

## Indiana Churches and Conscientious Objectors During World War II

*Charles B. Hirsch\**

The attitude of the Indiana churches toward the actual support of the conscientious objectors varied from almost complete indifference to the greatest of interest. Those churches which maintained a more or less tolerant attitude of indifference were divided into two groups. The first group included the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, the African Methodist Episcopal church, the First Church of the Nazarene, and the Roman Catholic church. There were no conscientious objectors in the churches of these denominations in Indiana, although on the national level they had a sprinkling in that category. Consequently, there were no problems of financial support, or of church action in favor of or against the stand of conscientious objectors in these religious bodies. Local churches usually handled their own problems if they had any pertaining to this group.<sup>1</sup>

The second group included the Protestant Episcopal church,<sup>2</sup> and the First Church of Christ, Scientist. These religious organizations had conscientious objectors in their congregations in Indiana, but did not recognize their status as such. The latter denomination stated that a Christian Scientist could not be a conscientious objector, if he followed the beliefs of the church. The Christian Scientists made no provision during the war to take care of those in that classification but in 1946 their headquarters made a contribution of three thousand dollars to the National Service Board of Religious Objectors. This amount was to cover any deficit sustained by the historic peace churches because of a few Christian Scientists who were conscientious objectors despite the counsel given by their church.<sup>3</sup> While the Protestant

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\* Charles B. Hirsch, a veteran of World War II, is a graduate student in history at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

<sup>1</sup> See the answers to the Church History Questionnaires for these churches, located in the Archives of the Indiana War History Commission, Bloomington, Indiana; also Henry F. Dugan, Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Indianapolis, to the writer, February 11, 1949, and Robert Gorman, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana, to the writer, May 12, 1949.

<sup>2</sup> Answer to Church History Questionnaire by Reese Thornton of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, December 4, 1948.

<sup>3</sup> Answer to Church History Questionnaire by W. D. A. Peaslee of the Church of Christ, Scientist, December 1, 1948.

Episcopal church officially assumed a "hands off" policy, there was a faction in its membership who sent money and clothing to help their constituents who opposed active participation in the war. Further support was given by the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship which was a group formed from within the church without official recognition. This group, at a meeting of the National Service Board of Religious Objectors in 1941, stated that they would make every effort to support Episcopal members if the civilian public service program was continued. Another suggestion made by their representative was to seek the establishment of government sponsored camps, provided these were desired by conscientious objectors in preference to church operated camps.<sup>4</sup>

Other churches in this state in one form or another, recognized the position of the conscientious objector and supported him in his religious stand. The Disciples of Christ,<sup>5</sup> the Lutherans, the Baptists, the Methodists, the Evangelical United Brethren,<sup>6</sup> the Evangelical and Reformed,<sup>7</sup> the Congregational Christian churches, and the Presbyterians believed in freedom of conscience for every individual and urged the government's recognition of the right of conscientious objection.<sup>8</sup> A few of these bodies believed that a government should have shared in the financial responsibility with the churches. James A. Crain of the Disciples of Christ, stated at a civilian public service conference, that "inasmuch as the Government had drafted the men and taken them away from their regular occupations, it should share the expense," while J. Franklin Koch of the National Lutheran Council remarked that since the camp program appeared not unlike

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<sup>4</sup> *Report of the Proceedings of the Civilian Public Service Conference, held at Winona Lake, Indiana, September 1-3, 1941*, published by the National Service Board of Religious Objectors, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Also known as the Christian Church.

<sup>6</sup> The United Brethren in Christ joined with the Evangelical Church in November, 1946.

<sup>7</sup> The Evangelical Synod of North America united with the Reformed Church in the United States on June 26, 1934.

<sup>8</sup> See the Church History Questionnaires for these denominations, as well as the *Act and Proceedings of the General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, June 19-26, 1940*, p. 265; *Statement on the Rights and Duties of the Christian Citizen in the Emergencies of War* (Omaha Convention of the United Lutheran Church in America, October 14, 1940); and *They Serve Without Weapons* (National Service Board for Religious Objectors, Washington, D.C.).

the labor camps in Europe, at least the maintenance should be paid by the government, and the churches should likewise approve of government aid.<sup>9</sup> The Congregational-Christian group, in addition to other financial support, made available its grounds and buildings at Merom Institute for the establishment of a Friends Civilian Public Service Camp.<sup>10</sup> Additional activities of these church bodies were the establishment of a register of those opposed to war which would help to verify their status before the government;<sup>11</sup> the inclusion of their names on the church honor roll;<sup>12</sup> and the publication of pamphlets and other literature dealing particularly with the status of those classified as IV-E. It was understood that the purpose of these publications was not to make conscientious objectors but to protect them.<sup>13</sup>

The Methodists and the Church of God assumed the role of peace churches during World War II.<sup>14</sup> The latter body had resolved in 1940 that they were fundamentally opposed to any war of aggression, and that they would not bear arms if such a conflict arose. Inasmuch as they were a small group, it was not feasible to sponsor any civilian public service camps of their own, but they did contribute to the support of such camps sponsored by the historic peace churches.<sup>15</sup> The Methodists had adopted a similar resolution in the same year, which stated that the "United States should remain out of the present conflicts in both Europe and in the Far East." Furthermore, while it did not make any attempt to bind the consciences of its individual members, it would not "officially endorse, support, or participate in war."<sup>16</sup> Following this action, the Methodists were for the first time regarded as a peace church. Their number

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<sup>9</sup> *Report of the Proceedings of the Civilian Public Service Conference*, 13.

<sup>10</sup> Answer to Church History Questionnaire by Simon A. Bennett of the Congregational-Christian Churches, Merom, Indiana, December, 1948.

<sup>11</sup> The Evangelical United Brethren Church and the Lutherans.

<sup>12</sup> The Evangelical and Reformed Church.

<sup>13</sup> The Evangelical and Reformed Church, the Lutherans, and the Evangelical United Brethren.

<sup>14</sup> This is in addition to the three historic peace churches.

<sup>15</sup> Answer to Church History Questionnaire by E. F. Adcock of the Church of God, January, 1949.

<sup>16</sup> *Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church, 1940* (The Methodist Publishing House, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1940), 775-777.

of conscientious objectors in World War I was negligible, but in World War II they outnumbered the Quakers.<sup>17</sup> In 1941, at a meeting of the Methodist Northwest Indiana Conference, a resolution was passed urging the government to supply food, clothing, and shelter to the conscientious objectors.<sup>18</sup> Three years later, however, the church reversed its position by a majority of one ministerial vote. The lay vote of 203 to 131 in favor of this action also voiced the opinion that "We are well within the Christian position when we assert the necessity of the use of military forces to resist an aggression which would overthrow every right which is held sacred by civilized men . . . ."<sup>19</sup>

After the new position of the church had been accepted, there was much concern as to whether or not the position of those opposed to war had been undermined. A ruling of the Methodist Judicial Commission stated that the new stand taken by the church did not effect the status of such believers in their denomination. The church would still "ask and claim exemption from all forms of military preparation or service for all conscientious objectors who may be members of the Methodist Church."<sup>20</sup> It was further expressed that the civilian public service program should continue not only for the honor of the church, but for the confidence of its youth as well.<sup>21</sup> Financial support came not only from local Indiana Methodists, but from members of that faith in the armed services as well.<sup>22</sup> In spite of the change in the church's position toward the war, the principles of individual conscience were still recognized.

The largest single religious body which advocated a non-combatant policy for its members was the Seventh-day Adventists. Over eighty per cent of their men who served in the armed forces were classified as I-A-O.<sup>23</sup> Practically all

<sup>17</sup> William K. Anderson, "A Fool Speaks Up," *Fools for Christ's Sake*, a pamphlet published by the Methodist Church.

<sup>18</sup> Indianapolis, Indiana, *Star*, June 22, 1941.

<sup>19</sup> The vote in the ministerial order was 170 to 169 in favor of this reversal. *Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church*, 575.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 558; and Harold E. Fey, "Methodists Shift Position on War," *The Christian Century* (Chicago, 1883- ), LIX (1944), 624, 630.

<sup>21</sup> William J. Brown, "Another Fool Adds His Word," *Fools for Christ's Sake*.

<sup>22</sup> *Fools for Christ's Sake*.

<sup>23</sup> "Conscientious Objectors in World War II," *Quarterly Research Survey* (Ithaca, New York, January, 1949), 4.

of those in service were actually in medical work. The non-combatant position of the Seventh-day Adventists was recognized by President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War. Since that time, the church has maintained the doctrine of noncombatancy. Its members do not belong to any pacifist groups, nor do they refuse to enter the services of the armed forces. Their only opposition is to the taking of a human life. Prior to World War II, they experienced difficulty in obtaining assignments to the medical service or other non-combatant organizations. In the recent war there was much less difficulty in receiving noncombatant service in the armed forces because the value of this type of service was recognized by military officials. One of their representatives at a congressional hearing in 1940 said, "Seventh-day Adventists as you know are non-combatants. We are not pacifists nor militarists nor conscientious objectors, but non-combatants."<sup>24</sup>

In order to prepare their members for a noncombatant stand, and to facilitate their recognition by the armed services, a special medical cadet corps training program was organized in 1933. This work was started by Everett N. Dick, professor of history at Union College, Lincoln, Nebraska, a Seventh-day Adventist denominational institution.<sup>25</sup> Dick, who had served in the United States Marines, during World War I before becoming a member of this religious group realized the difficulties that would confront his fellow believers in a forthcoming world conflict. Since the Adventists placed great emphasis on medical work, it was decided to train their young men to fit into medical units of the armed forces where their duty would be to save life rather than to destroy it. Throughout the whole training program, the emphasis was placed on co-operation with the government rather than objection to its call to national service.<sup>26</sup>

After several training programs had been started and proven successful, the denomination adopted the idea on a national scale and called it the Seventh-day Adventists Medi-

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<sup>24</sup> *Congress Looks at the Conscientious Objectors*, published by the National Service Board of Religious Objectors (Washington, D.C., December, 1943), 71.

<sup>25</sup> Donald H. Hardcastle, "Ready to Serve," *Young People* (Philadelphia, 1890- ), LXII (November 29, 1942), 381.

<sup>26</sup> Everett N. Dick, Lincoln, Nebraska, to the writer, January 18, 1949. See also Carlyle B. Haynes, "Conscientious Objection or Conscientious Cooperation," *The Sabbath Review and Advent Herald* (Washington, D.C., 1850- ), CVXIII, No. 7 (1941), 18.

cal Cadet Corps. Their colleges and secondary schools became the centers for this new training program. A training camp was set up at Grand Ledge, Michigan, in October, 1940. Its purpose was to bring together the Seventh-day Adventist youth from four nearby states, including Indiana, and to train some of these men as officers who would then be able to organize similar units in their home states. Approximately one hundred men from Indiana participated in this training program.<sup>27</sup> Those who took part in the officer training program were for the most part ministers, teachers, and other leaders of the young people's work in the denomination. As a result of this training a unit was organized in Indiana.

In December, 1940, a medical cadet corps training unit was formed at Indiana Academy, a denominational secondary school, Cicero, Indiana. On Sundays, the students and others who came from all over the state, received from eight to ten hours of special military and medical instruction, which was continued for a period of twenty weeks. A hundred men received noncombatant training in preparation for eventual military service. They furnished their own uniforms and paid for other expenses including tuition and books. Other similar programs followed the initial one. There were fewer trained in subsequent classes due to the fact that the medical training program was incorporated as a regular study in the school curriculum with appropriate course credit. Some Hoosier Seventh-day Adventists received their indoctrination at Emmanuel Missionary College, Berrien Springs, Michigan, while others participated in the same program in Chicago. In all, about three hundred and fifty Indianans received this special training.<sup>28</sup>

The courses of study offered by the medical cadet corps had been approved by the Surgeon General of the United States Army, and included such subjects as close order drill, litter drill, physical training, first aid, military discipline and courtesy, bivouac and marches, map reading, army regulations and the articles of war.<sup>29</sup> In many instances army officers supervised and taught some of the purely military

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<sup>27</sup> Dick to the writer, January 18, 1949, and A. L. Rulkoetter, Dean of Emmanuel Missionary College, Berrien Springs, Michigan, to the writer, February 1, 1949.

<sup>28</sup> Dick to the writer, January 18, 1949; and the Indianapolis, Indiana, *Star*, December 29, 1940.

<sup>29</sup> Rulkoetter to the writer, February 1, 1949.

courses. The Army headquarters in Washington was favorably impressed with this special training program, and as a result, invited three of the leaders of the medical cadet corps to attend a session of the Command and Staff School at Fort Leavenworth for civilians. This close co-operation with the army not only led to a better understanding of the noncombatant position, but it also helped in obtaining church privileges for the Seventh-day Adventist servicemen, who conscientiously observed the seventh day or Saturday as their day of worship.<sup>30</sup>

Camp pastors were assigned by the Seventh-day Adventist denomination to various sectors of the nation. The duties of these pastors included looking after the spiritual welfare of their fellow believers in the armed forces, and also aiding them in case of any difficulties that might arise, as a result of their religious beliefs. One pastor, in reference to his work, wrote that he had assisted several men at Camp Atterbury, near Columbus, Indiana. His chief responsibility was to contact the superior officers of the men involved, and straighten out any misunderstandings due to the status of noncombatancy. Duties in the medical units, where the majority of these men served did not generally interfere with the observance of their Sabbath day.

The pastor said further that while at times it was necessary to go over the heads of the lower officers in order to obtain a proper hearing, he found that the higher he went, the more approachable and understanding were the officials. It was due chiefly to this intercession on the part of the pastor that there were no court-martial cases at Camp Atterbury among Seventh-day Adventists because of religious beliefs. In most instances the men received passes from sunset Friday night until sunset Saturday night, in order to be free to observe their Sabbath day.<sup>31</sup>

A firsthand account of these I-A-O's was made by a reporter who had been inducted into the army. In a special article to a newspaper he described his reaction to a non-combatant. "I often wondered what happened to these non-fighting soldiers, how they were treated by other soldiers, how the others felt. Now we have one in the station, a big,

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<sup>30</sup> Dick to the writer, January 18, 1949.

<sup>31</sup> P. T. Jackson, a camp pastor, Converse, Indiana, to the writer, January 9, 1949.

husky fellow. He's a likeable young man and, except for a rather cold, monastic air he looks and acts like anyone else. He wears a uniform, salutes, answers roll call and does routine duty in the medical department, but when it comes to picking up a loaded rifle or pistol and pulling the trigger, his militarism ends abruptly.

"So much is he like the rest of us, in fact, that I didn't know he objected to war any differently than anyone else until our detachment was sent to Fort Harrison recently for training with arms. Why the army sent him on such a mission is obscure—just one of these things that could happen only in the army.

"However he came in handy. While the rest of us marched with easy conscience into the lovely summer countryside and blasted away at inoffensive bits of cardboard with our deadly weapons, this man stayed behind as an orderly for the barracks, sort of housekeeper.

"Furthermore, after we finished firing the revolvers, his was the tedious job of cleaning them—60 in all—and it isn't easy to clean a weapon enough to satisfy an ordnance officer.

"The most unusual thing about him is that he gets off duty on Saturday, which is Sunday to him, and on Sunday he is available for duty. At Fort Harrison, while the rest of us were at ease on the Sabbath, he cleaned up the entire barracks. On Saturday we cleaned it up while he took off . . ."<sup>32</sup>

The Seventh-day Adventist War Service Commission had been organized by the denominational headquarters to look after the needs of its members in service. Pamphlets and leaflets such as *Camp Pastors Directory*, *Sabbath Rulings in Army and Navy*, *Seventh-day Adventists and Civil Government* were published and sent to those in the armed services. Lists of addresses of churches and fellow-believers in foreign countries were also made available to members in uniform.<sup>33</sup> When the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars

<sup>32</sup> The unidentified newspaper clipping was sent by Arthur Grim, a noncombatant, Cicero, Indiana, to W. A. Nelson, December 8, 1941, from a collection of letters of R. R. Bietz, South Lancaster, Massachusetts.

<sup>33</sup> *Lake Union Herald*, published by the Lake Union Conference of the Seventh-day Adventists (Berrien Springs, Michigan, 1918- ), XXXVII (April 10, 1945), 8. These pamphlets and leaflets were published by the denominational headquarters at Washington, D.C.



passed resolutions which proposed a class B discharge for I-A-O's, and at the same time would have barred I-A-O's from all veteran's benefits, the Seventh-day Adventists requested the House Military Affairs Committee to allow the bill to die in committee because of its discrimination.<sup>34</sup>

Other denominations which officially supported the position of noncombatancy were the Pentecostal churches, and the Church of God in Christ. The historic peace churches also had some members who took this position instead of the more absolute stand of no compromise with any type of military service that had been taken by the churches.<sup>35</sup>

The oldest of the historic peace churches and the one which had the greatest number of conscientious objectors in the civilian public service camps was the Mennonite church. This denomination, however, is only one of a number of ecclesiastical groups within the Mennonite family. The other divisions of the Mennonite family are the Old Order Amish church, the Conservative Amish Mennonite church, the Old Order Mennonites, the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America, and the Evangelical Mennonite church. The Mennonite group in Indiana totals almost twelve thousand baptized, adult members.<sup>36</sup>

In view of the troubled state of world affairs, the Mennonite church in 1937 adopted certain resolutions which set forth its convictions in regard to participation in war and military service. This did not establish a new doctrine but served merely to give a fresh expression of their beliefs of four hundred years endurance. These resolutions pointed out that they could not bear arms nor accept noncombatant service in the armed forces.<sup>37</sup> Two years later, representatives of the various groups of the Mennonite body met to dis-

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<sup>34</sup> Carlyle B. Haynes, "Servicemen," *The Sabbath Review and Advent Herald*, CXXI, No. 43 (1944), 15, 18. This bill did not go into effect.

<sup>35</sup> *The Reporter*, published by the National Service Board of Religious Objectors (Washington, D.C., 1942- ? ), III (September 15, 1944), 3.

<sup>36</sup> Guy F. Hershberger of Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, to Lynn W. Turner, Director of the Indiana War History Commission, Bloomington, Indiana, December 16, 1948, from a collection of letters in the archives of the Indiana War History Commission. See also the answer to the Church History Questionnaire by Guy F. Hershberger of the Mennonite Church, December 16, 1948.

<sup>37</sup> *Peace, War and Military Service*, a statement of the position of the Mennonite church.

cuss the formulation of a plan of action which would be accepted by all the groups. The result of the meeting was the formation of the Mennonite Central Peace Committee which drew up a plan of action for the Mennonites in case of war.<sup>38</sup> This was accomplished by September 30, 1939, and presented to the churches. The course of action included the following steps: all those who had to, should register and at the same time state their conscientious objection to war; when called for service, each individual should state his inability to accept induction into the army and at the same time offer himself for certain nonmilitary service; the Mennonite church was to offer to the President a list of certain forms of service which would be acceptable by the church; the church was also to endeavor to secure an arrangement whereby conscientious objectors would be under a civilian board of control; and finally that the fundamental position of the Mennonite church was to be presented to the President as soon as possible.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the Mennonites not only claimed exemption for their members from military service, but also recognized the responsibility for providing an alternative for them. This attitude was duplicated by the other peace churches.

In January, 1942, the Mennonite Central Peace Committee was merged with the Mennonite Central Committee. The latter was an older body and had had twenty years of experience in colonization and foreign relief projects. It also became the operating organization of sixty civilian public service camps, two of which were located in Indiana. One of the new functions of this committee now was to look after the needs of Mennonite conscientious objectors.<sup>40</sup> A special educational training program for men in civilian public service camps was prepared and special booklets were published for some of the courses offered. These included history, Bible, first aid, Spanish, current affairs and pacifism, reconstruction, and agriculture which was the most popular. The majority of the instructors were assignees. In regard to education, it should also be mentioned that the Mennonite colleges, such as the one at Goshen, adopted a plan whereby

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<sup>38</sup> Guy F. Hershberger, *War, Peace and Nonresistance* (Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1944), 164-166.

<sup>39</sup> Plan of Action for Mennonites in Case of War, a mimeographed sheet prepared by the Mennonite Central Peace Committee, September 30, 1939.

<sup>40</sup> Hershberger, *War, Peace and Nonresistance*, 172.

any assignee to a Mennonite civilian public service camp would be eligible for a month's free tuition for each month of service in camp, provided the individual was accepted by the school. The maximum free tuition to any individual was not to exceed twenty-seven months.<sup>41</sup>

The Mennonites showed further interest in their conscientious objectors by organizing a pastoral visitation committee.<sup>42</sup> The members of this committee were to visit and give spiritual help to their believers in the various camps. This did not include those who, perchance, were in army camps. The pastors also visited those members who were on detached service, for example, those working on farms and in state hospitals. They also appeared before appeal boards, draft boards and courts, in behalf of their members who, because of their convictions, were having trouble with the officials.

The Church of the Brethren, although a small denomination of not quite two hundred thousand members, is the youngest and the largest of the three historic peace churches. Its membership in Indiana exceeded eighteen thousand and was divided among 112 churches.<sup>43</sup> They have no creed except the New Testament. Such principles from the New Testament as peace, temperance, simplicity, and brotherhood have been set up as ideals by the church. During the Civil War period the names of any members who bore arms were taken off the church books. In World War II, a position of tolerance and forbearance was noticed. Anyone going into full military service did so against the advice of the church, but did not lose his church membership. Young men were further advised that noncombatant service within the army was inconsistent with the teachings of the Bible and the church. Noncombatancy could not be reconciled to their historic peace position. Yet, in spite of these church teachings, over ninety per cent of the members available for mili-

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<sup>41</sup> Melvin Gingerich, *Service for Peace* (Akron, Pennsylvania, 1949), 403.

<sup>42</sup> O. N. Johns, a camp pastor, Louisville, Ohio, March 31, 1949; Olin A. Krehbiel, a Mennonite pastor, Berne, Indiana, February 2, 1949; Eli J. Bontrager, a camp pastor, Shipshewana, Indiana, March 12, 1949; and David A. Yoder, a camp pastor, Elkhart, Indiana, March 10, 1949.

<sup>43</sup> *An Introduction to Friends Civilian Public Service* (Philadelphia, 1945), 13; and an answer to the Church History Questionnaire by J. H. Mathis of the Church of the Brethren, November 4, 1948.

tary service were drafted or volunteered for full military service. A small percentage of this group accepted the status of I-A-O.<sup>44</sup>

In 1939, the Brethren Service Committee (BSC) was formed with the chief functions of dealing with peace and relief. It approved and suggested certain types of alternate service as being suitable for members of its churches. These services included reclamation and forestry, resettlement of refugees, and farm service.<sup>45</sup> Camp pastors were also used by the church to look after the interests of their men not only in civilian public service camps, but also those who were in the armed forces.<sup>46</sup> The BSC recognized that the civilian public service program was a limited instrument that was really inadequate for the achievement of all ends sought by pacifists. They considered it as a working compromise between church and state in that the church had submitted to an alternate plan for military service under conscription. The state, in turn, had recognized conscience as a basis of exemption from military service.<sup>47</sup>

Aims of the civilian public service program were: (1) to provide for individuals and groups conscientiously opposed to war a means of exercising their freedom of conscience and expressing their beliefs through alternate service, (2) to render service which would conserve and develop human and physical resources, (3) to develop and exemplify ways of co-operative, nonviolent, and serviceable community living, and (4) to prepare for the service of reconstruction.<sup>48</sup>

A poll taken among the Church of the Brethren camps showed that about one-half of the men in these camps were Brethren, and that the majority of the assignees were in their early twenties. The largest group according to occupation and training were those engaged in farming and agricultural work, with the second largest group consisting of those from the professional level, as teachers and musicians.

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<sup>44</sup> Rufus D. Bowman, *The Church of the Brethren and War (1708-1941)*, (Elgin, Illinois, 1944), 245, 249; Leslie Eisan, *Pathways of Peace* (Elgin, Illinois, 1948), 18n.

<sup>45</sup> Eisan, *Pathways of Peace*, 38, 39.

<sup>46</sup> H. L. Hartsough, a camp pastor, North Manchester, Indiana, to the writer, December 16, 1948.

<sup>47</sup> *General Statement on Civilian Public Service*, published by the Brethren Service Committee (Elgin, Illinois, 1946), 4, 5.

<sup>48</sup> Eisan, *Pathways of Peace*, 45.

The area which furnished the largest number of assignees to the Brethren camps was the east, north central group of states. This included Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana. Over one-third of the men in their camps came from this region.<sup>49</sup>

Realizing the hardships that would face some of its members after they were discharged from camp, the Church of the Brethren formed a dependency council to aid the men until they were able to get on their feet again. An emergency discharge loan fund provided loans up to one hundred dollars, and loans above that sum were also considered. Similar to the Mennonite action, the Church of the Brethren college at North Manchester, Indiana, along with others provided free tuition for any church member who had served in the civilian public service camps.<sup>50</sup>

The Quakers, or the Society of Friends, who since their origin in the seventeenth century have adhered to their pacifist tradition, organized the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in 1917 for the purpose of offering to their government any constructive work in which they could conscientiously serve humanity. Along with its many functions, the AFSC also dealt with the civilian public service program as it affected the Friends.<sup>51</sup> The Friends stressed the idea that alternate service under conscription was a compromise based on the idea that if war was wrong, so was conscription because it was a part of the whole; that conscription not only wasted men, but that men deteriorated under it; and that if CPS did succeed, it would point the way to a permanent peacetime labor draft. Nevertheless, the Friends also realized that alternate service was an effective witness against war and conscription; that the pacifist could not separate himself from the whole, but had to work alongside, through, and in the government; and finally that the best way to improve the lot of the pacifist was to do a good job at the task assigned. During wartime, the pacifist should emphasize not his rights, but the opportunity to serve. This participation of the AFSC in the CPS program, however, did not imply its approval of conscription. By taking

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>50</sup> *Brethren Greet Returning Members*, a pamphlet (Elgin, Illinois, n.d.), 3, 4.

<sup>51</sup> *An Introduction to Friends Civilian Public Service*, 16, 24-26.

part in this program they insisted that it be nonpolitical, and in harmony with their humanitarian views advocated that the camps be open to all, regardless of race, color, or creed.<sup>52</sup>

Almost one-third of the national membership of the Friends is concentrated in Indiana. It is due to this fact that Richmond, Indiana, and not Philadelphia is sometimes referred to as the Quaker center of the United States. In 1942 at the Indiana Yearly Meeting, which is the country's largest,<sup>53</sup> the Society of Friends renewed "its sense of fellowship with its young men in CPS camps as well as those who had refused to register for conscription." Full spiritual and financial support was to be given to these men and their families.<sup>54</sup> The following year they passed two resolutions of historical significance, one of which stated that "We do not censure Friends who conscientiously take part in the war effort any more than ourselves for failure to create conditions that might have done much to have avoided this war."<sup>55</sup> The peace section of the AFSC estimated that between seventy-five and eighty per cent of the Quakers of draft age went into the army. As a result of this the Friends found more affinity with pacifists of other denominations than they did with those having the opposite view in their own faith. The failure of the individual Quaker to carry on his pacifist tradition was matched by those of similar views in other denominations.

The Mennonites, the Church of the Brethren, and the Quakers met together several times after 1919, and expressed their views, work, and experiences. In 1935, at one of their meetings, the name, "Historic Peace Churches" was used

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<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 30, 31, 65. There was some difficulty over this last view, especially in camps in the South.

<sup>53</sup> Stanley High, "100,000 Quakers May Be Right," *The Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia, 1821- ), CCXII, No. 34 (1940), 14. The two yearly meetings in the area of Philadelphia have a combined membership of less than 16,000, whereas the Eastern Yearly Meeting in Indiana alone numbers this many.

<sup>54</sup> Harold E. Fey, "Quakers Meet in War Conference," *The Christian Century* (Chicago, 1883- ), LIX (1942), 612.

<sup>55</sup> "Force or Power," *Time* (Chicago, 1923- ), XLII (October 11, 1943), 46. The other resolution dealt with the Fulbright Resolution, "which commits the United States as favoring the creation of appropriate international machinery with power adequate to establish and maintain a just and lasting peace among the nations, and as favoring participation by the U.S.," as a step forward in the effort to better international relations.

for the first time.<sup>56</sup> The three denominations at this time drew up a statement which covered their peace positions. In case of war, the plan of unified action recommended that each group urge their members to observe the peace position of the particular church. This meant that they would not co-operate in the war effort or the acceptance of any military service. It further stated that these churches should provide proper counseling and spiritual care for conscientious objectors and financial support for their dependents. Two years later, representatives of these sects called on President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the White House and stated their views on war and peace, as well as reasons for their opposition to the bearing of arms.<sup>57</sup>

When the Burke-Wadsworth Bill<sup>58</sup> became a law in September, 1940, the historic peace churches immediately pointed out that the bill contained almost the same provisions for conscientious objectors as did the draft law of 1917. The result of their interest in the matter was a clause, added shortly thereafter, which provided alternate service for conscientious objectors, but no provision was made for the absolutist.<sup>59</sup> Ways and means of administering and financing an alternate service program were not mentioned. Questions as to the type of service and assignment procedures were yet to be answered. In order to present a united front and to co-ordinate their activities, the churches organized the National Service Board of Religious Objectors (NSBRO)<sup>60</sup> through which they continued further negotiations with government officials. The NSBRO became the official organ not only of the historic peace churches, but also of the other churches who had recognized the position of the conscientious objector.

A threefold type of service program which included work directly under governmental agencies, financed by the government; camps in conjunction with governmental agen-

<sup>56</sup> Hershberger, *War, Peace and Nonresistance*, 162.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 164; Eisan, *Pathways of Peace*, 34.

<sup>58</sup> The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 was introduced by Senator Edward R. Burke (Democrat, Nebraska) and Representative James W. Wadsworth (Republican, New York).

<sup>59</sup> Hershberger, *War, Peace and Nonresistance*, 166-167.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 168. See also Eisan, *Pathways of Peace*, 36. The conscription Act of 1917 exempted members of the peace churches from military service but not from noncombatant service.

cies, but administered by religious agencies, with finances shared by both; and projects financed and administered by the religious agencies, was approved both by the selective service officials and the historic peace churches. When the program was presented to the President, he expressed "instant and aggressive opposition to the plan" without stating his objections. The peace churches had expected a variety of alternatives and financial support from the government, but the outcome was one of two alternatives; either the government or the religious agencies would have to take over the whole responsibility of financing and administering the program for alternate service. This would include all conscientious objectors regardless of their affiliations.

The agencies of those churches supporting members in class IV-E would meet the wishes of the greatest number of conscientious objectors;<sup>61</sup> and, accepting the responsibility, they agreed to finance the program for six months. After the end of the experimental period, a joint meeting of selective service officials and representatives of the church agencies was held at Winona Lake, Indiana, September, 1941. The entire program was reviewed and thoroughly discussed. Both groups agreed to an extension of time, and to a renewal of the CPS program on a yearly basis. By March, 1946, the historic peace churches had expended six million dollars to administer the CPS program. Contributions from other churches amounted to \$1,040,410, whereas the cost of administering the camps for conscientious objectors of these other churches amounted to \$2,525,840.<sup>62</sup>

Much of the money raised by the historic peace churches for the support of the CPS program was through the cash contributions of their members. Instead of purchasing defense bonds and stamps, the church members bought CPS stamps and certificates. The chief difference was that the latter were not redeemable<sup>63</sup> but an outright contribution of the individual. Indiana was one of the few states that

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<sup>61</sup> *The Origins of Civilian Public Service* (Washington, D.C., n.d.), 7, 8.

<sup>62</sup> Hershberger, *War, Peace, and Nonresistance*, 168-169; *He Served His Country During the War*, a leaflet published by the NSBRO (Washington, D.C., n.d.).

<sup>63</sup> "Friends CPS Stamps and Certificates," *The American Friend* (Richmond, Indiana, 1912- ), n.s. XXX (1942), 138.



recognized contributions to CPS as equivalent to the purchase of war bonds.<sup>64</sup>

Indiana churches, as has been shown, varied in degrees by their attitude toward the conscientious objector. Except in one or two instances where the church body adopted a more or less "hands off" policy, the majority of churches recognized the conscientious convictions of their members and supported them. A greater tolerance toward individual persuasion was shown not only by denominations whose church tenets stipulated opposition to war, but also by those sects whose beliefs included a favorable attitude in regard to participation in armed conflict. Whether their members accepted active military service, noncombatant status, work in the civilian public service camps, or had taken the stand of the absolutist, the churches for the most part continued to keep their names on the church books, and supported them as much as was possible. This support was to be expected, for where else could the person with conscientious convictions look for aid, if not among the religious bodies?

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<sup>64</sup> "CPS Contributions in Lieu of Defense Bonds," *The American Friend*, n.s. XXX, 340; and Charles Daniel Brodhead, "Expect 75,000 in Pacifist Camps," in *The Christian Century*, LIX, 1574. Charles E. Hoover, the Deputy Administrator of the Indiana War Savings Staff stated in a letter that, "We know of the generous contributions your members have made in accordance with the dictates of their conscience. In many communities of Indiana, your people are buying Civilian Public Service Certificates and are thus aiding their nation."