
OAK RIDGE, THE ATOMIC BOMB, AND GOD: AN UNEASY ALLIANCE BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

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Shortly after America's entry into World War II, the United States Army embarked upon a plan of community-building. Three cities would ultimately result: Los Alamos, New Mexico; Hanford, Washington; and Oak Ridge, Tennessee. Each city housed a primarily civilian population, yet the residents lived and worked under military authority. The people within each city were united by a common purpose, yet few knew the ultimate goal of their labors. In Oak Ridge, for instance, workers did not know that their task was to isolate the U-235 uranium isotope in amounts large enough to produce an atomic bomb. Their production facilities would provide the material for the world's first use of an atomic weapon against the city of Hiroshima, Japan, on 6 August 1945.

Within the confines of the Oak Ridge reservation were homes, civic associations, grocery stores, bowling alleys, schools, churches, and an unprecedented level of government control. This is an account of the attempt by the military to maintain national security even at the expense of free religious expression.

With President Roosevelt's approval of America's entry into the race toward atomic weapons, and the need for both security and construction expertise, the task of establishing production facilities was placed in the hands of a special section of the Army Corps of Engineers, a group that would later be known as the Manhattan Engineer District (MED). The official mission of the Manhattan Project was the production of an atomic bomb within three years.¹ Colonel Leslie R. Groves, a West Point graduate in engineering, was chosen to command the project, and he stated the goal in simple terms, "to provide our armed forces with a weapon that would end the war and to do it before our enemies could use it against us."²

A War Department Real Estate Directive, dated 29 September 1942, cites "military necessity" as a rationale for the acquisition of over fifty-six thousand acres of land located in Anderson and Roane counties in east Tennessee.³ The proposed use is listed as "demolition range," and across the bottom of the memo, the name of the project is hand-written, "Kingston Demo-

written, "Kingston Demolition Range."⁴ Instead, on that site, the Engineers began to implement their design for the Clinton Engineer Works (only later would the town assume the name "Oak Ridge").

Although it was surrounded almost completely by barbed wire, the engineers realized that the installation must also be a place where civilian workers could raise their families.⁵ Further, they acknowledged the importance of morale to production speed and established facilities for recreation and worship. They vowed to interfere as little as possible in the management of these facilities, only to the extent needed to maintain "necessary control."⁶

Control and secrecy were important issues within the town. In his book about Oak Ridge, George Robinson recounts, "In a special memorandum from the White House in the fall of 1942, President Roosevelt told General Leslie R. Groves . . . that 'secrecy and security' were to be paramount."⁷ General Groves himself set the tone, "My rule was simple and not capable of misinterpretation - each man should know everything he needed to know to do his job and nothing else."⁸ He later acknowledged that "a number of critics within the project enjoyed talking about our 'Gestapo' methods."⁹

Working in tandem with the Office of Censorship in Washington, Groves attempted to restrict information in the press. In a note sent to twenty thousand news stations in the United States, he asked that nothing be published or broadcast which mentioned war experiments involving "atom smashing, atomic energy, atomic fission, atomic splitting . . . the use for military purposes of radium or radioactive materials," as well as several elements and compounds.¹⁰ H. Bruce Franklin argues that Army Intelligence went further, asking public libraries to turn over the names of people requesting back issues of magazines containing articles on atomic research.¹¹ In a burst of patriotic paranoia, the Office of Censorship even asked the creator of the Superman comic strip "to delete mention of atom-smashing cyclotrons."¹²

Residents at Oak Ridge were quickly indoctrinated with a spirit of secrecy. An "Information Bulletin for Townsite Residents," which was distributed to newcomers, carried a warning within the first paragraph:

Any and all of the information contained herein is of a restricted nature and should not be discussed with or written to unauthorized persons. The number of houses, dormitories, service buildings, stores, churches, schools, and other village facilities shall not be openly discussed or communicated outside of this Reservation. Your cooperation in this matter is as important to

the war effort as the necessity of not communicating with others regarding your direct employment on the Project.¹³

Within the bulletin, security procedures were outlined. Firearms were to be registered with the Town Management Office immediately upon arrival, and short wave radios were strictly prohibited. Cameras were allowed, but only for personal use. Warnings were explicit: "UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES should pictures of the various installations or panoramic views be taken....CAMERAS MUST NOT, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, BE TAKEN INTO ANY PORTION OF THE RESERVATION OTHER THAN THE TOWNSITE."¹⁴

Military security was an unmistakable part of daily life. Armed guards were prominent at the entry points to the reservation and mounted guards patrolled the boundary of the reservation which was the Clinch River. "Identity badges were required for every man, woman, and child in Oak Ridge,"¹⁵ and civilians could be ordered to produce the pass by roving military patrols and roadblocks within the town. Specially coded badges indicated to which parts of the reservation a worker was allowed access. To enter or leave the reservation through the secured entrances, proper identification was required, and the guards were also expected to search a certain percentage of the automobiles. Johnson and Jackson report on an incident in which one frustrated individual engaged in a scuffle with the guards, then was shot to death.¹⁶

It is within this framework of institutional secrecy that men and women sought to minister to the spiritual needs of the residents. In many instances, denominational inquiries were first made on the basis of curiosity. In a letter dated 11 May 1943, Presbyterian minister Rev. B. M. Larson wrote the CEW Project Manager to determine the plans for religious life "in the extensive development lying between Clinton and Harriman."¹⁷ The letter was referred to Lt. Col. Robert C. Blair, Deputy District Engineer of the Corps of Engineers, and his reply details the policy of the Army as it related to religious organizations: "The Clinton Engineer Works will welcome the organization of religious groups It is planned to appoint an Army officer who will assist in the organization of such groups It should be realized, however, that the development of denominational organizations will have to be a purely voluntary matter. The Army can encourage such organizations, but, obviously, cannot actually undertake to organize these groups without regard to the personal desires of the individual."¹⁸

In *The Oak Ridge Story*, Robinson points out that the "first formal church

services were conducted in Oak Ridge, July 25, 1943, in the Central Cafeteria by the Rev. B. M. Larson, a Presbyterian, of Knoxville, at the request of a United church group totaling 154.¹⁹

Oak Ridge came to the attention of a minister of the Congregational Churches in May of 1943 as well, and he wrote the editor of the *Oak Ridge Journal*, saying, "Many of my parishioners have moved to Oak Ridge, or are working there, and I am naturally still interested in them."²⁰ He goes on to inquire about the number of families living at Oak Ridge, the number of children of Sunday School age, and if a church preference survey has been done.

Captain Thomas W. Taylor, the Special Service Officer who served as a liaison between the church groups and the Army, responded, "The information you request is not available because of the restrictions under which Oak Ridge operates. We will be very glad to assist the Congregational Church in providing services for its people in Oak Ridge, if the members of that church in residence here so request it."²¹ Clearly, the Army's was not an open-door policy for any and all denominations. Churches would be welcomed based upon demonstrated need, rather than to satisfy an evangelizing fervor for new converts.

By late 1943, the first chapel, Chapel-on-the-Hill, had been completed and plans for the construction of another, East Chapel, had been made. The Army intended the chapels to meet the needs of worshipers of all creeds, but it soon became apparent that residents preferred to organize within denominations. By 1944, seventeen denominations were holding services in Oak Ridge. A facilities crisis ensued, the result of which was that, in addition to the chapels, services were assigned to eight schools, four movie theaters, two recreation halls, and a cafeteria, on an hourly basis.²²

In replying to the Appalachian Mountain Evangelizing Association, an official policy was defined, "It has been determined that the most practicable method of distributing a relatively small amount of available space to a large number of denominational groups is the approval of only one group as official area representative of each denomination."²³

But complaints continued to come from residents. In a letter "To The Officials," a resident of one of the trailer parks issued a demand, "We want a bdg or tent of some kind to hold Sunday School and Preaching at.... We want to be civilized people and raise our children same. We can not see why this was not thought of before you let us bring our children to this 'God's Forsaken Place.'"²⁴ Residents of East Village also felt the need of a place to worship and accompanied their request with a petition. The appeal was ba-

sic, "...the opposition is great, temptations are a very hard thing to combat with dance halls picture shows & etc."²⁵

The problem of limited accommodations was manifest in the housing, or lack of it, assigned to ministers, and also revealed an evolving Army policy. A competitive struggle between the denominations was the unfortunate result of a housing policy that determined that housing would be furnished to ministers on the project "when it is evident to Town Management ... that assignment of a house is justified by demonstrated size of permanent congregation," and that "100 parishioners be fixed as a minimum congregation before an assignment is made."²⁶ Within the year, that number would be raised to 200.²⁷

The churches responded to the challenge. The Episcopal congregation provided the Corps with a petition requesting housing for their minister, which was signed by 130 parishioners, to no avail. The denial sparked a letter from Bishop E. P. Dandridge, the Bishop Coadjutor in Nashville, who expressed his disappointment with a scolding: "I realize, of course, that the chief concern must be production; but I think we can both also realize that, if Oak Ridge is to be the sort of city of which the Army and the Country need not be ashamed, it will have to have the full and unhampered ministrations of the Church."²⁸ When no housing was approved, Bishop Dandridge reminded the Army that they should endeavor to provide diversity among the denominations within the city, explaining,

Where more than one non-Roman Church is to go to work in a new community, provision should be made for at least one church practicing only adult Baptism (Baptist Church, Church of Christ, etc.); one liturgical church (Episcopalian, Lutheran); and one other it seems to us that arrangements for housing an Episcopal minister should be made as soon as possible.²⁹

In the event that scolding and hints of implied favoritism failed to produce a housing assignment, Bishop Dandridge called upon the patriotism of the Corps, "The Mother Church of the English speaking people, the Church of Washington and Lee, and Generals Marshall and MacArthur, would like to have a part in providing religious opportunities for the people of Oak Ridge."³⁰

By April 1946, a minister of the Episcopal church was housed within the townsite. It should also be pointed out that the Baptist Church was in possession of two houses by that time.³¹ A memo from Captain Taylor may explain the abundance of housing for Baptists. He notes, "The Baptist Church

ranks second among Oak Ridge churches according to census taken 7 April 1945.³² Apparently, in the Army's view, the needs of the majority must rule. By 14 April 1947, the Baptist Church requested another religious census.³³

The housing policy for ministers continued to be shaped by demand. A new policy was announced, limiting any one church group to no more than two houses.³⁴ Months later, the policy was amended, "the church must have been in continuous operation on this area for one year to become eligible for housing."³⁵

Johnson and Jackson, in *City Behind a Fence*, assert that, "Perhaps because of the historically sensitive issue of the separation of church and state, the Army seemed more reluctant to involve itself beyond a necessary minimum,"³⁶ and a statement to the American Bible Fellowship Association reinforces that belief,

Oak Ridge was built by the Government for the purpose of housing employees on this project. Churches for the residents have been organized in accordance with the usual regulations and procedures of the various denominations involved and it has been the policy of this office to exercise control over such organizations only to the extent necessary to assure proper protection of the Government's interests.³⁷

However, there seems to be ample evidence of involvement that falls beyond the bounds of "necessary."

It is to be expected that Army personnel would approve all passes into the reservation by visiting missionaries; the procedure was the same for visiting family members of residents. Each missionary was required to fill out a Personnel Security Questionnaire which had then to be cleared through Security and Intelligence, before a pass could be issued. Upon arrival at Oak Ridge, they would then receive a "security talk." Such screening might seem even more necessary when it is understood that many of the visiting missionaries were returning from service in Japan. Indeed, an Episcopal medical missionary had been interned by the Japanese in 1941-43.³⁸ What is perhaps unusual is that, in one instance, when a missionary had obtained a visitor's pass in order to visit her daughter in Oak Ridge, she was not allowed to address the Women's Group until she had completed an additional security clearance.³⁹

Issues with a considerably smaller impact on security passed through

Captain Taylor's office on a daily basis. Permission to conduct Sunday School parties, church bazaars, and tent revivals was routinely sought from the Army. Not as routine, a requested pass to bring sacramental wine into Oak Ridge was approved, and a request that the Army build a baptistry was denied.⁴⁰

After a request by the Robertsville Baptist Church to buy plywood to build a storage cabinet, a response arrived on "United States Atomic Energy Commission" stationery, and referenced copies to five other individuals. The reply is polite, but firm, "After careful consideration of your request it becomes necessary to protect the interest of the government and disapprove the sale of this material to your organization."⁴¹

The Army may have been reluctant to involve itself, but the line of separation certainly appears to have been blurred in the minds of the ministers, who believed they must ask permission even for organizational changes within the churches. Rev. Rule of the First Baptist Church, in a letter to Captain Taylor dated 24 May 1946, requested permission to divide the church into two separate congregations. He did offer assurances to the Special Service officer, "It is understood that the Church, when organized, will conform to the regulations prescribed by the Oak Ridge authorities for churches operating in the community."⁴² To his credit, Captain Taylor's memorandum about the matter indicates that he advised Rev. Rule that "it was not necessary to have our permission for organizational changes within their church, however we would like to be kept informed about their plans and organization."⁴³

Perhaps a hand-written letter from Rev. Allen T. Bidwell best illustrates the earnest obsequiousness of Oak Ridge ministers: "In following the correct procedure I am writing this letter to you in regard to receiving the necessary permission and counsel to effect a church organization for 'Seventh-Day Adventists' who are living within Clinton Engineer Works....we hope this letter meets with your approval and that we can have a Seventh-Day Adventist Church here very shortly."⁴⁴ The reply was written by Lt. Col. John S. Hodgson: "Approval is given for such a church to organize, and it is requested that the names of the church officials together with their addresses be submitted to this office in writing."⁴⁵

The requirement that churches submit to the Army any reports to be mailed off the reservation seems to have been carried to extraordinary extremes. Responding to a letter from Melvin Dunkley, Captain Taylor writes, "Thank you for submitting your monthly Primary Association Report to this office. This report has been cleared by Military Intelligence and it will not be necessary to clear this report again provided the same form is used."⁴⁶ It should

be noted that, as Mr. Dunkley explained, the Primary Association was an organization of young people between the ages of four and twelve years.

Perhaps more troubling is the diligence with which the Army censored written materials prepared by the church workers. The difficulty experienced by Rev. Holwager of the Christian Church is illustrative of the minutely detailed examination applied to information to be published. In a memorandum to the Church files, Captain Taylor remarked upon an interview he conducted with Rev. George Holwager, the Associate State Secretary of the Christian Churches of Tennessee, who was accompanied by Rev. B. M. Larson of the United Church in Oak Ridge. During the interview, Rev. Holwager stated that the Christian Church did not intend to establish a congregation in Oak Ridge; rather, they would like members of the church to attend United Church services. In order to make members aware of his position, Rev. Holwager requested permission to publish a notice in a statewide publication for Christian Church members, as well as the *Oak Ridge Journal* and Knoxville newspapers. As he explained, the notice would simply urge Christian Church members residing in Oak Ridge to attend United Church services.⁴⁷ In order to render a decision, the request necessarily filtered up from Special Services, to Public Relations, to Intelligence, and finally to the Executive Offices of the District Engineer. Assistant Intelligence Officer McLeod had "No objection to article in *Oak Ridge Journal*. Would like to see any article intended for Knoxville papers and other outside publications," while Captain Brown of Public Relations demurred, "Do not believe in this sort of thing as using government medium to advance a particular religious sect - think it would bring landslide of demands from other sects" and Major Bloch of CEW Operations seemed to have the last word, "Any announcement in the *Journal* should be a simple statement of fact, minus the 'selling' angle. Let me see it before it is published."⁴⁸ Nearly two months, and three blue-penciled revisions later, all the Army officers finally signed off on the highly-edited copy.

The care taken by the Army to avoid "promotion" of individual denominations was consistent, as was official disapproval of recruitment attempts. A request by the Christian Laymen's Association to distribute religious tracts and Bibles within the dormitories was rejected, but it was finally agreed that a Bible could be placed in the sitting room of each dormitory.⁴⁹

Rev. Bidwell of the Interdenominational Church received stronger censure when he wanted to distribute announcements about scheduled Bible services "under excellent leadership."⁵⁰ Captain Taylor's note to the file reads, "Phoned Mr. Bidwell and told him that the announcement was misleading which he admitted was intentional in order to get the people to

attend not knowing who was conducting the service....He will submit new copy of announcement."⁵¹

Consider the missteps of Rev. Bernard F. Wise and Miss Katherine Grandy of the Lutheran Church in Oak Ridge. The distribution of an innocuous church invitation, which encouraged interested parties to return a postcard for more information, resulted in a reprimand from Captain Taylor:

I phoned Wise and asked him to submit for approval notices or bulletins of this type before sending them. He agreed to do this in the future. I asked if he had been told by this office that clearance should be obtained in advance of distribution for notices, announcements, and reports. He agreed that he had been properly notified but he felt this was no violation of the request from this office covering the distribution of notices, or soliciting and canvassing of residents. Reluctantly, he agreed this might be considered solicitation.⁵²

Miss Grandy managed to draw the ire of the Army with a suggestion that must have horrified intelligence officers. Having determined the names of several parishioners being transferred to Hanford, Washington--an equally secure environment--she suggested a coordinated sharing of information about transferred personnel in order to "increase the efficiency of organizational and contact work....Because of the security in Oak Ridge and areas like it we would appreciate the approval of the security and intelligence division on the following names before they are sent to the minister in charge at Hanford, Washington."⁵³ A terse note to Captain Taylor hints at the Army's response,

This is to confirm our conversation to the effect that the attached letter should not be sent to the Lutheran representative at Hanford and that Miss Grandy was so advised during an interview with the undersigned on Wednesday 8 November 1944.⁵⁴

Church bulletins did not escape the scrutiny of the Corps. Rev. Larson seemed to anticipate a refusal when he asked, "It is common practice with people away from home, to send home a church bulletin from the service which they attended. Many of the people here would like to do this. Is it possible for the United Church to prepare a bulletin each week, consistent with security, that the people could use as they might wish. Perhaps it cannot be done. I am merely raising with you the question."⁵⁵ As expected,

Captain Taylor answered that church bulletins should not be mailed or taken from the area.

The much-heralded first issue of the First Baptist Church's *News Bulletin* met with strong disapproval. To be distributed by mail on a bi-monthly basis, Volume 1, Number 1, contained an editorial by Rev. W. Stuart Rule. Titled "An Experiment in Democracy," it begins:

According to the preamble of the Constitution of the United States of America, all men are born free and equal, with equal rights and privileges in the pursuit of happiness. However, in real life ...it often happens that Democracy does not work. This is not the fault of Democracy. For that is the natural and the God-given relationship under which man may find his greatest happiness. The cause, then, must lie in the abuse of Democracy, not in its use. One of the greatest experiments in making democracy work is to be found right here in Oak Ridge itself. This is a war plant dedicated to the winning of the biggest war that American and World democracy has ever faced....Every man, woman and young person has a chance here to be, not only a good American, but a practicing Christian.⁵⁶

A note from Army Intelligence to Captain Taylor reads, "Did Rule clear it with you....If not he should be advised as to types of information we don't want published and to limit circulation to the reservation."⁵⁷ Captain Taylor hastened to assure the officer that the matter had already been discussed with Dr. Rule. In addition to restrictions banning the bulletin's movement beyond the project, it was further restricted to Baptist Church members within the project, and Dr. Rule agreed, in future, to submit the bulletin to security before printing. Further, Captain Taylor required that the news carried within the bulletin would be "confined to church items, not discussion of democracy and the relation of church and State."⁵⁸ The irony of repressive Army policies dictating the message and distribution of church bulletins, while claiming concerns about the relationship of Church to State, must have escaped Captain Taylor.

While it is tempting to condemn the behavior of the Army, to do so would ignore the success of their mission. With the country engaged in what must have seemed the ultimate battle between good and evil, the scientists and military officers of the Manhattan Project sought to complete their assignment. While the morality of their methods and mission is open to debate, they clearly succeeded: atomic bombs were produced and dropped, and the war was ended. And, as General Groves would later point out, all was

accomplished with relative secrecy.⁵⁹

It seems clear that the Army did not set out to repress the church; rather, the plan that allowed for worship on an individual basis was altered by the demands of residents for denominational worship. Faced with the burden of maintaining security, even within social institutions, the Army chose to apply to the churches the same policy of bureaucratic military control that governed the reservation at large. With all due respect to Rev. Rule, it was, rather than an "experiment in democracy," a community governed by near-totalitarian authority. Within the fenced confines, civilian residents relinquished, albeit willingly, basic freedoms afforded most Americans. For those residents of Oak Ridge, more particularly those who came to minister there, the opportunity to serve the war effort obviously overrode their concerns.

Perhaps what is best illustrated by the experience at Oak Ridge is the willingness of the individual to submit to authority in times of national crisis. Not only was control relinquished to the governmental authorities; control was sought from the highest authority - within the churches.

Notes

¹ Charles W. Johnson and Charles O. Jackson, *City Behind a Fence; Oak Ridge, Tennessee 1942-1946* (Knoxville, 1994), xix.

² Leslie R. Groves, *Now It Can Be Told; The Story of the Manhattan Project* (New York, 1962), 11.

³ "Manhattan District History," Book I, Volume 10, Land Acquisition CEW, March 1947, Record Group 326, National Archives - Southeast Region, East Point, Georgia (hereafter referred to as NASE).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "Manhattan District History," Book I, Volume 12, Clinton Engineer Works, Central Facilities, March 1947, Record Group 326, NASE, 24.

⁶ Ibid., 33-34.

⁷ George O. Robinson, *The Oak Ridge Story; The Saga of a People Who Share in History* (Kingsport, Tennessee, 1950), 67.

⁸ Groves, 140.

⁹ Ibid., 142.

¹⁰ Robinson, 73.

¹¹ H. Bruce Franklin, "Only the Hardware is Erotic," *The Nation*, 14 (August, 1995): 174.

- ¹² Robinson, 69.
- ¹³ "Information Bulletin for Townsite Residents," 8 December 1943, War Department, United States Engineer Office, Manhattan District, Oak Ridge, Tennessee, Oak Ridge Operations, City Management Division, Facilities and Services Division Records 1943-1948, Record Group 326, NASE, 1.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., 12-13.
- ¹⁵ Johnson and Jackson, 71.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., 139-142.
- ¹⁷ Rev. B. M. Larson to Fred Morgan, 11 May 1943, "Church Correspondence," United Church file, Oak Ridge Office of Community Affairs, Community Relations Section, 1945-1944, Record Group 326, NASE.
- ¹⁸ Lt. Col. Robert C. Blair to Rev. B. M. Larson, 26 May 1943, "Church Correspondence," United Church file.
- ¹⁹ Robinson, 64.
- ²⁰ Rev. Orval W. Sampson to A. Carlton Jealous, 16 May 1943, "Church Correspondence," United Church file.
- ²¹ Capt. Thomas W. Taylor to Rev. Orval W. Sampson, 22 May 1943, "Church Correspondence," United Church file.
- ²² Capt. Thomas W. Taylor to file, 2 October 1944, "Church Correspondence," Facilities file.
- ²³ William A. Bonnet to J.J. Musick, 10 September 1944, "Church Correspondence," United Church file.
- ²⁴ A. D. Nolen to officials, "Church Correspondence," Facilities file.
- ²⁵ T. E. Moses to Lt. Col. John S. Hodgson, 1 September 1944, "Church Correspondence," Baptist Church file.
- ²⁶ Capt. W. F. Cronin to Major Albert H. Weil, 4 May 1944, "Church Correspondence," Episcopal Church file.
- ²⁷ Johnson and Jackson, 139.
- ²⁸ Bishop E. P. Dandridge to Colonel K. D. Nichols, 5 July 1944, "Church Correspondence," Episcopal Church file.
- ²⁹ Bishop E. P. Dandridge to Colonel K. D. Nichols, undated, "Church Correspondence," Episcopal Church file.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ Captain Taylor to Major Leahy, 4 April 1946, "Church Correspondence," Nazarene Church file.
- ³² Captain T. W. Taylor to Colonel J. S. Hodgson, 4 January 1946, "Church Corre-

spondence," Baptist Church file.

³³ W. H. Britton to J. S. Elliott, 14 April 1947, "Church Correspondence," Baptist Church file.

³⁴ Major P. C. Leahy to Rev. B. M. Larson, 14 June 1946, "Church Correspondence," United Church file.

³⁵ Major Harry C. Flowers to Rev. T. G. Davis, 2 August 1946, "Church Correspondence," Baptist Church file.

³⁶ Johnson and Jackson, 127.

³⁷ Colonel K. D. Nichols to Rev. W. C. Standridge, 7 November 1944, "Church Correspondence," Facilities file.

³⁸ Captain T. W. Taylor to Major R. J. McLeod, 26 September 1945, "Church Correspondence," Episcopal Church file.

³⁹ Captain T. W. Taylor to Rev. B. M. Larson, 25 May 1945, "Church Correspondence," United Church file.

⁴⁰ Captain T. W. Taylor to Rev. S. R. Davenport, 14 February 1945, "Church Correspondence," Episcopal Church file; Rev. B. M. Larson to Captain T. W. Taylor, 7 August 1945, "Church Correspondence," United Church file.

⁴¹ L. Paul McDowell to J. S. Elliott, 22 August 1947, "Church Correspondence," Baptist Church file.

⁴² Rev. W. Stuart Rule to Capt. T. W. Taylor, 24 May 1946, "Church Correspondence," Baptist Church file.

⁴³ Captain T. W. Taylor to file, 27 May 1946, "Church Correspondence," Baptist Church file.

⁴⁴ Rev. Allen T. Bidwell to Colonel K. D. Nichols, 4 October 1944, "Church Correspondence," Seventh-Day Adventist Church file.

⁴⁵ Lt. Col. John S. Hodgson to Rev. Allen T. Bidwell, 12 October 1944, "Church Correspondence," Seventh-Day Adventist Church file.

⁴⁶ Captain T. W. Taylor to Melvin E. Dunkley, 27 July 1944, "Church Correspondence," Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Church file.

⁴⁷ Captain T. W. Taylor to file, 21 March 1945, "Church Correspondence," United Church file.

⁴⁸ Inter-office memorandum to Captain T. W. Taylor, 7 April 1945, "Church Correspondence," United Church file.

⁴⁹ Memorandum to Major E. J. Bloch from Captain T. W. Taylor, 20 April 1945, "Church Correspondence," Baptist Church file.

⁵⁰ Rev. Allen T. Bidwell to Captain T. W. Taylor, 6 September 1945, "Church Correspondence," Interdenominational Church file.

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- ⁵¹ Captain T. W. Taylor to file, 11 September 1945, "Church Correspondence," Interdenominational Church file.
- ⁵² Captain T. W. Taylor to file, 19 September 1944, "Church Correspondence," Lutheran Church file.
- ⁵³ Katherine Grandy to Captain T. W. Taylor, 13 November 1944, "Church Correspondence," Lutheran Church file.
- ⁵⁴ A. A. Wells to Capt. T. W. Taylor, 16 November 1944, "Church Correspondence," Lutheran Church file.
- ⁵⁵ Rev. B. M. Larson to Captain T. W. Taylor, 2 January 1945, "Church Correspondence," United Church file.
- ⁵⁶ News Bulletin of First Baptist Church, 9 November 1944, "Church Correspondence," Baptist Church file.
- ⁵⁷ Major Rentenbach to Captain Taylor, undated, "Church Correspondence," Baptist Church file.
- ⁵⁸ Captain T. W. Taylor to Major Rentenbach, 16 November 1944, "Church Correspondence," Baptist Church file.
- ⁵⁹ Groves, 334.