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*Higher Ground: A Hoosier Soldier's Search for Religious Identity in the Korean War**

DOUGLAS DIXON

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on Private Joe Doe, a Hoosier soldier in the Korean War who struggled with the conflict between conservative Christian beliefs and modernity. The author reviewed 85 letters that Doe sent home to his mother, in addition to Private Doe's mother's memoirs and the evangelical literature that Doe encountered in his formative years. Although Doe had been socialized to believe that the church solved the most pressing problems, his experiences also underscored the power of modern science, New Deal programs, public education, and changing roles of women. This is a case study of a young Hoosier soldier's search for religious identity.

KEY WORDS Hoosier Soldier; Korean War; Evangelical; Modernity; United Brethren in Christ Church

Religion and American culture have been bound to one another so intricately that Alexis de Tocqueville commented in the nineteenth century, "The law permits the American people to do everything, religion prevents them from conceiving everything and forbids them to dare everything" (as cited in Lambert 2008:7). Civil government-church collaborative influence may have been just as true a century beyond de Tocqueville's observation. Many churchgoing American soldiers who served in the Korean War had learned of church-state entanglement during World War II as ecclesiastical pro-war appeals emanated from church sermons, pamphlets, Sunday school lessons, and weekly publications.¹ Only a few years later, President Harry Truman launched American troops against the masses of North Koreans and Russian-built tanks seeking to overthrow their neighbors to the south in the early 1950s. Thus, many green soldiers, still in their late teens and early twenties, had to grapple with the seemingly contradictory United Nations' call to peace through military intervention halfway around the world.²

This is a story of one of those freshly minted soldiers, Private Joe Doe, and, more specifically, his struggle with religion and identity in mid-20th-century America.³ His service during the less-heated "stalemate" phase of the Korean conflict gave him time to think,⁴ and as any homesick boy would do, he wrote home. His correspondence has

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provided a bundle of thoughtful letters principally to his mother about the Army, military work and training, daily experiences, relationships, future ambitions, and life in general—much of which is infused with religious contemplation.⁵ Pvt. Doe's thoughts are therefore a cultural footprint of a Midwestern boy who grew up at the intersection of an assortment of conservative Protestant traditions, most of which overlapped one another on religious endpoints.⁶

What makes Doe's story so useful is that it makes more concrete an internal struggle that played out on the larger American stage, a psychic drama of evangelicals looking to the past as they were pressed by modernity.⁷ Although this account argues for the importance of one religious strand of the soldier's coming-of-age years, that of the United Brethren in Christ denomination (hereafter United Brethren or UBC), at least four religious traditions fed into this private's search for self-identification.⁸ The church community investigated in this analysis was that of the Evansville UBC, located in this Hoosier private's hometown of Evansville, Indiana. The parishioners of the church welcomed Doe in his early years, at age 12, as he accepted his official role there (St. James United Brethren Membership Book N.d.). Aside from Doe's correspondence and his mother's accounts, one significant fountain of evidence that documents the evangelical influence on Doe, and the wider issues of modernity that he confronted, is derived from the publications that permeated the culture of the Evansville UBC as recorded in the subscription lists of the United Brethren in Christ Conference Annual Proceedings.⁹

Three other religious influences on Pvt. Doe receiving less attention here are also within the Protestant tradition. The General Baptist tradition, of which Doe was a part from birth to 12 years of age, differed little from the UBC.¹⁰ Attendance with his grandparents and single mother at Garvinwood General Baptist Church would teach the young Doe that church commitment was central to one's identity, though there was some differentiation by gender.¹¹ Habits of worship, tithing, communion, and Bible reading and lessons were also part of his socialization. His maternal grandmother, in comparison, imbued the future Korean War soldier with much of the piety surrounding her own father's preaching. Doe's maternal great-grandfather, Reverend E. N. Russell, had been an itinerant Methodist minister ("Obituary of Rev. E. N. Russell, 1940). The significance of this latter influence was not lost on Doe, as he penned in one letter, "Don't tell Grandmother that I said 'darned'" (Doe to Mother, 29 September 1952). Cumberland Presbyterian kinfolk from across the Ohio River near Owensboro, Kentucky, also were influential.¹² The young boy's biological father never made contact with Doe after his birth, and thus the paternal side of his family was of little import (Author interview with Pvt. Doe, 1989; Winstead 1989b:13b–14b, Appendix).

What Doe's letters reveal, in part, is the conflicted state of a young soldier who gravitated more toward an evangelical outlook while also acknowledging, at times, the antagonistic pull of a changing society and wartime ambiguities on his beliefs.¹³ While his 19th century grandparents modeled more Victorian-era attitudes toward lifestyle choices, clearly, this private's mother and fiancée, among others, highlighted what Bob Dylan popularized in the decade following the Korean War: "These times they are

a-changing.” What is more, the UBC literature of Doe’s impressionable years also reflected this contrast, emphasizing traditions while also trumpeting societal changes. An investigation into a selection of this literature against the backdrop of Doe’s correspondence and how the two interact to define the coming-of-age of his religious orientation is the focus here.

UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH LITERATURE AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY: TRADITION AND MODERNITY¹⁴

The United Brethren in Christ (UBC) literature produced in Pvt. Doe’s early years originated at the Otterbein Press located in Dayton, Ohio. Church attendees were introduced to a range of genres that catered to youth groups and adults. The *Religious Telescope* (RT), the earliest published pamphlet of the organization in 1834, continued to be sent to Doe’s congregation during the 1940s and early 1950s (Ness 1966:269).¹⁵ The publishers of the *RT* addressed “useful information associated with Christianity,” which included a wide variety of topics intersecting with morality, religion, and patriotism. More specifically, examples included secularization, war, family expectations and gender roles, Biblical authority, church participation as central to good living, and anti-liquor protestations. Along with the *RT*, the congregational culture of Doe’s specific church incorporated viewpoints discussed in a number of other publications shipped to the UBC community, including several relevant for Doe’s age group (e.g., *The Friend* and *Otterbein Youth’s Quarterly*).¹⁶ Whether Doe read or was taught from any of these is uncertain, but given the subscription rate of the Evansville UBC, which he attended, the topics within them would very likely have reflected a set of values that permeated the group with which he worshiped. Given his regular attendance at Sunday school and church services, lessons provided in several of these publications would have almost certainly entered the young Doe’s thinking. Many of their topics were found in his correspondence.

A perusal of UBC literature demonstrates the publisher’s concern over the secular trends of the first half of the 20th century.¹⁷ U.S. involvement in war indicated that using force was useful to solve problems, a message contradictory to the love and forgiveness preached by Christ and adopted as part of UBC doctrine.¹⁸ The war increased the number of jobs in the munitions and other industries, offering relief to the many Depression-era Americans who were unemployed. One article noted the rise in the numbers of women in the workforce and predicted that nearly 18 million would soon fill many jobs ordinarily held by men. This, the parishioners were told, was contributing to undisciplined children who were growing up without their fathers or mothers. More crime was the result. Fathers were recruited by the war machine, leaving them lonely and lacking healthy forms of leisure activities. Gambling, womanizing, card-playing, and drinking filled the gap for many, all part of the morally corrosive behaviors of the times. Venereal disease was identified as a problem both for recruiting good men to go to war and keeping them healthy once in battle. Alcoholic indulgence was as popular as ever, even among church board members, much to the chagrin of the official UBC voice. Fathers were spending

their paychecks to buy booze, and then on destructive activities that drunkenness spawned, leaving families in poverty. The church was not working closely enough with families to reinforce its teaching on many of these issues. Neither church members nor their brothers in arms during World War II were paying enough attention to the Bible and its precepts. Overall, as one elderly UBC devotee penned, the United Brethren Church was generally failing to evangelize effectively in 20th-century America, and this reflected a long-term slide toward secularization and immorality (“Why the Change” 1942).

Pvt. Doe’s letters address nearly all of these points emphasized in the UBC literature: the problematic nature of U.S. involvement in the war, gender roles, immoral behavior (especially drinking), family life and home, and the critical import of church, among others.¹⁹ Church participation and allegiance, beyond all other topics, was the key to fulfilling the ideal religious life. His deep sense of loyalty to church and its activities were mentioned in nearly one-third of the letters written to his mother. Sunday worship, tithing, communion, and Bible study were all part of the mix of his religious life while stationed in Korea and in transit. UBC publications reinforced the commitment and loyalty of Doe’s family to their local church.

The central role of the church as sacred institution and the opportunity to demonstrate discipleship flow throughout the UBC literature. All UBC members were very likely kept attuned to the statistics surrounding membership gains and losses and the evangelic mission of the institutional church. These were announced in yearbook statistics, editorials, and annual proceedings (Indiana Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ 1942:44; “Why the Change” 1942; “Year Book—Facts and Figures” 1942). Critical to Doe’s religious orientation were the commentaries that pitched the ongoing battle between secularism and ecclesiastical truths captured well by an editorial titled “Why the Church”: “There are those today who feel that the church has served its purpose, that we are an educated people and no longer need the church to dispel the fear of the unknown” and that lackluster attendance was a sign that it had outlived its usefulness (Young 1942b).²⁰ These claims were particularly odious to the church defender, especially during the precarious rise of militaristic and atheistic Germans, Japanese, and Russians. The modernists, it was claimed, were ignoring—even more, “attacking”—an “organized body of people” and, more significantly, “defying God” (Young 1942b). Rev. Robert B. Young, went on to emphasize that the message of the church was essential to the survival of the world and to the health of families and individuals—that is, to achieve peace, settle disputes over international boundaries, and solve societal problems, including rampant divorce, alcoholic indulgence, and wayward mothers and children.²¹ The professional fields of psychology, education, psychiatry, and philosophy had all failed to accomplish what the church could do.²²

A historical piece by Rachel M. Brant (1942) argued that churches must work with parents and others to ensure religious training for young people. Drawing on various examples from the Bible and American colonial times, she posited that Americans have discontinued a long tradition of reinforcing Christian ideals through close collaboration between religious community and home. Instead, the author noted the deterioration in modern times wherein households have turned over the education of children to public

schools, which have become “secularized,” so that “the public schools are threatened with the return of paganism.” With alarm, she cited that at least half of all boys and girls went without religious training, the result being increased crime. According to Brant, greater collaboration between parents and church leaders would promote among children “feelings of security,” help “build a new and lasting peace and establish a new world brotherhood,” and in turn usher in God’s Kingdom. A hint of millennialism is present here (Hankins 2008:84).

Another editorial by a stalwart United Brethren who reflected on his experiences from 1876 to the 1940s claimed that the church had lost its focus (“Why the Change” 1942). According to his understanding, drawn from UBC yearbooks of the recent past, more than 10,000 attendees had quit going to regular services, and an unfathomable 47,000 had stopped attending Sunday school. New church inductees had dropped by nearly half, from an average of 6,000 to 3,100. Oddly enough, this change did not translate to worsening economic support; building activities and programs continued to expand, which prompted the author to say, “We are making splendid headway in our financial efforts.” This critic’s complaint was more about the spirit of the times, however. More specifically, he recollected having “faithful elderly Sunday school teachers who were not highly educated but were born again and filled with the Holy Spirit.” His recollection also noted that pastors had little fear “to direct their entire sermon against the liquor traffic, dancing, immoral picture shows, Sabbath breaking and card playing,” but the behavior of contemporary pastors merely reflected church board members—“never born again” themselves—who opposed such admonitions. The answer for this parishioner lay in reinstating “decision days [opportunities for conversion]”; “weekly prayer meetings,” including praying, testifying, and singing spiritual songs; and revival campaigns.

A Hoosier soldier in Korea, however, could hardly have dismissed the usefulness of secular institutions that were contributing to the resolution of societal problems. For instance, in the field of medicine—an occupational area to which Doe had committed himself—technological advances were front-page news. Alongside coverage of the 1952 presidential primaries, Private Doe’s home newspaper ran a story about innovations in blood plasma that would revolutionize medical treatment on the battlefield, saving the lives of many soldiers (Rutkin 1952). Dr. Jonas Salk was in the process of perfecting his polio vaccine (Lee 1981:236). Doe’s mother also had certainly shared her fascination with so many 20th-century technologies, as she was still taken with them decades after he returned from Korea: “I was before penicillin, the pill, test tube babies, capped teeth, *Ms.* [magazine], dacron and nylon.”²³ It is very possible, too, that Doe as a teenager may have read about the exploits of Dr. Walter Reed, Dr. Howard Ricketts, or George Washington Carver; the first providing the research to rid us from the scourge of yellow fever, the second finding the cause of typhus fever, and the last discovering hundreds of products to be made from peanuts and sweet potatoes. These stories²⁴ reflect one type of biography found in *Otterbein Youth’s Quarterly* published for Doe’s cohort. Given Doe’s interest in medicine, it is unlikely that the “miracles” of science proclaimed within or beyond church walls went unnoticed.

While a teenager, Doe witnessed the government progress on several fronts. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs had literally saved his fellow countrymen from starvation, families from disintegration, and fathers from hurt pride.²⁵ Alan Brinkley (1989:89) writes, "virtually all the New Dealers agreed that a solution [to] the nation's greatest problems required the federal government to step into the marketplace to protect the interests of the public," whether through employment or regulatory strategies. The country's military technology was also effective in staving off many more casualties. Tanks and aircraft had demonstrated their effectiveness in the Second World War, along with the most destructive weapon dropped to end the war in the Pacific (Lee 1981:46–47, 103). Pvt. Doe, aware of these advances, argued that the use of military aircraft was the only way to end the Korean conflict (Doe to Mother, 12 September 1952, 3 February 1953).

Doe's pharmacy education and drug treatment of soldiers on the war front demonstrated how science as much as spirit solved life-threatening problems (Doe to Mother, 13 August 1952, 15 August 1952, 16 August 1952, 27 August 1952, 5 September 1952, 9 September 1952, 12 January 1953). His correspondence noted the injections of penicillin in the treatment of venereal disease, the distribution of antimalaria tablets, and easing of pain with morphine. As a medic, he regularly facilitated blood transfusions and went for blood supplies, heightening his sensitivity to the new plasma technology (Doe to Mother, 5 September 1952, 10 October 1952). He was able to distinguish among different types of alcohol for its use by his mother. In the end, the church may have claimed a special dispensation to heal the world in spirit, but Doe had a sense of the positive influences that medicine, government, and science could contribute as well. In Doe's mind, both faith and the scientific method could be applied to heal societal wounds.

In the case of gender roles, particularly within the family and church context, Pvt. Doe could hardly have escaped the strong messages that the RT and other UBC publications communicated. A short poem by an unknown author placed in the January 1942 issue of RT labeled "A Boy in the House" spoke of the widespread beliefs about inherently male attributes. It began with "A gun in the parlor, kite in the hall" and continued later with "a racket, a rattle, a rollicking shout" and "a whistling, a pounding, a hammering of nails" and ended with "make it easy to hear there's a boy in the house." The UBC publishers underlined that males had a distinct role to play in society, engaging in activities that underscored boys' ceaseless activity, energy, and domineering will over both their environment and those under their care (females, the young, and those who were unconverted). These same attributes also tied males to athletics (Olds 1944).

Men had a special role as protector, provider, and religious pillar. A review of several articles makes the point. A leading editorial in the April 1942 issue of RT, "Our Need Is Men," linked the choice of Peter—a man—to be the rock upon which Jesus would build his church. The ideal personality of this leader chosen to protect and grow the Kingdom on earth was a character made of "granite." The disciple Peter and other men called to serve the church were to possess an independence, fortitude, and faithfulness that permitted a strong stance against the whimsical nature of the times and

the fear of worldly rejection. The nation's "cities" were especially marked off as "so many battlefields on which resolute and flint-willed men must wrestle in terrific struggle with the forces of the devil." "Bigotry," often associated with narrow-mindedness, was framed as a positive attribute of those serving the righteous cause of a minority of believers unwilling to bend to the wayward path of a heathen majority, a road that would inevitably lead to eternal death. This theme of men necessary to carry the church forward as Moses, Jeremiah, and Saul had done is also echoed elsewhere.²⁶

While men were portrayed as defenders of the faith, they had a violent side. A story to illustrate men's dual character was provided by Martha Bailey Moore (1942). The purpose of the tale was to demonstrate how a believer's methods were superior to more worldly alternatives. The believer, a man named David, was confronted by other travelers who scorned his intention to "fight off" known bandits by engaging the Bible and prayer as preferred "weapon[s] of defense." The nonbelieving men resorted to more common methods: "daggers and pistols." The end was predictable for the evangelical: The violent, nonbelieving travelers were killed, the believer survived under the "protection of God" and through practice of Biblical precepts, and the bandits thanked the believer for his interest in their salvation, letting him pass without harm—a miracle.

As often as not, men's roles were defined in contrast to those of women. Men were the breadwinners, the defenders of the home (both household and country), tough-minded, the disciplinarians. Women were to play a distinctly nurturing, home-based role. More than a few believed that traditional Victorian-era gender expectations were being violated during the 1930s and 1940s with negative consequences for individuals and society. Among them, Rev. M. Elizabeth King sounded the alarm in "Occupation—Wife" (1942) that wartime had jolted the place most suitable for wives and mothers. Comparing the behaviors of women from pioneer times to early 20th-century America, Rev. King underscored the most important aspects of traditional housewives. These included, for example, providing emotional security to children, caring for a sick child, or celebrating good news with the family while home. Girls, after all, were taught early on the "arts of keeping house." Dr. C. W. Brewbaker's "Family Life in War Time" (1942) added to this refrain. Constant war preparations, deaths and casualties, and the drive for war munitions profits were turning home and family life upside down, and the new media, "the radio, the press, the movie ... add[ed] to the tension and disintegration of the family life." Again, the reader learned of how many wayward women were in the workforce, replacing men then on the battlefield. "Remember," Brewbaker admonished, these working women "are the wives, mothers and homemakers of our nation [which] means that the home is relegated to a very secondary place and domestic ideals, hopes and dreams are forever shattered." Like "termites," the new world was eating away at the home's foundation. "New world," "new era," and "modernity" were catchall phrases that stood for the divisive issues with which Pvt. Doe was struggling in the cultural war between changing American realities and evangelical norms.

These authors also emphasized the fears during this period of transition. Brewbaker (1942) worried that "the rapid change now going on is alarming." The home was racked with "babies crying for their fathers," left "without parental nurture, care and

guidance.” Rev. King (1942) signaled that perhaps “we [were] in the early phase of a new era,” in which war made gender roles more complicated and psyches more insecure. The reverend claimed, nevertheless, that many women and men welcomed the change, the former because the change had brought desired freedom and independence, the paycheck gaining priority over home attachment. Some men were drawn to the newly styled wife who brought home an extra level of income security. The result, however, according to King, was “broken homes,” troubled children, and juvenile delinquency.

There were, of course, non-war-related, less dire articles and stories in the RT and *The Friend* that described positive female characteristics and behaviors in traditional roles. One story (“A Big Sister All the Boys Liked” 1942) posed the difficulty in getting a birthday gift for “Sue,” the ideal neighborhood sweetheart. No other could bake such yummy cookies or bandage and care for those “bruised fingers and toes.” Sue also kept up on all the “important” things such as “fish bait and baseball.” She was not one to focus on her own needs or wants. In the end, the only wish the neighborhood boys could get from her as a gift suggestion for the occasion was the promise that Frederick Jackson Wilkins, one of the gang, would “stop smoking cigarettes [*sic*].”

UBC publications for Doe’s age group, in particular *The Friend*, included the requisite advice columns on interacting with the opposite sex. In these, the reader found cues to gender norms.²⁷ Aside from learning what girls wanted from dating partners—friendship, good conversation, a confident lad, good grooming, one with a certain plan of action—the columnist noted that the males were responsible for attitudes and activities. The author stated, “What happens when a boy asks a girl for a date?” and “[Girls] can’t make dates themselves.” The boy was in control, at least as the initiator. He was the “aggressive” or proactive partner. Another column helped the young fellow learn where he had gone wrong in dating situations, again highlighting that the male was in charge. Jonathan suggested that the boy be specific in the invitation—to state the time and day—and to meet her at the door, take care to drop his date in a dry spot at the entrance in case of inclement weather, and keep his promise to take her home when he said he would. The male was the protector—“a fellow who knows how to take care of a girl.”

The ideal woman also received some attention in the RT publication in connection to a Mother’s Day essay contest.²⁸ The winner portrayed the “typical American mother.” More specifically, the author wrote, “You know her, I know her. Everybody knows her. You see her washing clothes, baking pies, getting her young ones off to school or she may be talking to the grocer, or soothing an irate husband’s frazzled nerves.” Importantly, the ideal women, in this case in her role as mother, did not seek publicity for herself, found contentment serving in the home, avoided professional careers, and looked to influence others, principally men, who would be the leaders of societal institutions. A female’s major influence should be “guarding morals” and preserving “our homes.” Above all, the true mother suffered for others. Certainly, the war was calling on mothers to suffer as sons went off to training camps and then to battle. Doe acknowledged such suffering of his mother in many letters, repeatedly claiming that he was in no danger, so no need to worry that the newspapers got it wrong—the Chinese were not knocking on the door of his camp.

Descriptions of traditional gender roles often were woven intricately with Biblical exemplars in mind. The portrayal of the suffering, earthly ideal mother had its roots in Biblical example. The suffering mother of Jesus, readers were reminded, had endured to the depth of her soul the crucifixion. Rev. H. H. Atkins (1942) pointed to the common dependency of women and children on the man in marriage, so that his sinfulness affected all. That is, when the husband sinned, as in the case of drunken indulgence, “too often the helpless wife and hungry children suffer[ed] infinitely more ... than the offending husband.”

Pvt. Doe’s Korean War correspondence clearly showed him in the 19th-century paradigm of man as breadwinner and head of household with expectations about males and females. His letters celebrated receipt of various goodies that women were sending him from home, oftentimes under his direction. He shared his pride that his fiancée was doing as he told her, in caring for silk pajamas he sent from Korea or in buying a car (Doe to Mother, 13 November 1952). Gentle jabs were directed both at his mother and future wife as he learned of their successful employment (Doe to Mother, 18 September 1952, 22 December 1952, 25 January 1953; Winstead 1989:22b–23b).²⁹ After the latter’s achievement on a job test, he teased that he would “have a little brain” for a bride. Repeatedly, he admonished his mother about working outside the home because the man “should have the full responsibility” (11 November 1952). Also, he derided his mother’s choice of Ike (Dwight Eisenhower), as he impatiently awaited the president-elect to “bring the boys home” (Doe to Mother, 1 March 1953). There was little doubt, however, that women were to provide moral guidance. In one letter (29 September 1952), Pvt. Doe cautioned his mother not to tell his grandmother that he missed church or said “darned.” More important was his admission (16 August 1952) that he promised to live up to his mother’s standards of behavior.

Several of the foregoing responses from Doe highlighted that he was also learning something about new expectations for women. Several letters suggested that his mother was actively following the presidential election and differed with her son over the best choice (Doe to Mother, 7 September 1952). Doe was also cautiously pleased to hear of his fiancée’s election to the presidency of a church youth group and her perfect score on an employment exam (Doe to Mother, 18 September 1952). Doe’s mother was succeeding professionally, making enough money to draw her son’s mocking repartee about earning millions. These signs of change in gender roles also were prevalent in the pages of UBC publications, without the negative associations mentioned in previous examples. Dorothy Joy Clark’s “Making Dreams Come True” (1942) emphasized the changes. In her case, the larger point made was that a teenager of either sex cannot reach a goal but by the stint of hard work, including “a girl who loses herself in a vision of a happy home *or career*” [italics added]. Transformation in work roles was often central to the modern circumstance, as illustrated in wartime. The war had pushed women where many wanted to go anyway—that is, into factories and offices—gaining a paycheck and with it a measure of independence, self-worth, and confidence.

In the 1950s, the topic of women’s political participation was also part of what young Doe would have encountered. Published UBC Sunday school lessons, youth

stories, and general magazines all played a part in emphasizing the changing role of modern-day women canvassing for votes. The subscriptions circulating among Doe's evangelical church mirrored evolving gender standards.³⁰ For example, L. S. Lydel (1943) revisited the case study of Mary Dyer, a defender of well-known religious speaker Anne Hutchinson in colonial America. In it, the author asserted "the right [for a woman] to think for herself! We're no longer living in the Dark Ages." Moreover, Lydel asked rhetorically: "Was the ability to use one's mind [as Hutchinson had] in understanding God a joke?" Toward the end, the author concluded that Mary Dyer's willingness "to die for the right to believe as she pleased and to talk to others of her beliefs" led to the repeal of an "unrighteous law." As added emphasis, the piece ended, "it took a woman for that ... a woman executed."

In Sunday school lessons, Doe may have been introduced to an Old Testament Hebrew leader, Deborah, who was "one of the great leaders of the people of Israel during the time of the judges" ("Women's Part in Our National Life" 1944). After the many years that Israel had been "untrue to God" by worshiping pagan idols, this "prophetess" and "judge" was called to lead the tribes of Israel over their enemies. Interestingly enough, however, while Deborah was in command, she relied on a "strong military man," Barak, to lead the "men" to battle. Nonetheless, the lesson emphasized Deborah as the established religious leader, the one whom Barak insisted go along with the soldiers for spiritual support. The lesson ended with application for today and encouraged the teacher to highlight that "women often have been history makers."

Alice Niebel Steinmetz penned a personal narrative, "With the Women" (1947), that punctuated the role of "modern" political women of Doe's adolescent years. Although the introduction prompted readers to consider a fervent "woman political worker" collecting dues for a local political group, the broader message was how women had come of age as powerful actors. She quoted statistics from the Census Bureau that "showed" women voters outnumbering men by more than a million in the 1946 election. Perhaps Doe was reminded of Steinmetz's remark that the days when women could be ignored in the political, ecclesiastical, or domestic arenas, all of which were discussed in the piece, had long passed. To emphasize the point, the author added that women had always been central to religious purpose, as "our Lord first revealed his true self to a woman."

The contradictions that Pvt. Doe faced between conservative Christian beliefs and the press of modernity were dizzying. The influences on his religious bearing came from many directions. This Hoosier soldier had been socialized to believe that the church solved the most pressing problems at the same time that science produced its own miracles.³¹ The educated somehow become the foil for churchmen who sensed a loss in believers and the prevalence of a Godless culture. New Deal government programs fed and provided a measure of pride to the desperate of the Depression era as they competed with charitable religious groups. Military innovation produced weapons that could destroy humanity. Men were to serve as heads of household, even as millions were off fighting in battles or undercut by the Great Depression. Women were to be the homemakers yet somehow work in factories and offices to support the war and families

suffering from unemployed men. The UBC preached peace while it described how its members could support the country's fight against the Axis powers.

Three areas in which Pvt. Doe appeared to have been less flexible as part of his religious orientation during his service abroad were consumption of alcohol, attention to Biblical dictates, and church attendance along with rituals such as tithing and communion. Beliefs related to these topics were also reinforced by family, church, and UBC literature. His attention to church activities outweighed all other topics in his correspondence. Early on (Doe to Mother, 24 September 1951), he intoned that churchgoing was "odd" without his mother by his side. His mother clearly influenced Doe, with respect to both religious devotion and lifestyle. As mentioned earlier, the Hoosier private identified her standards as a sort of moral code—"I promise I will live up to what you have taught me" (16 August 1952). Toward the end of his tour in Korea, he confessed, "I didn't go to church again ... getting to be a bad little boy," then as a justification asserted that he had missed church because duty called on a Sunday (Doe to Mother, 19 April 1953). He reported his attendance during Easter and at other times while his ship navigated the Pacific on its way to the Orient. (During the voyage, religious services were held every morning.) Tradition also played a part in the value of church for him. He had grown up attending church with his mother and grandparents (St. James United Brethren Membership Book N.d.), and that habit was partly what defined ideal behavior.

In one letter, Doe ruminated on the future: "I will feel wonderfully free when I can settle down ... have a home of my own, and one church to worship in" (Doe to Mother, 1 August 1952). In several letters as he moved from camp to camp, he reflected on his experiences while worshiping, including location (e.g., at times in the mess tent), with descriptions of services, choir organs, and the frequency of communion (18 August 1952). Because Doe was frugal, his willingness to tithe signaled the value he placed on the activity that was rooted in tradition based on attention to biblical dictates. He also demonstrated his commitment to church in wedding planning with regard to identifying who the minister might be. Later, he emphasized that his faith in God underlay his sense of calm when he substituted as a guard for fellow soldiers. Moreover, church affiliation also fit into Pvt. Doe's plans to connect with future friends and potential job contacts once released from the military.

His adherence to a moral code was rooted partly in his interaction with the Bible. While cruising across the Pacific Ocean to his first overseas duty station, he observed that shipmates did not follow biblical strictures (Doe to Mother, 1 August 1952). He engaged with religious literature as part of his routine, spending his leisure participating in devotional activities. A friend from home mailed copies of the periodical *Daily Word*. Doe also exchanged ideas about scripture with his fiancée (Doe to Mother, 15 September 1952). Furthermore, he compared the sermons of various chaplains, touting "Chaplain Brown [as] ... the best minister I have heard" (Doe to Mother, 27 October 1952). Encounters with wounded soldiers who came from the battle front for treatment, however, pushed Doe to question his faith (Doe to Mother, 11 August 1952).

A strong moral code also led him to judge the behavior of others. He lamented that his fellow soldiers indulged in the immorality of alcoholic drinks at the military base club. As part of his supply work, Doe commented that it “gripes me” when supplies included “beer and ice” at the expense of other “needed supplies” (Doe to Mother, 3 September 1952). Doe adamantly opposed liquor, condemning his fellow soldiers’ drinking habits, partly because he did not want to clean up the mess they left. In one letter to his mother he stated, “I don’t go to the service club because you either drink or dance, and I don’t care about either” (6 October 1951). Nevertheless, he was willing to share with his mother that he himself had nearly indulged but had thought better of it, based on inferences about what his mother would think: “bargained [during Bingo] for a bottle of whiskey [but] I really don’t need it ... do I” (22 December 1952).

Selections from UBC literature during the 1940s, be they from the multitude of Sunday school lessons or other genres of the Otterbein Press, touted the ruinous nature of drink and the necessity of church participation.³² There is little doubt that some of this moralistic brew had been poured into the developing conscience of the young Doe during his Sunday worship and Bible study. Over a few years, the Sunday school lessons in the YQ subscription of Doe’s UBC congregation discussed motivations for drinking,³³ false advertisements about alcohol,³⁴ contemporary problems associated with liquor,³⁵ facts of alcoholism,³⁶ how consumption led one to fail,³⁷ alcohol’s effects,³⁸ and costs associated with drinking.³⁹ Church lessons promoted “abstinence from liquor,” using rules from various books of the Bible as their basis as part of “International Temperance Sunday.”⁴⁰ The troubles concomitant with alcohol also found their way into other articles not principally about liquor per se but about how the war effort might be affected negatively by it or how its consumption destroyed families and homes.

Pvt. Joe Doe’s experiences were part of a mid-century struggle between fundamentalist ideology and modernism. His hometown church served to reinforce many of the late-19th-century values already modeled by his grandparents and, at times, his mother and other family and friends. The Evansville UBC, which this Hoosier soldier attended from 12 years of age until his entrance in the Korean War, reinforced the centrality of church to his identity. He took this to heart. But the Korean War private also witnessed how secular organizations proved effective in solving life’s problems. Doe had to reconcile the useful remedies offered by the world outside church walls even as those remedies were condemned by the faithful: scientific innovation, relief and regulation by an increasingly dominant government sector, public education, and new configurations of family and gender relations. This soldier, however, certainly did not struggle with these contradictions alone.

EVANGELICAL REVIVAL IN THE MIDST OF MODERNITY

Pvt. Doe’s letters placed him squarely in the conflict of modernity versus evangelical tradition. Religious revival swept across Evansville, Doe’s hometown, for several weeks in January 1952, with front-page news coverage in the *Evansville Courier*. The Hoosier soldier’s family must have relished the call to Christ, as he compared his mother’s praise

of widely heralded evangelist Rev. Charles Templeton to those heard at church services in Korea.⁴¹ During the months surrounding the revival, the same newspaper regularly printed front-page “testimonials” by leaders in the Evansville community emphasizing the centrality of faith to their lives. The Annual World Day of Prayer also found a quarter-page announcement, with kneeling, hand-clasped common folk pictured. Moreover, Evansville College, which Doe had initially attended, had fired a professor just a few years earlier for straying too far from the conservative political and Christian agenda; communists and atheists were one and the same for many (Mills 2003:133–134, 137, 145, 147).

Nonetheless, southwestern Hoosiers, as with Americans generally, turned to government as much as to religion to solve their Depression-era problems.⁴² To heal the sick, they turned to innovative medical practices and pharmaceuticals, to companies in Indiana such as Eli Lilly, which had been a leader in producing and marketing these drugs. To compete with the world market, Hoosier farmers turned to scientific innovations such as the tractor, the corn picker, the grain combine, and hybrid seeds (Madison 1990:263–64).⁴³ Evansville was the center of military aircraft production too, and many women, including Pvt. Doe’s mother, found their skills put to use outside the home.⁴⁴ The evangelical ire—more often than not tied to big government, public schooling, scientific methods and problem solving, and evolving gender and family roles—was often targeted as the threat to Godly culture.

While Pvt. Doe’s hometown of Evansville wrestled with an evolving culture, so too did the State of Indiana, the Midwest, and the nation.⁴⁵ Indiana historian James Madison notes that the “major Protestant denominations—Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Disciples of Christ—struggled mightily with the uncertainty and conflict engendered by Darwinian evolution, higher criticism of the Bible, and the modernist movement generally.”⁴⁶ The fight over Scopes teaching evolution and the wider debate over science, Biblical literalism, and reason has received considerable attention.⁴⁷ Frank Lambert argues that industry prompted universities to respond to the “changing demands of a public life that had undergone significant change over the past fifty years.” This occurred as early as the 1920s, yet the fundamentalist fight continued (Lambert 2008:118–19). Across the nation, moral instruction was replaced with secular subjects, including the social sciences, in public schools as part of the impetus to modernize. Indiana began to require college-educated teachers who were also certified (Lambert 2008:118–19; Madison 2008:251). Although this process may have taken longer in Indiana, the switch to state financing and control had begun as early as 1933 (Lambert 2008; Madison 2008).

The mid-1950s was an era of religious turmoil for many in America. Doe’s correspondence made those internal conflicts more concrete. The Hoosier private had to find a balance between the press of evangelical norms—to which he clung at times cautiously—and modern realities. To be sure, his Korean War letters to his mother demonstrated a commitment to evangelical values, but these values were in flux. Doe commended his mother for her professional success while suggesting that she quit because it was not the woman’s role. He strove to earn a college degree at the same time

that the religious faithful denigrated its usefulness to true believers. The science of pharmacology offered practical solutions rooted in research, not in spiritual miracles, and this Army-trained pharmacy technician called on both as he healed the injured. Joining the armed services itself validated government's benefit to Doe. Higher ground for Pvt. Doe was shifting ground.

ENDNOTES

1. Following are several examples drawn from various weekly periodical subscriptions of the Evansville United Brethren Church (UBC), where Pvt. Doe attended church. One editorial noted, "We pray for the soldiers . . . at the front of the battle . . . who have unselfishly given themselves for home and country. May they find in this sacrifice the blessing promised to those who losing their lives, will find them again" ("The Nation's Prayer" 1942). In another piece drawn from the UBC's subscriptions, Eloise Jenness Leonard (1942) identified the activities that young people could do to help their country in "this critical hour" of war, including Boy Scouts collecting and saving newspapers and all protecting bike tires because of the demand for rubber, turning off the lights to save electricity, and so forth. Dr. Paul R. Koontz (1942) praised the Army chaplain who fulfilled "his conception of the Christian ideal." For other examples, see Rev. Robert B. Young's "Why the Church" (1942b) and "Rightly Dividing the Word" (1942a). For national examples, see Lambert (2008:146–148, 155).

More specific examples relevant to Pvt. Doe's later Korean experience were ties made between the liquor industry and intervention by churches to prohibit drinking in the Army because of various negative outcomes—for example, the fall of nations, military unpreparedness during Pearl Harbor, and destruction to health, such as veterans' contracting venereal disease or insanity (Gilliatt 1942a).

2. For a well-documented account of Hoosier soldier experiences in Korea, see Mills (2002).
3. Joe Doe is a pseudonym for purposes of privacy.
4. Doe joined the Army at the rank of E-1 on 19 September 1951 and was honorably discharged 11 September 1953 (Doe, Joe, DD214). He arrived in Korea on approximately 9 August 1952 (Joe Doe, Korean War Correspondence [hereafter "Doe to Mother"], 10 August 1952). Doe's military service in Korea was set in the context of the stalemate-negotiation/truce-seeking phase of the war, which historians have marked off beginning 16 May 1951, with armistice agreed to on 27 July 1953 (Sandler 1999:143–44, 261; see also Stokesbury 1988).
5. The 85 letters available for this study are included in Joe Doe, Correspondence, 27 May 1951 to 25 June 1953. Nearly a third of the letters explicitly discuss some facet of Doe's religious beliefs, practices, and values.
6. See, for example, Barry Hankins's (2008:29) discussion of five points of Christian faith: the inerrancy/full authority of the Bible, the Virgin birth of Christ, Christ's substitute atonement, the bodily resurrection of Christ, and the authenticity of miracles.

7. Lambert (2008:132) defined the phenomenon using the term “secularization of America,” in which the modern liberal-capitalist state and scientific knowledge relegated religion to the margins of culture.
8. In spite of his UBC socialization, there is no indication in the letters that Pvt. Doe believed in pacifism, so although the topic is worthy of investigation, the focus of this research is the letters sent from Korea.
9. Although the United Brethren in Christ’s Indiana Annual Conference records demonstrate that Doe was exposed to a variety of UBC publications during his years there (1942–1951), only one year’s example is necessary to grasp the importance that the local congregation attached to such literature (Indiana Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ 1942:44–45). Interestingly, the 1950 Annual Conference report included many more subscriptions, but the church had merged (though remaining at the same location) with another evangelical congregation to become the Evangelical United Brethren Church (EUBC), increasing its membership rolls.
10. The core statements of belief (or discipline) of the Garvinwood General Baptist and Evansville United Brethren churches were nearly identical, with the exception, perhaps, of Garvinwood General Baptist’s beliefs regarding baptism by immersion and backsliding and damnation (Boyer 1985:2–4; *Discipline of the Church of United Brethren in Christ, 1941–1945*:13–15). Furthermore, Doe’s UBC congregation eventually joined with the Methodists in 1968 to form the St. James United Methodist Church, again suggesting a uniformity of beliefs among the faithful of evangelicals and John Wesley Methodists (“Our Church History” N.d.). Finally, the Cumberland Presbyterian denomination, unlike its Calvinistic cousins, asserted that all could be saved if born again in the blood of Christ as redeemer. The slight differences in the four initially separate denominations suggests that Doe’s experience may be representative of a wider range of military members who attached themselves to mainline Protestant denominations such as the Methodists, albeit with a bit more evangelical purpose.
11. The Hoovers, along with Doe and his mother, attended Garvinwood General Baptist Church until World War II gas rationing pushed the family to attend a church closer to home, this at Evansville UBC (Winstead 1989b:18a; Hughes, N.d.). Doe’s Grandfather Hoover served as Deacon and Trustee for Garvinwood not long after the Hoovers migrated to Evansville from McLean County, Kentucky, in 1910 (Garvinwood General Baptist Church minutes; see also Boyer 1985:viii, 110; U.S. Census Bureau 1910). The job description for Garvinwood pastors—all male—began with “It shall be the duty of the Pastor to lead ... worship ... to administer the ordinances ... to lead or direct mid-week services, and to have general oversight and leadership. ... *He* ...” (Boyer 1985:113 [italics added]). The remains of Doe’s great-grandfather were buried at [Bethel] Baptist Church near Delaware, Kentucky (“Obituary of Lewis Hoover” 1901; interview with Kentucky Room librarian, Daviess County Public Library, Owensboro, KY, 2011).
12. There appears to be some divergence in religious orientation here, as the records indicate that Doe’s great-grandfather Hoover was buried at Bethel Baptist Church cemetery near Owensboro, Kentucky, but other members of the Hoover clan attended

a local Cumberland Presbyterian church, the difference of which may have divided the devotees of John Calvin's predestination theology with those of the freewill tradition, the latter promoting that all can be saved if accepting Jesus as savior. The philosophical divide was significant in terms of evangelistic fervor and religious commitment demonstrated by Pvt. Doe, who grew up in the General Baptist denomination. For a useful discussion of Baptist distinctions, particularly in the southwestern Indiana region, see Mills (1998:303–22).

13. See Hankins (2008) or Lambert (2008) for discussion on cultural conflict between modernists and conservative evangelicals in the worlds of politics, science, gender, and race, among others. Clifford Putney's (2001) treatment of Victorian-era masculine norms is useful as well.
14. The UBC/EUBC (United Brethren/Evangelical United Brethren Church) literature chosen for this section was drawn primarily from publications most likely to have resonated with the young Doe's sensibilities in his teens and/or those that would have fit acceptably within the Evansville UB/EUB (Evangelical United Brethren) Church culture based on the significant ratio of subscriptions per member. UBC publication researcher John H. Ness (1966:269) has noted that the editor of the *Religious Telescope* created the weekly pamphlet "to disseminate useful religious intelligence among their [UB] people." The UBC (and later EUBC) Indiana Annual Conference records show an increasing interest, as measured by approximately two-thirds more subscriptions, for the *Religious Telescope*, later called *Telescope-Messenger*, when the Evansville UBC fused with the EUBC. See, for comparison, the overall number of subscriptions for various publications listed for the Evansville UBC in the Indiana Conference of the Church of the UB in Christ, 113th Session (1942:44), with those listed for the Evansville EUBC in the Indiana Conference of the Church of the EUB in Christ, 121st Session (1950:62). This increased subscription rate is significant regardless of the fact that the UB–EUB Church membership had nearly doubled from 1942 to 1950.
15. For subscriptions by Doe's congregation at Evansville UBC, see Indiana Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, annual proceedings reports, 1942 (pp. 44–45) and 1950 (pp. 62–63). See also Behney and Eller (1979:359).
16. Annual conference records indicate that the Evansville UBC subscribed to substantial numbers of each of these publications at least from 1936 (Indiana Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ 1936:58–59). As described in an issue of *The Otterbein Youth's Quarterly*, *The Friend* is "an eight-page, illustrated weekly paper for boys and girls from nine to fourteen years of age" and includes editorials, stories, and Sunday school lessons with scripture references, among other periodic features such as games, articles on handicrafts, and so forth [advertisement in the March 1942 *Otterbein Youth Quarterly* (also titled *Youth's Quarterly*, hereafter YQ)]. The YQ served primarily as a forum for adolescent-aged youth, including brief articles on world events, personal lifestyles issues, careers, and biography, and it regularly featured Sunday school lesson ideas.
17. The following examples reflect 20 excerpts (e.g., editorials, poems, articles, Sunday school lessons, cartoons, and yearbook facts) from issues of the RT published

primarily in the first half of 1942. For example, Dr. C. W. Brewbaker (1942:3) led the chorus: “Rapid change now going on is alarming. We don’t sense its rapidity and destructiveness. The radio, the press, the movie and many other things add to the nervous tension and disintegration of family life.” The author cited numerous statistics about fathers’ absenteeism from home, women’s employment, growth of the war industries, and church shortcomings.

18. This also contradicted the *Discipline of the United Brethren in Christ* (1941) Chapter X (“Moral Standards”) Section VII (“International Relations”): “We believe that war is contrary to the spirit of Christ and the gospel of love and brotherhood which we profess. It violates the Christian ideals of mercy, justice, truthfulness, self-control, virtue, and righteousness. Christ taught men to love, trust, forgive, and help one another. The church should never allow herself to be used to prepare for war or to make war.”
19. Doe joined the war effort as a result of doing poorly in college (Doe to Mother, 27 May 1951). Neither he nor his mother alluded to pacifism or the UBC’s stance toward it in extant documents. Two letters Doe wrote to his mother, however, shed light on Doe’s ambivalence. In the first, he wrote, “I pray consistently for peace and the return of all of us to our homes and families. I know you are doing the same, so I know God will help us soon, and let us come home. ... The Bible says prayer with faith can move mountains ... I feel certain prayer that is given earnestly can end this war and let us come home” (Doe to Mother, 16 August 1952). In the second letter, Doe noted, “Night before last at briefing, we were told we would have to dig foxholes in case of enemy aircraft. Of course that was a big laugh since the Chinese never bomb us or ... interfere with our planes bombing them too much. I doubt if they even have an Air Force they would risk over here with our jet planes and artillery. There is no doubt who is superb in the air, and I will really take my hat off to the boys in blue. They do a great job; in fact they hold our only hope of an allied victory” (Doe to Mother, 12 September 1952).
20. Public education was derided in Doe’s Sunday school lessons as well: “It is too bad that most public schools teach very little religion” (“Training for the Game of Life” 1944).
21. Whether cause and effect were present or not, the United States had the “dubious distinction of having the highest divorce rate in the world” during this time (May 1989:154).
22. See also Rachel M. Brant (1942), in which she quotes the Apostle Paul: “Much learning doth make thee mad [i.e., insane].” A Sunday school lesson, “How Jesus Solved Problems” (1944), also fits this paradigm: “The best book to help us solve our problems is the Bible.” It is important to note that the UBC publishers drew selectively on the fields of science when it suited their purposes, and thus science was not completely dismissed. For example, see “research” provided by psychologists and others in the medical field with regard to the motivations and effects of alcoholic consumption (Gilliatt 1942b).
23. Years later, reflecting on scientific innovation to improve world conditions, Doe’s mother also commented, “I remember our first gas lights, horseless carriage, radio, T.V., [Lindbergh] ... man’s walk on the moon ... first installation of traffic lights. ...

Prior to this it was every man for himself” (Winstead 1989b:38a–b). Moreover, when Doe was nine years old, his mother must have shared the discovery and wonder of nylon hose with him.

24. Alta Becker’s “Heroes of Medicine: Men at Work to Save Lives” (1943) and “George Washington Carver: A Chemical Wizard” (1948).
25. Some of these programs even garnered the support of Doe’s favored presidential candidate, Robert Taft, including public housing to safeguard family and children development, and minimal per-pupil expenditures for public school students or accessible FHA loans. See Patterson (1972:259, 315–22). For elaboration on government “solutions” to the Depression, see Brinkley (1989:85–121).
26. See, for example, “Hidden Manhood” (1942).
27. See, for instance, Norton Hughes Jonathan’s “Dates That Rate” (1944a) and “What’s Wrong with This Picture?” (1944b).
28. “We Still Depend on Mother” (1942).
29. Doe’s fiancée had plans “to enter Lockyears Business College,” according to her high school yearbook (Bosse High School Yearbook 1952).
30. See, for example, Lydel (1943), Steinmetz (1947), and “Women’s Part in Our National Life” (1944).
31. Doe’s hometown newspaper, the *Evansville Courier*, reported on its front page the news of overflowing crowds attending an evangelical revival occurring in the early part of 1952, in which the theme “Christ is the Answer” is prominently displayed, while at the same time highlighting the wonders of the new scientific breakthrough, blood plasma. Doe knew of these events, as he compared in a letter the preaching by Rev. Charles Templeton, touted by the soldier’s mother, and that of U.S. Army chaplains in Korea (Doe to Mother, 27 October 1952).
32. For lessons on church participation (e.g., attendance, Bible study, prayer or communion), see, for instance, “Good Ways to Spend Sunday” (1942), “The Lord’s Supper” (1942), “Learning from Jesus” (1943), “What to Do on the Sabbath” (1943), “How Jesus Solved Problems” (1944), and “The Christian Way of Earning and Using” (1944). For alcohol issues, see Deever (1942) and Grindell (1944).
33. “Why Some People Drink Alcoholic Beverages” (1942).
34. “What Is the Truth about Alcoholic Beverages” (1942).
35. “The Drink Problem as It Is Today” (1942).
36. “Ways of Tackling the Alcohol Problem” (1942).
37. “A Short Cut to Failure” (1943).
38. “Judging Drinks by What They Do” (1943).
39. “What the Drink Habit Costs” (1943).
40. “Keeping Fit for Christian Living” (1943); “Why Master Our Appetites” (1944).
41. The evangelical preacher Rev. Charles Templeton, who reportedly packed 75,000 listeners in coliseums and temples in Doe’s hometown across two weeks, is mentioned specifically in the comparison (Doe to Mother, 27 October 1952).
42. From farming subsidies to labor organization, transportation, and coal mining, aside from worker relief and other programs (Madison 1990:266, 273, 284—85, 295–300).

43. Doe's grandfather had farmed in Kentucky previous to his arrival to Evansville, and the Hoover family kept in contact with their cousins just outside Owensboro. As a young boy, Doe often would visit his family's roots, even sharing in tobacco planting (author interview with Gertie Allen, Doe's cousin-farmer; Winstead 1989b:5b–6a, 28a–28b, 30a–30b). For picture of Doe with cousin Gertie Allen on horseback, see Winstead (1989a).
44. Doe's mother wrote, "During World War 2, I left the Baby Shop and worked for The Republic Aviation, where P-47 planes were built and assembled. . . . It was here that we wired the instrument panels of the P-47 planes" (Winstead 1989b:23a).
45. Robert Wuthnow's "Quiet Conservatism" of Kansas from the 1930s to the 1960s closely mirrors religious Indiana conservatism. See his *Red State Religion: Faith and Politics in America's Heartland* (2012).
46. As noted earlier, it may be useful to remember that Pvt. Doe grew up in the shared traditions of the United Brethren in Christ, the General Baptists, the Methodists, and the Cumberland Presbyterians.
47. See, for instance, Hankins (2008:49–82) or Lambert (2008:104–29).

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