. Lieutenant Commander Robert C. Franklin (Roman Catholic) Regimental Chaplain, 9th Marines at the time was another on his second tour. Both of these chaplains had served the same regiments two years earlier.

Chaplain Franklin was at Vandegrift Combat Base

and the assignment was given to him to prepare the requested memorial service. It was decided that the service would be conducted by three chaplains: Division, 4th, and 9th Marines. It would be a relatively small service in an out-of-the-way place, but of immense significance to Marines. Chaplain Zoller remembered the Wednesday morning, 9 October:

. . . I rode with band members in a CH-46 helo. What a beautiful morning: brilliant sunshine, azure blue sky, fleecy clouds, and breathtaking rugged landscape of mountains and valleys. As we approached Khe Sanh we circled. There was a flat plateau, scraped bare and scarred by the ravages of war and departing demolition. The area immediately adjacent in certain directions (of greatest enemy threat) was peppered, literally riddled with pock marks, bomb craters, where ARC Light and other aerial and artillery assault had rained devastation. Now all seemed bleak, deserted, and still.<sup>26</sup>

The units arrived and intermittent suppressive artillery fire began to discourage the enemy from attempting any interruption. Two flag poles were erected at the west end of what was the airstrip. When all was prepared, Chaplains Zoller, Hubble, and Franklin stood between the two flagpoles, just forward of them. To the right was a formation of about 40 Marines in combat jungle utilities and battle gear. To the left was a similar formation of ARVN troops. Ahead stood USMC and ARVN officers, perhaps 30 in number.

General Garretson made a few introductory remarks and traced the history of Khe Sanh. During the chaplains' conducting of the service, all stood as the flags were raised, and appropriate remarks in memorial were made, and taps was played. Chaplain Zoller remembered, "Once again, with surging emotion we all stood at salute as taps sounded. The service took only 15 minutes or so, but it was a never-to-be-forgotten experience."<sup>27</sup>

#### *The 27th Marines*

On the evening of 12 February 1968, Lieutenant Matlin E. Huebschman (United Church of Christ) assigned to the 2d Battalion, 27th Marines was on duty at Camp Pendleton, California when the phone rang. It was the assistant 5th Marine Division chaplain who asked Chaplain Huebschman to come to his office as early as possible the following morning. Approximately 96 hours later he was landing in Da Nang.

Lieutenant Michael P. O'Neil (Roman Catholic)

was assigned to the 3d Battalion, 27th Marines. He had been assigned to the battalion less than six weeks earlier as a chaplain returning from his Vietnam tour. He didn't have to go back, but he did. His explanation:

I was here again because if I had not signed a waiver, the regiment would not have had Roman Catholic coverage, as I was the only priest in the 27th Regiment. Besides, if so many of these 27th Marines could return, so would I.<sup>28</sup>

The Regimental Chaplain, Lieutenant Merrill C. Leonard (Southern Baptist) remembered the time of rapid readiness and departure as one of confusion and intense activity but recalled, "I had the utmost cooperation of the command in carrying out my duties."<sup>29</sup>

The rapid mobilization of the 27th Marines was made necessary by the need for reinforced efforts after the start of the Tet Offensive. When the 2d and 3d Battalions arrived in Vietnam, they were given the coastal section south of Marble Mountain to clear and protect; and assumed sole responsibility for the TAOR within a few days. They were joined by the 1st Battalion, 27th Marines near the end of February. Lieutenant Walter J. Brown (Episcopal) accompanied his battalion in combat operations south of Da Nang until late March at which time the 1st Battalion transferred to the Hue City area and participated in major operations before being released and sent home in September. Chaplain Leonard reported:

The regiment was involved in two major operations: The clearing of the area around Hue City and operation Allen Brooke, from June to August. Both operations were very successful . . . but the Regiment suffered a great number of casualties.<sup>30</sup>

Chaplain O'Neil also commented on the number of casualties, reporting that his battalion saw the fiercest of fighting, suffered the heaviest of casualties, and controlled the most difficult of the TAORs. Although the activity most publicized during the Tet Offensive was in and around Hue City, the comments of Chaplain O'Neil serve to indicate that the level of combat heightened at Tet throughout the country. In fact, because of the level of critical need for Catholic chaplain coverage in the 1st Marine Division, Chaplain McNeil volunteered to remain behind in Vietnam when his battalion was withdrawn although he had served there previously.

He was therefore assigned to the 1st Hospital Company and then to 1st Engineer Battalion until another 12-month tour was up. The remarkable record of this sensitive priest also qualified him to make an observation upon his departure concerning the morale of the troops which was a growing concern throughout the post-Tet period. He wrote:

I believe that I saw a definite drop in morale over these 12 months, and definitely down from my other 17 months in this theater of war; but not necessarily an alarming decrease. It seems to me to be in direct proportion to the men's realization of our civil government's policies and its decisions not to fight to win, but to fight to stay even and/or just not lose to Viet Cong infiltration or NVA open attack. Our military does not run our government, does not set national policies. It has only the bloody task of implementing the decisions of our civilian constitutional government. But when a "no-win policy" is formulated, how in the name of God can you expect individual men of the Armed Forces to feel great or even have decent morale? This policy of insufficient determination is totally alien to the generally accepted American Temperament. Moral Victories on the ball field are acceptable. Moral Victories in a war of suffering and death, however, do not give birth to strong morale.<sup>31</sup>

While Chaplain O'Neil was honest in his assessment of morale, he was also objective, and did not succumb to bitterness or anger which was sometimes expressed by returning veterans, and publicized by the media. On the contrary, Chaplain O'Neil concluded his final report by saying, "I have never felt more alive as a man of God, more necessary, better motivated, nor happier in my whole personal and ministerial life than I have the last 12 months. Thank God for this chance to serve Marines!"<sup>32</sup>

Chaplain O'Neil, at his choice, remained behind when the regiment returned to the states. He was not the only chaplain to do so. Chaplain Huebschman of the 2d Battalion also requested to remain and upon doing so served the 7th Communications Battalion; 1st Battalion, 11th Marines; 4th Battalion, 11th Marines; and 1st Tank Battalion. Most of these units were regarded as being "in the rear with the gear," and after seven months in as severe combat as any chaplain experienced, Chaplain Huebschman was looking forward to his new assignments when the 2d Battalion, 27th Marines left. His comments after the transfer was effected, reveal a common chaplain attitude about most such transfers:

. . . There is a sacrifice involved. The closeness of the personnel in the rear areas is not as evident as among the Marines in the field. I have often felt that men in danger are men much closer to God. In less vulnerable positions, men seem to drift back into complacency and this required some readjustment in my thinking and my ministry.<sup>33</sup>

The 27th Marines returned to Camp Pendleton in September having distinguished itself by a remarkable mount out\* to successful completion of heavy combat requirements. The chaplains of The 27th cherished their contribution to this unique moment in the history of the regiment.

### *The Ministry of Mercy*

In an interview just prior to his retirement on 1 February 1971, General Lewis W. Walt saw fit to single out the ministry of mercy supplied by Marines during their time in Vietnam as one of the finest hopes for the future. As proof he cited:

Medically, the Third Marine Division Memorial Hospital as turned over to the Vietnamese, and the Hoa Khanh Children's Hospital, which was sponsored by the Force Logistic Command, continues in its mission under the supervision of trained Vietnamese doctors and nurses.<sup>34</sup>

This reference to hospitals created for and finally given to the Vietnamese people underscores that aspect of the U.S. Military that has always accompanied the movement of troops of the Judeo-Christian heritage, a ministry of mercy. It is not surprising to find large chaplain involvement in the effort.

In December 1965, a small group of Navy medical corpsmen, doctors, and the chaplain from the 1st Battalion, 3d Marines began a project which was concerned with the bitter tears, the sharp grief and pain, and the needs of some Vietnamese children in the Red Beach area just north of Da Nang. Their love and compassion and medical care were dispensed from a small first aid station in Hoa Khanh hamlet.

Treatment was varied at the station. In addition to dealing with common complaints and illnesses such as skin infection, broken bones, worms, malnutrition, colds, and trauma, the staff dealt regularly with cases of cancer, muscular dystrophy, and

plague. More than 100 operations a month were performed at the station to cure a variety of ailments including the prevalent cleft palates.

In 1966, the 1st Battalion, 3d Marines left the Red Beach area and turned over its expanding first aid station in Hoa Khanh hamlet to the Marines and medical personnel of Force Logistic Command (FLC). In March of 1967, Lieutenant Commander Anthony C. Volz (Roman Catholic) reported to Force Logistic Command and the further support of the station was never in doubt after that. There were many chaplains who took interest in the medical facility: notably the chaplains of the nearby Seabee units at Camp Haskins North and South, and chaplains attached to other Marine units in the area, but of them all, Chaplain Volz stands out.

Chaplain Volz, a 16-year veteran of the Chaplain Corps, threw himself immediately into the humanitarian work at Phuoc Thanh Orphanage and what was to become Hoa Khanh Children's Hospital. Although the demand for his ministry was great early in his tour due to the shortage of Catholic chaplains in the 1st Division, toward the end of 1967 he was better able to promote the causes that were close to his heart.

By April 1968, Chaplain Volz had extended his tour in Vietnam to see the hospital along as far as he could. In the 24 April 1968 edition of the newspaper, *The Observer*, published in Saigon by the Office of Information, MACV, he told a reporter: "Right now I am corresponding with 26 groups and dozens of individuals who have sent more than 500 boxes of needed articles to the refugees in the past year."<sup>35</sup> The efforts of Chaplain Volz toward the hospital were prodigious, but the needs of the hospital continued to expand and required even more American involvement.

The growing number of patients was matched by the growing concern of FLC Marines, chaplains, and medical personnel. A larger centralized facility was constructed within the Camp Jay K. Brooks headquarters compound. The wood and tin building was planned to accommodate 70 children but the daily in-patient count frequently reached the 125 mark. An average of 80 children were cared for daily at the out-patient "sick call."

The Vietnamese people initially were reluctant to take their children to the hospital for treatment. The Communists had said that Americans would kill and injure them and they branded the hospital as a

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\*The activities of the preparation of men and materials for shipment to another location.



“slaughterhouse” and its medical staff as “killers of innocent children.” The people rapidly realized that the hospital had been built to dry the tears of their children, and to take their sharp grief and pain from them. They soon overcame their reluctance and fears as word spread of the magnificent concern and seemingly miraculous cures. Since its doors first opened in 1966, until 1970, the hospital treated more than 6,000 in-patients and more than 15,000 out-patients.

It was this kind of acceptance that motivated the desire to provide a more permanent structure with resources to handle even the most critical medical needs. Fund drives raised tens of thousands of dollars. The bulk of the funds was donated by Leathernecks of the 1st Marine Division, Force Logistic Command, and III MAF, all in the Da Nang theater of operations. This was supplemented by the generosity of Army, Navy, and Air Force personnel and of many interested civilians and civic and business organizations.

The parents of one FLC Marine mailed a check for \$1,000 after learning of the hospital plan from their son; a woman’s club in the U.S. donated an air conditioner for the operating room; an elderly, retired school teacher made lightweight clothing for the children; an intermittent positive pressure breathing machine valued at several thousand dollars was donated by the widow of a U.S. Air Force officer killed in Vietnam. Allied servicemen continued to place donations into collection boxes located at base exchanges and transient facilities in the Da Nang area.

With this kind of support, the dream for a permanent structure with modern equipment became a reality. Actual construction was accomplished by Vietnamese craftsmen and workers under the supervision of Navy Seabees and Marine Corps engineers. Construction of the building began in the fall of 1967, and it was completed and dedicated in January 1969.

The main ward of the graceful building, valued at \$350,000, had 120 beds, nearly double the old facilities. The hospital also contained two operating rooms, an isolation room, three emergency rooms, pharmacy, laboratory, kitchen, cafeteria, nursery with incubators, an X-ray room, and a dental treatment room. White tile walls and floors and other features which facilitate cleanliness contributed to a sterile atmosphere and to the health and comfort of patients.

Major General Carl A. Youngdale, Deputy Commanding General of III Marine Amphibious Force, said in his dedicatory address:

I think the name of the hospital tells the story not only symbolically but realistically. It is the Hoa Khanh Children’s Hospital, not the III MAF Children’s Hospital, but the Hoa Khanh Children’s Hospital. . . a Vietnamese hospital for Vietnamese children, symbolic of the ties which our mutual efforts have woven and dedicated to a generation which we hope and pray may grow to maturity in freedom and peace.<sup>36</sup>

Brigadier General James A. Feeley, Jr., Commanding General, Force Logistic Command, in whose camp the hospital was located, commented on the profound effect of the American assistance through the hospital facility:

We see it in terms of young lives saved, of children’s bodies mended which would otherwise be crippled, and of first rate care for a wide variety of ailments. The heart warming appreciation on the part of the children is conveyed in smiles that bridge cultural and ideological differences, of small hands raised in greeting, and in many small gestures of friendship.<sup>37</sup>

In spite of diminished military involvement in Vietnam in the early 70s, there was no lessening of involvement of American servicemen in ministering to the needs of the children at the hospital. At least one delegation of servicemen representing their unit, stopped at the hospital daily with toys, clothing, or food sent in from the United States for distribution to the children.

Doctors and corpsmen from Marine medical units in Vietnam, Seabee battalions, and from U.S. Navy hospital ships volunteered their time and service to assist FLC doctors and eight enlisted Navy hospital corpsmen who made up the voluntary staff of U.S. military personnel.

#### *The 3d Marine Division Memorial Children’s Hospital*

The 3d Marine Division Memorial Children’s Hospital was constructed at Quang Tri Combat Base, Republic of Vietnam. This 68-bed hospital provided medical and surgical treatment for all types of children’s injuries and ailments with emphasis on Vietnamese children who were war casualties.

Pending completion of the hospital at Quang Tri, an interim Children’s Hospital was opened at Dong

Ha on 1 September 1968. Portions of the U.S. Navy D Med Facility were converted to temporary use as a children's hospital. This facility was called the 3rd Marine Division Memorial Children's Hospital (Dong Ha Facility). The Commanding Officer, 2d ARVN Regiment co-sponsored the children's hospital. It was planned for 2d ARVN Regiment surgeons, corpsmen, and interpreters to assist at "sick call" for Vietnamese children.

There was no hospital for Vietnamese in northern Quang Tri Province to treat residents and refugees of the Cam Lo and Dong Ha areas. The only Vietnamese civilian hospital in the Province serving 303,000 Vietnamese was the 250-bed Provincial Hospital in Quang Tri City, some 10 miles from Dong Ha and over 18 miles from Cam Lo.

The Vietnamese nurses, aides, and technicians were under the supervision of Nguyen Thi Khang, the head nurse and a refugee from Hanoi who went by the name of Gwen. Gwen had an extensive background in the nursing profession and had been at the Hoa Khanh hospital from its beginning in early 1966.

Concern for the fate of the hospital after American forces left the Republic of Vietnam led to a co-sponsorship arrangement with the World Relief Commission (WRC), the overseas relief arm of the National Association of Evangelicals. It was hoped that through this organization the life, health, and happiness which American Marines, Navy, and other servicemen brought to thousands of Vietnamese children through the Hoa Khanh Children's Hospital would continue into the future.

The concept of a children's hospital in the northern I Corps was the idea of Major General Raymond G. Davis, Commanding General, 3d Marine Division. General Davis also believed that the "Other War" could be more easily won in Vietnam with the closer identification of Marines with the Vietnamese people.

Numerous Vietnamese children had suffered severe injuries from the intense fighting in Quang Tri Province. Further, it would be the children of Vietnam who would benefit from U.S. efforts in this country. It thus seemed fitting to construct a children's hospital as a lasting memorial to fallen Marines and sailors, and to the benefit of Vietnam's future.

The children's hospital not only provided medical and surgical care but trained a Vietnamese staff,



*A typical tent chapel on the perimeter at Da Nang.*

which included 14 nurses, to care for Vietnamese children at the temporary hospital and to staff the children's hospital at Quang Tri, when construction was completed.

The children's hospital at Dong Ha was highly successful in providing badly needed medical and surgical care to Vietnamese children during the first month of its operation. In only a short period since the hospital initially opened, from 15 to 20 sick Vietnamese children per day had been given surgical and medical treatment as bed patients. It was anticipated that this number would double or triple as the hospital's capacity was increased. At the hospital's morning sick calls, during the month of September 1968, 1,247 Vietnamese children were treated. The success of the temporary hospital at Dong Ha underscored the urgent, vital need to construct the children's hospital at Quang Tri Combat Base.

By August of 1969, the dream of an adequate facility at Quang Tri was still not realized, although work had begun, but the ministry of mercy was still thriving. Division Chaplain Zoller reported:

In the first year of operation, the (Dong Ha) facility had treated approximately 20,000 children in its outpatient clinic and in-patient hospital. The modern new hospital of 128-bed and auxiliary services is under construction at Quang Tri Combat Base. The Board of Governors is presently working on arrangements for the hospital's continued operation after the division deploys elsewhere in the near future.<sup>38</sup>

The concern for the progress of the ministry of medical mercy in the I Corps increased as it became apparent the Marines were leaving the country. The fear was not warranted. III MAF affected a relation-



*The 12th Marines' Tun Tavern, which was also used as a chapel for religious services on Sunday mornings. The rooftop cross is hinged to drop out of sight on secular occasions.*

ship with the World Relief Commission which continued the work. In a statement referring to the Hoa Khanh Children's Hospital written by Mrs. Everett Graffam, staff writer for the Commission, for the use of General Davis, it was stated:

As the Force Logistic Command phased out, the World Relief Commission, a civilian voluntary agency, phased in and took complete responsibility in June 1970. The Commission is acting as a bridge between the militarily-generated hospital and a future civilian facility operated by the Vietnamese themselves.

The 120-bed facility is filled most of the time. Sometimes more than one patient occupied a bed. About 1,400 out-patients per month were also served.

The physical plant is being expanded. Separate buildings store drugs and supplies and house the American staff members.

Mrs. Nguyen Thi Khang, known as "Gwen" to the Marines, is head nurse and the only continuing factor. She took the first sick little orphans from two Navy doctors and brought them back to health in performing functions that only doctors would do in America, such as tracheotomies, set fractures, and even skin grafts.

A Commission citation to the Marines as they left Vietnam stated:

The World Relief Commission wishes to recognize the tough Marines with tender hearts, in their humanitarian concern for the children of Vietnam. This hospital will stand as a living memorial to all our fighting men, especially those Marines who have given their lives. We pledge to continue the fine Marine tradition of loving hospital care, giving the children a chance for health and wholeness in a war situation.

Fighting men are being honored and remembered in a Book of Memory which rests in the lobby of the hospital. Their names are inscribed by monetary gifts of family or friends who support this facility which was so nobly begun.<sup>39</sup>

#### *Ministry Grows at the Force Logistic Command*

The development and growth of a complex such as FLC provides a framework of chaplain services that sounds almost like duty in a garrison situation where the growth was not so rapid and the complications of combat demands not so insistent.



*A native chapel erected in 1965 is dedicated as a memorial to the men of the 4th Marines, 3d Marine Division, who gave their lives in battle in Republic of Vietnam.*

In March 1967, there were two chaplains assigned directly to FLC, Commander Beryl L. Burr (American Baptist) and Lieutenant Fayette P. Grose (Episcopal). Lieutenant Preston Kearsley (Latter Day Saints) was assigned TAD from the 3d Division and was serving at Force Logistic Support Group (FLSG)-A in Phu Bai. Upon being relieved at Red Beach, Chaplain Grose was assigned to FLSG-B at Chu Lai. Two weeks later Lieutenant Commander Anthony C. Volz (Roman Catholic) reported and was assigned to Camp Brooks at Red Beach and served as the assistant command chaplain. In June the command was enlarged and an additional T/O (Table of Organization) for chaplains was requested. The T/O was increased to eight chaplains, and in June Lieutenant Charles G. Smith (Presbyterian) received orders transferring him from the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing to FLC and was assigned to FLSG-A at Phu Bai. Chaplain Kearsley also received orders transferring him from the 3d Marine Division to FLC and was assigned to the 5th Communications Battalion.

This provided him a greater opportunity to travel throughout I Corps in support of the LDS work and at the same time to serve as a battalion chaplain. By this time the command had increased to 8,000 personnel. In November Lieutenant Commander L. Wayne Rushing (Methodist) reported aboard and was assigned to the Maintenance Battalion in Da Nang. Three weeks later Lieutenant Louis Nichols (Roman Catholic) reported and was assigned to the 3d Military Police Battalion. This assignment included serving as brig chaplain at the III MAF Brig and supplied a much needed coverage in this area. At this time the command had grown to nearly 10,000 personnel, however, overall coverage was good. It must be noted at this point that the cooperation of all chaplains regardless of their commands made complete religious coverage possible. It was this cross-servicing that provided religious services for all men in I Corps.

With the expansion of the command and the growth of the chaplains' department, there developed the necessity of having more chapels. At



Department of Defense (USN) Photo 1120720

*The All Faiths Chapel of Force Logistic Support Group Bravo at Chu Lai, January 1967.*

Camp Brooks, Red Beach, the chapel consisted of a small Southeast Asia hut with a seating capacity of 70 people. It was entirely inadequate and plans were developed for a new permanent chapel to seat approximately three hundred people.

The plans were completed and approved, however, priority construction in a number of areas took precedence and the plans were shelved. To solve the problem another Southeast Asia hut was built onto the front of the existing chapel and the seating was increased to 160.

FLSG-B had a native-style bamboo and thatch chapel. It was condemned as a fire hazard and a new chapel was constructed and provided a welcome addition to the camp. The seating capacity of the chapel was 60. FLSG-A built a new chapel with a seating capacity of 158 people. It was completed in March 1968, and was a beautiful permanent place of worship. Again, the problems of priority building was faced and overcome. The 5th Communications Battalion built a new chapel with a seating capacity of 68 people. This was adequate for the smaller

camp. Offices were in the chapel and it was easily available to all personnel.

A new camp then was constructed at Dong Ha which was then the location of FLSG-B. Lieutenant David A. Mueller (Lutheran) was assigned to this activity, and within two weeks time a new chapel was completed and was fully equipped.

The 3d Military Police Battalion constructed a new chapel and completed it in early March. It was a fine, permanent building with a seating capacity of about 75 people, and was well equipped for all services.

The 7th Bulk Fuel Company and Ammunition Supply Point 1 had a chapel built by the men of the camp. It was literally a small church and a very imposing structure in the camp. The seating capacity was 50 people and quite adequate for a small complex.

The Maintenance Battalion was a good example of cross servicing. The chapel was used by MAG-17 and Maintenance Battalion. It was a good arrangement and an excellent cooperative enterprise. A new office



*The chapel of MAG-16, Marble Mountain Air Facility, Da Nang. Note the New England white steeple erected as an entrance to the tent worship area.*

had been constructed at the battalion and the chaplain could work very well in this inter-command enterprise.

All chaplains, with the exception of the command chaplain, conducted three to six services every Sunday. In the Da Nang area, at its peak, there were ten FLC camp units and all units were covered by the chaplains. In Phu Bai and Dong Ha there were three units each and the chaplains also conducted religious services at various CAP units near their camps. All chaplains continued their religious coverage with weekday services. Bible classes and discussion groups were an integral part of this ministry. The counseling ministry was of extreme importance and every chaplain spent many hours in this particular endeavor.

Civic action activities were also a part of each chaplain's ministry. This program was primarily a command program and was the direct responsibility of the G-5 or S-5 on either the command or bat-

talion level. The chaplains participated in assistance to churches and orphanages. Materials were purchased to build churches, money was presented to support the churches, altar gear was presented to alleviate the poverty of the people—especially in the refugee villages and hamlets. Money was also given to the III MAF Scholarship Fund to provide education to those qualified.

The Personal Response Program was, of course, also a command responsibility but the chaplains assisted whenever called upon. Lectures were presented on the subject of the Religions of Vietnam, Vietnamese culture, and moral leadership. This program hopefully helped the Marines to understand the Vietnamese people and thus treat the people with respect and courtesy.

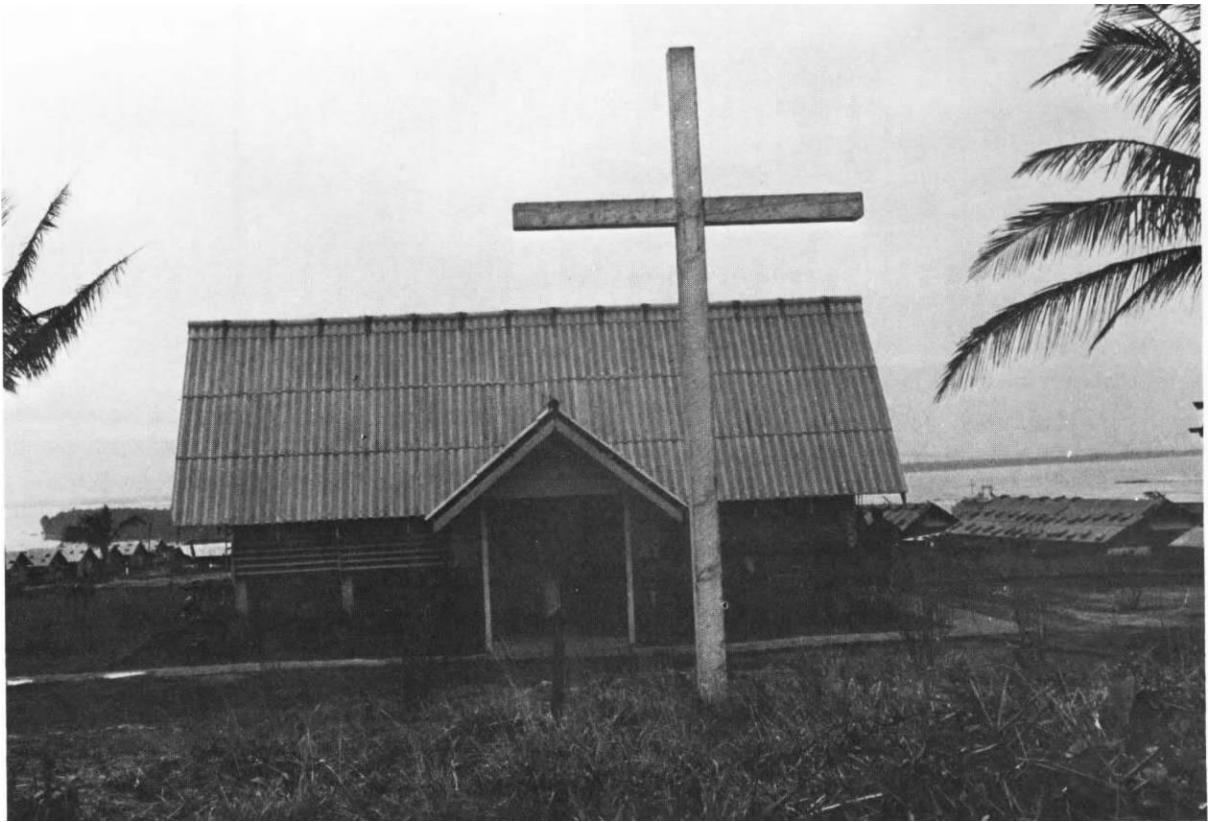
Chaplain Burr reported:

I am very proud of the dedication and consecration of every chaplain serving in the Force Logistic Command.

*The Marine Task Force X-Ray Chapel at Chu Lai. Note the grass, flowers, and trees planted in front.*

Department of Defense (USN) Photo 1120675





Department of Defense (USN) Photo 1120711

*The stone and wood chapel of Marine Aircraft Group 36 along the shore at Chu Lai.*

They have served faithfully through monsoon rain, cold, and extreme summer heat.

They have huddled in bunkers as mortars and rockets pounded all around them. They have ministered to the wounded and dying. Memorial services have been conducted in every unit and the words of the chaplain have brought hope, courage, and faith to the men he has served.

I have . . . indicated a certain amount of frustration. There seemed to be a lack of time to accomplish all that needed to be done. In such an experience, one must learn patience and move with the elements. Heat, dust, sand, rain, mud, and cold all attempt to defeat and yet through all of this the ministry of God's love moves forward. Although anxious to get home one may say, "It has been good for us to be here."<sup>40</sup>

#### *Dealing with Debate*

Battlefield and political events during 1968 inevitably involved chaplains in discussing and reasoning about the war. As a non-combatant, a chaplain was legally detached from the personal agony of combat judgment and decision-making. But his deep involvement with his men and their basic con-

cerns forced him to struggle with their problems, and assist them in reasoning out a stable viewpoint.

It was not surprising that confusion and concern over the United States' role in Vietnam existed among the servicemen there. The finest political minds of the country were unable to reach a clear, unified statement of purpose and policy. Although newly elected President Richard M. Nixon had promised a draw-down and was to install Henry Cabot Lodge as chief negotiator in Paris at the peace talks, by March of the new year the Defense Department announced the U.S. Forces numbered 541,500, the peak level of all the years of U.S. involvement. Those forces were mostly made up of a generation of young people who appeared more socially conscious, and politically and philosophically concerned than any generation that had preceded them. Certainly one of the challenges of their chaplains was the participation with them in the struggle they perceived as significant.

So acutely did chaplains feel this demand on their ministry that the Chief of Chaplains felt constrained

upon returning from his fourth Christmas visit in December 1968 to respond to the needs of his chaplains by providing leadership in the current concern. As a result, he published a news release entitled "Should we be there?"

The Chief of Chaplains was forcefully aware of the gallant character of the U.S. Marine effort in Vietnam, he knew that by the end of 1968, 8,600 Marines had been killed in Vietnam and 37,000 hospitalized from wounds suffered there. Fully 28,000 Marines had been wounded but did not require hospitalization.

He knew that the 83,000 Marines in Vietnam comprised only 15 percent of the 533,500 U.S. military personnel there but that the Marines suffered 30 percent of the over 29,000 killed, and that 30 percent of the Vietnam Medals of Honor had been won by Marines. He said:

More than at any other time, when I step on Vietnamese soil, I become keenly aware of the war's cost of lives and the continuing drain upon our national resources. But

each trip persuades me even more strongly that the defensive effort in which we are engaged is essential to the survival of Vietnam and the free world and that the burden of our sacrifice, while terrible to consider, is justified by the need at this critical period in the life of the world.<sup>41</sup>

Reasoning that the American ideals of unity and brotherhood place weighty requirements especially upon those in whose capability it was to render help to others, he discussed the necessity for nations and peoples to periodically require assistance in the achievement of their highest potential and the equal necessity to oppose every political philosophy or social system which oppresses or degrades the human spirit.

He concluded:

Regrettably, but necessarily, there are times when aspiration toward the ideals of global unity and brotherhood of earth's peoples requires the employment of restrained and disciplined power as a defense against the unprincipled and undisciplined use of power. It is our prayer that it will not always be so, and no groups pray

*A Marine patient leaves the Medical Company C Memorial Chapel at Da Nang in 1967.*

Department of Defense (USN) Photo 1120682







*Chaplain Ray W. Stubbe gets a hand from a Marine as he climbs the steep slopes of rugged Crow's Nest Hill south of Da Nang for Christmas services, 25 December 1968.*

more frequently for enduring peace than our armed forces and their chaplains.<sup>42</sup>

While such a position did not satisfy everyone, the Chief of Chaplains substantially supported and reflected the views of his chaplains in the field.

The controversy continued over the question of whether the war in Vietnam was morally justified, and it is fair to say the debate was fired by many stateside church leaders. Chaplains often felt themselves placed in an awkward and uncomfortable position by those churches morally opposed to the war since, being in Vietnam itself, chaplains saw both the spiritual needs of the Marines and of the beleaguered South Vietnamese. Many chaplains were asked how they felt about being involved in a war which was considered so questionable by their

contemporaries in the states. One chaplain replied most articulately:

It is true that the war is considered at least morally ambiguous by many churchmen in the states. Both clergy and laity are wrong in thinking that the chaplains serving in Vietnam don't feel the ambiguity about this war. And rightly so; for if they really seek to serve God they must in the words of Thomas a Kempis, "mind and take care of this, that God be with you in everything you do." In other words, they must continually ask the anxious question, which admits ambiguity, "Am I on God's side?" As soon as they stop asking that question and forthrightly affirm, "God is on our side," they are no longer seeking to serve God but are concerned that God serve them.

Should the ambiguity of the war deter an involvement for the sake of the man? No. If I may point to the incarnation which we celebrate at Christmas; notice how God did not let the moral ambiguities of the world deter him entering our world in human flesh for our sakes. For the sake of

the men here, we must be involved as we are. Our absence would be harder to justify than our presence now is.<sup>43</sup>

The year 1968 drew to a close. Chaplains with Marines had experienced heights and depths of feeling, accomplishment, and anticipation even if concrete answers were often no clearer than before. Chaplains had rendered their spiritual service, agonized with Marines over external pain and

reasoned with them over internal anguish, and could move into the next year with the words of the Commandant of the Marine Corps ringing in their ears:

Your record of heroism and self-sacrifice is woven throughout the history of the Navy and Marine Corps and has earned for your distinguished Corps the pride, respect, and gratitude of all with whom you have served. On behalf of all Marines, I offer warm thanks and best wishes to all Navy Chaplains.<sup>44</sup>

## CHAPTER 11

# Sweating and Praying (1969-1972)

*Activity in the Field—Redeployment Begins—Personal Response Continuity—Civic Action and the CAP Ministry—New Concerns in Counseling—Chapel Construction—Reflections*

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The year 1969 was one of contrasts. Although by March the number of American servicemen in Vietnam reached the peak of 545,500, combat levels were relatively low. January marked the lowest combat level since December of 1967 and by November, with the onset of the monsoon, combat had declined to the lowest levels in nearly three years.

Still, for many troops on Operation Taylor Common, Bold Mariner, Dewey Canyon, and Virginia Ridge, the war was very much alive and every bit as menacing as it ever was. Although the 3d Marine Division in Quang Tri Province was spared a high level of combat activities during the first three months of the year, men of the 1st Division were in the field southwest of Da Nang attacking staging areas and securing the areas for the continued progress of pacification. One of the glad signs of such progress in security and pacification was the opening of Liberty Bridge across the Thu Bon River in Quang Nam Province which had been out since October 1967. The bridge, which had been repaired by the Seabees with constant Marine security, completed the roadway linkage of Da Nang and An Hoa, which was becoming an extremely sensitive area once again.

Although with the relatively low level of fighting rather few chaplains were sweating out their ministry in combat roles, circumstances arose in the areas of counseling that often caused more sweat and tears than combat, and challenged chaplains to new heights of contribution to their people. Counseling efforts in the area of race relations, drug abuse, and violence rose to high levels demanded by the circumstances and, in a measure, provided a beginning for programs in these areas that later proved very valuable.

In some ways the period was a hopeful one and the increased success of the Chieu Hoi\* program, the

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\*A program of amnesty for Viet Cong surrendering to the RVN Government.

variations of the civic action team approaches, and the seeming strength of the ARVN structure and in-

*Capt William H. Gibson (front center), Commanding Officer of Company D, 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, 1st Marine Division, leads five VC captives taken with their rifles in the valley of An Hoa, southwest of Da Nang on 6 January 1969. Capt Gibson is clearing one of the captured rifles. He later left active duty in the rank of major on 31 December 1969 and entered the Navy as a chaplain on 24 April 1974. He is one of many Navy chaplains who first served in other capacities in the Armed Services.*

Photo courtesy of Chaplain William H. Gibson



volvement all contributed to a spirit of optimism. President Nixon's promise of troop withdrawals seemed entirely consistent with the situation and this brought the anticipation of redeployment to the troops. Redeployment of Marine units did begin in September, and by mid-December nearly 20,000 Marines had been redeployed to Okinawa or the United States.

The fact that the Communists did not muster an all-out offensive during the year, and that even the season of Tet passed by without a serious offensive, seemed to indicate that the fierce fighting of the previous year had proven simply too much for the NVA to sustain. As fire-support bases were closed, positive projections for the immediate and long-range future were in the hearts of many who had endured much to enjoy these hopeful heights.

#### *Activity in the Field*

One of the camps whose closing typified the shift in strategic circumstances was Camp J. J. Carroll in Quang Tri Province. On 28 December 1968, Camp Carroll was disestablished having served its purpose as a combat/artillery base just south of the DMZ for more than two and one half years. It had been named in honor of Captain James J. Carroll, a company commander in the 4th Marines, who was killed by enemy shell fragments while leading his men in battle on "Mutters Ridge" in 1966. For this action he was awarded the Navy Cross posthumously. Camp Carroll was well known to all chaplains who served in the 3d Marine Division during the period of the camp's existence. At the closing ceremony Chaplain Zoller, the 3d Division Chaplain, conducted an appropriate memorial service.

The "Chapel of Hope" of the 3d Marines at Camp Carroll was then dismantled and transported to the District Headquarters at Cam Lo where it was reconstructed in early 1969 under the supervision, first of Lieutenant Commander William E. Beat (United Methodist), Battalion Chaplain, 1st Battalion, 9th Marines and completed under the supervision of Lieutenant Commander Lowell W. Van Tassel (Presbyterian Church in the United States), Battalion Chaplain, 2d Battalion, 3d Marines. A Palm Sunday rededication was planned and carried out with the chapel being renamed the Carroll Memorial Chapel, thus perpetuating the memory of both Captain Carroll and Camp Carroll.

The last gift which Captain Carroll gave to his mother, Mrs. Mary Carroll, was a framed copy of the Marine's Prayer. Mrs. Carroll presented this to Camp Carroll where it was hung initially in the Chapel of Hope. Now it was hung in a place of honor in the Carroll Memorial Chapel. Chaplain Van Tassel wrote to Mrs. Carroll informing her of the rededication of the chapel in honor of her son and inviting her to make any comment she might wish to have spoken for her at the ceremony. Chaplain Zoller reported that she replied through her pastor, the Right Reverend Monsignor James J. Walsh. The reply was also read at the ceremony:

In answer to your request to know if she wished to add anything to the dedicating ceremony, let me say she would be most pleased if you would make known to the men the joy they have brought her in the knowledge that the son Jimmy is so well remembered by the men of the Marines. This continued devotion on the part of his buddies has brought her a great deal of consolation, and indeed has elevated the Marines considerably in the estimation of her many friends who have heard of it. She wants the men to know that they are all in her daily prayers, when she begs God to bless them and to return them safely to their homes and families.<sup>1</sup>

Although the tempo of combat had receded for some and some support bases were closed, for others the action merely shifted. The 1st and 3d Battalions of the 3d Marines and the 1st Battalion, 12th Marines had moved southwest of Da Nang and came under the control of the 1st Marine Division's Task Force Yankee in Operation Taylor Common. On 15 January Colonel Michael M. Sparks, Commanding Officer, 3d Marines, a man respected and admired by his chaplains, was killed when his command helicopter was shot down near An Hoa. Also killed with him were Lieutenant Colonel Emil L. Whisman, Commanding Officer, 1st Battalion, 12th Marines; Sergeant Major Ted E. McClintock, 3d Marines Regimental Sergeant Major; and Lance Corporal Frederick D. Kansik, Colonel Sparks' field radio operator. Memorial services were held at both An Hoa and Dong Ha, the 3d Marines rear base. The service at An Hoa was conducted there despite the booming of nearby artillery and the roar of combat aircraft overhead, because of the measure of respect in which the deceased were held.

In February the pace of combat field activity picked up somewhat. The Dewey Canyon operation on the Laotian border hit the enemy hard in an area that had been a sanctuary for him. The 9th Marines



Department of Defense (USMC) Photo A192846

*Chaplain Frederick E. Whitaker, chaplain for the 3d Battalion, 4th Marines, holds religious services for men of Company M on a mountainous ridgeline north of the Rockpile. The Marines were participating in a search and clear operation near the DMZ.*

cut his main supply route which ran inside Laos, then back into Vietnam at the northern end of the A Shau Valley, and from there east to Hue and/or south to Da Nang. The fighting was bitter in the rugged mountain and jungle with heavy casualties on both sides. The Marines prevailed, however, and by the 1st of March had broken the back of enemy resistance and captured immense caches of weapons, the largest of the war to that date. The 3d Division Chaplain reported that the chaplains involved in the operation were: Lieutenant Commander David F. Brock (Roman Catholic), Regimental Chaplain, 9th Marines; Lieutenant Commander William E. Bray, Battalion Chaplain, 1st Battalion, 9th Marines; Lieutenant Commander William L. Childers (United Methodist), Battalion Chaplain, 2nd Bat-

talion, 9th Marines; Lieutenant John D. Allen (Episcopal) and Lieutenant Commander Carroll R. Spencer (Church of God, Anderson, Indiana), consecutively Battalion Chaplain, 3d Battalion, 9th Marines; and Lieutenant Salvatore Rubino (Southern Baptist), Battalion Chaplain, 2d Battalion, 12th Marines. Chaplain Zoller said of these men: "These chaplains have humped the mountains with their men, sharing dangers, difficulties and discomforts, providing an enduring source of strength and solace. They are effectively carrying on the traditions of superb service which their predecessor chaplains have established in the 3d Marine Division."<sup>2</sup>

This sharing of sweat and prayer with the infantry Marine was often the prelude to terror. On Monday morning 17 February, before the sun rose, an enemy



Department of Defense (USMC) Photo A370080

*Memorial service for casualties of the 3d Battalion, 7th Marines, 1st Marine Division on 29 March 1967. As the unit colors are dipped, Marines fire a volley in salute.*

force of unknown strength attacked Fire Support Base Cunningham, regimental command post for the 9th Marines. The first wave of attackers consisted of sappers dressed only in shorts and sandals carrying grenades and satchel charges. They infiltrated the perimeter wire and ran through the compound throwing their explosives. The situation was confused and hectic. Five Marines were killed and 47 wounded. When the melee was over 37 NVA bodies were found inside the perimeter. It was an unforgettable experience for Chaplain Brock. He later told the division chaplain that, during the early moments of the attack, an NVA soldier stuck his head into the tent where he and two others were rising, but fortunately, did not throw a grenade inside. A grenade was thrown into a small bunker a few feet away, killing two men. Chaplain Brock remembered:

The fire fight went until almost 0745 and during this time I stayed with the doctor in the Aid Station in order to administer last rites and to help with the wounded. For two hours, it looked as if the Aid Station would be made a last stand. During this fire fight various thoughts went through my mind, such as: Would we live through this? Will the men be able to hold out? How were the young men on the lines doing? I must admit I was scared but the feeling soon passed because we were too busy. The others were afraid too but not one of them showed his fear. As a matter of fact it warmed one's heart to see just how well these young men did in the face of death. I am very grateful to have had the opportunity to be with the men during the fight because of the great spiritual experience and also the feeling of the need by the men for a chaplain to be with them during the time of danger and death.<sup>3</sup>

On Tuesday morning 25 February, about 0400, Fire Support Bases Russell and Neville, two small outposts south of the DMZ, were penetrated by

similar sappers. These NVA assault troops had the explosive satchel charges strapped to their bodies, and attacked in two 200-man waves.<sup>4</sup> When the smoke cleared the defending Marines counted 36 killed and 97 wounded. Fifty-six Communists were known dead, their bodies sprawled inside the perimeter wire. Chaplain Richard Crist of the 2d Battalion, 4th Marines had tried the whole day before to get to FSB Russell but was unsuccessful. Now he met the first of his men at C Med Vandegrift Combat Base, where the early Med Evac helicopters stopped briefly, and accompanied them to the hospital chaplains, Lieutenant Commander Melville F. Willard (United Presbyterian) and Lieutenant Lawrence C. McAuliffe (Roman Catholic) who were just keeping up with the flow of casualties. The division chaplain, who was on the scene, reported:

Even so the triage was full most of the time. All six operating rooms were in continuous use and the wards could accommodate no more patients. . . . Graves registration was a grisly place. . . . Some Marines were killed while asleep or in the process of dressing. The ministry to the dead, always sobering, was especially grueling that day.<sup>5</sup>

Although the levels of combat were much lower the first months of 1969 than they were one year earlier, the enemy's return to the insidious sapper attacks and the constant possibility of being overrun at isolated outposts produced a special strain on the combat-involved troops. Chaplains strove to minister to that condition, adapting once again to the shift in combat circumstances. The chaplain had to be greatly mobile and when he arrived at an outpost his ministry had to be more than camaraderie. Appearing often in chaplains' reports of the period

*A 3d Marine Division memorial service at Dong Ha, 4 November 1968. Left to right: Chaplain John V. Boreczky, assistant division chaplain; Chaplain John E. Zoller, division chaplain; Marine color guard; MajGen Raymond G. Davis, division commander.*

Photo courtesy of Chaplain John Zoller



was evidence of the hunger among the men for Holy Communion. "That service," as one chaplain said, "is most meaningful to them because they have a deepened understanding of the term 'sacrifice' and because it communicates, above all, the concern of the Almighty for his creature, man."<sup>6</sup>

The very suddenness and ferocity of these attacks produced a unique strain on the Marines in the field, all the more so because of the general attitude of impending redeployment. Lieutenant Bryant R. Nobles, Jr. (Southern Baptist) was with the 3d Battalion, 3d Marines just prior to its redeployment in September 1969. He had arrived in Vietnam in late August and had been in the field for two weeks, walking, flagging helicopters, and riding jeeps to conduct services at all the companies he could reach. On 17 September the 3d Battalion, 3d Marines was stopped for the night near the Rockpile. He remembered:

Everything seemed to be going well until midnight, 17 September, when my faith in God met its supreme challenge. I was suddenly awakened by the sounds of AK-47 and M-16 rifle fire. I had dug a foxhole the night before, and I proceeded to use it. The next thing I knew, the Commanding Officer and his radio operator had retreated to my foxhole.<sup>7</sup>

For the next five hours the battle raged; 25 Marines were killed and 47 wounded. Chaplain Nobles moved among the men during the critical hours giving first aid, speaking words of encouragement and, in his words, "doing whatever I could while praying without ceasing."<sup>8</sup> By sun-up the enemy withdrew leaving 48 of their dead on the battlefield. Chaplain Nobles was decorated for his conduct that night with the battalion he had served for so short a time. But he recorded that ribbons and medals were not the real rewards of this ministry, the real reward took place the night after the attack. He wrote:

Just before turning in for the night the Commanding Officer requested that I pray with him. After the prayer, he grasped my hand and said, "Chaplain, I can't even remember your name, but I thank God you were with us last night." This reward far exceeded the medal I later received. The rewards are many for the chaplain who will give of himself for the spiritual needs of the men.<sup>9</sup>

### *Redeployment Begins*

In June President Nixon had begun to implement his campaign promise to conduct a slow withdrawal

of troops from Vietnam. This withdrawal policy affected the Marine Corps in an initial redeployment of the 9th Marines, some combat support units, and a part of the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing. By August more than 8,000 Marines had been redeployed. With the announcement of the second increment of troop withdrawal in September, the 3d and 4th Marines with accompanying support units and a share of the air wing prepared to redeploy. Headquarters, 3d Marine Division and the 4th Marines were to go to Okinawa and the 3d Marines to Camp Pendleton, California. The end of the year found nearly 18,500 more Marines having departed Vietnam.

These deployments necessarily affected chaplain presence in country. By January 1970 the number of chaplains ashore had already decreased from 110 to 92, with the decrease to be even more rapid during the coming year. In early 1970 the Chief of Chaplains, in a communication to the Corps, took note of the fact that just under 700 chaplains had served in Vietnam or off her shores. This comprised 70 percent of the Chaplain Corps strength. From this peak, the redeployments in 1970 left just 33 chaplains serving Marines by January 1971, with the final chaplains leaving country with the last of the Marine infantry units by May of 1971, and those with support units by mid-June of the same year.

The redeployment also affected the pattern of chaplain assignment. As chaplains leaving were not replaced, chaplains whose projected 12-13 months tour was as yet incomplete were shifted rapidly to cover the various remaining units. Lieutenant Bernard J. Grochowski (Roman Catholic) for instance, arrived in late June 1969 and served the 3d Marine Division with the 2d Battalion, 3d Marines (two months), and the 2d Battalion, 4th Marines (two months), and 1st Marine Division with the 1st Battalion, 11th Marines (four months); 2d Battalion, 5th Marines (three months); Headquarters Battalion (four months); and 2d Battalion, 5th Marines again (three months), completing an 18-month tour in January of 1971.

The lack of permanence to any of his assignments did not seem to affect Chaplain Grochowski's attitude toward his ministry with Marines. In his final report, he characterized his experience as a "Service of Joy," and elaborated:

A service of joy in receiving 11 into the church thru baptism. A joy communicated thru some 650 mass celebra-



tions, 10,500 in attendance, 9,900 communing. A joy in transforming hate, disgust, resentment into acceptance, understanding, love. A joy in provoking smiles and laughter thru humorous homilies and "Polish jokes." A joy thru maximum exposure, being where they were, humping with them, eating their "C"-rats, living in their hot and dry, wet and cold phases of weather. Down in the ranks, singing with them, hoping with them, suffering with them, laughing with them, praying with them, loving with them, and serving them.

A joy in sharing their precious moments of living by lending an ear and listening. A coveted joy in being dubbed their chaplain, their sky-six Rep, their 19-er actual . . . a distinct joy in leading the Marine Corps Hymn on Hill 381 in the Que Sons.<sup>10</sup>

The task of juggling unit needs and available chaplains occupied large amounts of the time of the 1st and 3d Division chaplains. Chaplain Zoller with the 3d Division completed his tour in September and was relieved by Captain Robert E. Brengartner (Roman Catholic), who redeployed with the final elements of the 3d Division within the next three months. In the 1st Division Captain Mark Sullivan (Roman Catholic) had relieved Captain James T. McDonnel (Roman Catholic) in January of 1967 and served during this period of extreme fluctuation until relieved in January 1970 by Captain Glen A. Rademacher (Roman Catholic) who also served as the III MAF chaplain in the last months before redeployment was complete.

#### *Personal Response Continuity*

With the relatively lower combat levels in late 1968 and thereafter there was opportunity to pay increased attention to the pacification efforts as focused in civic action programs and the continuing Personal Response Project.

By 1969 Personal Response was performing a distinct educational function, indoctrinating incoming troops efficiently and at relatively low cost, something that early critics of the project thought impossible. Early doubts were swept aside when it was found that large numbers of personnel could be trained at very low cost and in a very short time. The initial problem, how to change the negative consequences of culture shock, had to a great extent been resolved. But Personal Response continued to be a source of both ideological and military problems; chaplains working in close association with the project as well as line officers who were charged with the responsibility of maintaining and supporting the

project, often found themselves at cross purposes. This was largely due to the still highly subjective and idealistic philosophy of Personal Response, and the unfamiliarity of many line officers with such newly explored fields as the behavioral sciences. And to complicate things further many chaplains still suspected that their spiritual ministry was being diluted by involvement in the program they saw as essentially sociological.

Some of the later project officers, as well as chaplains assigned to in-country billets who had contact of a peripheral nature with the project, found great difficulty and frustration in attempting to administer the program. Several reasons existed which explain these difficulties, beginning with the old problem of interservice rivalry. Some chaplains found it difficult to operate within certain Marine commands, because their letter from the Bureau of Naval Personnel outlining their duties occasionally failed to carry weight with Marines. The major stumbling block, however, was the basic lack of structure of Personal Response. Chaplain Stevenson, the fourth chaplain assigned to III MAF as Personal Response Officer, felt constrained by the lack of any succinctly worded command directive which in essence supported his billet. While his frustration was alleviated in this area by the recently published Personal Response section to the Standing Operating Procedures for III MAF, this did not provide him with the solution to many of what he felt were major problems in the administration of Personal Response. Chaplain Stevenson's sensitivities concerning the morality of the program are important in that they reflect concerned opinion within the Chaplain Corps proper, especially since his frustrations were also shared by his successor, Lieutenant Commander Leroy E. Vogel (Lutheran).

Chaplain Stevenson reacted negatively to what he felt was the "non-structure" of Personal Response; he felt that more earnest command support was essential if the program was to accomplish its intended goals. The idealism and very abstract quality in the ideology of Personal Response was, it appears, easily misunderstood by officers who had had no previous contact with such policy, and who were wholly concerned with victory in purely military terms. Therefore many seemed to interpret the program as a form of ideological warfare, an apparatus which could be employed for intelligence-gathering purposes, rather than as a means of effecting a form of

cultural understanding. And in areas where this happened Chaplain Stevenson felt that the chaplain's participation placed him in acute jeopardy:

What is his (the chaplain's) mission, task, function? The non-structured organizational inertia contributes to the program becoming more and more involved with ideological warfare . . . than with human concerns or any form of reconciliation ministry. Commands will interpret Personal Response in relation to their pragmatic needs to exploit tactical situations. This is perfectly legitimate from a military standpoint, but questionable in ministry.<sup>11</sup>

Chaplain Stevenson went on to offer his tentative solution to this conflict in role: "The program meets national needs and military experiences but in order to be truly effective it must go through a process of purification in which chaplains come to play a very minor role . . . in its division of labor."<sup>12</sup> His comments mirrored the feelings of other chaplains as well, many of whom believed that Personal Response was not the proper area of concern for a chaplain to be directing his energies. It could have been, however, that these old criticisms of Personal Response were reactivated when the program was misinterpreted and its goals intentionally distorted by those who used and saw it as a vehicle for intelligence gathering.

When the program was understood in principle and concept and its philosophy accepted, it proved to be generally effective. The 3d Marine Division statistically proved the effectiveness of Personal Response as more and more booby traps were reported by local Vietnamese. Many lives were saved as a result of the rapport that was established with the local people through Personal Response education. And as more and more field commanders began to grasp the possible significance such indoctrination could have in cementing relations between Vietnamese and Americans, frustrations began to subside. Chaplain Vogel reported that by January 1970 the 1st Marine Division requested the assistance of Personal Response in an attempt to curb the high rate of casualties being inflicted by surprise-firing devices, and, in concert with the program, started Operation Save-a-Leg. Personal Response was never intended to serve intelligence gathering; it was legitimately aimed at effecting cooperation and mutual respect for the values of two different cultures. However, the problem exposed by Chaplain Stevenson was never completely eradicated within III MAF, and the recommendation that

chaplains' involvement in the management of Personal Response be reduced and that it be turned into a line function was being considered in Washington.

In November 1970, as, consistent with President Nixon's withdrawal policy, more Marines began to leave Vietnam, new problems in the history of Personal Response opened. Since the elements of III MAF were rapidly leaving I Corps, the program suffered. The chaplains involved were faced with the problem of reconciling the program with a policy of deescalation. The situation was complex and further complicated by the development of negative attitudes by Vietnamese, many of whom resented the American withdrawal. Early in 1971 Commander John T. Beck (Lutheran), who had relieved Chaplain Vogel, reported:

Our personal experiences and other sources seem to indicate that we are experiencing, and can expect to experience, increasing resentment from Vietnamese stemming from several sources. Some of them are: Reduction of employees and attendant hardships. Accumulation of grievances, real and imagined, of the past years. . . . While we retain considerable confidence in the responsibility and judgement of most Marines . . . a "going home soon—who cares?" attitude will certainly be an increasing problem. A second factor is that Marines realize that poor relations with Vietnamese can sometimes be the fault of the Vietnamese.<sup>13</sup>

The attitude that some responsibility belonged to the Vietnamese in the problem area of intercultural relations was not a new realization. Earlier Chaplain Lemieux had written on this subject at the end of his tour:

The third part of this same area of concern is the moral/ethical appeal to conscience which is implied in the Personal Response Program: the sense of "fair play," of "oughtness," appeals not only to our democratic traditions but also to our Judaic/Christian consciences. If the troops are to be instructed in the culture and religions of Vietnam, and if they are to learn that these "values" influence the behavior of the Vietnamese it should then logically follow that one ought not to see that moral/ethical obligations are the exclusive monopoly (responsibility) of Americans. There does not appear to be any parallel appeal to the moral, ethical values of the Vietnamese on behalf of the love and welfare of American troops . . . . Our troops need to know that there is some obligation being presented to the Vietnamese. If the obligation to sacrifice the self for the good of the many is not mutually binding certainly the obligation to "understand" is mutually binding.<sup>14</sup>

This was a problem that was not directly attacked until the latter phase of the war, and never very successfully.

The difficulties of maintaining the Personal Response Project during the days of the standdown were manifold, yet all of them were in some degree resolved. The primary question at this time was what to do with Personal Response once Vietnam was no longer an active American military concern. Where did it go from Southeast Asia? This was one of those questions easy to ask but extremely difficult to solve. For those who had maintained all along that chaplains should not be involved in this area the answer was self-evident—disengage completely and have done with it. But many chaplains believed that positive gains had been made in terms of knowledge acquired regarding foreign cultures and in the more general area of the behavioral sciences as they meaningfully related to the ministry. Some were beginning to see a great future for an expanded program of the same or a similar nature in the field of race relations. In February of 1971, however, the future of the program was unstable; although headway had been made in the attempt to decide who should have staff control of the program, the chaplains or the line, no permanent decisions were made. As early as November 1970 Chaplain Joseph Tubbs (United Methodist) had reported as head of the Chaplain Corps Planning Group and took the position that Personal Response as a line function was making progress, but by February 1971 had not been translated into policy. Chaplain Beck submitted the proposal that Personal Response be continued on Okinawa after the Marine withdrawal, but no billets were provided for this alternative possibility; instead it was decided to abandon the program. In a letter to the Chief of Chaplains, Chaplain Beck remarked:

We have a feeling that the Personal Response Program made a unique and outstanding contribution in Vietnam and that the program should stop "smartly," not linger on after its usefulness and its opportunity are gone . . . . You may sense a feeling in this letter that I do not enjoy the prospect of shutting down the program. I do not. I am finding that the last watch must be the most unpleasant watch, because it is the last. But shutting down at this point seems a necessary and inevitable step.<sup>15</sup>

Personal Response was phased out of I Corps as the Marines departed, after having played a controversial but significant role there. Not always completely understood in either intention or aim, it nevertheless affected the attitudes and lives of many individuals. Personal Response did not, however, terminate completely with the Marine withdrawal;

too much had been invested and learned from the program. It would ultimately influence major command decisions in the shaping of the new Navy. It was to have a significant impact on the Navy's thinking with regard to the problem of race relations and human resources programs. It did not cease with the gradually diminishing American presence in Indochina, but perhaps helped mature military thinking and brought it into accord with equally future-oriented social programs which had been developed in the civilian community.

#### *Civic Action and the CAP Ministry*

The efforts to improve the socio-economic life of the people of Vietnam, to forward their political integration, and to achieve the personal security of the Vietnamese through government- and serviceman-sponsored projects were well described as civic action.

The civic action program was especially significant in this, that it enlisted the help and assistance of the Vietnamese people in the rebuilding efforts. It was hoped that such efforts would help immeasurably in unifying a society which had been fragmented by 28 years of fighting and centuries of ideological, religious, ethnic, and class conflict. Relatively little publicity had been given to this intense involvement of the American servicemen in a positive effort to improve the living conditions of the Vietnamese people. General Walt often emphasized the operational concept of two powerful hands, one clenched into a fist for use against the enemy and the hostile guerrillas, the other opened and extended to the Vietnamese people to care for them physically, binding their wounds, and to assist them materially by improving their life-support opportunities.

The relative lack of recognition of the voluminous charitable activities of the American serviceman may have been due, perhaps, to the difficulty of quantifying the results. In combat, one can determine what type of action has taken place, how many patrols have moved out, and how many casualties have been taken and inflicted. It is not easy, however, to catalogue the numbers aided by the multiple programs in use to better the lives of the indigenous people, and the programs were multiple, including Civic Action, Personal Response Program, Military Provincial Hospital Assistance, United States Agency for International Development, Coordinating Organization for Revolutionary Development

Systems, Village Assistance Teams, Combined Action Program, Medical Civic Action Program, and the Chaplains Civic Action Program.

Even at the subsistence level a determined effort was made and with much success. Not only was a "Food For Freedom" program developed but another training program evolved to teach the farmers how to improve their crops and livestock. Because rice is basic to their diet, much attention was given to this item. As a result, a miracle rice, called XR-8, developed in the Philippines, was introduced into Vietnam and soon produced three to eight times the yield of the local rice.

Also introduced were certain vegetables which can be grown the year around and an animal husbandry experiment called "Pig Project." This last project involved breeding American boars with Vietnamese swine, producing a strain of swine three times the size of the Vietnamese swine.

To foster the physical health of the people, medical civic action (MedCAP) was a civic action fixture. Doctors and corpsmen were made available at local aid stations. In addition, MedCAP teams moved out into the hamlet, bringing their knowledge and saving arts. During the last four months of 1969, more than 42,000 people were treated by Med-Cap teams of the 1st Marine Division alone. In the first 11 months of 1969, 1,333,506 persons were given medical and dental care in the I Corps Tactical Zone. It is worth remembering that Marine commitment was in this area alone, and I Corps was but one of five sections of the total United States concern in South Vietnam.

In the field of education, a magnificent story is discoverable. In 1954, only 400,000 children (10 percent of eligibles) attended school in all of Vietnam. By January 1970 thanks to the construction of 14,000 school rooms during the previous five years, there were 3,800,000 children (80 percent of eligibles) in school. In February 1970 in the city of Da Nang, Navy and Marine Corps units were involved in the construction of 80 new schools. Ninety-one new schools were completed there in 1969. In addition, Navy and Marine Corps officers and men conducted 8,382 classes in English during the first 11 months of 1969, the last year of peak Marine presence. Since the summer of 1965, III Marine Amphibious Force units supported 130,456 students and the III MAF Scholarship Fund provided funds for more than 4,500 deserving and needy students to

attend school in I Corps. Another fund, the III MAF High School Scholarship Program created from donations made to chapel funds in 1969, granted full high school tuition for 146 deserving youngsters. Additionally during 1969, 4,947 persons received medical aid training from Navy and Marine Corps personnel.<sup>16</sup>

It is fair to say that American involvement in Vietnam was continuous and complete, and concerned in meeting and filling human needs. The U.S. Marine was a military man, faithful to his responsibilities—and still a man, with a heart that cares, and fortunately with the ability, the compassion, and the strength to alleviate distress.

Chaplains and civic action were closely identified in Vietnam ever since troops first deployed there. Although the chaplain's primary mission was to minister to the spiritual needs of the members of his unit, his compassion for people frequently involved him in the welfare of the Vietnamese people living in his area of operation. He was often a motivating force behind the civic action program sponsored by his command or unit.

Most of the Marine commands in Vietnam had appointed civic action officers; however, the chaplain was normally the contact with the religious institutions in the area: schools, churches, orphanages, and hospitals. As a result of chaplains' interest, many of these institutions were founded, constructed, and supported. The China Beach Orphanage in Da Nang, supervised by Reverend Gordon Smith, a missionary in Vietnam for 41 years, was begun when the first Marine Corps helicopter squadron came to Da Nang with the assistance of Marines, and later, other service units. By 1970 this orphanage accommodated 3,300 orphans with building facilities that included five dormitories, several classrooms, and a beautiful, large chapel. Much help in constructing the chapel came from the Public Works Department of the Naval Support Activity, Da Nang. An important addition to this orphanage, completed during March 1970, was the Bruno Hochmuth Memorial Baby Pavilion. This two-story building, a memorial to the former commanding general of the 3d Marine Division, was financed by International Orphans, Inc.; the Marine Corps Reserve Officers Association; and the 11th Region of the Navy League. Captain Eugene S. Swanson (Lutheran), the III MAF Force Chaplain from March 1969 - March 1970, served as the liaison for these groups with the China Beach

Orphanage. He reported that the support of the children had been contributed primarily by chaplains and servicemen in the Da Nang area who consequently provided donations of money, food, and clothing.

Civic action activities by chaplains were not limited to supporting those groups representing their particular faith. Chaplains simply responded to the needs of people wherever that need was evident. An example of this was the Dieu Nhan Buddhist Orphanage of Hoi An. This orphanage, supervised by Buddhist nuns, received considerable support from the chaplains of III MAF. General Walt was, as early as 1966, particularly instrumental in the support of this orphanage. Consequently, he interested International Orphans, Inc., in providing funds for the construction of a two-story building named as a memorial to Marine First Lieutenant John Smithson, who was killed in Vietnam. This orphanage provided day school and/or boarding facilities for 500 orphan children.

One of the most enjoyable aspects for Protestants as well as Catholic Chaplains was working with orphanages operated by the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres. The Catholic sisters who belong to this order exemplified the finest in the Christian tradition of love and care for the downrodden and abandoned children in this nation. The Sacred Heart Orphanage of China Beach cared for 150 children, many of whom were the illegitimate offspring of American servicemen. Were it not for this orphanage, these children of mixed blood would have been abandoned.

Recognizing the worthiness of this kind of Christian charity, chaplains continually provided truckloads of clothing, food, and gifts to help these sisters. Chaplains also encouraged the men in their units to take a personal interest in the children. As a result in 1970, 60 individual Marines from Headquarters Group, 1st Marine Aircraft Wing were sponsoring orphans at the Sacred Heart Orphanage of China Beach. Many of these Marines made legal arrangements to adopt the children they sponsored and brought them to the States on their detachment from Vietnam. Chaplains often assisted in this effort.

Education was always a major area of chaplain concern. Because tuition was charged at Vietnamese schools, many children from poor families were deprived of receiving even a limited education.

Chaplains started scholarship funds for all levels of education in Vietnam. The Camp Horn/NSA scholarship program, administered primarily by chaplains, sponsored children for elementary school. The III MAF Scholarship Fund, administered by the Force Chaplain but supported financially by Marine Chapel Funds in I Corps, provided 110 high school scholarships a year. The General Walt Scholarship Fund in which chaplains worked closely with civic action officers provided hundreds of scholarships for both elementary and secondary education. Chaplains also provided scholarships for ministerial candidates to the Nha Trang Bible College. In March 1970, Chaplain Swanson reported to the Chief of Chaplains:

The humanitarian efforts of chaplains in Vietnam are almost too numerous to mention: gifts to refugee children at Christmas and Tet observances, health and comfort kits for ARVN wounded, parties for children, medical supplies for people in the neighboring villes, personal kindnesses to individuals, solicitation of clothing and other supplies from churches and organizations in the States. Although many of these ministries may never be recorded, thousands of Vietnamese people will remember the Christian demonstration of love for one's fellowmen shown by our chaplains in Vietnam. It is impossible to measure the extent to which chaplains have given outstanding example of genuine Personal Response.<sup>17</sup>

Located just outside of the An Hoa Combat Base was a maternity home and orphanage called Ba Loan's House. In the early months of 1970 the need for a new facility became apparent. The regimental chaplain, Commander Richard E. Bareiss (Conservation Baptist) began a plea to collect materials and funds.

Ba Loan was a well trained nurse, who operated a maternity home and orphanage in the village of Phu Da. In addition to these facilities, Ba Loan was also the head nurse in a small dispensary in the same village. These operations were under the loose control of the province of Hoi An. Soon after the Marines established a combat base in An Hoa, Ba Loan received considerable support in the form of clothes, some food, and consistent repairs to her dilapidated building which was in the midst of a crowded refugee area. However, it was always easy to tell which children in the area belonged to Ba Loan. They were always clean, happy, and well fed. As Marines continued to visit and help Ba Loan a real concern for a new facility began as a natural development to the planning stage.

The first step was to put the project under the control of the 5th Marines Civic Response Council, which was created to handle and dispense monies given by the Marines and their families to help the needy in the An Hoa area. Because of the nature of the project, it was decided that the final planning and construction should be under the direction of the regimental chaplain. Funds for building materials were contributed through the 5th Marines Civic Response Council, a gift by 1st Reconnaissance Battalion specifically designated for construction of an orphanage, and the 1st Marine Division Protestant chapel fund. Permission to build was obtained through the local district chief, and land was contributed by the An Hoa industrial complex. Construction began on 12 April when the Seabees at An Hoa bulldozed the area for the foundation. Chaplain Bareiss reported:

Construction actually was accomplished by a smooth working group of Marines and local villagers. The completed building measured 60' by 24' with a 12' extension in the rear for a kitchen, bunker, eating patio, shower and treatment room. Water is piped in from the An Hoa combat base and electric power for lights came from the An Hoa industrial complex. The planning and construction of the home kept uppermost in mind that the facility should continue its operation for many years after the Marines leave Vietnam. I believe that goal has been reached.<sup>18</sup>

Meanwhile, the Combined Action Group Program was also growing. In early 1970 two chaplains attached to III MAF Headquarters were assigned full-time duty with Combined Action Groups. Chaplains had ministered to these pacification teams since they were first formed but had not been assigned directly to what was popularly called the CAP ministry.

A CAP was one combined action platoon. A given group of these platoons constituted a CAC, or combined action company. A group of CACs constituted a CAG, that is, a combined action group. In 1970 there were four CAGs operative within I Corps. The northernmost CAG was headquartered in Quang Tri; the southernmost was headquartered in Chu Lai. The efforts of all four CAGs were coordinated by III MAF headquartered in Da Nang. The project *in toto*, from northern to southern I Corps, was designated the Combined Action Program.

A large percentage of Navy Chaplains serving with ground forces in I Corps were either exposed to this program or working within it. Only a war so unlike

other wars could produce this program as a viable and effective aid to U.S. goals.

The basic unit with which the chaplain was concerned was the individual combined action platoon. Such a platoon was comprised of some 10 to 15 U.S. Marines, a Navy Corpsman, and generally 20 to 30 South Vietnamese soldiers called Popular Forces. As an integrated force they fulfilled a function quite unique within the military structure. It was their task to live within the villages of the Vietnamese for the purpose of accomplishing a multifaceted objective. They were there to defend the villagers; instruct them in means of defense; provide them with basic medical care; and inculcate, by precept and example, an understanding of civic cohesion and solidarity. In short, the task of these men was to pacify the village, which meant the elimination of internal enemy activity and the creation of a civic unity sufficient to prevent future enemy instruction, intimidation, and destruction. Their success was remarkable.

For these men the war was quite different. Theirs was not the characteristic regimental compound life nor did they enjoy the Marine's customary identity with a battalion-size unit. As residents within a given "ville" they frequently occupied the villagers' huts and participated fully in their lives.

By day they were surrounded by the normal village routine and regularly involved in civic action and psychological operations. At night they assumed the recognizable identity of combat troops as they disappeared into the fields, woods, and rice paddies which surround the "ville" for the purpose of running patrols or setting ambushes in anticipation of "Charlie." The keys to the strength and success of these units were found not only in the mobility and agility but also in their proximity to, and identification with the basic hamlet unit. Denied domination of the hamlets, the enemy could not achieve his goal.

The prevailing attitude of the village populace toward their Marine guests was, with rare exception, one of deep appreciation, esteem, and frequently familial concern. Lieutenant Frank C. Cleveland (Episcopal) worked closely with combined action platoons during 1969 and 1970, while assigned to the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing. Captain Ross Trower (Lutheran), Wing Chaplain, urging his chaplains to comprehensive CAP activity, requested that Cleveland record his experiences. He reported:

In the course of the year I spent with the units of 1st CAG, I had occasion to visit many villes within Quang Ngai and Quang Tin Provinces which constituted the CAG AO [Area of Operations]. With amazing consistency the children and some adults would greet me with the "official" chant: "Marine's numbah one!"

I never ceased to be surprised and, indeed, heartened by the reception accorded the CAP units as they moved from ville to ville. It is even more surprising when one sees the circumstances under which it occurred. The villes are large and the native hootches incredibly small by American standards. Thus, the advent of ten or twelve Marines and their Corpsman with full field packs, weapons, ammunition, rations, assorted tape recorders, radios, and various other gear is no small occurrence. Moving at night they will enter a ville after the villagers have bedded down. Yet mama-san (the lady of the house) will arise and see that space is available for her unexpected guests. No inconvenience seems too much. With the coming of morning it is not uncommon to find her drawing and heating water for shaving or to make coffee or tea. There is a consistent willingness on the part of the Vietnamese to share their food with the Marines and festive occasions will find them always invited. It should be noted, also, that this sharing is reciprocal.<sup>19</sup>

The chaplain's role in the CAP program was one easily defined but also challenging, frustrating, and rewarding to fulfill. It was to provide the men with the spiritual and moral guidance, counsel, and support they needed to function effectively in a very anxious and highly-charged situation. This ministry, shaped as it was by the total program, tested the chaplain's initiative and ingenuity. On a much more serious level, it also tested his love of God as he understood its claim upon his life.

The Combined Action Program was initiated in Vietnam almost as soon as Marines arrived. Until 1970 all chaplain efforts and energies expended in this area were purely voluntary. They existed beyond a chaplain's unit duty assignment. Chaplains who had devoted time to this ministry did so only on the basis of a tacit understanding between themselves and those in charge of the program in their area.

A crucially important factor in ministering to the CAP units was coordination. The commitments, operations, and general lifestyle of these units precluded spontaneous, spur-of-the-moment trips out to them. This was true both because of the physical mobility of the units necessitated by the ever-changing face of the war and by the relative inaccessibility of the positions requiring helicopter transportation, and the planning that goes with it. Chaplain Cleveland reiterated:

It cannot be emphasized strongly enough how essential coordination is. The coordinating Chaplain will have in his file a continuing record of each unit, the dates it was visited, and a notation as to the visiting chaplain's affiliation, be he Roman Catholic or Protestant. This will make it possible for him to implement balanced coverage. There is nothing more destructive to a good, unified CAP ministry than a hit and miss approach with results in duplication of effort and/or neglect through poor communication, or sporadic attention to detail.<sup>20</sup>

The Combined Action Program was revolutionary. The one fledging platoon of 1966 matured into a substantial and easily recognizable structure. A variety of factors would indicate that the chaplain played an important role within this structure. He was a very real member of the team. A chaplain who received the opportunity to serve on this team found very quickly that his efforts were welcome and his position well regarded. CAG officers and NCOs appreciated the chaplain's dual function as listening post/confessor and liaison man. The individual trooper regarded the chaplain as one with whom openness of communication was possible and consequently felt free to discuss problem areas with him. In situations involving non-confidential communication, the chaplain was able frequently to bring these matters to command attention for remedial action. Lieutenant Dewey V. Page (Southern Baptist) was the chaplain of the 3d CAG. He remembered:

My "feed back" session was projected and achieved particular value. No problem, large or small, individual or collective, was too unimportant for personalized attention. Often the men needed a "Big Ear" to talk into and a sounding board against which to bounce their anxieties. "Hearing a man out," or group of men, served as a tremendous release value for frustrations, provided a therapeutic aid toward objectivity and adjustment, relieved tension, pointed up problem areas, built troop morale, stimulated renewed determination for success, and provided a valuable avenue to the Chaplain for assisting those in the Command Position. For example, one day the Chaplain was strangely requested to visit a particular CAP. Upon arrival it was found that the men were deeply angry at everything in general. Of course the men had their pet scape-goats, however after about one hour of "feed back," when pent-up hostility was ventilated, a level of objectivity was reached which resulted in understanding, appreciation, readjustment and the renewed personal application of the platoon members to their military mission. In short the men were tired, under physical and emotional strain, felt overburdened with "Mickey Mouse" demands, convinced that their CACO Commander considered their CAP "Number 10" and therefore, the men had gotten "hung-up" on their emotional mis-interpretations.<sup>21</sup>

The chaplain made known to the command that he was available as a referral person. When also a Marine requested to go to the rear to see the chaplain, or was sent there for this purpose, headquarters personnel must know that there would be a chaplain ready to serve this purpose.

Finally, the chaplain's responsibility or, in larger areas the coordinator's responsibility, was to see that the command was aware of the chaplain's activities. This involved far more than an end-of-the-month report. Prior to a CAP run the command was advised that such a run was to be made and was provided with a list of the individual units, in order, which would be visited. The chaplains constantly reminded themselves that the CAP units were integrally involved in and surrounded by a very real war. The units were located in areas in which a great deal could develop very quickly. For them anything could happen and usually did. It was imperative therefore that those in positions of command be aware of the personnel for whom they were responsible and their location at any given time. This constant movement necessitated a unique worship ministry. Chaplain Page reported his practice:

A consistent program of Divine Worship was set up for all 3d CAG personnel. This involved approximately 3 Worship Services per month in the field for each individual CAP unit. These services were spread out over a radius of 80 square miles and were held wherever the CAP was settled in its day position. As a result, Worship was conducted on the trails, in the cemeteries, by the rivers, in the banana groves, inside the homes of Vietnamese, in the villagers' front or back yards, in the barnyards, on the edge of rice paddies, in Catholic churches, next to Buddhist temples, and in almost every other conceivable place.<sup>22</sup>

Obviously, the chaplain's attitude on his visits had to be one of openness and receptivity. He had to constantly remind himself that coming, as he did, from rear areas for brief visits he was one who did not share the day-in and day-out anxieties, problems, hardships, and frustrations of the men he desired to minister to. In a word, the chaplain had to realize that he was reaching out to men who constantly live with some of life's hardest realities. In the final analysis, these men may easily forget the substance of the religious services the chaplain conducted. But they didn't forget that the chaplain "was there."

The rapid turn-over of CAP personnel required that the chaplain continuously extend his invitation and reaffirm his availability. As he bounced from

unit to unit the chaplain often felt that he was the eternal stranger. However, after some time and a substantial number of CAP visits he found himself greeted by familiar faces and welcoming words of recognition. The close interaction and interdependence of the platoons within a given company worked in the chaplain's favor. In a unit of CAG size the "word got around." When this occurred the chaplain discovered as he made his appointed rounds, that his appearance was no longer an unexpected surprise but an anticipated event on which the men could regularly depend. Chaplain Cleveland noted:

It is impossible to overstate the crucially important role which the chaplain plays in the CAP Marine's life. By definition the chaplain is a person within the military system who is distinctly different. He is unique. He is an officer who need not be regarded with suspicion. Unless he himself subsequently proves otherwise he is defined from the outset as a good guy. If the squad members are enabled to feel that here is one who accepts without censure, understands without question, and gives of himself without thought of reward, a strengthening relationship is born. The men see him as an officer with whom they can be themselves. The chaplain may very well be the only individual they will encounter in the course of their tour to whom they can express the questions, doubts, frustrations, and fears that they so often religiously conceal from each other behind an excessive front of fearless bravado.<sup>23</sup>

The CAP ministry was a unique one as well it should be for the Combined Action Program was itself unique. History may yet prove that of all approaches attempted in the war the approach symbolized in the Combined Action Program was the most effective, long-reaching, enduring, and viable. Before the terms "pacification" and "Vietnamization" were in vogue, CAP Marines were demonstrating what those terms tried to communicate. Ever since the program's inception, and with ever-increasing impact, this fact had been amply demonstrated.

The chaplain found that there were substantive differences between this ministry and others he had known. In an age bent on discovering itself the chaplain was often invited to contribute. The chaplain often discovered that from his life within small groups of CAP Marines he realized the deep truth and purpose of his ministry.

The situation in which he found himself and the circumstances under which he lived may have encouraged the CAP Marine to feel that he was forgot-



ten. By his concern, dedication, sacrifice, and perseverance, the chaplain who served his CAP units was remarkably appreciated, and if he willfully neglected this role, was remiss indeed. The Combined Action Program made the invitation even more pressing. There was but one appropriate response—serious involvement. Chaplain Cleveland concluded:

It is abundantly clear to me that in and through the lives of many CAP Marines sincerely intent on accomplishing a difficult task in a battle-scarred and war-weary land, I have been granted a new understanding of life's mystery and wonder and a deeper insight into the nature of the Kingdom of God.<sup>24</sup>

By the beginning of September 1970 the 1st CAG in Quang Tin Province, 2d CAG in Quang Ngai Province, and 3d CAG in Thua Thien Province had been disestablished. Earlier in July the 4th CAG at Quang Tri had been closed down, and near the end of September the Combined Action Force Headquarters in Quang Nam Province was dissolved. The program was ended but only long historical perspectives will measure its effect.

#### *New Concerns in Counseling*

During this period of gradual reduction of forces in Vietnam, specific problems came to light that did not begin just then nor did they begin in Vietnam, but concern about them was more obvious as combat activity lessened and men had greater opportunity to indulge themselves. These problems included drug usage, racial conflict, and irresponsible violence. The unhappy consequences of these disruptive circumstances wherever they occurred involved chaplains in some of the most challenging counseling circumstances they had ever encountered. Such problems that held the potential for destructive results across the whole nation and throughout one entire generation, also possessed the capability of drastically reducing the combat effectiveness of military units. Thus these moral concerns were in high visibility, and at almost every level chaplains were sought for their expertise in analysis and counseling.

To meet the crisis of these concerns, programs were brought into being to educate and provide a vehicle for getting at the root of the problems. The incidence of the use of marijuana by the 3d Marine Division personnel led to the formation of the Division Drug Abuse Committee. The ready availability

and inexpensive cost of marijuana in Quang Tri Province presented a serious problem. Division Chaplain Zoller wrote, "while the percentage of personnel who were habitual users was small, any incidence of use in a combat environment is serious. Furthermore, the ready availability of cheap marijuana was like an open invitation to the curious, uninformed Marine who was 'tempted to try it.'"<sup>25</sup>

A Division Drug Abuse Presentation Panel was formed composed of a medical officer, a legal officer, a chaplain, and a representative of the Provost Marshal. The respective unit commanding officer would request the presence of this team and it would travel to the unit and make its presentation. Simultaneously, pressure was brought to bear on Vietnamese authorities to reduce the availability of local marijuana with considerable success. As a result of these actions in September 1969 Chaplain Zoller reported, "The seriousness of this problem has significantly subsided."<sup>26</sup>

Significantly, great amounts of time were devoted by chaplains to learning the social and psychological elements surrounding drug abuse and lecturing to the servicemen regarding their responsible action. Questions of a double standard continually arose regarding the alcohol abuse, largely by older non-commissioned officers, and the drugs used largely by the younger Marine. Commands and chaplains moved to eliminate the criticism by including alcohol abuse in their contribution to the overall plan of education and counseling. The 1st Marine Aircraft Wing chaplains seemed to embrace this avenue of ministry with a great particular will. Perhaps the presence of relatively greater numbers of men in rear areas with the wings made this more convenient than it was in the bush with the infantry Marines. Those Marines reporting principally to rear areas also had increased opportunities to carry the drug usage practices they had adopted as stateside young adults. As a result of the peacetime practice of one-year overseas tours of duty, Marines did not remain in Vietnam for "the duration," but thousands of young men had to be drafted or enlisted and funneled to the conflict zone. They of necessity took their habits with them. Drug usage was reported as extensive among some segments of society since 1964, and some critics feel that in 1969 the peak of the drug culture as an ideology was symbolized stateside in a massive rock music festival called "Woodstock" after the town in the northeastern United States where it

was held. Drugs were openly and widely used at this event, but with a murder at an Altamont, California rock festival in December 1969 and the overdosed death of a prominent rock singer in September 1970, the popularity of open drug usage appeared to have died, and drugs again went underground to be used largely as escape. These years were turbulent in America and the problematic attitudes flowed over into the military.

An articulate observer and reporter, Lieutenant Peter J. Cary (Roman Catholic), attached to MAG-13 from October 1969 to October 1970 represented scores of chaplains who participated in the initiation of stabilizing programs designed to check the rise of drug abuse. He remembered:

Drugs and drinks were means chosen by some to escape the loneliness and boredom of off-duty hours. Drugs were readily available, according to hearsay, some of which are exotic varieties not commonly found in the states. I participated in the drug lectures given to those who reported to the group. How many of the men experimented and how many used drugs regularly is difficult to assess. Approachability, availability, and privileged communication were the means I used to try to reach those who were using drugs. I am sure I reached only a small number of those involved.<sup>27</sup>

Another circumstance that demanded the utmost in counseling and leadership skills was racial unrest. In most commands, incidents and situations of the presence or potential of expressed racial prejudice or reaction, became the reason for the formation of major command watch committees and subordinate command Personal Action Committees throughout the I Corps coordinated by III MAF. Their purpose was to deal constructively and tactfully with sensitive racial matters which had the potential for serious destructive consequences. The committee examined instances of personal violence, property damage, insolence, insubordination, and direct disobedience in the hope of finding out how best to cope in such situations and how to anticipate and prevent them if possible. The work of such committees was attended to by Lieutenant Commander John K. Kaelberer (Lutheran), Regimental Chaplain, 11th Marines. He reported, "The threat of racial outbreaks was always just below the surface, but strong command leadership, leadership council of all units, and the forceful example of competence by black staff noncommissioned officers held the unrest in check."<sup>28</sup>

If a chaplain did not always participate in racially

stabilizing programs a primary leader, his presence in the command as a sounding board and a liaison person was often invaluable. Chaplain Bray serving with 1st Battalion, 9th Marines; 3d Engineer Battalion; 3d Motor Transport Battalion; and 9th Motor Transport Battalion in 1969 reported his pleasure at being assigned the duty, ". . . to discuss problems with a group of men who showed by their interest that they had a sensitivity toward racial problems. Conflicts with racial overtones were kept to a minimum because of the concern of these men."<sup>29</sup> Another chaplain, Lieutenant James G. Goode (Disciples of Christ) attached to MWSG-17, was asked to structure a Human Relations Seminar designed to help ease the tension among sergeants and below of mixed racial and ethnic origins. A low-key racial incident in the command had focussed attention on this area. Chaplain Goode reported that the command wished also to broaden its own understanding of the feelings, attitudes, and aspirations of Marines in their interpersonal relationships. A total of 53 men met in the seminar for three hours each week for four weeks with the same personnel involved in all four sessions. Chaplain Goode wrote:

For 48 hours I talked with these men, but for the most part I listened. In order that I might not forget, I taped each session. Many of the men seethed with anger and hostility. They argued, rebelled and cheerfully vocalized their hatreds. They were shocked with the fact that the Command permitted this. They were even more surprised when the Command listened to their gripes. Here were young men struggling to find new ways to beat the system, while at the same time afraid to face themselves as individuals. Here were young Marines wanting so much to identify with a man's world, while suffering the agony of suppressing the little boy within. Some of these men hid behind the mask of drugs, fearful of the transition from adolescence to whatever this person is we call an adult. All of them were quite sincere as they wanted answers to their questions NOW! "Don't put me off! Tell me what I want to know or give me a sedative to ease my mental anxiety." The word WHY dominated the scene and will continue to be the most disturbing word to those of us who seek to be leaders.<sup>30</sup>

As a result of this seminar, broader lines of communication and understanding were established within each group. The squadron and group commanding officers became more aware of the problems men at the grassroots level were confronting. Subsequently the methodology and essential ideas of this seminar were presented to Army, Air Force, and Navy chaplains in a regular monthly meeting, and

Chaplain Goode reported, “. . . over 40 copies of this work have been distributed to chaplains and line officers requesting them.”<sup>31</sup>

Another effort was begun when human relations seminars were introduced throughout the I Corps. In Chu Lai the frustration and anger of the lower-ranking black Marine was evident in the atmosphere. There was a degree of polarization, and one chaplain commented that a person could not sit with a group of another color in the club or mess hall without incurring the stares of both groups. The racial troubles were often expressive of vague dissatisfaction and fear of unfair treatment rather than provable acts of flagrant discrimination. The “system” and the “whole Corps” came under denunciation from the troubled. MAG-13 Chaplain Cary reflected later:

Nevertheless, quite a few black Marines did regularly attend the meetings, did give vent to their dissatisfaction in the presence of “Authority.” This undoubtedly helped the situation somewhat. The chairmen of the Group Leadership Council (two, during my tour at Chu Lai), showed great restraint and patience. They acted promptly where action was possible, thus alleviating the most volatile situations.<sup>32</sup>

Being conversant with these concerns about the situation of racial unrest, the Chief of Chaplains set about developing materials that would contribute to deeper understanding and healthy management of racial dynamics. One initial recommendation published to all chaplains was the acquisition of an Afro-American history series published by the Association for the Study of Afro-American History, based in Washington, D.C. Many unit library officers and chapel funds ordered the series and gave it prominent display.

Chaplains also addressed the relatively narrow but painful problems of physical violence by some Marines against others of their fellow Marines. The problem was perplexing and unprecedented and created some alarm. There were instances of shooting, hand grenading, sniping, and boobytrapping, sometimes with fatal results. Some tied these events to racial disturbance, others to drugs and other stimulants. Comprehensive investigations were continually conducted, but the agony of the problem was deepened by the lack of a clear picture as to the cause of these fearful incidents. Third Division Chaplain Zoller was one of the few chaplains to address the problem in a final report. He wrote:

My own thinking about this suggests several possible factors at work in these strange, startling incidents. First,

the dearth of any real inner sense of right and wrong within the perpetrator, a lack of moral development, a moral cripple. Second, prolonged exposure to a participation in a combat environment where violence and killing are commonplace will condition some individuals to consider violence as normal and acceptable. Third, weapons are readily available and knowledge of their use is widespread. Fourth, a frustrating, perhaps threatening situation, such as an order to return to the bush, confronts an individual. A simple, direct solution may seem to be the elimination of the source of frustration or threat by “blowing him (or them) away.” Add to this the possibility of racial overtones and/or the deterioration of inner inhibitions through the use of drugs or alcohol. Also, the exterior restraints and controls of family and society are largely non-existent in this combat setting. Judgement becomes warped, moral values distorted and the individual may react with animal-like fury, directness and, sometimes, cunning. These ideas may have no validity, but the tragic, shocking incidents demand some attempts to probe their cause and to explain their occurrence.<sup>33</sup>

It is not especially remarkable that chaplains were heavily involved in the counseling linked to these major problem areas, but it is of historical note that such broadly based counseling went on while in a combat zone. During World War II and the Korean conflict, counseling on such non-combat-related, essentially pastoral topics was not done on anywhere near the scale that occurred in Vietnam. Undoubtedly the national disturbance over U.S. involvement in Vietnam, the adoption by a highly visible segment of the nation's youth of an anti-establishment outlook, and the presence especially in the later years of the war, of large areas of relative security contributed to the character and extent of counseling required.

The counseling asked of chaplains did not center only on these dramatic areas. The whole range of marriage requests, compassionate and emergency leave, “Dear John” letters, and illness or family turmoil back home were part of the chaplains' counseling day. It could be said that the chaplains of the Vietnam era were challenged to perhaps the broadest, most comprehensive counseling ministry that ever faced them in their history. Some deficiencies in chaplain preparedness for the intense impact of this counseling demand were noted, and the Chaplain Corps leadership, notably in the person of Rear Admiral Francis L. Garrett, who became the 13th Navy Chief of Chaplains on 1 July 1970, moved to satisfy what was lacking in an ambitious post-Vietnam counseling training program for the entire Corps. Chaplain Garrett was intimately acquainted

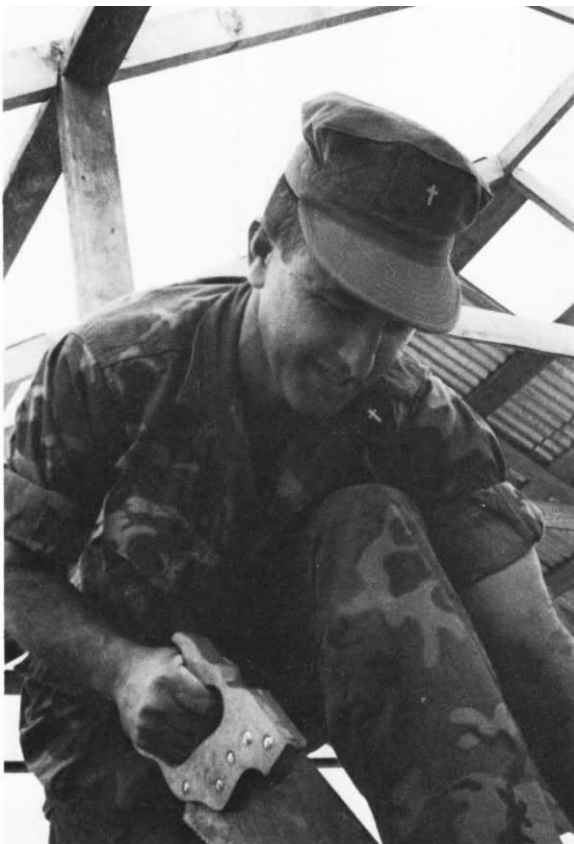
with the demands on chaplains in Vietnam having been the III MAF Staff Chaplain 1965-66 and subsequently involved in the direction of the Corps from the assignment desk in the Chaplains Division of the Bureau of Personnel in Washington.

It was obvious in Vietnam that the chaplain was more than a smooth-talking encourager of combat troops. The counseling done indicates that they and their message were drawn into the very depths of the human makeup and understanding of interpersonal relationships in their attempts to discharge their calling to minister to the confusion and anxiety of the Marines they loved. Commander Richard A. McGonigal (United Presbyterian) articulated this eloquently:

Talk to them when they are half drunk. Hear their remorse about premature fire or when they guessed wrong and their bunkie was blown away. Has there ever been a greater opportunity to think through with them the hard-

*Chaplain Harold M. Roberts, 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, works on a combination chapel and recreation center 20 miles south of Da Nang, March 1969.*

Photo III MAF



rock issues of life and death? of guilt? of forgiveness? These (Marines) are thirsty. They want more than the release of marijuana. And just watch what they do with the religious maturity they have achieved.<sup>34</sup>

### *Chapel Construction*

During his Christmas visit to Vietnam in December 1966, the Navy's Chief of Chaplains, Rear Admiral James W. Kelly, dedicated five new Navy-Marine Corps chapels. His action brought the total number of such houses of worship in the I Corps Tactical Zone at the time to 46, a figure representing the heaviest concentration of military chapels ever constructed in a combat area. Chapel construction by United States Navy and Marine Corps personnel in Vietnam presented a phenomenon unique in the annals of American warfare. It reflected the concerted efforts of the Chaplain Corps to provide complete religious coverage, with weekly opportunity for worship for every sailor, Seabee, and Marine in Vietnam. But it also reflected the desire of the serviceman for the encouragement given to him by the symbols of his faith.

While there appeared to be no change in the essential nature of the American sailor or Marine, such as would be sufficient to distinguish him from personnel of previous wars, and while there appeared to be in Vietnam no basis for suggesting an increase in the already impressive need and appetite for religion among combat personnel, the large number of chapels reflected a higher degree of prominence accorded religion and the work of the chaplain than in previous wars.

The profusion of chapels to a degree reflected the kind of war being fought in Vietnam, in itself most unusual if not unique. No chaplain, in more than 700 narrative reports of in-country Corps activities, suggested that the conflict was in any sense a holy war. Neither did any chaplain suggest that the troops, upon whose pulse he held a steady hand, considered it to be such. However, the fact that the initiative for construction of several I Corps chapels originated among the troops themselves (such as the 1st Battalion, 4th Marines Chapel; 7th Marines CP Chapel; and the 4th Marines CP Chapel), indicated a troop need requiring definition or identification. In Vietnam the young sailor and Marine had a need for spiritual reinforcement, not so much to provide courage to face his commitments or to strengthen his sense of rectitude, but rather to assist him to keep his



Photo 1st MarDiv  
*Men of 1st Reconnaissance Battalion, 1st Marine Division, worship in their own chapel, constructed of native materials in the battalion area at Chu Lai.*

values and motives appropriately coordinated with his physical activity. At night, he may have had to defend himself in a fire fight. In the morning he may have been engaged in a civic action project intended to improve the sanitary conditions or educational facilities of a South Vietnamese hamlet. It was frequently difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish friend from foe. Such a constant shifting of gears from a hostile, life-or-death combat situation to gentle, understanding, constructive pacification, imposed emotional and spiritual demands upon young combat Marines and sailors never experienced to a similar degree in a combat zone before. To the chapel he had helped to construct and to the ministry of his church, he turned for restructuring and clarification of his values, ideals, and motives, and a careful reexamination of his feelings of achievement and frustration, and the inevitable confusion and loneliness of the young man in combat.

Chapels in Vietnam represented more than a symbol of the American sailor and Marine's desire to worship God. They represented a conscious effort on the part of supervisory Chaplain Corps personnel in-country to provide facilities to house the people of God at worship. While chapel facilities would have been hard pressed to seat 10 percent of the secure area population for any one Sunday observance, use of available facilities throughout the morning, afternoon, and evening extended their capability to an acceptable level.

Construction philosophy included three categories: (1) unit chapels, (2) area chapels, and (3) the chapel complex. Unit chapels built and maintained by battalions and similar-sized activities with chaplains attached were in the vast majority in late 1966. Area chapels were centrally located in order to provide worship facilities convenient to personnel of two or more battalion-sized units. The Engineers' 1st Battalion, 3d Marines chapel was the first, and was dedicated by the Chief of Chaplains, Christmas 1965; Amtracs, Tanks, Anti-Tanks, 3d Motor Transport's, "The Chapel of the Supporting Arms" was the second.

The chapel complex, a more sophisticated type of construction was represented by the "Chapel of The Abiding Presence," 1st Marine Division Chapel, prominently established on Chapel Hill in the Da Nang enclave. The "Chapel of the Abiding Presence" was a large chapel of V-type design. The structure was of

*Marines stand near the open doors of the wooden chapel of the 7th Engineer Battalion at Da Nang.*

Department of Defense (USN) Photo 112733



12" x 12" rejected bunker timbers, upright, seven feet apart. A 30" high native stone wall joined the timbers. The upper part of the exterior walls was made of permanent louvers extending up the corrugated tin roofing. The entrance was at the inside of the V. The main chapel seated 250 persons. The building formed a complex accommodating four religious services or four retreat groups at once. It was designed by Chaplain Morton, 3d Division Chaplain in 1966.

The first American military chapel to be dedicated in Vietnam was the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing's, "Wing Memorial Chapel," in the airbase compound in Da Nang. An old French Foreign Legion barracks building was remodeled as a Navy Chapel by Sub Unit 2 of Marine Aircraft Group-16 during Operation Shufly in February and March 1963. Originally named "Shufly Chapel," it remained in constant use, both weekdays and Sundays, from its dedication through the end of the American presence.

In the beginning of the Navy-Marine Corps buildup in Vietnam in March 1965, the first Navy Chaplains in-country provided religious worship services for personnel of their units by taking the worship of the church into the field to platoon- and company-sized units, setting the altar upon empty ammunition cases, the hood of a jeep or mite, or upon carefully stacked sandbags beside a fighting pit. As other units continued to move into the I Corps Tactical Zone, battalions, aircraft groups, and naval units kept apace of the expansion by assuming the initiative to provide their own places of worship.

The first chapels employed were general purpose tents, 16' x 32' in size, with portable altars, and empty cartons and crude benches for seating. The next step in the evolutionary process, which extended over a period of six months, was the move to strongback framing covered with GP tenting. Then followed corrugated tin roofing with wirescreened enclosures and doors. Stars of David and crosses appeared as a matter of course, and impressive church bells were sometimes shipped from the United States by benevolent patrons. As an example, the Engineer Battalion Memorial Chapel bell was donated by Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Kroeze of Muskegon, Michigan.

During the following 15 months as specified areas within combat perimeters were informally declared secure, chapels of permanent construction began to appear in carefully selected, prominent locations. The more sophisticated chapel designs, both more

functional and with more concern for religious symbolism and beauty in worship, tested the designers' talents. Camp Tien Sha's Butler Hut chapel became one of Naval Support Activity Da Nang's permanent structures, as did the Seabee chapels at Camp Shields, Chu Lai, and Holy Trinity Chapel in Phu Bai.

Many of the Navy-Marine Corps chapels in Vietnam were designated as memorials, "Dedicated to the Glory of God and to the Memory of the Gallant Marines and Sailors Killed in Action," read one plaque. Another chapel was named "The Chapel of All Faiths," providing additional evidence of Navy and Marine Corps personnel assuming initiative and leadership in the modern ecumenical movement among American churches. There, Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Eastern Orthodox, Christian Scientist, Latter Day Saints, Seventh Day Adventists, and others shared both the facilities and the schedule of activities.

A northern I Corps chapel was constructed at Dong Ha, eight miles south of the DMZ. An area chapel built to accommodate worshippers of various units moving in and out of Dong Ha, it was conceived and financed by the III MAF and 3d Marine Division chaplains when it appeared in the fall of 1966 that more action would be taking place, and more troops would be employed in Quang Tri province in the months ahead. Dedicated to "Marines and Navy Corpsmen who gave their lives in Operation Hastings and Operation Prairie," Memorial Chapel was dedicated on 22 December 1966 by Chief of Chaplains James W. Kelly. This chapel was dedicated with borrowed pews. The Vietnamese craftsman constructing the pews, himself a former Viet Cong before his conversion to Christianity, was kidnapped by terrorists while delivering the pews.

In the last years of American involvement in Vietnam a new trend in chapel construction was apparent. Considerably less new construction was in evidence. This resulted in part from the move of 3d Marine Division to forward, unsettled, and insecure areas near Phu Bai and Dong Ha, leaving the more sophisticated chapels in the Da Nang enclave to the 1st Marine Division then settling in. But even in the Northern I Corps, while the tortured days of combat were being endured in 1967 and 1968, chapels continued to spring up. At the peak of Marine presence in the area immediately south of the DMZ there were 16 designated chapels standing as symbols of

the importance of faith in the life of the Marine—three were at Quang Tri, five at the Dong Ha combat base, three at Camp Carroll, and one each at Yankee Station, Cam Lo, the Rockpile, Ca Lu, and Cua Viet.

The chapels at Quang Tri included the 3d Marine Division CP, and the 3d Shore Party and 3d Battalion, 12th Marines chapels. At Dong Ha chapels rose at Headquarters, 3d Marine Division; 11th Engineer Battalion; 12th Marines; and 9th Motor Transport Battalion, and included the Marine Memorial Chapel of Dong Ha.

One of the most remarkable chapels in northern I Corps was at Yankee Station, a temporary base near the DMZ. This unique chapel consisted of a large open trench 25' x 45' which was scooped out of the earth to accommodate those who wished to worship in this location so near the DMZ. With the rear of the chapel reaching a depth of approximately 15', the ground floor afforded a level area for seating 60 people with standing room for 25 more. The ground floor rose gradually toward an altar constructed of wood and a cross was placed directly behind it. Seating consisted of bench-like arrangements of sand bags supporting long steel stakes lying crosswise, which, covered with sand bags. There were five double rows of these benches with a long similarly constructed bench running the width of the trench. This chapel was completely open air with sand bags shoring up the top rim of the earthen sides.

Until Camp Carroll was disestablished it boasted the 4th Marines; 1st Battalion, 12th Marines; and 2d Battalion, 9th Marines chapels. The 2d Battalion, 9th Marines chapel was honored by Major General Davis, the division commander, who participated in the dedication during which the chapel was named for Chaplain Robert Brett, formerly of the battalion, who was killed at Khe Sanh on 22 February 1968.

The Cam Lo chapel was occupied by various units, chief among them the 3d Battalion, 4th Marines. The chapel at the Rockpile was built of native construction by the South Vietnamese. The structure was approximately 15 x 18 meters and contained two rooms, one of which had been made into an office and the other a bedroom used by the chaplain and his clerk. Materials consisted of a stone deck and split bamboo interior walls with open sides. The entryway contained a small steeple with a thatched cross. This chapel was started under the auspices of 3d Battalion, 3d Marines with Chaplain Myatt, with

modifications of the office and living quarters designed by successive chaplains. The Rockpile Chapel was dedicated to 1st Lieutenant (name and middle initial) Anderson who was killed while serving with 3d Battalion, 3d Marines in the Ca Lu area.

The Ca Lu Chapel was a well-planned structure. Measuring 20 x 30 meters and placed on a hillside overlooking the Ba Long Valley in a picturesque setting, this building project was worked out with the Montagnards of the Lan Cot Village. Planned similarly to the Rockpile Chapel with two offices at one end of the chapel, the whole structure was constructed on a sloping hillside giving an amphitheater appearance. Seating capacity was planned to accommodate 150 persons. A stone deck and native materials were used to complete the structure. There had been numerous delays in the completion of this chapel because of priority claims on materials and assistance from native workers. Lieutenant Commander Richard D. Black (Presbyterian), who supervised the construction in 1968, commented:

Stones from nearby river banks offer a cheap and readily available source of supply. The decking cleans itself and is particularly good during the monsoon season as the mud and dirt from boots quickly settles as the stones move under foot. The thatch materials will last two years and can either be replaced by native builders or covered with canvas fly tents at a later date. These structures with open sides are the coolest buildings during the hot weather and offer a quick escape route to slit trenches which flank the sides. The Ca Lu Chapel was not as yet dedicated, however a sign was erected by 3d Battalion, 9th Marines as a reminder of the prime moving battalion and in memory of "Those Fallen" of the battalion. All in all this type of construction is approximately one half as expensive as an equivalent "hardback" type building and being natural to the countryside is very fitting to a DMZ outpost.<sup>33</sup>

In many respects, the 1st Amtrac Battalion Chapel dedicated at Cua Viet on 4 September 1968 was the most unusual of all. It had been in the 1st Amtrac CP area and used a burnt-out shell of an amtrac lost in recent action in the Napoleon-Saline Operation. Under the supervision of Lieutenant Lawrence C. McAuliffe (Roman Catholic), the compact chapel was tastefully appointed in what was a very austere setting. Seating not more than 25 people, it provided secure space for worship. It was completely blanketed with sand bags and was marked by a white cross. Brigadier General Frank E. Garretson and the division chaplain were present for the dedication.

In time the Marines left Vietnam and although some chapels were disestablished, many remained as



*Chaplain Frank D. Mintjal celebrates Mass west of Da Nang in February 1971. Worshiping with him are men of the 1st Marines. Chaplain Mintjal was the last Catholic priest to serve in a combat zone with the 1st Marines, the last infantry unit to leave Vietnam.*

sentinels to the American Marine presence. One chaplain writing in April 1970 reflected pointedly:

Although most of our Marine combat troops have been withdrawn from the northernmost province of South Vietnam, south of the Demilitarized Zone, silent chapels stand on a dozen Quang Tri hills to commemorate the faith of thousands who climbed and clawed their way to eternal fame.

I am proud to have served with men like these Marines. They are gone now. They went home, redeployed, or were buried under distant skies. But their faith markers still stand. They stand as a silent tribute to the gallant men of the 3d Marine Division who when ordered, went and gave and, when ordered, departed leaving a little of soul, self, and sacrifice behind. Men somehow build their monuments after their own likeness. Some men are apparently content to be remembered for what they have been able to tear down. But the men of the 3d Marine Division erected the silent chapels.<sup>36</sup>

### *Reflections*

If the reports and letters of chaplains with Marines

in Vietnam are scanned for the topics that occur most universally they reveal the valuable fact that two categories are touched upon by almost all chaplains who spent time in the Vietnam theater of operations. Not surprisingly, they both have to do with personal relationships. The first item referred to by almost all was their relationship with Marines both personally and structurally, and the uniform admiration in which Marines were generally held by chaplains. One chaplain, late in 1971, noted:

I feel honored to have served the men of the First Marines. They are a grand lot. The senior officers (including Captains) are notable for their genuine naturalness, their lack of hypocrisy. The junior officers, by and large, are a group of fantastically talented, thoughtful, person-oriented young men in whom resides the future, the joy, the strength of the Marine Corps—and may CMC discover methods to assure their retention! The enlisted men, on the other hand, are commendably unique for their platoon-size pride, their bullish bluntness and their (usually) unspoken admiration for goodness



wherever found. Command does support the troops' need for Worship, and the troops at platoon level in the field are perhaps as good and receptive a congregation as a chaplain will have anywhere.

Aware of my shortcomings, I am especially grateful to the Commanding Officers and their staffs for their fine support of the chaplaincy. I am always pleased by their good humor, and, most of all, I am enriched by their warm friendship. Would that I could do more to reciprocate.<sup>37</sup>

Another said:

Finally, I cannot close without paying the highest tribute to the greatest group of men ever to stand up and fight for freedom—the United States Marines! It has been my privilege to serve with them both tours in Vietnam. These are the real young people of America. Our country and its future could not be in better hands. I am proud of them. I am proud to have had the opportunity to serve with them. May God bless and protect each of them and bring them all home safely.<sup>38</sup>

It is also not surprising that Marines feel benefited by the contribution and the presence of the chaplain. Although it is manifestly true that not all clergymen in uniform enjoyed where they were when they found themselves in Vietnam, and not all enjoyed being in uniform once they discovered the true scope of a chaplain's task, still most of the newer, non-career-oriented chaplains obviously made the best of the situation and threw themselves in ministry with dedication and purpose. And from the number of commendations received by chaplains it is apparent that the majority strove to excel at their calling to the side of the Marine fighting man. Chaplain Casazza, the 1st Marine Division Chaplain from mid-1966 until July of 1967, quoted a letter written by an executive officer of a regiment about his chaplain:

His conduct under fire was notably courageous and that of a very brave man. On numerous occasions this officer was observed running across exposed paddies and areas to be at the side of a Marine. With no apparent regard for his personal safety, thinking only of the wounded or dead Marine, he carried his inspiration and prayer to those who needed his help. He had the confidence and deep respect of the men and healed the scars which the loss of a friend frequently caused in those who survived. He eliminated bitterness from the hearts and instilled Christian determination and morale to be drawn against in future battle. He encouraged the men of all faiths to do more for their God, our Country, their Corps and themselves.

Few men have seen more combat action than their Chaplain. Invariably he sought out that unit which was most likely to encounter the heaviest contact. He would then go with that unit and continually circulated along the route of march. During breaks, never resting, he moved

among the men. His bravery, his humor, his right word at the right time contributed to the success of the unit.

This man was an inspiration to all who observed and served with him. He was known and loved throughout the Regiment.<sup>39</sup>

The love of the men for their chaplain was usually specific but the love of the chaplain for his men was often more general, categorically. The Assistant Division Chaplain of the 3d Division early in 1965-1966 expressed himself most sensitively on the subject:

No number of movies or stories can properly introduce one to the young Marine who fights here for his country. Take the teenager next door, remove most of the problems caused by teenage sensitivity to status among their peers and that is about as close as one can come to a general picture. I have always felt when I have seen their torn bodies that something more is demanded than the excellent care of the doctors and the corpsmen.

I have felt that a trumpeting of gratitude and praise is called for as a fitting human response. When the chips are down, they are amazingly selfless. I know I think more of me than they do of [themselves].<sup>40</sup>

And Chaplain Lepore of the 3d Battalion, 5th Marines became almost lyrical in his final report:

The "grunt" as he stands in dirty, muddy majesty, is as fine a fighting man as the United States has ever produced. He is young, tough, intelligent. He understands why he is here and he believes in the purposes that put him here. And that is something, because if you take a "grunt" out of his muddy, waterfilled bunker; remove his helmet, his flak jacket, and his field uniform; and take away his rifle, clean him up and dress him in a sport shirt, slacks and loafers, you've got the kid who was playing on last year's high school football team. He is a national asset to be cherished.<sup>41</sup>

The second area of near-universal mention in the reflections of chaplains was their need for, and appreciation of, the comradeship and sense of brotherhood that was evident whenever it was possible to get chaplains together. Time after time chaplains remembered the unity they drew upon during the dark days and the easier times of their Vietnam experience. Perhaps the most enlivening feature of investigating this subject is the way in which it crossed denominational and traditional lines.

The examples of this truth are almost as numerous as are chaplains' communications, but some stand out as especially representative. Chaplain Henry T.

Lavin, Division Chaplain, 3d Marine Division, from October 1966 to October 1967, stated:

As I have written before I have never seen chaplains act with one another the way these men did in Vietnam. What a pleasure it was to see a Southern Baptist's face light up when his Catholic buddy came in from the field or to hear one or another asking someone to "stay in my hootch with me." When any of these men meet again in the States it won't be with a polite handshake but perhaps a close hug, a thumping on the back and cries of "do you remember this or that?" These men have shared something that is difficult to explain but they know how the crucible of war forges strong relationships which shall endure long after their uniforms have been doffed for the last time.<sup>42</sup>

The plaudits also disregarded organizational lines. The Regimental Chaplain, 11th Marines, from August 1969 to August 1970, Chaplain John H. Kaelberer, a Lutheran, had as a constant task the regulation of his artillery battalion chaplains who were in the majority Roman Catholic. These chaplains were assigned to artillery units in part so that they could be available to the more numerous infantry battalions operating in conjunction with an artillery unit. At the end of his tour Chaplain Kaelberer had this to say:

It was a pleasure and a joy to work with and beside the eight charging and dedicated Roman Catholic priests who at one time or another in this past year were assigned to battalions in the 11th Marines. They were: Chaplains Bevins, Conrad, Metznowner, Pilarski, Pierce, Grochowski, Farrow, and Visocky. Their names were like the Notre Dame line and they are just as strong . . . spiritually speaking of course! And just as the infantry battalion chaplains supported the "cannon-cockers," these chaplains helped support the "grunts" in their areas.<sup>43</sup>

By far the most sensitive expressions of the comradeship chaplains felt for chaplains came from those who struggled together with the same circumstances, fears, frustrations, and agonies inevitable in the conflict. One chaplain reported:

Second to nothing else I have learned or experienced over here is the making of new and lasting friendships with the chaplains with whom I have served. It has been a beautiful thing to share the same burdens and frustrations, laugh at the same jokes and happenings, lean on a shoulder when you aren't sure if you can trust your own, gripe to someone who knows and understands what you are griping about. I don't think there can ever be a closeness like this closeness . . . I have been grateful to the point of tears many times for it!<sup>44</sup>

And an infantry battalion chaplain remembered:

I want to thank in a special way those chaplains who made time to plow through the dust and heat and rain of

Vietnam, to accompany me in covering the CAPS, my Battalions, and those troopers in the boondocks who might have done without coverage. Men such as Chaplains Urbano, McMorrow, Ammons, Ryan, Bolles, McDermott, Casazza, Habiby, Seiders, Sims, and Oliver are among the many whose diligence and concern will not be forgotten. And, the "Big One," our Division Chaplain, Monsignor Lavin, he will be remembered by us all in a special way as friend, guider, true priest, and fighting representative for all the chaplains and their best interests and needs. May God bless all the Padres who passed this way, and their assistants, who worked quietly behind the scenes, thereby seeking to enable men out here to receive a continuing ministry to the soul and the whole man.<sup>45</sup>

Chaplain Weaver, who served with the 1st Battalion, 9th Marines early in 1969, summed up by saying, "Ecumenicity is real in Vietnam. I have witnessed a true spirit of ecumenicity here that I never experienced during the first decade of my ministry. In the civilian ministry we talked about ecumenical endeavors. In Vietnam we didn't talk about ecumenicity, we practiced it."<sup>46</sup>

Finally, in their turn, all combat units had been withdrawn by mid-May 1971 and there remained only support units in I Corps. Several chaplains had been sent south to the Saigon area to complete their tours of service in Vietnam, and finally, on the 21st of June 1971 Chaplain Volz of FLC, who had remained extra days to tend the Hoa Khanh Children's Hospital and the Phuoc Thanh Orphanage which he began to build in 1967, and which he loved, boarded his aircraft at Da Nang and the U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps presence with Marines in I Corps was over.

Undoubtedly each chaplain asked himself the same questions: Had he accomplished his calling? Had he been what he should have been and done what he should have done? Chaplain Volz wrote the Chief of Chaplains and expressed himself positively, "During these two tours of duty I feel that I have found some fulfillment of the dream I had when I entered the Chaplain Corps. So, I leave humbly grateful for the opportunities that have been afforded me."<sup>47</sup>

Chaplain Bedingfield, in Quang Tri two years earlier, had written:

Without a doubt to some the chaplain is a rabbit's foot or a walking St. Christopher Medal, to some he is a burden or a symbol of a nonpragmatic approach to life, to others a threat. To most I have found he is what he makes himself be, a man like all others, who laughs and hurts, who bleeds and grits his teeth, whose stomach rumbles for

"C's" or whose throat constricts with a need for water, who prays to drown out his own terror when an 81 coughs its deadly phlegm, who endures damnable frustrations, who gets it all wired together, not because he has all the answers, but because he at least knows how to ask the right questions. I have found for myself that a chaplain can be a valued part of the team called Marines; he has a mission, he has a purpose, he has a place. It is purely, though not simply, a question of how much he is willing to give of himself, where it really is.<sup>48</sup>

Marines had given of themselves, indeed, and chaplains with them, and now it was time to go

home having discharged a most taxing opportunity: ministering to men in time of disturbing war, and through its hell to supply a measure of peace and a glimpse of heaven.

President John F. Kennedy in his Inaugural Address on 20 January 1961 could well have been expressive of Navy chaplain philosophy: "With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love. Asking his blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."



# Notes

## PART I The Drift into Turbulence

### CHAPTER I

#### MINISTERING IN A MINI-WAR APRIL 1962-FEBRUARY 1965

Unless otherwise noted the material in this chapter is derived from: RAdm Withers M. Moore, CHC, USN, Chaplain Corps Historian 1966-1969, original research and preliminary text, "Navy Chaplains in Vietnam 1954-1964" (Washington: Chief of Chaplains, Bureau of Naval Personnel, 1968); RAdm John J. O'Connor, CHC, USN, *A Chaplain Looks at Vietnam* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1968), hereafter O'Connor, *A Chaplain Looks at Vietnam*; Capt Robert H. Whitlow, USMCR, *U.S. Marines in Vietnam, The Advisory and Combat Assistance Era 1954-1964* (Washington: History and Museums Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1977), hereafter, Whitlow, *U.S. Marines in Vietnam*; chaplain letters and end of tour reports cited are located in Chief of Chaplains Historical File, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Washington.

1. LtGen Homer Litzenberg, USMC, quoted by Chaplain John Craven in an article entitled, "Chaplain in the FMF." *Marine Corps Gazette*, Dec66, p. 45.
2. Gen Matthew B. Ridgway, USA, quoted by Major D. D. Nicholson, Jr., in an article entitled, "Their Faith is Yours," *Marine Corps Gazette*, Dec53, p. 16.
3. Adm Chester W. Nimitz, USN, quoted by Major D. D. Nicholson, Jr., *ibid.*, p. 21.
4. Clifford M. Drury, *The History of the Chaplain Corps, United States Navy*, vol. VI, (Washington: GPO, 1960), p. 2.
5. LCdr Ernest S. Lemieux, CHC, USN, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd 6Apr67 with enclosure: "A Brief Account of Subunit 2," p. 2.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
7. Capt Henry E. Austin, CHC, USN, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd 7Apr67.
8. Lemieux, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
10. LCdr Anthony R. Peloquin, CHC, USNR, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd 3Jun67, with enclosure, "MAG-16, 1st MAW, Mar 1962 - December 1962," p. 1.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Whitlow, *U.S. Marines in Vietnam*, p. 70.
14. Lemieux, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
15. Cdr Elihu H. Rickel, CHC, USN, ltrs to CHC Historian, dtd 3 and 20Feb67.

#### Helping "Those Who Want to Be Free"

16. Lt Samuel Baez, CHC, USN, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd

11Apr67 with enclosure: "Resume of Development with Subunit 2, MABS-16, 1st MAW, AirFMF, PAC," p. 1.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

18. Lemieux, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

#### Relocation to Da Nang

19. Baez, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

#### Chaplains' Routines Stabilize

20. Whitlow, *U.S. Marines in Vietnam*, p. 85.
21. LCdr George O. Lindemann, CHC, USNR, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd 24Apr67, with enclosure: "Tulangan Reflections."
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. Lt Hugh D. Smith, CHC, USN, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd 8Mar67.
25. Lt William M. Gibson, CHC, USN, ltr to the Most Reverend Albert R. Zuroweste, dtd 19Oct63. A series of letters written between February and October to Bishop Zuroweste was included in Chaplain Gibson's report to the CHC Historian.
26. Lt John G. Harrison, CHC, USNR, "Chaplain in Vietnam," *Teenways*, 12Dec65.

#### "...To Preserve the Freedom and Independence of South Vietnam"

27. See Chronology, *New York Times*, 28Jan73, p. 25.
28. *Lutheran Chaplain's Newsletter*, Second Quarter 1963, p. 6.
29. Lt John G. Harrison, CHC, USN, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd 2Mar67.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. LCdr Robert V. Thornberry, CHC, USN, ltr to CG 1st MAW, dtd 16Apr65.
33. Lt Robert P. Heim, CHC, USN, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd 21Mar67.
34. JCS msg dtd 12Mar65 (HQMC MSG File).

### CHAPTER 2

#### SUPPORTING AMID CONFUSION MARCH-AUGUST 1965

Unless otherwise noted, the material in this chapter is derived from: RAdm Withers M. Moore, CHC, USN, Chaplains Corps Historian 1966-1969, unpublished original research; Chief of Chaplains' historical files and chaplains' end of tour reports, located in the COC office, Bureau of Naval Personnel,

Washington, D.C.; Jack Shulimson and Maj Charles M. Johnson, USMC, *U.S. Marines in Vietnam: The Landing and the Buildup 1965* (Washington: History and Museums Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1978), hereafter, Shulimson and Johnson, *U.S. Marines in Vietnam, 1965*.

1. Lt Paul L. Toland, CHC, USN, end of tour report (EOTR) dtd Dec65, p. 1

#### The 9th MEB Comes Ashore

2. LCdr Paul H. Running, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 7Mar67, p. 2.  
3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.  
4. Lt C. Albert Vernon, CHC, USN, article in *The Disciple Chaplain*, Oct - Dec 1966, Committee on Military and Veterans Services, Disciples of Christ, p. 10.

#### The III Marine Amphibious Force is Created

5. Lt Paul H. Running, op. cit., p. 3.  
6. Capt Robert "Q" Jones, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 30Mar67.

#### Landing at Phu Bai

7. *Ibid.*, p. 2.  
8. Lt Edward Wilcox, CHC, USNR, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd 2Aug66, p. 2.  
9. Lt Colin E. Supple, CHC, USNR, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd 1Dec67.  
10. *Ibid.*, p. 2.  
11. Lt Leroy E. Muenzler, Jr., CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 15Apr66, p. 2.  
12. *Ibid.*, p. 3.  
13. Lt Paul E. Roswog, CHC, USN, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd 1Mar67.

#### Chu Lai is Born

14. FMFPac CC Phone Conversation, The Naming of Chu Lai, 28Nov67.  
15. LCdr John P. Byrnes, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 1Jul65.  
16. LCdr George S. Thilking, CHC, USN, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd 11Jan68.  
17. Hand-written notes by author during lecture by LtGen V. H. Krulak (Ret.) to USMC Command and Staff College student body, 9Mar78.

#### The Seabees Arrive

18. Lt Edward E. Jayne, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 10Jan66.

#### MAG-12 at Chu Lai

19. Lt Richard A. Long, CHC, USN, memo to Chief of Chaplains, dtd 26Sep66, p. 2.  
20. *Ibid.*, p. 3.  
21. Lt Charles L. Reiter, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 28Feb65, p. 2.

#### Chaplain Organization at Da Nang

22. Division Chaplain, 3d MarDiv, ltr to the Chief of Chaplains,

dtd 7Aug65.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 3.  
24. Jones, op. cit.  
25. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

## PART II The Buildup Accelerates

### CHAPTER 3 GROWING AND RESPONDING JULY 1965-SEPTEMBER 1965

Unless otherwise noted, the material in this chapter is derived from: RAdm Withers M. Moore, CHC, USN, Chaplain Corps Historian 1966-1969, unpublished original research; Chief of Chaplains' historical files and chaplains' end of tour reports, located in the COC office, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Washington; Shulimson and Johnson, *U.S. Marines in Vietnam, 1965*.

1. Lt Ronald C. DeBock, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 12Aug66, p. 3.  
2. *Ibid.*  
3. *Ibid.*  
4. Lt Robert W. Hodges, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Jun66.  
5. Lt(jg) Peter D. MacLean, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 17May66.

#### Civic Action Assumes Greater Importance

6. Lt John F. Walker, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Aug65.  
7. LCdr Paul H. Running, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 7Mar67.

#### Arrivals and Adjustments

8. LCdr George P. Murray, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Feb66.  
9. *Ibid.*, p. 2.  
10. *Ibid.*, p. 4.  
11. Cdr John J. O'Connor, CHC, USN, ltr to COC, dtd 28Jul65.  
12. Lt(jg) Peter D. MacLean, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 17May66.  
12. Cdr Connell J. Maguire, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 17Aug66.  
13. Lt Delbert J. Cory, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 15Aug66.

#### The Arrival of the 1st Marine Aircraft Wing

14. Lt Thomas J. Dillon, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 30Mar66.  
15. Cdr Peter J. Bakker, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 14Mar66.  
16. *Ibid.*, p. 3.  
17. Navy Commendation Medal Citation for LCdr Hugh F. Lecky, CHC, USN.  
18. LCdr Richard M. Tipton, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 29Dec65.  
19. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

#### The Seabees Continue Their Buildup

20. Bakker, op. cit., p. 4.  
21. Cdr Everett B. Nelson, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Mar66.  
22. *Ibid.*, p. 2.  
23. Cdr William F. Hollis, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Jul66.

## CHAPTER 4

LISTENING AND LEARNING  
SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER 1965

Unless otherwise noted, the material in this chapter is derived from: RAdm Withers M. Moore, CHC, USN, Chaplain Corps Historian 1966-1969, unpublished original research; Chief of Chaplains' historical files and chaplains' end of tour reports, located in the COC office, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Washington; Shulimson and Johnson, USMC, *U.S. Marines in Vietnam, 1965*.

1. *Navy Chaplain Bulletin*, Spring66, p. 10.

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2. Lt John J. Glynn, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 1Jun66.
3. Lt Patrick A. Dowd, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 1May66.
4. Lt Philip F. Kahal, CHC, USN, ms: "Comforting the Afflicted," attached to EOTR.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Cdr Peter J. Bakker, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 1Apr66.

## Landing at Qui Nhon

8. Lt Ralph C. Betters, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 1Apr66.
9. Lt Walter A. Hiskett, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 1May66.
10. Ibid.

## New Chaplain Leadership

11. Bakker, op. cit., p. 3.
12. III MAF Order 1730.1, dtd 10Oct65.
13. III MAF Staff Chaplain memo to CG, III MAF dtd 21Oct65.
14. Capt Francis L. Garrett oral briefing to COC, Jan66.
15. Capt Frank R. Morton, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 17Oct66.
16. Lt M. E. Dunks, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 19Nov66.

## Ceremonial Events and Administrative Concerns

17. Lt John J. Scanlon, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 28Aug66.
18. Lt Allen B. Craven, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Nov65.
19. LCdr James E. Seim, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 25Feb67.
20. Cdr Colin J. Maguire, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Sep66.
21. Ibid., p. 2.
22. Lt(jg) Raymond A. Roy, CHC, USN, newsletter included in EOTR, dtd 2Jan67.

## Chaplains for NSA and MCB-8

23. Cdr Martin F. Gibbons, CHC, USN, ltr to Chaplain's Division, n,d, [circa 1966].
24. LCdr Paul H. Lionberger, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 7Feb67.
25. Lt(jg) Robert S. Collins, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Jan68.
26. Lt George F. Tillett, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Nov66.
27. Ibid.

## Christmas Highlights

28. Roy, op. cit., p. 3.
29. Lionberger, op. cit., p. 3.
30. Scanlon, op. cit., p. 4.
31. Lt Delbert J. Cory, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 15Aug66.
32. Bakker, op. cit., p. 5.
33. Morton, op. cit., p. 3.
34. Scanlon, op. cit., p. 3.
35. Maguire, op. cit., p. 3.
36. Glynn, op. cit., p. 4.

## CHAPTER 5

SLOGGING AND SHARING  
JULY 1965-MARCH 1966

Unless otherwise noted, the material in this chapter is derived from: RAdm Withers M. Moore, CHC, USN, Chaplain Corps Historian 1966-1969, unpublished original research; Chief of Chaplains' historical files and chaplains' end of tour reports, located in the COC office, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Washington; Shulimson and Johnson, *U.S. Marines in Vietnam, 1965*.

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2. III MAF Chaplain's memorandum 6-65, dtd 9Aug66.
3. CMC ltr, to Chief of Chaplains dtd 22Apr67.
4. LCdr Murray H. Voth, CHC, USN, interview with Chaplain Corps Historian, 28Nov78.

## With the Wounded or on the Line?

5. Lt Eugene M. Smith, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 7Aug66.
6. *The History of the Chaplain Corps, United States Navy*, (Washington: GPO, 1953), p. iv., vi.
7. Capt Francis L. Garrett, CHC, USN in a speech given at the Chaplains School, Newport, R.I., Jan67, COC tape library.
8. Lt C. Albert Vernon, CHC, USN, memo to the Chaplain Corps Historian, dtd 11Apr67 (ser 547).
9. Lt Allen B. Craven CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Nov65, p. 2.

## Combat Activity at Chu Lai

10. Lt Gerard W. Taylor, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 15Nov66, p. 1.
11. Lt John T. McNamara, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 28Sep66, p. 1.
12. Lt John J. Glynn, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 1Jun66, p. 3.
13. Lt George S. Goad, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 21Oct66, p. 3.
14. Lt Walter A. Hiskett, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd, 1Jun66, p. 2.

## Chaplain Participation in Major Operations

15. LCdr Nilus W. Hubble, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Dec66, p. 1.
16. Lt Patrick A. Dowd, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd May66, p. 3.
17. Lt Henry K. Loeffler, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Aug66.
18. Lt Edwin V. Bohula, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 27Feb67, p. 3.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.

22. Hiskett, op.cit., p. 4.
23. Bohula, op. cit., p. 5.
24. LCdr Leonard L. Ahrnsbrak, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Mar67.
25. Ibid., p. 2.
26. LCdr Robert C. Franklin, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Mar67.
27. Lt Roger K. Hansen, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 15Mar67, p. 2.

#### Adaptability and Patience

28. LCdr Nilus W. Hubble, CHC, USN, op. cit., enclosure 1, p. 1.
29. Ibid., p. 4.

## CHAPTER 6

### CALMING AND COMFORTING JANUARY-JUNE 1966

Unless otherwise noted, the material in this chapter is derived from: RAdm Withers M. Moore, CHC, USN, Chaplain Corps Historian 1966-1969, unpublished original research; Chief of Chaplains' historical files and chaplains' end of tour reports, located in the COC office, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Washington, hereafter Moore research files; CHC Historians files; Shulimson and Johnson, *U.S. Marines in Vietnam 1965*.

1. "The Chopper Chaplains," *Time*, 11Feb66, p. 68.
2. *The History of the Chaplain Corps* (Washington: Government Printing Office 1960), vol. VI, p. 211.

#### Combat Action in Early 1966

3. Lt George R. Witt, EOTR, dtd 1Mar66, p. 3.
4. Cdr Jonathan C. Brown, Jr., EOTR, dtd 15Jan66, p. 2.
5. Lt John J. Scanlon, EOTR, dtd 15May65, p. 3.
6. Ibid., p. 4-5.
7. Ibid., p. 6.

#### Administrative Adjustments

8. Lt Robert F. Wood, EOTR, dtd Feb66, p. 2.
9. Lt Robert Reiner, EOTR, dtd Sep65, p. 1.
10. LCdr Paul H. Lionberger, EOTR, dtd Dec65, p. 3.
11. Capt Francis L. Garrett, interview with CHC Historian, dtd 28Mar69.
12. Ibid.
13. Capt Frank R. Morton, turnover narrative, dtd Oct66.

#### 1st Marine Division Arrives at Chu Lai

14. Capt John G. Wissing, ltr to FMFPAC Force Chaplain, dtd 25May66, p. 3.
15. Ibid., p. 5.
16. Capt John G. Wissing, ltr to the Chief of Chaplains, dtd 4Jun66, p. 2.
17. Cdr John T. Goad, EOTR, dtd 30May65, p. 1.
18. Ibid., p. 2.

#### 1st Marine Aircraft Wing Chaplains, January-April 1966

19. Cdr Peter J. Bakker, EOTR, dtd Mar65, p. 5.

20. LCdr Willard W. Bartlett, EOTR, dtd Apr65, p. 2.
21. Ibid., p. 3.

#### The Buddhist Revolt

22. LCdr Herman F. Wendler, EOTR, dtd Feb66, p. 1.
23. Capt Francis L. Garrett, interview with CHC Historian, dtd 1May69.
24. Ibid.
25. Cdr James A. Powell, EOTR, dtd May66, p. 2.
26. Chief of Chaplains memo to Chief of Naval Personnel, dtd 21Jun66.

#### Easter and Passover in I Corps

27. Lt Max E. Dunks, EOTR, dtd Oct65.
28. LCdr Willard W. Bartlett, EOTR, dtd, p. 4.
29. Capt Francis L. Garrett, ltr to FMFPac Force Chaplain, dtd 2Jun66, p. 2.
30. Ibid., p. 3.
31. Lt Robert L. Reiner, EOTR, dtd Sep65, p. 1.
32. Ibid., p. 3.
33. Ibid., p. 24.
34. Ibid., p. 5.
35. Ibid.

## PART III The Conflict Broadens

### CHAPTER 7

#### TEACHING AND PREACHING JUNE-SEPTEMBER 1966

Unless otherwise noted, the material in this chapter is taken from extant files of the Chaplain Corps Planning Group; Personal Response turnover file; following professional papers by LCdr W. Warren Newman, CHC, USN: "The Socio-psychological Situation in South Vietnam"; "The Winning Equation"; "New Dimensions in the Use of the Critical Incident Technique in Cross-Cultural Interaction Training"; "Personal Response Project: A Communications Perspective"; and chaplains' end of tour reports.

#### Hearts and Minds: The Personal Response Project

1. LtGen V. H. Krulak, Commanding General, FMFPac, ltr, dtd 23Mar66, COC Hist File, "Personal Response."
2. Ltr to LtGen Victor H. Krulak, CG, FMFPac to COC, dtd 15Apr65.
3. CGFMFPac ltr to commanding generals under his command, dtd 30Jun66.
4. Capt John H. Craven in Force Chaplains' Newsletter, FMFPac, Dec66, p. 1.
5. Author's notes of interview with Capt Edward H. Hemphill, CHC, USN, (Ret).
6. Chaplain Corps Planning Group, background information the Personal Response Project (COC Hist Files), p. 2.
7. Ibid., p. 3.



**Meeting the Needs of Worship**

8. Lt Thomas J. McDermott, USN, EOTR, dtd 12May67, p. 1.
9. Ibid., p. 3.
10. Lt John T. Collins, CHC USN, EOTR, dtd 17May67, p. 2.
11. Ibid.
12. Cdr Paul H. Lionberger, CHC USN, EOTR, dtd Dec66, p. 2.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Lt John J. Scanlon, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 15May66, p. 4.
16. Lt Delbert J. Cory, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 25Aug66, p. 2.
17. LtCdr Earnest Lemieux, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 28Sep67, p. 3.
18. Capt John Wissing, CHC, USN, ltr to COC, dtd 22Aug66.
19. Capt David J. Casazza, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 1Sep67, p. 1.
20. Lt Edward R. Toner, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 1Sep67, p. 1.
21. LCdr Richard E. Barcus, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Mar67, p. 2.
22. Capt Paul R. Hammerl, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 4Apr67, p. 3.
23. Lt Cecil R. Threadgill, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 15May67, p. 1.
24. Lt David B. Saltzman, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd 15Sep67, p. 4.
25. Ibid.
26. Lt John F. Weaver, CHC, USN, EOTR, dtd Mar67, p. 1.

**CHAPTER 8****RISKING AND REACHING  
JUNE-DECEMBER 1966**

Unless otherwise noted, the material in this chapter is derived from Chief of Chaplains' historical files and EOTR, located in the COC Historical Reference Files, COC Office, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Washington, D.C.; Jack Shulimson, "U. S. Marines in Vietnam, An Expanding War, 1966," (ms, History and Museums Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1978), hereafter, Shulimson, "U. S. Marines in Vietnam 1966".

1. Cdr James A. Powell, EOTR, dtd 9May67, p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. 4.
3. Lt Delbert J. Cory, EOTR, dtd 25Aug66, p. 3.

**Operation Prairie**

4. Lt William C. L. Asher, EOTR, dtd 19Jun67, p. 1.
5. Lt George R. Witt, EOTR, dtd 14Apr67, p. 3.
6. Ibid.
7. Lt Robert S. Collins, EOTR, dtd 17May67, p. 2.
8. LCdr Floyd E. Sims, EOTR, dtd 30Jun67, p. 1.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 3.
11. Lt Stanley J. Beach, tape recording sent to COC, 20Oct66.
12. Capt Francis L. Garrett, official report to COC, dtd 30Oct66.
13. Capt John H. Craven, FMFPAC Force Chaplains Newsletter, 1Dec66.
14. Ibid.

**Arrivals: New and Old**

15. Lt Lisle E. Stewart, EOTR, dtd 20Aug67, p. 2.

16. Ibid.
17. Cdr Connell J. Maguire, EOTR, dtd 15Aug66, p. 4.
18. Ibid.
19. LCdr Michael A. Ondo, EOTR, dtd 30Jun67, p. 4.
20. Ibid., p. 5.
21. Lt Robert M. Radasky, EOTR, dtd 22Aug66, p. 2.
22. Ibid., p. 3.
23. Lt Robert S. Collins, EOTR, dtd 17May67, p. 1.

**More Growing Pains**

24. Lt Ronald L. Hedwall, EOTR, dtd 15May67, p. 1.
25. Lt James E. Ammons, EOTR, dtd 15Sep67, p. 2.
26. Ibid., p. 3.
27. LCdr Eugene B. Davis, EOTR, dtd 13Sep67, p. 1.
28. Capt Henry T. Lavin, EOTR, dtd 28Sep67, p. 1.
29. Capt Frank R. Morton, Division Chaplain's Final Report, dtd Sep66, p. 4.
30. LCdr Leonard L. Ahrnsbrak, EOTR, 30Dec66, p. 3.
31. Lt Roger K. Hansen, EOTR, dtd Feb67, p. 2.

**1st Marine Division Chaplains**

32. Lt Robert R. Cunningham, EOTR, dtd 31Aug67, p. 1.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., p. 3.
35. Ibid., p. 4.
36. Lt Robert M. Weeks, EOTR, 28Sep67, p. 2.
37. Ibid., p. 4.
38. Lt Roy A. Baxter, EOTR, dtd 25Mar67, p. 3.
39. Ibid., p. 4.
40. LCdr Earnest S. Lemieux, EOTR, dtd 30Jul67, p. 3.
41. Ibid., p. 4.
42. Lt Dean H. Pedersen, EOTR, dtd 17Sep67, p. 1.
43. Lt Conon J. Meehan, EOTR, dtd 30Sept67, p. 3.

**Seabees Chaplains in I Corps, October-December 1966**

44. LCdr Robert E. Blade, EOTR, dtd 12Nov67, p. 2.
45. Lt R. Blant Ferguson, EOTR, dtd 21Apr67, p. 1.

**Christmas 1966**

46. LtGen Lewis W. Walt, USMC, ltr to COC, dtd 6Aug66.
47. Lt Meehan, op. cit., p. 4.

**PART IV****The Heights and the Depths****CHAPTER 9****ENCOURAGING AND GIVING  
JANUARY-DECEMBER 1967**

Unless otherwise noted, the material in this chapter is derived from Chief of Chaplains' historical files and EOTRs, located in the COC Historical Reference Files, COC office, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Washington, D.C.

1. DOD, *Selected Manpower Statistics*, FY 1980 (Washington,

- 1981), lists 4,267 Marines killed in hostile action in Korea and 23,744 wounded.
2. By mid 1972, 12,926 Marines had been killed, another 88,542 Marines wounded, compared to 19,733 Marines killed and 67,207 wounded in World War II.
3. For chronologies and statistics see *New York Times*, 28Jan73, p. 25; *Time*, 6Nov72, pp. 22-29.
4. *New York Times*, 28Jan73, p. 25.
5. "End of Vietnam War in Sight," *U.S. News & World Report*, 11Sep67, pp. 44-45.

#### Combat Ministry—Early 1967

6. Capt Henry T. Lavin, ltr to COC, dtd 12May67.
7. Ibid.
8. Lt Francis K. Urbano, EOTR, dtd 12Mar68, p. 1.
9. Lavin, op. cit.
10. Lt John J. Wilson, EOTR, dtd 1Feb68, p. 1.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 2.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Lt Conon J. Meehan, EOTR, dtd 24Oct67, p. 2.
16. Lt Clark J. Tea, EOTR, dtd 12Dec68, p. 1.
17. Ibid., p. 2.
18. Lt Lester L. Westling, EOTR, dtd 1Nov67, p. 1.
19. Ibid., p. 3.

#### The Chaplain Civic Action Program

20. Capt Francis L. Garrett memo to CG III MAF, dtd 21Oct65.
21. 3d MarDiv Chaplain Quarterly Narrative Report of Chaplains' Activities, 1Jan - 31Mar67, dtd 5Apr67, Section VI, p. 2.
22. Capt Francis L. Garrett, ltr to COC, dtd 20Jul66.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. News Release, "Methodist Information," dtd 9Mar67.

#### Easter

26. Capt E. Vaughn Lyons, informal report to COC, dtd 3May67.

#### Summer Combat

27. Cdr Joseph E. Ryan, ltr to COC, dtd 6Jul67.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Mrs. Edna M. Hawkins, ltr to LtGen Lewis W. Walt, dtd 15Aug67. See also *Leatherneck*, Aug67, p. 65.
31. LCdr Preston C. Oliver, ltr to CHC Historian, dtd 8Aug67.
32. Ibid.
33. Lt John L. Seibert, ltr to COC, dtd 4Oct67.
34. Ibid.
35. Lt Lester L. Westling, Jr., EOTR, dtd 1Nov67, p. 3.

#### "Greater Love Hath No Man..."

36. Chaplain, 3d MarDiv, memo to Force Chaplain, FMFPAC, dtd 5Sept67.
37. Lt Conon J. Meehan, EOTR, dtd 24Oct67, p. 1.

38. Accounts of the action are based upon the proposed citation for the Medal of Honor, eyewitness reports of the action, and a report forwarded by Chaplain Capodanno's immediate relief, Chaplain Kelly.

39. Cdr Carl A. Auel, quoted from an article in the *Chaplain Corps Bulletin*, Aug70.
40. Capt David Casazza, memorial remarks at the dedication of the Capodanno Memorial Chapel.
41. COC News Release No. MGP-3 69.
42. LCdr Eli Takesian, EOTR, n.d., p. 2.

#### I Corps Pacification Efforts

43. COC news release, "Our Man in Vietnam", dtd 14Mar67, p. 3.

#### Changes and Administration

44. Capt Robert C. Fenning, EOTR, dtd 1Nov68, p. 1.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Capt Robert C. Fenning, ltr to Force Chaplain, FMFPAC, dtd 22Dec67, p. 2.
48. Capt Robert C. Fenning, Sermon at Memorial Service for MajGen Bruno A. Hochmuth, copy included in EOTR, dtd 1Nov68.
49. Capt David Casazza, EOTR, dtd 16Sep67, p. 2.
50. Lt James D. Pfannenstiel, ltr to COC Historian, dtd 27Dec78.
51. Ibid.

## CHAPTER 10

### AGONIZING AND REASONING JANUARY-DECEMBER 1968

Unless otherwise noted, the material in this chapter is derived from Chief of Chaplains' historical files and EOTR located in the COC historical files, COC office, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Washington, D.C.

1. *U.S. Marines in Vietnam 1954-1973. An Anthology and Annotated Bibliography*, (Washington: History & Museums Division, Headquarters U.S. Marine Corps, 1974), p. 93.
2. COC Ecclesiastical Public Affairs News Releases 5727/458, 5727/456, dtd 26Feb68.
3. Force Chaplain, III MAF memo 5050/1, dtd 5Feb68.
4. COC Ecclesiastical Public Affairs News Release 5727/466, dtd 10Jan68.
5. Ibid., p. 2.

#### Ministry Along the DMZ

6. Lt James H. Rutherford, EOTR, n.d., p. 2.
7. Ibid.
8. LCdr John W. McElroy, EOTR, n.d., pp. 1 and 2.
9. Capt John E. Zoller, EOTR, n.d., p. 2.
10. LCdr John F. Sibert II, EOTR, n.d., p. 2.
11. Ibid.

#### The Tet Offensive

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13. *Marines in Vietnam 1954-1973*, op. cit. p. 292.

14. Lt John J. LePore, EOTR, dtd 25May68, p. 2.
15. Lt Bobby W. Myatt, EOTR, dtd 3Oct69.
16. *Washington Post*, 21Feb68, p. 22.
17. Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, *The United States Army Chaplaincy, 1945-1975*, 5 Vols. (Washington, 1977), Vol 5, p. 157.
18. Cdr Carl A. Auel, report to COC, dtd 1Mar68, p. 2.
19. Ibid. p. 3.

#### The Siege of Khe Sanh

20. Lt Ray H. Stubbe, ltr to Mr. Royston L. Jones with copy to COC, dtd 8Apr68, p. 2.
21. Lt Ray W. Stubbe, narrative supplied to Chaplain Corps Historian, dtd 7Feb68.
22. Lt William R. Hampton, "In the 20th Century Catacombs," *The Lutheran Standard*, 30Apr68.
23. Account taken largely from Capt John E. Zoller, COC, USN, ltr to COC, dtd 9Dec68.
24. Seibert, op. cit., p. 2.
25. Rutherford, op. cit., p. 4.
26. Capt John E. Zoller, ltr to COC, dtd 10Oct68.
27. Ibid., p. 3.

#### The 27th Marines

28. Lt Michael P. O'Neil, EOTR, n.d., p. 1.
29. LCdr Merrill C. Leonard, EOTR, n.d., p. 1.
30. Ibid. p. 2.
31. Lt Michael P. O'Neil, EOTR, n.d., p. 3.
32. Ibid.
33. Lt Merlin E. Huebschman, EOTR, n.d., p. 2.

#### The Ministry of Mercy

34. Leatherneck Association, *Ambassadors in Green* (Washington, 1971), p. 143.
35. "Chaplain stays on for needy cause," *The Observer*, (Command Information Division, Office of Information, MACV) 24Apr68, p. 9
36. U.S. Navy Chaplains Division Ecclesiastical Public Affairs News Release Ser. No. 5720/655, dtd 7Jan70, p. 5.
37. Ibid. p. 6.

#### The 3d Marine Division Memorial Children's Hospital

38. Zoller, op. cit., p. 6.
39. World Relief Commission Press Release, "Marine Tradition Lives on at Hoa Khanh," dtd 1May72.

#### Ministry Grows at the Force Logistic Command

40. Cdr Beryl C. Burr, EOTR, dtd 1Apr68, p. 5.

#### Dealing with Debate

41. COC Press Release: "Should We Be There?," COC Files No. 5727/613, dtd 7Jan69, p. 2.
42. Ibid., p. 4.
43. Lt Galen H. Myer, EOTR, dtd 20Dec68, p. 1.
44. CMC, ltr to COC, dtd 19Oct68.

## CHAPTER 11

### SWEATING AND PRAYING (1969-1972)

Unless otherwise noted, the material in this chapter is derived from Chief of Chaplains' historical files and EOTR located in the COC Historical Reference Files, COC Office, Bureau of Naval Personnel, Washington, D.C.

#### Activity in the Field

1. Capt John E. Zoller, ltr to COC, dtd 2Mar69, p. 2.
2. Ibid., p. 3
3. LCdr David E. Brock, quoted by Captain John E. Zoller, ltr to COC, dtd 10May69, p. 2.
4. *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, dtd 27Feb69, p. 1.
5. Capt John E. Zoller, ltr to COC, dtd 2Mar69, p. 5.
6. COC Ecclesiastical News Release No. 5720/658, dtd 7Jan79, p. 13.
7. Lt Bryant R. Nobles, EOTR, dtd 1Sep70, p. 1.
8. Ibid., p. 2.
9. Ibid., p. 3.

#### Redeployment Begins

10. Lt Bernard J. Grochowski, EOTR, n.d., p. 1.

#### Personal Response Continuity

11. Cdr Neil M. Stevenson, EOTR, dtd 30Jul69, p. 2.
12. Ibid.
13. Cdr John T. Beck, ltr to COC, dtd 7Mar71.
14. LCdr Earnest S. Lemieux, EOTR, dtd 1Jul67.
15. Cdr John T. Beck, CHC, USN, ltr to COC, dtd 2Feb71.

#### Civic Action and the CAP Ministry

16. Figures from Department of Navy Civic Action News Release, dtd 7Jan70.
17. Capt Eugene S. Swanson, Report to FMFPac Staff Chaplain, printed in Mar70 issue of Force Chaplains Newsletter.
18. Cdr Richard E. Bareiss, EOTR, n.d., p. 2.
19. Lt Frank C. Cleveland, rpt to FMFPac Staff Chaplain, dtd 26May70, p. 2.
20. Ibid., p. 2.
21. LCdr Dewey V. Page, EOTR, dtd 1Mar70, p. 3.
22. Ibid., p. 4.
23. Cleveland, op. cit., p. 7.
24. Ibid., p. 4.

#### New Concerns in Counseling

25. Capt John E. Zoller, EOTR, dtd 1Oct69, p. 6.
26. Ibid.
27. Lt Peter J. Cary, EOTR, dtd 1Nov79, p. 3.
28. LCdr John H. Kaelberer, EOTR, dtd 1Aug70, p. 1.

29. Lt William E. Bray, EOTR, dtd 1 Nov69, p. 3.
30. LCdr James G. Goode, EOTR, dtd 15Nov69.
31. Ibid.
32. Lt Peter J. Cary, op. cit., p. 4.
33. Capt John E. Zoller, EOTR, dtd 1Oct69, p. 7.
34. Cdr Richard A. McGonigal, EOTR, dtd 1Mar67, p. 6.

#### Chapel Construction

35. LCdr Richard D. Black, rpt to Division Chaplain, quoted in 3d Marine Division Chaplain Report on 3d Marine Division chapels attached to EOTR, dtd 1Oct68.
36. LCdr Ronald G. DeBock, quoted for *The Link*, p. 7.

#### Reflections

37. Lt Frank D. Minjal, EOTR, dtd Apr71, p. 4.
38. Lt Frank C. Jordan, EOTR, dtd 1Jan67, p. 4.
39. Capt David J. Casazza, EOTR, dtd Jun67, p. 7.
40. Cdr Connell J. Maguire, EOTR, dtd 1Sep66, p. 5.
41. Lt John J. Lepore, EOTR, dtd 25May68, p. 2.
42. Capt Henry T. Lavin, EOTR, dtd Oct67, p. 2.
43. LCdr John H. Kaelberer, EOTR, dtd Aug70, p. 2.
44. LCdr William Childers, EOTR, dtd Sept65, p. 2.
45. LCdr Eugene B. Davis, EOTR, n.d., p. 3.
46. Lt William D. Weaver, EOTR, dtd May69, p.3.
47. LCdr Anthony C. Volz, ltr to COC, dtd 10Jun71.
48. LCdr Robert W. Bedingfield, EOTR, dtd 20Jun69, p. 3.

## Appendix A

# Religious Denomination Short Titles Chaplains Corps, United States Navy

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AME	African Methodist Episcopal Church
AMEZ	African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
ABA	American Baptist Association
ABC	American Baptist Churches
AG	Assemblies of God
ARP	Associated Reformed Presbyterian Church
AGC	Associated Gospel Churches
BBF	Baptist Bible Fellowship
BGC	Baptist General Conference
BMAA	Baptist Missionary Association of America
BRETH	Brethren
CBC	Central Bible Church
CMA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
DC	Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)
CHCCC	Christian Churches and Churches of Christ
CME	Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
CR	Christian Reformed Church
CS	Christian Science
CC	Churches of Christ
CCCU	Churches of Christ in Christian Union
CGAI	Church of God (Anderson, Indiana)
CGCT	Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee)
CGGC	Church of God General Conference
CGIC	Church of God In Christ
CGP	Church of God of Prophecy
LDS	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints
LDSR	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints Reorganized
N	Church of the Nazarene
CUBC	Church of the United Brethren in Christ
CB	Conservative Baptist Association of America
CCCC	Conservative Congregational Christian Conference
ECCA	Evangelical Covenant Church in America
ECC	Evangelical Congregational Church
EFCA	Evangelical Free Church in America
FM	Free Methodist Church of North America
FWBAPT	Free Will Baptist
GAGB	General Association of General Baptists
GARB	General Association of Regular Baptist Churches
IFCA	Independent Fundamental Churches of America
ICFG	International Church of Foursquare Gospel
J	Jewish

KYMF	Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends
LCC	Liberal Catholic Church
LCA	Lutheran Church of America
LMS	Lutheran, Missouri Synod
ALC	Lutheran, American
AELC	Lutheran, Association of Evangelical
MISS	The Missionary Church
M	Moravian Church
NACCC	National Association of Congregational Christian Churches
NBCUS	National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.
NBCA	National Baptist Convention of America
NFBC	National Fellowship of Grace Brethren Churches
OBSC	Open Bible Standard Church
OCA	Orthodox Church of America
ORTH	Orthodox, Greek
ORTH	Orthodox, Russian
OP	Orthodox Presbyterian
PCG	Pentecostal Church
PE	Protestant Episcopal
PH	Pentecostal Holiness Church
PB	Plymouth Brethren
PCA	Presbyterian Church of America
PUS	Presbyterian in the U.S.
UP	Presbyterian, United, USA
CP	Presbyterian, Cumberland
RPES	Presbyterian, Reformed (Evangelical Synod)
PM	Primitive Methodist
PNBC	Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.
RCA	Reformed Church in America
RC	Roman Catholic
SA	Salvation Army
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
SB	Southern Baptist
UCC	United Church of Christ
UM	United Methodist
UU	Unitarian Universalist
W	Wesleyan Church

## Appendix B

# Navy Chaplains In Vietnam, 1962-1972

The names, ranks, denominations, dates, and units were derived from materials available in the historical files of the Chief of Chaplains' office, supplemented by the comments of reviewers and other knowledgeable personnel, and represent the best information available to the author and editors.

Name and Rank	Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
<b>1962</b>			
LCdr S. Baez	UP	Jul62	MAG-16
<b>1964</b>			
Lt T.W. Kelly	RC	Jan64	MAG-16
Lt E.E. Jayne	UM	May64	MCB-3
LCdr J.C. Haney	M	Jun64	MCB-4
Lt F.M. Gothard	M	64-66	MCB-1
Lt R.D. Heim	UP	Sep64	Sub Unit 2
Cdr H.W. Holland	SB	Oct64	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt W.A. Stewart	SB	Oct64	1st MarDiv
Lt P.L. Toland	RC	Dec64	MAG-16
<b>1965</b>			
LCdr R.A. Long	RC	Jan65	MAG-12
LCdr H.F. Lecky, Jr.	L	Jan65	MAG-16, IIIMAB
LCdr R.M. Tipton	SB	Feb65	MWSG-17
LCdr J. P. Byrnes	RC	Mar65	2nd Bn, 4th Mar
LCdr W. P. Lane	SB	Mar65	1st Bn, 4th Mar
Cdr P.J. Bakker	AB	Mar65	1st MAW Chaplain
Lt J.F. Walker	PE	Mar65	3d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt P.H. Running	L	Mar65	1st Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt T.O. Dillon	RC	Apr65	MAG-11
Cdr J.J. O'Connor	RC	Apr65	3d MarDiv Chaplain
Lt A.B. Craven	SB	Apr65	12th Mar
LCdr C.A. Vernon	DC	Apr65	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt E.V. Bohula	RC	Apr65	2d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt L.E. Muenzler	CP	Apr65	3d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt C.L. Reiter	UM	May65	MAG-12
Lt W.A. Hiskett	L	May65	2d Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr J.T. Goad	SB	May65	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt R.C. Betters	UP	May65	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt E.M. Smith	PUS	May65	3d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr J.E. Seim	L	May65	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt P.F. Kahal	UCC	May65	3d Med Bn
Lt P.E. Roswog	RC	May65	3d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv

Name and Rank	Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
Lt G.M. Sheldon	E	May65	MCB-10
LCdr H.F. Lecky, Jr.	L	Jun65	MAG-10
LCdr R.R. Smith	UM	Jun65	MAG-13
Lt L.M. Malliett	N	Jun65	11th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt R.C. Franklin	RC	Jun65	3d FSR
Lt R.C. Betters	UP	Jun65	3d Bn, 7th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.J. Glynn	RC	Jun65	2d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.G. DeBock	AG	Jun65	3d MedBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt W.M. Gibson	RC	Jun65	3d MedBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.W. Hodges	CS	Jun65	1st Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.J. Usenza	RC	Jun65	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt P.J. Dowd	RC	Jul65	2d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt P.D. Maclean	PE	Jul65	3d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr R.E. Earnest	CGAI	Jul65	9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.C. Osborn	UM	Jul65	9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt A.D. Seeland	UM	Jul65	FLSG, 3d MarDiv
Lt H.K. Loeffler	L	Jul65	3d Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt G.R. McHorse	SB	Jul65	3d Bn, 4th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt T.A. Saygers	M	Jul65	MCB-11
Capt J.L. Wissing	RC	Aug65	3d MarDiv Chaplain
LCdr A.W. Ekkens	UP	Aug65	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr D.C. Hinderer	SB	Aug65	1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Cdr C.J. Maguire	RC	Aug65	1st MarDiv Chaplain
Cdr H.S. Karras	GO	Aug65	AsstDv Chaplain
LCdr C.C. Kary	AB	Aug65	3d MedBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt G.S. Cook	RCA	Aug65	1st Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt E.W. Epps	AB	Aug65	3d MedBn, 3d marDiv
Lt D.J. Cory	LDSR	Aug65	1st Bn, 1st Mar, 3d marDiv
Lt J.J. Scanlon	RC	Aug65	1st Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt G.R. McHorse	SB	Aug65	3d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt E.H. Campbell	SB	Aug65	1st Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.R. McNamara	RC	Aug65	1st Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt S.L. Brandt	L	Aug65	Admin Asst Chaplain
Lt H.K. Loeffler	L	Aug65	3d Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt L.M. Malliet	N	Aug65	11th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt W.A. Stewart	SB	Aug65	1st SerBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt T.B. Handley	L	Aug65	3d Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt D.J. Cory	RLDS	Aug65	1st Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Capt R.Q. Jones	BAP	Aug65	Force Chaplain, III MAF
Cdr R. Mole	SDA	Aug65	Personal Response III MAF
Lt R. Radasky	RO	Aug65	H&S Co, III MAF
Lt R. Reiner	J	Sep65	H&S Co, III MAF
LCdr M.W. Howard	SB	Sep65	MAG-36
LCdr G.W. Taylor	RC	Sep65	MAG-12
Lt(jg) G.T. Richards	SB	Sep65	MWHG-1
Lt(jg) J.R. Daly	RC	Sep65	MAG-36
Lt T.G. Ward	PE	Oct65	MWHG-1



Name and Rank	Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
LCdr D.L. Meschke	IFCA	Oct65	9th MAB
Lt(jg) M.E. Dunks	SB	Oct65	1st AmTracBn, 3d MarDiv
Capt F.R. Morton	L	Oct65	3d MarDiv Chaplain
Cdr M. Goodwin	SDA	Oct65	SerBn, 3d MarDiv
Capt F.L. Garrett	UM	Oct65	Force Chaplain III MAF
Lt R.A. Flanagan	RC	Oct65	1st ReconBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt B.E. Kane	RC	Oct65	1st MedBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt W.J. Blank	RC	Oct65	1stTankBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt R.C. Swierenga	CR	Nov65	3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr N.W. Hubble	RC	Nov65	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt(jg) D.T. McGrogan	RC	Nov65	MAG-16
Lt G.F. Tillett	UCC	Dec65	MCB-8
Lt(jg) R.A. Roy	RC	Dec65	5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr O.E. Kimzler	M	Dec65	12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr P.H. Lionberger	L	Dec65	3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt L.L. Ahrnsbrak	AG	Dec65	B, MedBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.J. Glynn	RC	Dec65	C, MedBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.A. Roy	SB	Dec65	3d Bn, 1st Mar, 3d MarDiv

## 1966

Lt R.S. Collins	L	Jan66	MCB-11
Cdr J.C. Brown	SB	Jan66	3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr T.A. Kenny	RC	Jan66	9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LT(jg) R.W. Fullilove	SB	Jan66	HMM-163
Lt P.W. Pearson	UMC	Jan66	2d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt R.G. Hunkins	RC	Feb66	MCB-3
Lt D. Bowes	AB	Feb66	MCB-6
Lt R.K. Hansen	L	Feb66	2d Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.W. McCarthy	AGC	Feb66	3d Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.F. Wood	LDS	Feb66	3d Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr H.C. Christmann	AG	Feb66	MAG-16
LT(jg) K.B. Abel	UP	Feb66	MAG-12
LT(jg) J.F. Weaver	L	Feb66	MAG-17
LT(jg) R.T. McCue	RC	Feb66	MAG-12
LT(jg) K.A. Mitchell	RC	Feb66	MAG-12
LCdr J.A. Baxter	UP	Feb66	3d AmTracBn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr R.A. Baxter	SB	Feb66	1st MT Bn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr R.E. Barcus	AB	Feb66	1st Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr E.B. Ferguson	CP	Mar66	MCB-5
Lt D.C. Hathaway	N	Mar66	1st Med Bn, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.E. Shannon	UP	Mar66	MCB-40
LCdr R.E. Blade	UP	Mar66	MCB-53
Lt T.F. Johnson	UP	Mar66	MCB-7
Lt B.E. Kane	RC	Mar66	2d Bn, 5th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt G.R. Witt	RC	Mar66	1st Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Cdr P.C. Hammerl	RC	Mar66	1st MarDiv Chaplain

Name and Rank	Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
Cdr H.W. Holland	SB	Mar66	Asst Div Chaplain, 1st MarDiv
LCdr F.B. Baggott	SB	Mar66	3d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt E.F. Kane	RC	Mar66	2d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt S.J. Beach	CARB	Apr66	3d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt V.R. Capodanno	RC	Apr66	3d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt D.J. Cory	LDSR	May66	1st Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt R.E. Harris	E	May66	2d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Cdr J.A. Powell	RC	May66	4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr T.J. McDermott	RC	May66	1st Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.T. Collins	SB	May66	2d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt S.E. Almasy	RC	May66	1st Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.L. Hedwall	L	May66	3d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr W.A. Lane	SB	May66	3d SP Bn, 3d MarDiv
Lt G.M. Sheldon	E	May66	MCB-10
Lt W.C.L. Asher	AB	Jun66	2d Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt L.L. Glover	UP	Jun66	3d Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr F.E. Sims	SB	Jun66	4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr M.A. Ondo	RC	Jun66	3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt G.I. McPartland	RC	Jun66	3d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt W.C.L. Asher	AB	Jun66	1st MT Bn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr E.S. Lemieux	M	Jul66	1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt L.L. Glover	UP	Jul66	3d Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.E. Doffin	SB	Jul66	2d Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt R.J. Paciocco	SB	Jul66	1st Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt V.H. Krulak	E	Jul66	3d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt C.W. Erickson	L	Jul66	MCB-62
Lt J.E. Doffin	SB	Jul66	2d Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr E.S. Lemieux	M	Jul66	2d Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
LT(jg) C.E. Bartholomew	UCC	Jul66	3d SP Bn, 3d MarDiv
Lt D.L. Olsen	L	Jul66	MCB-53
LCdr R.A. McGonigal	UP	Aug66	FMFPac, Personal Response
Lt W.C. Davis	UM	Aug66	1st LAAM Bn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr H.W. Jeffers	M	Aug66	Asst Wing Chaplain
LCdr D.L. Meschke	IFCA	Aug66	1st Bn, 26th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt W.D. Bruner	M	Aug66	7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr H.W. Bolles	E	Aug66	2d Bn, 26th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.D. Ragland	SB	Aug66	9th MT Bn, 3d MarDiv
LCdr W.D. Brumer	M	Aug66	5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Capt D.J. Casazza	RC	Aug66	Div Chaplain, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.E. Dorsey	DC	Aug66	1st Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt E.W. Epps	AB	Aug66	3d Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt R.R. Cunningham	UP	Aug66	1st Recon Bn, 1st MarDiv
Lt E.R. Toner	RC	Aug66	11th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt(jg) L.E. Stewart	UM	Aug66	3d MedBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt L.E. Dorsey	PC	Aug66	1st Bn, 1st Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr R.S. Borden	UP	Sep66	1st AM, 3d MarDiv

Name and Rank	Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
LCdr B. Geeza	RO	Sep66	1st MarDiv
Lt L.L. Westling	E	Sep66	3d MedBn, 3d MarDiv
LCdr E.B. Davis	PUS	Sep66	2d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt K.L. Hodder	SA	Sep66	MCB-133
LCdr J.S. Jenner	RC	Sep66	1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt M.B. Burch	M	Sep66	9th EngBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt R.M. Weeks	L	Sep66	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Cdr B. Geeza	EO	Sep66	III MAF
Cdr M.D. Seiders	EUB	Sep66	Asst Div Chaplain, 3d MarDiv
Lt(jg) L.R. Lowry	RC	Sep66	1st MedBn, 1st MarDiv
Cdr J.R. Hershberger	L	Sep66	H&S Co., III MAF
Lt J.D. Graham	ABC	Sep66	HMM-163
Lt(jg) M.G. Witting	RC	Sep66	MAG-36
Lt(jg) D.B. Saltzman	J	Sep66	MWHG-1
Capt E.V. Lyons	UP	Oct66	Force Chaplain, III MAF
LCdr H.T. Connally	SB	Oct66	9th MAB
LCdr W.J. Milosek	RC	Oct66	MAG-11
Lt(jg) C.J. Meehan	RC	Oct66	2d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt(jg) R.D. Delleny	SB	Oct66	MCB-10
Lt B.V. Dennis	M	Oct66	MCB-71
Capt H.T. Lavin	RC	Oct66	Div Chaplain, 3d MarDiv
LCdr P. Oliver	PUS	Oct66	3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt C.J. Meehan	RC	Oct66	2d Bn, 5th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.E. Ammons	AB	Oct66	3d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.F. Harris	RC	Nov66	MCB-8
Lt H.L. Bergsma	CR	Nov66	MCB-74
Lt W.C. Kimble	SB	Nov66	3d Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt B.G. Ryan	RC	Dec66	1st ReconBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt(jg) J.W. Wishard	RC	Dec66	MAG-16
Lt W.J. Winslow	DC	Dec66	1st MAW
Lt W.C. Topping	ACC	Dec66	MCB-121
LCdr R.L. Hustin	IFCA	Dec66	12th Mar, 3d MarDiv

## 1967

Cdr J.E. Ryan	RC	Jan67	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt(jg) P.N. Kearsley	LDS	Jan67	HqBn, FLSG
Lt(jg) L.J. Bentley	CARB	Jan67	3d MedBn, 3d MarDiv
LCdr J.E. Dwyer	UP	Jan67	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
LCdr E.D. Johnson	RC	Jan67	1st Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.O. Grubbs	CCAI	Jan67	2d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.C. Charnley	M	Jan67	3d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr R.F. Dwyer	UP	Jan67	MWSG-17
LCdr W.L. Niederhuth	DC	Jan67	MAG-13
Lt D.A. Amidon	UP	Jan67	1st LAAM Bn, 1st MAW

Name and Rank	Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
Lt J.J. Nolan	RC	Jan67	MAG-13
Lt D.A. Mueller	L	Jan67	1st FSR
Lt E.P. Grose	PE	Jan67	1st FSR
Lt T.R. Pocock	LDS	Jan67	1st FSR
Lt R.D. Kemp	CDS	Jan67	1st FSR
Lt R.M. Lyons	RC	Feb67	1st Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Cdr P.J. Ferrari	RC	Feb67	1st MAW Chaplain
LCdr F.W. McDonnell	RC	Feb67	MAG-12
Lt C.G. Smith	PUS	Feb67	MAG-12
Lt L.J. Bentley	CARB	Feb67	MWHG-1
Lt C.F. Jordan, Jr.	SB	Feb67	MAG-12
Lt E.H. Kicklighter	DC	Feb67	Asst Div Chaplain
Lt(jg) W.M. Hucabee	SB	Mar67	MCB-
Lt(jg) G.L. Cook	SB	Mar67	MCB-128
Cdr B.L. Burr	AB	Mar67	1st FSR
LCdr E.L. Takesian	UP	Apr67	3d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.R. Grosko	RC	Apr67	1st FSR
LCdr F.J. Urbano	RC	Apr67	3d MedBn, 3d MarDiv
LCdr P.P. Keeley	RC	Apr67	1st Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt L.S. Stanis, Jr.	SB	Apr67	3d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt H.T. Jones	SB	Apr67	1st Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt(jg) R.O. Swift, III	L	Apr67	3d EngBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt D.J. Williams	SB	Apr67	7th EngBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt M.C. Stine	L	Apr67	MCB-7
Capt L.J. McDonald	SB	May67	9th MAB
Lt(jg) J.R. Fiol	RPES	May67	MCB-53
Lt W.J. Houston	AB	May67	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt A.S. Kirk	LM	May67	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt N.D. Chasteen	UCF	May67	4th Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt(jg) J.M. Rigler	SB	May67	2d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.J. Wilson	SB	May67	2d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr B.G. Filmyer	RC	May67	4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt C.G. Smith	PUS	May67	1st FSR
LCdr J.E. Memorrow	RC	Jun67	3d MedBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt B.W. Myatt	SB	Jun67	3d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt S.J. Habiby	DE	Jun67	2d Bn, 26th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr H.T. Connally	SB	Jun67	26th RLT
Lt T.J. Rogers	SB	Jul67	1st Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr J.W. McElory	RC	Jul67	3d Bn, 26th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.W. Stubbe	L	Jul67	1st Bn, 26th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt C.T. Kelly	RC	Jul67	1st Bn, 26th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt(jg) K.L. Anderson	SB	Jul67	3d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr D.F. Fogarty	RC	Jul67	9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr J.R. Hutton	UP	Jul67	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
Cdr F.R. McAlister	PUS	Jul67	3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.W. Robinson	M	Jul67	MAG-36

Name and Rank	Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
LCdr C.E. McFarland	M	Jul67	1st MarDiv
Lt A.A. Guetterman	CB	Jul67	1st MarDiv
LCdr A.M. Von Almen	DC	Jul67	2d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr G.A. Gunst	RC	Jul67	7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr J.D. Yeich	L	Jul67	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt(jg) C.R. Parker	SB	Jul67	1st Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt(jg) J.W. Geer	SB	Jul67	1st ReconBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt(jg) K.E. Gohr	L	Jul67	3d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt(jg) W.E. Dodson	SB	Jul67	MCB-11
Lt R.R. Crowe	SB	Jul67	MCB-62
Cdr O. Schneider	UCC	Jul67	Asst. Div Chaplain, 3d MarDiv
LCdr N.A. Richard	RC	Jul67	3d Medical Bn, 3d MarDiv
LCdr G.E. Haroldson	CB	Aug67	MAG-16
Lt B.R. Walker	RC	Aug67	MAG-36
LCdr H.E. Philips	DC	Aug67	12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr J.F. Seibert	L	Aug67	2d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Capt J.A. Keeley	RC	Aug67	Div Chaplain, 1st MarDiv
Cdr M. Frimenko	RO	Aug67	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr C.B. McPhail	L	Aug67	1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr R.E. Gordon	L	Aug67	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt M.D. O'Neil	RC	Aug67	2d Bn, 3d Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt A.A. Guetterman	CB	Aug67	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Cdr B.R. Galland	RC	Aug67	1st FSR
LCdr L. W. Rushing	M	Sep68	1st FSR
Capt R.W. Below	SB	Sep67	Force Chaplain, III MAF
Lt S.M. Kirsch	J	Sep67	H&S Co., III MAF
Lt C.D. Harper, Jr.	UM	Sep67	MAG-16
Capt L.S. Darkowski	RC	Sep67	1st MAW Chaplain
Lt(jg) J.N. Rutherford	SB	Sep67	2d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr R.D. Black	UP	Sep67	3d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Cdr C.A. Auel	L	Sep67	1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr A.H. White	SB	Sep67	2d Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt E.H. Luffman	SB	Sep67	1st Hosp Co, 1st MarDiv
Lt G.H. Meyer	CR	Sep67	1st SPBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.J. Lepore	RC	Sep67	1st MarDiv
Lt D.W. Pedersen	EPCA	Sep67	1st Hosp Co, 1st MarDiv
LCdr J.D. Brock	RFB	Oct67	1st TkBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt D.J. Hickey, Jr.	RC	Oct67	1st SPBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt G.J. Evans	RC	Oct67	1st EngBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt(jg) D.B. Reese	RC	Oct67	1st MedBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt(jg) R.P. Demers	RC	Oct67	1st Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt M.L. Trawick	SB	Oct67	2d LAAMBn, 1st MAW
Lt(jg) F.W. Arneson	L	Oct67	MAG-36
Cdr J.T. Goad	SB	Oct67	1st FSR
LCdr J.A. Davis	SB	Oct67	1st FSR
Capt R.C. Fenning	LM	Oct67	Div Chaplain, 3d MarDiv

Name and Rank	Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
Lt W.L. Driscoll	RC	Oct67	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.L. Heino	LM	Oct67	1st Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.R. Brett	RC	Oct67	3d Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Cdr J.W. Cohill	PUS	Oct67	4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt T.J. Rogers	SB	Oct67	9th MAB
Lt B.W. Attingnet	RC	Oct67	9th MAB
Cdr S. Darkowski	RC	Oct67	Asst. Force Chaplain, III MAW
Lt C.A. Tea, Jr.	E	Nov67	1st AmTrac Bn, 3d MarDiv
LCdr R.P. Beck	RC	Nov67	1st HospCo, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.C. Mulqueen	RC	Nov67	1st FSR
Lt L.J. Nichols	RC	Nov67	1st FSR
Cdr C.F. O'Gorman	RC	Nov67	MAG-11
Lt W.J. Klapps	RC	Nov67	MAG-16
Lt N.E. Knight	SB	Dec67	MWSG-17
Lt E.S. Haryasz	RC	Dec67	7th Mar, 1st MarDiv

## 1968

Lt F.A. Rothermel	SB	Jan68	MCB-9
Cdr J.V. Boreczky	RC	Jan68	9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.F. Philips	SB	Jan68	7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt K.T. Holland	RC	Jan68	MAG-12
Lt E.E. Keele	SB	Jan68	MAG-11
Lt R.V. Samples	SB	Jan68	MAG-13
Lt J.R. Perdew	SB	Jan68	1st LAAMBn, 1st MAW
Lt T.R. Pocock	LDS	Jan68	5th Comm Bn, FLC
Lt L.R. O'Hare	RC	Feb68	1stMarDiv WG
LCdr P.J. Everts	ECCA	Feb68	MAG-12
Lt H.W. Myers	L	Feb68	MCB-133
LCdr H.H. Bond	SB	Feb68	2d Bn, 26th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr W.R. Hampton	L	Feb68	3d Bn, 26th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Capt G.I. Paulson	AB	Feb68	1st FSR
Lt W.J. Brown	UP	Feb68	7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt M.E. Huebschman	UCC	Feb68	2d Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.A. Ecker	RC	Mar68	3d EngBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.B. Luebke, Jr.	ARP	Mar68	MCB-58
Lt W.P. Blackburn	SB	Mar68	MCB-3
Lt J.P. O'Connor	L	Mar68	MCB-7
Lt R.G. Kock	SB	Mar68	MCB-40
Lt E.J. Greco	RC	Mar68	1st Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr R.R. Scheer	L	Mar68	MAG-39
Lt R.O. Sullivan	DC	Apr68	1st MedBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.J. Ecker	CC	Apr68	2d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.F. Kirstein	SB	Apr68	MCB-5
LCdr D.B. Fountain	AB	Apr68	3d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt M.F. Willard, Jr.	UP	May68	2d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv

Name and Rank		Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
Lt	M.C. Slattery	RC	May68	1st Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt	L.C. McAuliffe	RC	May68	1st AmTrac Bn, 3d MarDiv
Lt	W.D. Weaver	DC	May68	1stBn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt	L.M. Richter	LMS	May68	3d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr	M.H. Voth	E	May68	1st Bn, 3th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr	R.C. Franklin	RC	May68	2d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr	R. Kukler	RC	May68	1st Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr	C.H. Taylor, Jr.	DC	May68	MCB-22
LCdr	M.H. Voth	E	May68	1st FSR
Lt	F.P. Thompson, Jr.	PUS	Jun68	3d Bn, 5th Mar, 1stMarDiv
Lt	H.E. Starr	EFCA	Jun68	MCB-121
Lt	W.F. Maloney	RC	Jun68	MCB-12
Cdr	C.F. Schmid	UCC	Jun68	CBC Davisville
Lt	O.B. Forrester	SB	Jul68	MCB-4
Lt(jg)	J.W. Grove	UM	Jul68	MCB-11
Lt	W.B. Turner	LMS	Jul68	1st Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt(jg)	W.E. Thompson, Jr.	SB	Jul68	1st Bn, 26th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Cdr	N.W. Hubble	RC	Jul68	3d MedBn, 3d MarDiv
LCdr	D.F. Brock	RC	Jul68	11th EngBn, 3d MarDiv
LCdr	R.W. Bedingfield	RCA	Jul68	3d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Capt	J.T. McDonnell	RC	Jul68	Div Chaplain, 1st MarDiv
Cdr	G.L. Martin	UM	Jul68	Asst. Div Chaplain, 1st MarDiv
Cdr	F.W. Cassady	UM	Jul68	7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr	B.L. Simmons	SB	Jul68	1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	B. Lovejoy	E	Jul68	2d Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	A.E. Purdham	L	Jul68	1st Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	I.C. Starling	UM	Jul68	3d Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	M.H. Roberts	SB	Jul68	1st Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	C.B. Coleman	SB	Jul68	7th EngBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt	V.P. Gerlock	RC	Jul68	3d Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Cdr	N.M. Stevenson	UP	Jul68	Personal Response Officer, III MAF
Lt	R.E. Hannigan	RC	Aug68	TF X-Ray
Lt	F.J. Gill	RC	Aug68	1st FSR
LCdr	B.H. Struthers	AGC	Aug68	MWSG-17
Lt	G.B. Schumacher	PUS	Aug68	MACG-18
Cdr	A.W. Robertson	SB	Aug68	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt	F.J. Gill	RC	Aug68	1st FSR
Cdr	M.J. Doermann	L	Aug68	12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt	J.D. Allen	E	Aug68	3d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt	R. Hensley	UP	Aug68	3d MarDiv
Lt	J.A. Zandstra	CR	Aug68	2d Bn, 26th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt	G.B. Hummer	UM	Aug68	3d Tank Bn, 3d MarDiv
Lt	S. Rubino	SB	Aug68	2d Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Cdr	V.E. Berg, Jr.	UP	Aug68	1st Bn, 26th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr	J.E. Bell	SB	Aug68	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
LCdr	W.L. Childers	UM	Aug68	2d Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv

Name and Rank	Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
Capt J.E. Zoller	UM	Sep68	Div Chaplain, 3d MarDiv
Lt W.A. Will, Jr.	UM	Sep68	9th MarBrig
LCdr F.E. Whitaker	AB	Sep68	3d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt M.J. Hary	RC	Sep68	MCB-10
Capt R.H. Trower	L	Sep68	1st MAW Chaplain
LCdr W.F. Cusick	RC	Sep68	MAG-13
Lt J.N. Sestito	RC	Sep68	MAG-16
Lt R.K. Josphe	E	Sep68	MAG-11
Lt W.A. Will, Jr.	UM	Sep68	1st FSR
Capt R.W. Radcliffe	UM	Sep68	Force Chaplain, III MAF
Lt R.K. Joseph	DC	Sep68	H&S Co, III MAF
LCdr R.W. Harper	SB	Sep68	11th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt R.S. Lippert	L	Sep68	2d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.J. Horvat	RC	Sep68	11st MT Bn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr B.J. Ahern	RC	Oct68	5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr R.W. Black	UP	Oct68	9th EngBn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr A.B. Pepper	UM	Oct68	2d Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.M. Wright	RC	Oct68	1st MedBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.K. Golie	AG	Oct68	1st ReconBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt S.B. Scott	UM	Oct68	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt P.J. O'Rourke	RC	Oct68	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt E.E. Richardson	RC	Oct68	Asst. Force Chaplain, III MAF
Lt D.F. DePascale	RC	Oct68	MWSG-17
Lt D.L. Krabbe	L	Oct68	MAG-12
Lt G.E. Long	SB	Oct68	MCB-8
LCdr L.W. Van Tassel	PUS	Oct68	2d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt R.A. Crist	E	Oct68	2d Bn, 4th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr W.E. Bray	UM	Oct68	1st Bn, 9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr L.E. Allred	SB	Nov68	3d Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr C.R. Spencer	CGAI	Nov68	Admin Asst. 3d MarDiv
Lt D.L. Robinson	PE	Nov68	MCB-74
Lt B.C. Carson	CP	Nov68	MCB-40
Lt R.J. Greco	RC	Nov68	1st SpBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt D.M. Leitschuck	CB	Nov68	MAG-18
Lt J.A. Bruggeman	RC	Dec68	MAG-11
Cdr J.F. Carr	RC	Dec68	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.B. Fitzgerald	RC	Dec68	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Cdr J.F. Carr	RC	Dec68	3d Mar, 3d MarDiv

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Capt M. Sullivan	RC	Jan69	Div Chaplain, 1st MarDiv
LCdr W.P. Ude	L	Jan69	1st FSR
Lt J.W. Butler	RC	Jan69	MAG-12



Name and Rank	Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
Lt R.N. Lockard	PE	Jan69	3d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.L. Sostrich	RC	Feb69	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt A.J. Libera	RC	Feb69	1st Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt D.E. Smith	LDS	Feb69	5th CommBn, III MAF
Capt R.M. Harrison	UM	Feb69	1st FSR
Lt D.E. Smith	RC	Feb69	1st FSR
Lt R.A. Moore	E	Feb69	MAG-11
Lt F.C. Cleveland	E	Feb69	MAG-13
Cdr R.M. Elder	E	Feb69	11th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.J. Bevins	RC	Feb69	3d Bn, 11th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt J.J. Conway	RC	Feb69	3d AmTracBn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr A.S.M. Kirkland	N	Mar69	1st TKBn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr G.W. Cox	BGC	Mar69	1st Hosp Co., 1st MarDiv
Lt I.H. Thompson	SB	Mar69	2d Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt G.E. Garthe	UM	Mar69	MWHG-1
LCdr G.W. Cox	BGC	Mar69	9th MAB
Lt J.M. O'Brien	RC	Mar69	1st FSR
Lt J.L. Sostrich	RC	Mar69	3d Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt(jg) C.A. Drake	RC	Mar69	2d Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt E.L. Bishop	E	Mar69	3d NCB
Lt J.L. Hall	SB	Mar69	MCB-3
Lt G.J. Dickson	NFB	Apr69	MCB-71
Lt V.E. Awes	L	Apr69	2d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Cdr J.F. Laboon, Jr.	RC	Apr69	3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr J. Dolaghan	ABC	Apr69	3d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt(jg) J.J. Richmond	RC	May69	MCB-133
Lt B.J. Grochowski	RC	May69	3d MarDiv
LCdr R.W. McCarthy	AGC	Jun69	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
Lt J.R. Fiol	RPES	Jun69	3d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt Donoher	RC	Jun69	Admin Asst. 3d MarDiv
Lt W. Broughton	PE	Jun69	1st Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt V.F. Germano	RC	Jun69	1st FSR
Lt R.A. Moore	E	Jun69	H&S Co., III MAF
LCdr D.V. Page	SB	Jul69	III CAG
LCdr L.E. Vogel	L	Jul69	Personal Response, III MAF
Lt A.V. Lawrence	SB	Jul69	MAG-12
Lt H.G. Cook	E	Jul69	MAG-16
LCdr W.F. Magor	UP	Jul69	1st MarDiv
LCdr R.J. Ecker	RC	Jul69	1st Bn, 12th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt T.O. Artwood, Jr.	E	Jul69	1st Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Cdr W.C. Fuller	SB	Jul69	1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt W.C. Dike	UM	Jul69	3d Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr E.L. Boyette	SB	Jul69	1st TkBn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr R.A. Boyer	LCMC	Aug69	9th Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt W.J. Hultberg, Jr.	RC	Aug69	2d Bn, 5th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr L. Fiorino	RC	Aug69	2d Bn, 26th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Cdr C.L. Keyser	E	Aug69	5th Mar, 1st MarDiv

Name and Rank		Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
Cdr	W.R. Howard	SB	Aug69	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
LCdr	R.G. DeBeck	AG	Aug69	HqBn, 3d MarDiv
Cdr	V.M. Smith	RC	Aug69	Asst. Div Chaplain, 3d MarDiv
Lt	A.L. Fiorino	RC	Aug69	2d Bn, 26th Mar, 3d MarDiv
LCdr	Roswog	RC	Aug69	MAG-13
Capt	H.C. Duncan	UM	Sep69	1st MAW Chaplain
LCdr	E.L. Gallagher, Jr.	RC	Sep69	MAG-16
Capt	E.S. Swanson	L	Sep69	Force Chaplain, III MAF
LCdr	T.E. Edwards	L	Sep69	1st FSR
Lt	J.J. Pierce	RC	Sep69	1st FSR
Lt	A.L. Fiorino	RC	Sep69	1st FSR
Lt	E.M. Hedberg	RC	Sep69	1st FSR
Lt	B.T. Visocky	RC	Sep69	1st Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	J.M. Gnall	RC	Sep69	2d Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr	E. Takesian	UP	Sep69	3d Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr	E.F. Hughes	DC	Sep69	1st ReconBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt	J.J. Pierce	RC	Sep69	1st Bn, 26th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr	T. Edwards	L	Sep69	3d Bn, 26th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	B.R. Hubble	SB	Sep69	III MAF
Capt	R.E. Brengartner	RC	Sep69	Div Chaplain, 3d MarDiv
LCdr	T.E. Edwards	L	Sep69	9th MAB
Lt	J.J. Pierce	RC	Sep69	3d MarDiv
Lt	A.L. Fiorino	RC	Sep69	1st MarDiv
Lt	E.M. Hedberg	RC	Sep69	9th MAB
Lt	P.C. Lawson	SB	Sep69	3d TkBn, 3d MarDiv
Cdr	R.E. Bareiss	CB	Oct69	26th Mar
LCdr	E.H. Campbell, Jr.	SB	Oct69	2d Bn, 7th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	B.J. Grochowski	RC	Oct69	1st Bn, 11th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	P.W. McCure	UM	Oct69	1st Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	F.X. Metznower	RC	Oct69	2d Bn, 11th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	J.J. Conavad	RC	Oct69	4th Bn, 11th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	R.F. Grothaus	RC	Oct69	11st MTBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt(jg)	J.H. Rutherford	SB	Oct69	9th MAB
Lt	W.J. Klapps	RC	Oct69	3d MarDiv
Lt	V.E. Awes	L	Oct69	1st FSR
Lt	B.R. Nobles	SB	Oct69	1st FSR
Lt	W.J. Klapps	RC	Oct69	1st FSR
LCdr	F.W. McDonnell	RC	Oct69	Asst. Force Chaplain, III MAF
Lt	W.E. Outlaw, Jr.	UM	Oct69	MAG-18
Lt	P.J. Cary	RC	Oct69	MAG-18
Lt	J.G. Goode	DC	Nov69	MWSG-17
Lt	D.G. Page	SB	Nov69	MWSG-17
Lt	B.J. Grochowski	RC	Nov69	2d Bn, 3d Mar, 3d MarDiv
Lt	P.R. Pilarski	RC	Nov69	3d Bn, 11th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Cdr	J.F. Schaffer	UCC	Nov69	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Cdr	A.C. Volz	RC	Dec69	1st FSR

Name and Rank	Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
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Lt	W.R. May	RC	Dec69	1st FSR
Cdr	R.F. Hill	UCC	Dec69	1st MAW
Lt	J.C. Farrow	RC	Dec69	1st MAW

## 1970

Capt	H.F. Symons	UM	Jan70	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Capt	G.A. Rademacher	RC	Jan70	Div Chaplain, 1st MarDiv
Lt	J.R. Fletcher	LDS	Jan70	5th CommBn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr	E.A. Hamilton	RC	Jan70	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt	C.E. Dorr	CB	Jan70	1st FSR
Lt	A. Boerger	RC	Jan70	1st MAW
Lt	J.R. Fletcher	LDS	Jan70	5th CommBn, III MAF
Lt	J.E. Dowers	AB	Feb70	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Cdr	H.F. MacCall, III	UP	Feb70	Asst. Chaplain, 1st MAW
LCdr	L.D. Cooper	DC	Mar70	MAG-11
Cdr	G.D. Landry	AB	Mar70	HqBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt	J.C. Farrow	RC	Mar70	1st MarDiv
Lt	F.R. Zobel	UM	May70	MCB-5
Cdr	A.D. Prickett	SB	Jun70	1st MarDiv
LCdr	D.I. Olsen	ALC	Jul70	1st MedBn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr	P.F. Uhles	L	Jul70	1st EngBn, 1st MarDiv
LCdr	G.W. Evans	L	Jul70	11th Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr	J.D. Mortitz	GARB	Jul70	1st Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	W.A. Rowland, Jr.	CB	Jul70	11th MTBn, 1st MarDiv
Lt	Z.C. Mitchell, Jr.	SB	Jul70	1st MarDiv
Lt	F.L. Craven	RC	Jul70	1st MarDiv
Lt	L.G. Rupp	E	Jul70	1st MarDiv
Lt	A. Boerger	RC	Jul70	1st FSR
Capt	J.H. Carnes	SB	Jul70	1st MAW Chaplain
Cdr	K.J. Cottney	RC	Jul70	Asst. Chaplain, 1st MAW
Cdr	J.T. Beck	L	Jul70	Personal Response, III MAF
LCdr	O.L. Thacker	CGAI	Jul70	H&S Co., III MAF
Lt	F.S. Bianchino	RC	Aug70	II CAG
Lt	J.B. Fitzgerald	RC	Aug70	MAG-16
Cdr	G.B. Address	SB	Aug70	1st MarDiv
LCdr	M.L. Eyler	UCC	Aug70	1st MarDiv
LCdr	R.J. Dempsey	RC	Aug70	1st Bn, 1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	C.P. VanFrank, Jr.	SB	Aug70	MCB-4
LCdr	R.C. Wood	SB	Aug70	MCB-62
Lt	J.R. Smith	SB	Aug70	MCB-74
LCdr	J.W. Essinger	L	Sep70	2d Bn, 11th Mar, 1st MarDiv
Lt	F.D. Mintjal	RC	Sep70	1st MarDiv
Lt	F.W. Ryder	RC	Sep70	1st MAW
Lt	G.T. McMahon	RC	Sep70	1st MAW

Name and Rank		Denomination	Date Arrived in Vietnam	First Assigned Unit
Lt	R.D. Coapman	NACCC	Nov70	MAG-18
<b>1971</b>				
Lt(jg)	T.S. Carlson	CB	Jan71	MAG-16
Lt	F.W. Ryder	RC	Jan71	1st Mar, 1st MarDiv
LCdr	J.D. Regan	RC	Apr71	MAG-16
<b>1972</b>				
LCdr	T.W. Kuhn	RC	May72	MAG-12
LCdr	P.J. Holwager	DC	Sep72	Task Force Delta
LCdr	E.J. McMahan	RC	Sep72	MAG-11

# Appendix C

## List of Reviewers

Names are listed alphabetically by rank. Rank and status are those of the period at which the review of the manuscript was requested.

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LtGen John H. Miller, USMC  
RAdm Francis L. Garrett, CHC, USN (Ret)  
MajGen Paul X. Kelley, USMC  
RAdm James W. Kelly, CHC, USN (Ret)

RAdm Withers M. Moore, CHC, USN (Ret)  
RAdm John J. O'Connor, CHC, USN (Ret)  
RAdm Neil M. Stevenson, CHC, USN  
RAdm Ross H. Trower, CHC, USN  
Capt Leonard L. Ahrnsbrak, CHC, USN

Capt Carl A. Auel, CHC, USN (Ret)  
Capt Samuel Baez, CHC, USN (Ret)  
Capt Richard D. Black, CHC, USN  
Capt Edwin V. Bohula, CHC, USN  
Capt Earl L. Boyette, CHC, USN

Capt David J. Casazza, CHC, USNR (Ret)  
Capt John H. Craven, CHC, USN (Ret)  
Col Edward P. Dupras, Jr., USMC (Ret)  
Capt George W. Evans, Jr., CHC, USN  
Capt Robert C. Fenning, CHC, USN

Capt John J. Glynn, CHC, USN  
Capt Walter A. Hiskett, CHC, USN  
Capt Edward E. Jayne, CHC, USN  
Capt Robert Q. Jones, CHC, USN (Ret)  
Col John H. King, Jr., USMC (Ret)

Capt Henry T. Lavin, CHC, USN (Ret)  
Capt Hugh F. Lecky, Jr., CHC, USN

Capt Connell J. Maguire, CHC, USN (Ret)  
Capt Leo J. McDonald, CHC, USN (Ret)  
Capt John R. McNamara, CHC, USN

Capt Frank R. Morton, CHC, USN (Ret)  
Col Thomas J. O'Connor, USMC (Ret)  
Capt James D. Pfannenstiel, CHC, USN  
Capt Paul H. Running, CHC, USN  
Capt Joseph E. Ryan, CHC, USN (Ret)

Capt Marlin D. Seiders, CHC, USN  
Capt James E. Seim, CHC, USN (Ret)  
Capt Eli Takesian, CHC, USN  
Col Leon N. Utter, USMC (Ret)  
Capt Robert H. Warren, CHC, USN

Capt John E. Zoller, CHC, USN (Ret)  
Cdr Peter J. Bakker, CHC, USNR  
Cdr Patrick A. Dowd, CHC, USN  
Cdr Nilus W. Hubble, CHC, USN  
Cdr Leroy E. Muenzler, CHC, USN

Cdr George P. Murray, CHC, USN (Ret)  
Cdr Paul L. Toland, CHC, USN  
LCdr William H. Gibson, CHC, USN  
LCdr Gary V. Lyons, CHC, USN  
LCdr John J. Scanlon, CHC, USNR

LCdr George M. Sheldon, CHC, USNR  
LCdr Ray W. Stubbe, CHC, USNR  
LCdr Herman F. Wendler, CHC, USN



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## *About the Author*

Captain Herbert L. Bergsma, official historian of the U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps from 1978 to 1980, researched, wrote, and edited this account of the chaplains who served with the Marines in Vietnam. His own tours of duty in Vietnam during 1967 and 1968 gave him first-hand insights into the assignment.

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Chaplain Bergsma is currently serving at Marine Corps Base, Camp Pendleton, California.

## COVERS

*Front: Chaplain Frederick E. Whitaker, chaplain for the 3d Battalion, 4th Marines, holds religious services for men of Company M on a mountainous ridge-line north of the Rockpile. The Marines were participating in a search and clear operation near the DMZ. (Department of Defense Photo [USMC] A192846)*

*Back: The device reproduced on the back cover is the oldest military insignia in continuous use in the United States. It first appeared, as shown here, on Marine Corps buttons adopted in 1804. With the stars changed to five points this device has continued on Marine Corps buttons to the present day.*

