OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND:

MANCOS CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE CAMP No. 111

By: Elizabeth Glaysher

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Out of Sight, Out of Mind: Mancos Civilian Public Service Camp No. 111"
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A thesis prepared by: Elizabeth Anne Glaysher
(Student's Name)

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree, Masters of Arts in Humanities: United States History, has been approved and accepted by the following:

Dr. Frank Novotny
Vice President for Academic Affairs

Dr. Richard D. Loosbrock
Chairperson of Thesis Committee

March 13, 2015
Date

Thesis Committee Members:

Edward R. Crowther, Ph.D.

Richard Goddard, Ph.D.

Richard D. Loosbrock, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

The establishment of the Selective Service System (SSS) by Congress was intended for conscientious objectors to serve their country during World War II without compromising their principles. On July 1, 1943, the SSS opened the Civilian Public Service Camp #111 at Jackson Gulch, in Mancos, Colorado. The director of the Selective Service was General Lewis B. Hershey; he oversaw the implementation of section 5g that created the non-combat service that for COs. CPS #111 took up the work of the previous Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp at the same location, preparing the Bureau of Reclamation's Mancos Project. The project was a dam and irrigation system that would provide water to farmlands, the town of Mancos, and Mesa Verde National Park. The camp operated for 966 days, from July 1, 1943, to February 20, 1946. In the camp's brief history, 364 men were assigned to the camp; their ages ranged from 17 to 40. The heart of this thesis will tell the stories of the men at camp. The camp's newsletter *Action* revealed the inner workings of camp life. It further debated the unconstitutionality of the CPS programs and how men essentially performed indentured labor or jail time for their personal convictions. As a result, the impact of the CPS has been overshadowed by WWII publications. Nonetheless the CPS program paved the way for a more tolerate view towards conscientious objectors.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

Military Classifications

I-A- Fit for general military service

I-A-O- Conscientious objectors eligible for military service in noncombatant role

IV-F- Men physically, mentally or morally unfit

IV-E- Conscientious objectors available only for civilian work of national importance

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AFSC- American Friends Service Committee

AWOL- Absent Without Leave

BSC- Brethren Service Committee

CCC- Civilian Conservation Corps

CO- Conscientious Objectors

CPS- Civilian Public Service

HPC- Historic Peace Churches

FCCA- Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America

FOR- Fellowship of Reconciliation

MCC- Mennonite Central Committee

SSS - Selective Service System

SQ- Sick Quarters

NPS- National Park Service

NSBRO- National Service Board for Religious Objectors

RTW- Refusal to Work

WPA- Works Progress Administration

WPB- War Production Board

Introduction

The United States was founded on two disparate ideals. The first was to conquer and expand, and the second to protect and expand natural rights and equality. These two quests have drawn people to America since the exploration and founding of the country and government. The expansion of the United States as a global power has caused it to engage in many wars. Concurrently, countless men and women have had to question whether it is right to participate in these wars. Since the nineteenth century "conscientious objection" has been used to describe a refusal to perform military service. Many conscientious objectors have had to suffer and sacrifice their rights for their convictions. Many have undergone imprisonment, inhumane treatment, and even death. The historical background of conscientious objectors throughout our nation's history is important to examine to understand the dilemma conscientious objectors (COs) faced, especially during WWI and the events leading to WWII.

The United States has had a long history of military objection. Its earliest roots came from the Quakers. An examination of pacifism, beginning with the Revolutionary War through World War II, shows the difficulties in dealing with conscientious objectors. The onset of WWII caused the Selective Service to quickly establish the Civilian Public Service (CPS) with the help of the Historic Peace Churches (HPC). The CPS provided alternative service of "national importance" for COs. This system created a complicated relationship between church and state. Since the beginning, there has been lack of consistency and understanding of the conscientious objector. Changes in the military and federal power from the Revolutionary Era through World War II demonstrated the

difficulties COs faced in following their conscience. Because of the conscription laws at the onset of WWII, there was no framework for the treatment or the type of service in which COs could perform.

When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the United States was thrown into another war. The Selective Service focused its attention on drafting men and training them for fighting. Little thought was given to handling conscientious objectors. A small group of Christian churches were consistent in their objection to war and were known collectively as the Historic Peace Churches (HPC), consisting of the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Church of the Brethren, and the Mennonite Church. They banded together to create a solution for the COs. In their theology, they believed it was morally wrong under any circumstance to serve in the military, and church leaders began developing an organization for young men to serve without violating their conscience. Together the HPC, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO), and the Selective Service developed the Civilian Public Service. This program would prove to be a difficult balance between the respective interests of church and state. Yet, it was this program that brought COs to Colorado's western slope.

On July 1, 1943, the first twelve men arrived to start work at Jackson Gulch CPS Camp #111 in Mancos, Colorado. These men entered the Civilian Public Service (CPS), which provided alternative service for those claiming religious conscientious objector status during World War II. They sought to serve their country through serving in the CPS. The Mancos camp was just one of the hundred and fifty CPS camps that men and women were sent to for alternative service during the war. The events and issues that transpired at Jackson Gulch Camp #111 revealed problems surrounding conscientious

objectors in a pluralistic society. The CPS tested the nature of American citizenship and its rights and responsibly of the conscientious objectors during wartime. It remains a forgotten piece of history.

The Civilian Public Service represents a facet of World War II that remains outside of the popular understanding of the war. Twelve thousand men served for the CPS and more than sixteen hundred were sent to prison and convicted for their consciences. Many questions arise when studying conscientious objectors. Who were these men and women and why did they choose not to fight? How did the government deal with objectors? Should American citizens be required to serve their country in times of war? Many will argue that all citizens should be required to serve their country, regardless of religious beliefs. However, a larger question emerges: should conscientious objectors be subjected to set aside their civil liberties and be forced to work without pay? There are many aspects of the CPS that can be studied. This study will focus on the emergence of the CPS camp #111 in Mancos, Colorado. An understanding of the events leading to the CPS is necessary to understand the context of the camp.

The first chapter examines the early roots of conscientious objectors, the role the New Deal played in the CPS's development, and legislation created by the Selective Service to deal with COs. Essentially, the New Deal projects in Southwest Colorado provided the framework for the CPS camps. Chapter two further examines the historical context of the CPS and the religious institutions that supported the program. It also explores the complex relationship of the churches and the government. Chapter three, the heart of the thesis, tells the stories of the men at camp and their activities in which they engaged as they served their time in lieu of military service. The newsletters, *Action and*

CPS-G.I., reveal the inner workings of camp life. This chapter explores what camp life was like and how these men came from all walks of life. It further discusses contentious issues of the CPS and how men essentially performed indentured labor or were sent to jail for their convictions. In addition, chapter three describes the radical pacifists who went to prison for their refusals to work or report back to duty after a furlough. This last chapter explores the slow demobilization process for COs and the impact of the CPS program and how it has shaped future dealings with COs.

Although scholars have produced thousands of publication on World War II, only a few academic accounts deal with pacifism and conscientious objection. The stories of men who served in the CPS are virtually unknown compared to the thousands about war heroes. Through understanding the background of the CPS program and examining the Mancos camp, it becomes obvious that this piece of history led to social changes in dealing with COs. The CPS program also demonstrates how a nation often overlooks the minority for what they believe is the good of the nation. As time passes and survivors from the CPS have died, it is important to preserve their story and know the price they paid for their convictions. Even important CPS contributions to local communities have receded into time's amnesia. Tom Vaughan, a Quaker and pacifist, observed, "It interested me that almost nobody knew about the CPS experience in the Mancos Valley, although the community's public library was founded on the quantity of books in the CPS camp library that were donated to the community when the camp disbanded."[1] The conscientious objector can now be viewed with less criticism than in prior conflicts. The seven years that the CPS existed created more tolerance and sympathy for conscientious objectors and shaped future dealings with COs.

Chapter 1:
History of Conscientious Objectors
&
The Civilian Public Service

The issue of conscientious objection to military service in the United States can be traced back to colonial times. However, the earliest record of conscientious objection can actually be dated to around the year 295 CE. Maximilanus, a twenty-one years-old, was called upon to serve for the Roman army. He said he could not serve because of his religious convictions. He persisted in his refusal and was executed, and is now known as Saint Maximilian.[1] In later centuries when conscription was introduced, the phrase "conscientious objection" was applied towards individual rights for certain religious groups. Since this early moral opposition to war, thousands of cases have emerged in the U.S. and have led to major debates about the issue of conscientious objection as an individual right. In colonial America, most COs consisted of small pacifist groups that were closely associated with specific religious organizations. These groups were comprised of the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Church of Brethren, and Mennonite Church, collectively known as the Historic Peace Churches (HPC). These churches opposed war and violence from their founding as a way to fix society and rid it of evils During the Revolutionary War, in 1777, the Continental Congress called for all able-bodied men between the ages eighteen and fifty-three to enroll in the militia or pay a substitution fine. Later that same year, Congress required all white men to take an oath or affirmation to the new Continental government. Both the substitution fine and the oath were problematic for members of the Historic Peace Churches (HPC) and raised many

questions about whether they could pledge loyalty to another government. Initially the HPCs had pledged their loyalty to the British Crown, when the new Congress asked them to pledge they could not do so to a rebellious government because they were not independent yet and the oath challenged their beliefs. The HPC would later play a large role in shaping the Selective Service and alternative work for COs. After the Revolutionary War, some COs experienced fines, property confiscation, and other harassment for not joining state militias.[2]

Officially, conscription first appeared during the Civil War in the Confederacy. A year later, the Union also adopted a national draft. Neither side had a policy for dealing with COs. At the time, men could hire a substitute or pay a commutation fee. In time, the fee skyrocketed and both governments tried to limit exemptions for COs, but there was no comprehensive policy. Just as in the Revolutionary War, the Historical Peace Church members faced similar dilemmas in the Civil War. Many members petitioned the government for exemption and asked the government to recognize their beliefs on pacifism and slavery. However, COs were not viewed as a priority until after WWI. With the onset of WWII, the government attempted to find a solution to the CO problem.[3]

The first self-identified "conscientious objectors" appeared during World War I. Initially, most Americans thought the U.S would not become involved in the European conflict. On June 2, 1916, the National Defense Act introduced a selective draft option. When the U.S entered the war on April 6, 1917, the War Department asked Congress for a conscription bill. President Wilson signed the Selective Training Act into law on May 18, 1917. The bill did exempt those who had religious convictions against war.

According to the Act, "Any registrant found by his Local Board to be a member of any well-recognized religious sect or organization organized & existing before May 18, 1917… whose existing creed or principles forbade its members to participate in war in any form…whose religious convictions were against war or participation therein in accordance with the creed or principles of said religious organization, were to be furnished with a certificate by said Local Board stating that he could only be required to serve in a capacity declared by the President to be noncombatant. He would, however, be classified as any other registrant was."[4] However, the act was vague and allowed the President to choose what type of noncombatant duty men would serve. The government would not allow men to hire substitutes for their service. As a result, the problem of the CO was placed into the hands of the government.

Many individuals questioned whether or not the law was in violation of the Constitution. In 1918, the Supreme Court ruled in, *Arver v. United States,* that Congress could enact a draft law and it was not in violation of the thirteenth and first amendment. By vote of nine to zero, for the Court ruled in favor for the Selective Service Act of 1917.

> The constitutionality of the Selective Draft Law also is upheld against the following objections: (1) That, by some of its administrative features, it delegates federal power to state officials; (2) that it vests both legislative and judicial power in administrative officers; (3) that, by exempting ministers of religion and theological students under certain conditions and by relieving from strictly military service members of certain religious sects whose tenets deny the moral right to engage in war, it is repugnant to the First Amendment, as establishing or interfering with religion, and (4) that it creates involuntary servitude in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment.[5]

Still, after the passage of the Selective Service Act of 1917, the constitutionality of the federal government to draft citizens for military duty was heavily debated. Chief Justice Edward D. White argued that citizenship was the " 'supreme and noble duty of contributing to the defense of the rights and honor of the nation.' "[6] This case proved that Congress does have the power to enact a draft during times of war. Churches would begin crafting resolutions to allow more men and women to be exempt from military service.

World War I marked a pivotal time for the infringement on the liberties of COs. Because the Selective Service Act lacked an alternative service option, many men were classified as non-combatants and placed in alternative-work camps. Some camps were worse than others. Many COs faced hazing, beatings, taunting, and any other attempt to get them to renounce their objection. Those that refused any service were classified as absolutist and endured the worst of treatments. Many were sentenced to federal military prisons and many COs died in prisons like Leavenworth and Alcatraz.[7] The First World War served as an example of how the government could set aside individual rights, a founding theory that the nation was built upon, for the necessities of war. Those that were affiliated with a known religious organization, like the Mennonites, Quakers, and Brethren's, were easily pardoned from service in the military. Men and women who did not have an official religious group, or opposed war because of other moral beliefs, had a difficult time and often found themselves in camps for non-combatants. World War I persuaded the churches that in order to have any alternative service, should there be another conflict, they must be willing to work together. This cooperative work would be done at the HPC Conferences in Newton, Kansas. As war threatened the nation again in

the 1930s, the government and the HPC quickly sought to solve some of the ambiguities that had doomed the conscientious objectors during WWI. [8]

During the 1930s, the economy spiraled into depression and created the need for an expanded role of the federal government. When a Democrat, Franklin D. Roosevelt, took over as president, the United States' economy was prostrate in the face of crippling conditions. Roosevelt launched an ambitious program of governmental projects known as the New Deal. Many of the projects were formed in the opening months of his administration, also known as the Hundred Days, and sought to meet three major goals. First, it would establish relief programs to help the hungry and jobless. Second, the New Deal would create recovery programs to help agriculture and industry. Lastly, it would enact reform of the economy to ensure that another crisis like the Great Depression could not happen again. Some of the more famous relief programs were the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA); both put men and women back to work and began changing the nation forever.[9] The relief programs eventually become the framework for the Civilian Public Service. The CCC reflected FDR's commitment to conservation and his long-term passion for environmental issues. The surge of unemployment and economic collapse allowed Roosevelt to push his conservation agenda.[10] The historical background of the New Deal programs in Southwest Colorado ultimately created the establishment of the first government-run Civilian Public Service camp, #111 in Mancos, Colorado.

New Deal Programs in Southwest Colorado

The Civilian Conservation Corps was established in 1933, just 27 days after President Roosevelt took office. Nationally, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was responsible for more than two billion trees being planted, 13,100 miles of trails being built, 52,000 acres of public campgrounds were developed, and 89,000 miles of telephone lines were laid. Nationally, the Works Progress Administration had constructed 17,562 buildings by 1939. They built 280,000 miles of roads, and 9,000 libraries were created. They taught people to read and write, and performed hundreds of musicals and theatre performances every month.[11] In Southwest Colorado, the CCC and the WPA employed hundreds of residents. By 1936, "the WPA employed more than 200 people in La Plata Country, infusing more than $300,000 into the local economy. And participation increased by 25 percent the following year."[12] Southwest Colorado's success relied on the New Deal projects and tourism. The programs were important infusions of money into a very depressed area, especially with the major decline in mining and the drought that was plaguing farmer's crops. However, tensions in Europe would threaten the existence of the CCC.

The impact of the Great Depression varied depending on regional economic conditions. The state of Colorado appeared, in some ways, to fare better than other states. According to one Depression survivor, "Tis a privilege to live in Colorado."[13] Roosevelt had created the New Deal to pay men and women to improve the struggling nation. Roosevelt's New Deal programs quickly reached the Southwest part of Colorado and stayed until 1940, bringing great progress to the region. The region

around Durango thrived mainly because it was the trading and distribution center for Southwest Colorado. In addition, many New Deal projects boosted tourism and stimulated the economy during the Depression. Colorado was ideal for New Deal projects because of its vast amount of federal land, resources, and unique artifacts from the past, specifically Mesa Verde. Through boom and bust cycles, the new government programs transformed the Southwest corner of Colorado.

These programs altered the economic relations among the communities in southwestern Colorado. Durango, Colorado is located about twenty-five miles east of Mancos, Colorado. Its location is significant because historically Durango has brought in tourism and boosted the economy of southwest Colorado. Historically, the town has also depended on agriculture, mining, tourism, and bootlegging. At the onset of the Depression, Silverton, Colorado was experiencing a boom in mining that helped soften the blow to the region's economy. La Plata County's population grew from 12,975 in 1930, then to 15,399 in 1940; Durango's moved from 5,400 to 5,887. According to historian Duane A. Smith, many of his interviewees claimed Durango was better off compared to surrounding areas and on a national level Businesses and businessmen helped Durango thrive during the 1920s and into the '30s. One example can be found in the person of Jack Clay, who served on the chamber of commerce, school board, city council, and as mayor. He helped push for lower railroad rates, money to improve Wolf Creek Pass and highways, and these efforts strengthened La Plata County's businesses. Dentist Schuyler Parker observed, the businesses on Main Street were thriving and driving the economy. In addition, Durango offered goods and services that other areas lacked. Many people from the surrounding towns of Cortez, Mancos, Bayfield, Marvel,

and Farmington all came to Durango for agricultural supplies and eventually from farther away, for tourism.[14]

Southwest Colorado residents eagerly welcomed and joined the New Deal projects that came to the area. In the election of 1932, La Plata County gave 60% of the vote for Democrat Franklin Roosevelt. Historically, the people of this sub region had voted Republican, supported and experienced less government regulation, and practiced the old agrarian ways of life. Voting for a Democrat showed the region's desperation for help during the Depression. In 1933, the Durango City Council petitioned Washington for a Civilian Conservation Corps camp. Southwest Colorado's success and survival relied on the New Deal projects and tourism. Three camps were located in the Durango area; no town or state could have imagined being so lucky. One of the CCC camps was located at Fort Lewis College in Durango, called Reservoir Hill. Others were created at Vallecito Dam in Bayfield, and Mesa Verde Park. The constructions of the CCC camps were expected to generate $17,500 a month for the local economy. Men worked to transplant trees, built roads and trails, installed picnic areas, and water systems. [15] Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration was one of the most effective and powerful relief programs; along with the Civilian Conservation Corps, it allowed men to complete outdoor projects, and be paid for their labor. Without the CCC, it is unlikely that the region would have survived the Depression; especially, with the major decline in mining and increase in drought that plagued farms.

The CCCers at Mesa Verde joined the other 57,000 who served in Colorado to accomplish these projects.[16] One of the first CCC camps, NP-2, was established in 1933 near the Mesa Verde area. Its official moniker reflects the naming convention for the

program, which in this case stood for National Park, camp number 2, in Colorado. The abbreviations could also indicate whether it was a summer or winter camp, or if the camp was used for drought prevention or fire.[17] Mesa Verde had several other camps throughout the 1930s and 40s that employed men from Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas. They were paid around $30 per month. In addition, some money was even sent back home to the boys' families. The company helped excavate, improve drainage, fight fires, establish museums, and create roads.[18] The Civilian Conservations Corps offered a lot to young men and gave them an opportunity that would not have been achieved without Roosevelt's New Deal. One hopeful young man, Coyne Thompson, summarized what the CCC and depression meant to him:

> By the time you left, you were able to cope with the world at large. It was a good experience, there wasn't any doubt about it. And one thing about it was that everybody was in the same financial predicament and you didn't feel embarrassed because there wasn't anybody who was any other way.[19]

The CCC provided men jobs, homes, and food, and boosted low morale. It was said during the nine-year span of the program's history, around 3,000 to 4,000 CCCers passed through Mesa Verde.[20]

In 1905, reclamation engineer Chester C. Fisher had begun investigating a site for a reservoir to be built to supply Mesa Verde. However, because of poor economic conditions, the project was not approved until 1936. Congress authorized the Mancos Project on August 11, 1939, and provided $1.6 million in funding.[21] There were two camps located at the Jackson Gulch Dam site near Mancos, where the WPA provided labor from surrounding areas so they did not have provide housing for the men. The Bureau of Reclamation started work on two CCC camps, BR-93 and BR-94, on July 24, 1941, in preparation for dam construction. Work on the site continued until January 1942,

when a harsh winter slowed production and many men abandoned the job. Work slowed again in June of 1942 when Congress dissolved the WPA. In July of 1942, Congress eliminated the CCC because of the war effort. The loss of these two federal work programs, coupled with workers being drafted for the war effort, halted work on the Mancos Project.[22] The Mancos Civilian Public Service Camp #111 (Jackson Gulch Dam) would be born out of this relief program.

Illustration 1. Square Tower House, Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado. Source: Mancos Library & Center of Southwest Studies, FLC.

Overall, the CCC work was successful in stimulating the economy for the surrounding area. On July 3, 1938, 658 people visited the ruins at Mesa Verde. According to Superintendent Jesse L. Nussbaum, this "was the largest crowd to visit since the park's creation in 1906." In 1939, the park totaled 32,246 visitors.[23] Enthusiasm and tourism increased for Mesa Verde as a result of the CCC camps. Most workers attributed their success and La Plata County's survival during the Depression directly to the New Deal projects. The CCC camps lasted until 1940 when the demands

of military preparation pulled most men out of CCC camps and placed them in the armed services. Ultimately, the draft and the resistance to it resuscitated the camp at Mancos, which then became Civilian Public Service Camp #111.

World War II and Historic Peace Churches

The camp at Mancos was one of the on-going efforts of the Historic Peace Churches, who in the years leading to World War II made herculean efforts to solve the inconsistent policies of conscientious objectors that doomed them during World War I. Several conferences took place with Congress and President Roosevelt up to and after the New Deal. In 1935, the HPCs began peace conferences to solve the CO problem. They wanted to seek alternative options to the National Defense Act and not advocate for COs to hire substitutes for military service. These conferences allowed the churches to lobby together for COs and use a cohesive voice to speak with the federal government.

In 1935, the Historic Peace Churches held a conference in Newton, Kansas. They presented ideas about pacifism and the importance behind their unwillingness to serve in any form of military action. It was during this conference that some of the most effective outlining of the peace stance was documented. The Historic Peace Churches put together a comprehensive plan for religious conscientious objectors in case conscription were to happen again. They drafted, "a plan of Unified Action in case the United States is involved in War. That the churches should provide for conscientious objectors who become involved in the draft as follows: furloughs from army and navy for alternative service of non-military nature and not under military control."[24] They also noted that relief work would be acceptable only under civilian or church direction. In the years leading up to the outbreak of World War II, Peace Churches met with President

Roosevelt several times to secure protection for COs. Although, each of the peace churches had distinctive theological views, they shared the common thread of calling for the separation of church and state to bring relief for COs. This plan would eventually create the Civilian Public Service (CPS) that would offer alternative service of national importance.

When Hitler invaded Poland in September 1939, England and France declared war on Germany. The possibility of U.S involvement rose significantly. The HPC decided they needed to act quickly and began molding a plan for the event of a draft. On January 10, 1940, Peace Church representatives outlined their plan for conscientious objectors and alternative service. They asked for a civilian board to oversee assignments for conscientious objectors in case of a draft. They also offered to create alternative service programs for COs. However, meeting with Roosevelt did little to change his views on COs. Roosevelt believed that COs should be drilled with military officers. A Gallup poll in January of 1940 showed the population did not favor exemption; only 13.2 percent approved exemption from military service.[25] President Roosevelt, the Attorney General, and War Department outlined three major ideas for conscientious objectors. First, a civilian board should be appointed by the President to judge the sincerity of each individual CO. Second, a local draft board would route the CO directly to a camp location so that at no time would they be under military control. Lastly, the HPC would set up and administer service projects, which could offer work.[26]

The Historical Peace Churches and the Selective Service sketched out the initial plans for the Civilian Public Service (CPS). The CPS would be designed to provide alternative service under civilian direction, and the work would be "morally important

and challenging enough so the blandishments of wartime patriotism could be deflected by young CO idealists."[27] While the actual operation of the Civilian Public Service (CPS) differed from this, the plan did demonstrate two important issues. First, the HPCs made immense efforts to secure the rights for conscientious objectors, and second, the nation was dedicated and passionate to fight in the "Good War". Eventually, the Selective Service would develop programs for alternative service, but the requirements were both vague and seemingly violated the constitutional rights of COs.

Despite the growing wars in Asia and Europe, by the end of May 1940 neither Roosevelt nor the military sought enactment of a conscription law. The rapid fall of France under the German onslaught completely changed the outlook of many Americans. Within three weeks such a bill would be introduced in Congress, within four months a conscription law would be in place all fifteen months before the United States declared war. This timeframe created a sense of urgency for the HPCs and the Selective Service to create a plan for COs. The HPC leaders feared the experience from WWI was about to be replayed. In September of 1940, the first bill was passed for conscientious objectors. However, it was a big disappointment for COs. Known as the Burke-Wadsworth Bill, Senator Edward Burke (D-NE) and Representative James Wadsworth (R-NY), proposed a conscription bill but the final version did not adequately address CO status. The bill only granted CO status to those who were members of a "well-recognized religious sect whose creed or principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form…"[28] This was not much different from the Selective Service Act of 1917. Furthermore, the Burke-Wadsworth Bill did not provide for any alternative service, a big blow to the Historical Peace Churches, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the International Women's

League for Peace and Freedom, who had worked tirelessly debating with Congress and making their stances known. The bill was passed as the Selective Training and Services Act of 1940. Although it was the first time that the government recognized conscientious objectors since the narrow definition during World War I, it did not allow for total removal from the military. Section 5(g) of the act read:

> Nothing contained in this act shall be construed to require any person to be subject to combatant training and service in the land and naval forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to war in any form. Any such person claiming such exemption from combatant training and service because of such conscientious objections whose claim is sustained by the local board shall, if he is inducted into the land or naval forces under this act, be assigned to noncombatant service as defined by the President, or shall, if he is found to be conscientiously opposed to participation in such noncombatant service, in lieu of such induction, be assigned to work of national importance under civilian direction.[29]

On October 2, 1940, Paul C. French, who would help organize the efforts made by the HPC, was directed by Lt. Colonel Lewis Hershey, later to become director of the Selective Service, to submit the plans for alternative service for COs. Initially, French was the representative for the National Council for Religious Conscientious Objectors, then later changed to National Service Board for Religious Objectors, NSBRO. French was the director from the beginning until 1946, when the Friends withdrew from the board.[30]

On October 15, Dr. Clarence Dykstra became director of the Selective Service. The following day men ages eighteen to thirty-five could register for the draft. The HPC had informed their men to register and wait for a plan from the NSBRO. The NSBRO was actively working with Lt. Col. Hershey and other personnel to come up with an option that was suitable. Hershey told the HPC to draft a plan for alternative service. On December 5, Dysktra and Hershey met with NSBRO to establish the outline for the CPS.

Dykstra had asked whether the churches would be willing to pay the cost of all projects for the conscientious objectors, knowing that Congress or the President would likely not approve payment for the COs and their work. Next, the Selective Service recognized the ambiguities of the act and quickly drafted and presented a five-point plan for the president's approval in December 19, 1940. It stated:

1. The War Department would furnish or loan cots, bedding, and other items of camp equipment as feasible and necessary.
2. The Department of Agriculture and Interior would provide technical supervision for soil conservation and similar projects, as well as tools and equipment to the extent practicable.
3. The Federal Security Agency would cooperate and, if possible, make abandoned C.C.C. camps available.
4. The Selective Service would furnish general administrative and policy supervision, inspections, and pay for the men's transportation costs to the camps.
5. NSBRO and HPC "has agreed for a temporary period to undertake the task of financing and furnishing all other necessary parts of the program, including actual day-to-day supervision and control of the camps (under such rules and regulations and administrative supervision as laid down by Selective Service), to supply subsistence, necessary buildings, hospital care, and generally all things necessary for the care and maintenance of the men."[31]

This five-point plan along with the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 created a chain of command that for the first time incorporated church and government officials, together, to oversee and assign men during wartime. On February 6, 1941, Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8675, establishing the Civilian Public Service. The CPS created a unique church-state partnership that lasted through four years of war and two years of demobilization. General Lewis Hershey called the CPS an "experiment in democracy to find out whether our democracy is big enough to preserve minority rights in a time of national emergency."[32] Hershey felt the CPS was an important option for COs. Some congressmen felt that the CPS should not be an option and COs should serve

and fight for their country. Hershey declared, "Do you want to saddle the military with thousands of non-cooperators?... The CO, by my theory, is best handled if no one hears of him."[33] It seemed an obvious solution; COs would be working for the national welfare at no cost to the American taxpayer. To its supporters, the CPS seemed an ideal solution. The government thought the CPS draftees should be treated the same as soldiers; their activities were to be responsible to the government and the Peace Churches were to only be camp managers. On paper the system appeared to be flawless.

An intricate web of church and state was created from President Roosevelt to the Historical Peace Churches. From the bottom up, the HPC and CPS executives were at the bottom of the command. Each church established an administration that would determine how to manage individual CPS camps. They also raised and disbursed funds, administrated camps, and appointed directors. Above them were the "government men" who were responsible for the work of the camps. They worked with directors in specific labor projects. Next, George Reeves was in charge of camp sections and functioned with churches for operations and work procedures. Alongside Reeves, was J.N. Weaver, who assigned the men to camps and tracked transfers and re-assignments. In addition, to Weaver, Huldah Randell advocated for men and dealt with classification issues. Above those three sections was the National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO), led by Executive Secretary Paul C. French. Above the NSBRO, Col. Lewis F. Kosch led the Selective Service Camp Operations Division, and, finally, above him General Lewis Hershey led the Selective Service under the command of the federal government and President Roosevelt. As commander-in-chief, President Roosevelt approved and signed

the establishment and designation of the work of national importance for the COs. (See Appendix A)[34]

The next challenge to the CO problem involved identifying who was going to administer the projects, oversee workers, and pay them. General Lewis B. Hershey was put in charge of the program and often referred to it as the best experiment of America's democracy. General Lewis B. Hershey, director of the Selective Service had the difficult task of assigning COs to work of "national importance". The CPS would take on many forms of work and resembled a similar structure to previous New Deal programs. However, at some CPS camps, conscientious objectors were still treated inhumanly, taunted, imprisoned, and even starved to death during World War II. The CPS camps were modeled after, and even took the place of the earlier Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps. The CPS camps did similar work, such as designing and digging irrigation ditches, building dams, and building roads and trails. The Civilian Public Service was alternative service of "national importance" for conscientious objectors for which the government refused to pay. However, most COs felt that they were not doing work of national importance. They also viewed the lack of pay as slave labor to the federal government. If the government had paid the COs for their service at the same rate it paid soldiers, the total cost would have been over $18 million. Those that supported the war viewed the COs as cowards and despised them for refusing to fight. [35]

As a result, this chain of command created an interesting relationship between church and state. The Selective Service agency came under the direction of army officers, then the National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO), which was a majority of Peace Church members, and then the church operating agencies, who were

principally the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). The lines of authority were often blurred. Deputy Director Colonel Kosch spoke on behalf of the Selective Service, "The draft is under United States government operation. Conscientious objectors are draftees as soldiers are. Their activities are responsible to the government. The Peace Churches are only camp managers."[36] Kosch's statement implies the attitudes of the WWII era, in addition to the context of the United States as a pluralistic society. The relationship between church and state was able to survive through World War II. However, its workings caused major distrust towards the government by the HPC and COs. Inevitably, this chain of command enabled the government to control and censor all aspects of COs lives. This caused many men to distrust the religious programs that set up this system that inevitably supported the war. As a result, thousands of men deserted the CPS and chose conviction rather than what they viewed as slave labor.

In a memo from Selective Service officer, Lieutenant Colonel McLean, in 1942, emphasized the lack of freedom COs would have and contradicted the original intent behind the HPCSs calling for alternative service. The HPCs would not have accepted such provisions to the Selective Service. However, by 1942, it was too late. McLean reflected on the intent of the CPS:

> The program is not carried out for the education of an individual, to train groups for Foreign Service or future activities in the postwar period, or for the furtherance of any particular movement. Assignees can no more expect choice of location or job than can men in the service. From the time an assignee reports to camp until he is finally released he is under the control of the Director of the Selective Service.
>
> He ceases to be a free agent and is accountable for all of his time, in camp and out, 24 hours a day. His movement, actions and conduct are subject to control and regulation.
>
> He ceases to have certain rights and is granted privileges. These privileges can be restricted or withdrawn without his consent as

> punishment, during emergency, or as a matter of policy. He may be told when and how to work, what to wear, and where to sleep. He can be required to submit to medical examinations and treatment, and to practice rules of health and sanitation. He may be moved from place to place and from job to job, even to foreign countries, for the convenience of the government regardless of his personal feeling or desires.[37]

McLean's views on COs were a common among many and basically summed up the next four years for the conscientious objector. A greater tolerance and acceptance for pacifist wouldn't be seen until after the Vietnam War.

There were four main categories that men could enlist for at the beginning of WWII. A total of 34,506,923 men registered for the draft as I-A, classifying them fit for general military service. Those that were still eligible for military service in a noncombatant role were classified as I-A-O, conscientious objector status. Twenty-five thousand were accepted as noncombatants in the army. IV-E status was the most common for true conscientious objectors that were only available for civilian work of national importance. Of the 34.5 million who registered for the draft, only 72,354 applied for this status. And of those only 12,000 became conscientious objectors willing to perform work of national importance. Another, 27,000 failed their health examination classifying them as IV-F, or men who were physically, mentally or morally unfit. The classification of COs was the responsibility of the local draft boards, which received instruction from the Selective Service in Washington. This made consistency of classifications difficult. I-A-O and IV-E were the most commonly requested classifications. Most boards would grant the classification to those that applied; however, some would refuse claims made. If patriotic nationalists populated the board, a CO was most likely not given their classification. [38] The bigger problem for the military was the opponents of even non-combatant military service. A total of 6,086 were imprisoned for

their refusal to participate in any form of service.[39] Many that were imprisoned during that time because of their opposition were released at the end of the war, since the United States had unclear policies on COs and their service to the nation.

During the short history of the CPS, COs appealed to congress and published newsletters to expose life inside the Selective Service System camps. Conscientious objectors watched their officers receive promotions for doing marginal jobs, while they were ordered to "complete work of national importance." There was no mention of concentration-like camps or about penal servitude in the legal framework for the Civilian Public Service. COs clearly believed the government was not upholding the law by placing men in camps and denying them pay. The men appealed to Congress that the laws needed to be upheld. "We Americans like to think of our Senators and Representatives as men and women who are sent to Washington because they believe in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, and because they have 'guts' enough to see that traditional American ideas of government WILL be preserved."[40] However, Congress did not see the CO cause as a priority and legally could deny pay. By declaring I-A-O status (conscientious objectors eligible for military service in noncombatant role), the men hoped they might relieve the suffering of war and be able to someday prevent future generations of dead and wounded soldiers. Through opposition, many men felt that I-A-O was a compromise for the government to accept. A true conscientious objector and pacifist would not have accepted such conditions because performing noncombatant roles would have shown their support in the war.

In the years leading up to WWII, pacifists had worked hard to establish a legislative process that would preserve the civil liberties of COs; however, all their efforts

had now fallen into the hands of the government and their constitutional rights were being tested. Pacifists were in a difficult position. Because they had worked to create certain classifications for COs, like IV-E, limited civilian work of national importance, they now could not register as IV-F: mentally, physically, or morally unfit. They had placed themselves in a difficult situation. They had two choices: serve for the CPS camps, or go to jail. Thus, thousands of men chose jail as the consequence of their beliefs, and others worked for years without pay. Essentially, the conscription bill of 1940 was contrary to the thirteenth amendment that abolished slavery for African Americans. Many pacifists compared their work in the CPS like a few cultured "Negros" at the top of the slave system of the old South. It took the Historical Peace Churches over sixty years to acknowledge the abolitionist movement and to recognize slavery as morally wrong. And now the HPCs had placed their own sons into a system that compromised the human values in democracy.[41]

The federal government had accepted input from the Historic Peace Churches and the National Service Board for Religious Objectors when developing the Civilian Public Service. Despite the support of HPC and NSBRO, throughout the war, most United States citizens viewed COs as a nuisance. They felt that they were not contributing to the "Good War" and many places publicly ostracized COs. As a result, General Hersey, a soldier and government bureaucrat, took a unique stance to support and administer conscription and alternative service during World War II. Hershey believed that if men truly objected to war because of religious reasons, they should be allowed some form of alternative service. The CPS during World War II showed vast improvement over that of World War I. However, many still blamed the lack of pay for CPS workers on Hershey's

unwillingness to petition to the government.[42] Today's ethical standards and constitutional rights would not permit many of these experiments, but they were consistent with the narrower views of the earlier era.

Chapter 2

Life in the Civilian Public Service

The conflicts that occurred in the Civilian Public Service are little known and often overshadowed by the martial focus of most studies of World War II. Yet the accounts at the one hundred and fifty-three camps were re-told and preserved through the newsletters that the individual camps published. The workers contributions to these newsletters were invaluable and are the primary reflection of life in the CPS. These newsletters provided glimpses into the moral and mental lives of many COs. It appeared through the camp newsletters that the COs perceived themselves alone in their pacifist struggle. Their pacifist beliefs were rooted in their church organizations that had now betrayed them by supporting the CPS system. Whereas the COs viewed the men on the battlefield as a cohesive unit, fighting together, the COs were placed into numerous different camps with distinctive religious beliefs and lifestyles. Each CPS camp was unique in location, type of work performed, and men that served. Many men transferred, not always by choice, or applied for detached service. As a result, men experienced movement from camp to camp and took with them stories and experiences from previous camps. It was not uncommon for one man to have been to four or more camps by the end of the war.

In the little town of Mancos, Colorado, much of what happened in the early 1940s was a breeding ground for radical pacifism that would later lead to greater acceptance for COs. The religious and ethnic mix of the CPS camps created a unique partnership between church and state. The government had crossed a fine line between church and

state and constitutional rights. Tom Vaughan, a Quaker and a pacifists felt, "The camp was fascinating and was a laboratory for constitutional issues four miles up a dirt road from a little cow town in the Four Corners, not the marbled halls of the Supreme Court."[1] Today, the campsite is an empty pasture and all infrastructures have been dismantled. In CPS #111's place is the Mancos Water Conservatory. The office has some records of the dams' progress and financial books. In addition, there are a few small artifacts from the camp: a rock and chain that is engraved "CPS 1944" and a canteen of a worker. The story of the first Federally-run CPS camp revealed passionate conversations on conscription, justice, peace, and religious differences amongst the hundreds of men that lived at the camp.[2] The newsletters, which were published by all camps, characterized the work of "national importance," distinctions between government and church camps, pay issues, prison sentences, and personal experiences of living through the CPS.

The men at CPS Camp #111 published the camp paper *Action: Publican of CPS Conference on Social Action*, from July 1943 to June 1944. Other camps also published papers under the same name. Men at CPS Camp #32 in Campton, New Hampshire, as well as CPS Camp #135 in Germfask, Michigan, published papers and shared them amongst other camps. In addition to *Action*, from November 1943 to December 1945, the men at Mancos published another camp paper titled the *CPS-G.I.: Civilian Public Service-Government Issue.* This paper dealt with the political side of pacifism as opposed to the social aspect. Men at CPS Camp #46 at Big Flats, New York, also used the same title for their camp paper.[3]

By April of 1944, the Mancos *CPS-G.I.*, was published through a "welfare fund" the government had set up for the campers' benefit although, all publishing was done during off-project hours. Financing the paper was controversial from the start. In the early years at Mancos, the men received an allowance of $3-7.50 per month. Shortly before October of 1943, the men pooled their money and started publishing *Action.* By November of 1943, *Action* had a mailing list of over 700 individuals in and out of the CPS. The camps exchanged the newsletters through the postal system. They were subjected to censorship just as all military mail was. The men sought to create a wider distribution and even expand it to members of Congress so that others could see the injustice of forcing men to work without pay.[4]

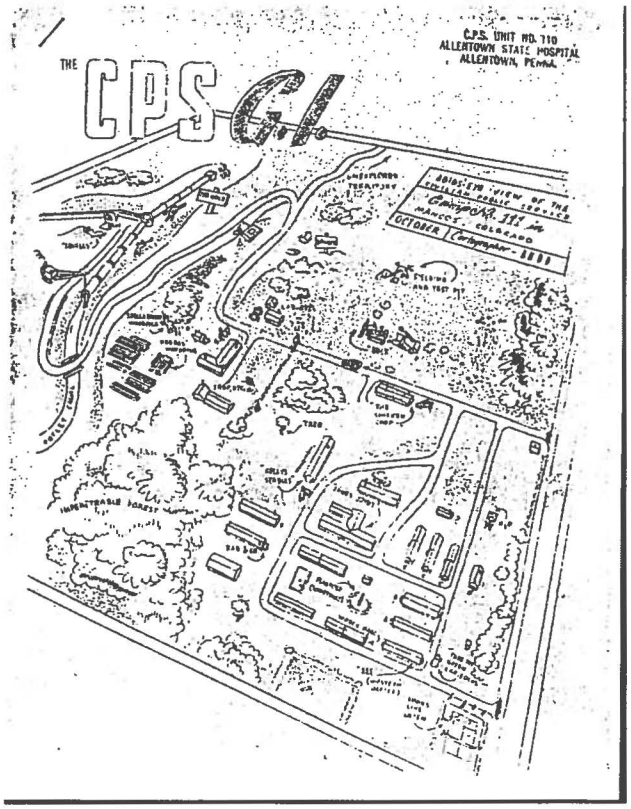


Illustration 2: Map of Mancos CPS camp. October 1944, Vol. XVI.
Source: Mancos Library & Center of Southwest Studies, FLC.

The Selective Service approved each CPS camp through the National Service Board of Religious Objectors (NSBRO). The NSBRO was a mixture of government and church related agencies that oversaw the men. Once COs were assigned their location, they first reported to base camp which was typically located in an isolated place. At base camp, men would go through orientation on the work they would be doing and how to live together in a pacifist community. Many men petitioned Joseph Weaver of the NSBRO for detached service. Detached service allowed men to leave their current religious camp and be placed in a government run institution. Men could also petition to work for special projects, such as work in public and mental hospitals or smoke jumping units. Smoke jumpers would parachute into rugged country to put out fires. The National Service Board urged the Selective Service to implement the three main provisions in Mancos: 1. The men would receive pay for their work, 2. The project would have no military significance, and 3. Men would have the opportunity to use skills other than manual labor.[5] General Hershey was sympathetic to the cause of the CO, but he did not approve pay for any of the CPS camps, whether they were government or religious run. Some men requested relocation to church directed camps because they felt the government's refusal to pay was unjust. Regardless, pay was never granted to COs and all camps faced different obstacles. If a man enlisted for a non-religious camp, he was most likely sent to Mancos.[6]

The first men entered the Civilian Public Service in 1941 and expected to serve for six months. Instead, some were compelled to serve for up to six years. The last of the men to leave the CPS were not released until 1947, two years after the war was over.

Civilian Public Service camp life resembled the model of an army camp (See appendix D). Men worked from 7:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., six days per week. They were given furloughs at the same rates as any military personnel, which was one weekend per month. However, as the war reached its second year, many furlough options become restricted. Each camp had an educational director, business manager, dietitian, and nurse. The educational director was responsible for training and many camps offered classes in things like woodworking and leather craft. The most popular were Bible courses with heavy emphasis on peace theology. In addition, many camps had a library and a small newsletter or publication that was published on a weekly basis. These newsletters have become valuable to historians in gaining a deeper understanding of what happened at camp.[7]

The business manager was responsible for the finances of the camp. Each man received a small stipend from the church group with which they were affiliated. Initially this was $2.50 per month; later, it doubled to $5.00 per month. Although the men were expected to pay the government $35 a month for their room and board at the camps, most did not pay. The financial support for men who enlisted under a religious denomination was the responsibility of that church. In the existence of the CPS, the HPCs spent a total of $7,202,000.[8] There was a high cost to be paid for COs, their families, and the HPCs. Perhaps the most adversely affected were the dependents of the men at camp. Many wives and children had to endure up to four years of their husbands' and fathers' absences. Financially, it was very burdensome for families to make ends meet. The strain continued after the war when post-war jobs would prove to be even harder for COs to obtain than soldiers returning from war.[9]

Most men felt that both church-run and government-run camps had their frustrations. The largest complaint was that the HPCs were supporting the war though financing CPS camps and sending chaplains to help oversee the men. Overall, the system began crumbling underneath itself within the first year. The intricate mixture of church and state was like water and oil. The Selective Service thought that the low pay would ensure that only men who were truly conscientiously opposed to war would apply. The CPS camps became the breeding grounds for radical, political protests.

The CPS had three religious service agencies. The Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), Brethren Service Committee (BSC), and American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), formed the religious partnership for the CPS, which later merged to the NSBRO. All three agreed to pay for camp operations and each collected monies for this purpose from their constituents. Although, the Selective Service agreed to pay for tools and supervision for the work and the churches planned to finance education, health, recreation, and maintenance costs. The Mennonites asked their members to pay twenty-five to fifty cents per month to cover the costs of the CPS men. Other churches asked for money through their weekly offerings and others campaigned to raise funds. The American Friends Service Committee asked families of Friends in CPS to pay thirty-five dollars a month.[10] The Historic Peace Church CPS directors managed each of their own camps. For example, The American Friends Service Committee, located in Philadelphia, appointed Paul Farnas, a veteran of World War I, to direct their camps. The Mennonites used their relief agency, Mennonite Central Committee in Akron, Pennsylvania. Henry A. Fast became their director. The Church the Brethren placed their CPS program under

the Brethren Service Committee, in Elgin, Illinois. Paul Bowman became the first director.[11]

Religiously, the CPS men were a very diverse group; they encompassed 200 different sects and denominations. (See Appendix B) However, the majority of men enlisted under one of the Historic Peace Churches. The diversity of the camps often made it difficult to live and work together under God's law. Many men found themselves among absolutists, socialists, atheists, and fascists, making it hard to preach God's word. As a result, many sought reclassification in government-run camps, like Mancos. At Mancos, Jehovah's Witnesses were the largest group and they had seventy-nine members. Strong religious beliefs led many to become pacifist that were not affiliated with the Historic Peace Churches; those numbered fifty-four. The Church of Christ had thirty-six representatives. The CPS men further questioned their work of national importance. Some had hoped for assignments overseas in relief and reconstruction; however, Democratic Congressman Joseph Starnes from Alabama shut down the idea of using government funds to send COs overseas. The Selective Service and General Hershey believed that the COs were best in a place that was isolated from the public.[12] The following are excerpts that illustrate the differing points of view from a variety of denominations represented in the CPS.

The Quakers enlisted in the CPS instead of war because they believed fighting intensified the fears and hatreds that caused wars. Most Quakers in the CPS saw it as an opportunity to serve their fellow men. They thought that off-hours at the camps would offer a time to study and train in being an effective pacifist. However, they soon realized that the mixture of different denominations would make it very difficult to preach their

beliefs. The Quakers at Mancos chose the government-run camp versus church camps because they thought the church should not support the CPS and finance an institution that tended to destroy human nature.[13] The Quakers were frustrated by the strong handedness of the Selective Service and decided their commitment to the CPS would not extend past March 2, 1946. Any remaining camps after that were turned over to the Selective Service control.[14]

The Mennonite's church taught complete non-participation in war. They believed in total separation of church and state and were forbidden to hold public office or participate in politics; these principles were based on their interpretation of scripture. Many of the Mennonites at Mancos were there because the CPS was their only option. Orie Cutrell (Old Mennonite) affirmed, "It is wrong, as I see it, for our Church and its leaders to play politics, to compromise with the evil of conscripted labor, to accept a function of the state in administrating conscription, and to force the 'second mile' principle on anyone, even its own members, in asking them to work without pay."[15] Cutrell acknowledged that the HPCs did their members a disservice by crossing the line between church and state.

Some Catholics at Mancos also felt the United States' participation in WWII did not measure up to the conditions of a just war. The Catholic Church was not opposed to war, but believed there were certain conditions for a "just war." Based off their belief in Natural Law, they could not justify fighting in World War II because they believed there to be "no evidence of specific acts of war sanctioned by the government which clearly violated the natural law as interpreted and applied by the Catholic moralists."[16]

According to their Church Doctrine, St. Thomas Aqunias laid out specific conditions for a just war: "the war had to be a last resort, have due proportion, just cause, and be duly constituted authority." Catholics also chose the government-run camps because they questioned the support and involvement the Peace Churches had in the war. [17]

Methodist support of war fluctuated between world wars. From its inception the church tented to leave the choice up to the individual as a form of obedience to one's government. During WWI, the Methodists supported a policy of neutrality. However, after Germany sank the Lusitania, Methodists shifted towards support. "Methodists reflected the swing." Once the United States entered the war in 1917, "with few exceptions, the churches and the clergy enthusiastically supported it."[18] Between World Wars, a new wave of pacifism emerged for many American churches and specifically the Methodists. The Methodists made a commitment to international peace in 1924 with the establishments of the Commission on World Peace by the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Methodists worked diligently during the General Conference in 1940 to help COs seek alternative service.[19] In May of 1944, the Methodist Church officially shifted their support for the war. However, after heated debate in the 1944 General Conference they once again shifted and agreed, "We are sending over a million young men from Methodist homes to participate in the conflict." [20] They resolved that "God himself has a stake in the struggle, and we will uphold them as they fight forces destructive of the moral life of men."[21] They withdrew their COs from CPS #111. The men that were at Mancos were sent to Methodist run camps; such as, #61, Duke University Hospital, and #131, Cherokee State Hospital, Iowa. It was said that then men and even some wives, performed work that brought education and skills. Some even earned wages of $15 per

month. Despite the Methodists shift for support of the war, it helped produce a concern and support for the United Nations.[22]

The HPC camps encompassed several different types of work. A majority of the work was maintenance on prior CCC camps, soil conservation, forest service, national park maintenance, and this work even extended into public health. Seventeen camps performed work for the U.S. Soil Conservation Service. Soil conservation was the largest type of work that CPS men performed, with about sixty-eight percent engaging in this field. Around 1,147 Mennonite men were in some form of soil conservation. The Mennonites were rural people and they were more interested in agriculture and soil conservation. As a result, most of their men were placed in these types of CPS camps. For example, camp #52, in Powellsville, Maryland was turned over to the Mennonite Central Committee to straighten and drain the Pocomoke River.[23]

Forest service and forestry work was another area that the CPS focused its attention toward. A total of 11,967 days were spent in forest improvement, such as thinning and clearing of trees. Men collected 27,542 pounds of tree-seeds.[24] At camp #28, in Medaryville, Indiana, men planted millions of pine seedlings and transplanted them to burned areas. The prevention and fighting of forest fires also encompassed CPS work. One of the most challenging of these camps was the "smoke jumper" units. Smoke jumping was a form of putting out fires through the use of parachutes. This was successful because fires were put out when they were still small with minimal manpower. Initially, the Mennonites administered the first "smoke jumper" camp outside Missoula, Montana. However, towards the end of the war 240, men from all HPC groups had served in forest service camps. Smoke jumping camps were located in Montana, Idaho

and Oregon. In Missoula, smoke jumpers fought seventy-five fires in 1944. One smoke jumper reflected, "Each [fire] offered special problems both in jumping and in fire-fighting...But you never know what it will be when you hear 'Fire on the Mountain!'"[25] Oddly, the Selective Service required signed parental permission forms for this type of work. Ivan Amstutz, a Mennonite from Kidron, Ohio, claimed he sent his permission form to his family. His father signed it and his mother didn't, so he had someone else sign his mother's signature.[26]

Along with forest service work, the CPS also operated twenty-five camps for the National Park Service. This work involved fewer men and was mostly park maintenance. Most of the men's energies went to manicuring the trees, clearing brush, pulling out bushes, and sometimes building fire lookout towers. The most stimulating work was fire-fighting, mainly at camps in the West.[27] Other CPS camps aided to Public Health Service, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the General Land office.

At the onset of the war, mental health institutes were notoriously ill paid. They were often violent and dehumanized facilities. Many CPS men requested mental health facilities because they saw it as an opportunity to give back to society. Most CPS men worked as ward attendants and a few assisted in occupational therapy. Most men worked seventy-two hours per week and up to one hundred hours per week. At Philadelphia State Hospital conditions were poor. Ten men were sent to take care of three-hundred and fifty filthy and ill patients. They sought to establish routines for the patients and removed wet, foul clothing. The improvement was drastic and inspired other institutes to follow suit. This helped establish the National Mental Health Foundation. This organization brought changes in the field during and after the war. Steven J. Taylor, the

Centennial Professor of Disability Studies at Syracuse University, said, "The acts of conscience in the way that the COs worked for reform needed to be remembered as good and inherently worthy."[28] It did not fix the system, but it did bring more public awareness to mental health.

Conscientious objectors achieved public awareness by serving as human guinea pigs in medical experiments. The CPS had forty-one research units that were operated by all the HPCs. Most of the studies for social work included being subjected to untested drugs, extreme temperatures, infection with diseases, and extreme diets requiring withdrawal of food and water. The war led to the urgency of testing the effects of drinking salt water in the event of a ship sinking. As a result, several CPS men drank salt water and ate navy rations that were stocked in lifeboats. Many men ended up in the emergency room and it was determined that a simple ration of candy and water was best for lifeboat diets.[29] Around three hundred men tested the effects of nutrition problems. At the University of Illinois Research Hospital, men sat for hours in twenty degrees below zero to see the effects of extreme cold. At CPS camp Magnolia in Arkansas, volunteers ate dehydrated grass tips for three months to see if they would be a viable substitute for fruits and vegetables. It was not. The most dramatic nutrition experiment was done under the supervision of Dr. Ancel Keys at the Laboratory of Physiological Hygiene at the University of Minnesota. The purpose was to test the physical and psychological effects of starvation on the human body. They wanted to determine that most effective way to ration food and how to rehabilitate people in war-ravaged countries. For twenty-four weeks, men ate a limited diet and were required to maintain exercise by walking forty-five miles per week. Volunteers lost twenty-two percent of

their total body weight. A rehabilitation period then followed. Guinea pigs were kept in isolation throughout the existence of the CPS. In May 1943, the Selective Service denied permission to publish any articles or photographs of the guinea pig experiments. The Selective Service believed the experiments would "help to build up increasing respect for the courage and the seriousness of the conscientious objectors convictions."[30]

The church organizations that helped organize the CPS agreed that the men would work without pay, to disassociate the CPS from military control. The churches were to pay for the operations of camp. However, most men left the CPS program within its first year. One out of every fourteen requested reclassification as noncombatats because their families could not make ends meet. As the war stretched on, the cost for the HPCs was adding up. Criticism grew against the CPS admiration and the role that the churches should have played. Sensitivity for the COs arose from the churches and they sought to protect their men. The public was viewing the COs as non-patriotic. In 1943, the Mennonite Central Committee said, "CPS work has meaning to the men who perform it as an expression of loyalty and love to their country, and of their desire to make good contribution to its welfare."[31]

In spite of challenges from camp administrations and religious differences, most men still saw no alternative but to remain in the CPS. As a whole, the men agreed that the CPS was unworthy of church group support. At Mancos, fifty-four men were not affiliated with a church. Fran Marburg commented, "When the Selective Service Act became law I was forced to choose between three forms of conscription – military service, civilian public service, and jail. Each involves control of the free individual and control of our personal lives."[32] The churches should have had a bigger voice in

publicizing world peace. Furthermore, the churches had contradicted themselves. Prior to the war they worked diligently with the government for a solution to the COs and now they supported the government's efforts to treat them like slaves. Peace Churches consistently asserted that conscription was wrong. However, since the Selective Service was align with the government and not with the HPCs, thousands of men had chosen CO status in hopes that the CPS would be a place where they could come together and learn. They now felt betrayed.

The Selective Service specifically created four government operated camps after a significant number of COs expressed a preference to work in non-religious camps. The four government CPS camps were: Mancos, Colorado, # 111, Bureau of Reclamation; Lapine, Oregon #128; Bureau of Reclamation, Germfask, Michigan, #135, Fish and Wildlife Service; and Minersville, California #148, U.S. Forest Service. The idea behind government-run camps came from pacifists that were not affiliated with the HPCs. The hope was their environment would be less hypocritical and less forcibly religious, and men could actively practice their differing religions with acceptance.[33]

The WPB and the Selective Service System established the Civilian Public Service camp #111 in the summer of 1943 and men began showing up for work on July 1st.[34] The Director of the Colorado River Conservation Board, Judge Clifford H. Stone, petitioned the government to set up a conscientious objector camp at Jackson Gulch Dam to finish the work of the Mancos Project under the CCC. His attempts to reopen the camp and finish the projects even included inquiring about a Japanese internee camp; however, the Japanese were to be used for other war demands. According to the *Mancos Times-Tribune,* it was rumored that the work being done in preparation for the camps was to be

used for enemy aliens who would be moved from the coastal and defense regions. However, according to officials, they reported the Colorado CCC camps were not being readied for concentrations camps for Japanese aliens.[35] In the summer of 1943, War Production Board (WPB) Vice Chairman F. Eberstadt decided that construction could continue at the Mancos camp through the use of conscientious objectors.

Illustration 3. Circa 1944, Mancos Camp barracks looking Southwest towards Mesa Verde. This was home to over 364 men from July 1, 1943 to February 20, 1946. Source: Mancos Library and Center of Southwest Studies, FLC.

CPS #111 took up the work of the previous CCC camp at the same location: preparing the Bureau of Reclamation's Mancos Project, a dam and irrigation system that would provide sustainability to farmland, the town of Mancos, and Mesa Verde National Park. The men worked to clear a reservoir site and improve irrigation systems to provide water for farmland. In the camp's brief history, it operated for 966 days, 364 men were

assigned to the camp, and their ages ranged from seventeen to forty. When the site opened, eighty-one men reported to the camp, some by choice and others by force. CPS #111 began constructing a dam across Jackson Gulch, an adjacent canyon, to store water from the spring floods. Six miles of inlet and outlet canal would be blasted and dug from the canyon. The amount of land that would be irrigated would double and was desperately needed for dairy country. The total cost of the dam and canals was projected to be $2,856,000, would hold 10,000 acre-feet of water and would serve 13,000 acres of farmland.[36]

Illustration 4. Early construction of the dam. Source: Mancos Library & Center of Southwest Studies, FLC.

Although Mancos was a government-run camp, arrangements for a chaplain were discussed, and a chaplain was assigned three months after the facility opened. The role of the chaplain tended to be that of a mentor and a provider of pastoral care services.

Rev. Horace Kehl finally arrived to begin his duties from September, 1943, through March, 1944. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (FCCA) and the Camp Operations Division of Selective Service appointed him. He was paid by FCCA. Throughout Kehl's service at Mancos, he developed positive relationships with the men. He listened to their complaints and appeared softer on the men than the administration. Consequently, during the latter part of his service at Mancos growing tensions between the Kehl and camp administration increased. By the end of February, the Federal Council notified the Chaplain of its withdrawal of financial support. The reason behind their decision was a new government camp was opening up at Lapine, Oregon and it was impractical to hire full-time chaplains in government camps. As a result, Kehl was sent to Lapine as a camper. This relationship between church and state demonstrates that the CPS system was not free and independent from the totalitarian authority of Selective Service Camp Operations. In addition, it shows that it was impossible for the CPS and the Historic Peace Churches to share administration. The first federal run camp at Mancos opened because of high demands to work in government versus church-run camps. Soon after, the CPS opened three additional government-run camps.[37]

The second federally-run CPS camp was #128, a Bureau of Reclamation camp located in the former Civilian Conservation Corps camp near Lapine, Oregon opened in January 1944 also as a government operated camp. The CPS camp in Lapine, Oregon was originally a Mennonite camp, but was transferred into a Selective Service camp because they needed the large camp facility to accommodate the numbers of men who expressed interest in working for government camps. The men worked on a dam project on the upper DeRoches River until the camp closed in December 1946. Previously, the

camp had been operated as #60 by the Mennonite Central Committee from December 1942 to January 1944. The Selective Service took over the camp in January 1944 because they needed the large camp facility to accommodate the numbers of CPS men who had sought alternative service in government camps. However, men some were transferred to a government operated camp for one of several reasons: punishment for insubordination, unsatisfactory work, failure to choose a service agency, or medical observation.[38]

The third government operated camp opened in June 1945, located in Germfask, Michigan. CPS #135 became a place of last resort for CPS men who had been chronic objectors in other CPS camps and units. Located in the Upper Peninsula, it was said to be the coldest camp. Many of the Mancos men were relocated there for being uncooperative. Frustration between the men and the government continued to grow until the camp was demobilized in 1946. Many of the men had been transferred from government camps at Lapine and Mancos after having been identified as "non-cooperators, men chronically reporting to sick call, men with psychiatric ailments, agitators and general troublemakers". [39] This camp will be discussed further in regards to prison sentences in Chapter Three.

The last CPS Camp #148, a Forest Service camp located near Minersville, California and operated by Selective Service, opened in June 1945 after CPS Camp #135 at Germfask, Michigan closed. Selective Service transferred the men to Minersville which operated the camp through December 1946. Minersville became the last stopping point for those men who had been in government camps and resisted work for one reason or another. Men fought fires, performed prevention duties and maintenance work. The

men at Minersville were very defiant against the Selective Service authority. Twelve men were arrested for insubordination and refusing to complete work projects. The charges were dropped after legal formalities were taken.[40] Compromises with the federal government and CPS workers during a national crisis were not ideal. Conscientious objectors found themselves run up against the wall with no previous framework to help guide them.

During the one-year life of CPS #111, a total of two hundred and fifty-three men arrived at camp. One hundred and thirty-six remained at Mancos, sixty-two were transferred to other camps, and fifty-nine went to Lapine and Germfask. Three went back to church camps. Only six went to detached service. The one hundred and seventeen men that remained on the rolls as of June 30, 1944, were a wide cross section of American youth. They came from thirty-two different states ranging from Washington to Florida. Their ages ranged from eighteen to thirty-eight. Local draft boards had classified most of these men as IV-E. Twenty-three came as parolees and three as probationers.[41] Some of the men at Mancos published their opinions about their experiences at camp. The earlier newsletters reflected a positive assertion of the Mancos camp. Douglas Galbraith, Walter Haag, and Vincent Beck had a more optimistic tone in their reflections compared to others later in the war.

Douglas Galbraith was drafted from Easthampton, Massachusetts. He preferred to be in government-run camp because it was not of a single religious affiliation. Galbraith had served in camp #32, which was a Forest Service base camp located in West Campton, New Hampshire and operated by the American Friends Service Committee. It opened in March 1942 and closed in November 1943. The men fought fires, and

performed preventative and preparatory work. In March of 1944, Galbraith transferred to Mancos because he was displeased with HPCs direct support of the war and the CPS system. At Mancos, he wrote an article for *Action,* about the conditions. He viewed the existing men at camp as negative and not uplifting for the good of the group. It was Galbraith's opinion that while at camp, these men should have been proud of their work. In addition, the men spent hours every night writing articles for pacifist papers and writing letters to their friends and family, while men were risking their lives overseas. Galbraith reported superior sleeping conditions and food. Also, the Mancos men were able to mix with people in the town, only four miles away. During the first year, there were few restrictions for the men, implying the men were trusted in their work.

Overall, Galbraith asserted the Mancos administration was fairly tolerant to the difficulties in the situation. The administration showed interest in the men and concern for their general welfare. The Selective Service funded better medical care for the men and made sure the dormitories were fireproof and sanitary. These conditions were superior in comparison to other church-run camps since the HPCs had to fund all of their camps, versus the four federal camps. Galbreith concluded his article with, "Let us bow our heads in shame for ever having voiced, or even allowed ourselves to think, that our lot is not as happy as possible in this best of all possible worlds---protected from it as we are by our legal agreement to be allowed to live in the wilderness at no expense to anybody---not to mention the added privilege of living with fellow pacifists who are more than willing to help us live constructively..."[42] Other internees shared Galbraith's assessment and perspectives on preferring government camps over the HPC camps.

Walter Haag, who was drafted into the CPS from Los Angeles, California in December of 1941, reflected on the inconsistencies of the CPS. He was Brethren and a farm laborer at home. He served in the CPS till December of 1945. He served in two Brethren church-run camps before transferring to Mancos. After one year at Mancos, he was well satisfied with the set-up and overall maintenance. Haag asked for reclassification because he felt the churches should not be spending their monies to support the war or CPS camps, which should be the job of the government. Haag did not view alternative service as slave labor. He was one of the few COs that understood why the government would not pay COs because they were not risking their lives. However, Haag expressed concern for those men that had dependents at home. Some were being treated unfairly because they may be ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed, while living in the greatest democracy in the world. According to some of the men at Mancos, Haag respected his country and government and felt honored to have had the opportunity to serve for the CPS.[43]

Vincent Beck, a CPS camper from Henry County, Ohio, grew up during the Depression in austere economic times. Before he graduated high school, World War II, or World Slaughter #2 as he called it, had begun. Beck's church supported his CO status, but his community did not. He served for thirty-six months, five of which were spent in Mennonite administered camps. He spent the remaining sixteen months at two Selective Service camps: Mancos, Colorado, and Lapine, Oregon. Beck noted that the CO campers at Mancos were a diverse group, and Mennonites were outnumbered considerably. He had run into several of his Mennonite friends at Mancos. While at Mancos, Beck quickly became familiar with the terms SQ, sick quarters, RTW, refusal to work, and AWOL,

absent without leave. Beck noticed if a camper acquired too many RTWs or AWOLs he would end up in prison. Beck recalled men walking out of camps and men fasting as forms of political protest. Beck said, "The different reasons men in this camp gave for being COs were: political, wrong war, wouldn't fight since their kingdom was not of this world, conscription was wrong, and service in a camp was involuntary servitude. Some probably were anti-capitalistic."[44]

Beck was most known for his collection of "bad boy" songs that were sung in the presence of Mennonite COs. Since many of the campers, approximately fifty-four, at Mancos were not affiliated with a Peace Church these "bad boys" sang songs as a tool of political resistance towards the CPS. Each song carried a special personal and social meaning. Beck remembered these men often caused trouble for the administration. Beck enjoyed singing and playing the guitar. Although, he never took part in singing the songs in public, he would sing them on his own time or to himself. He did not consider himself one of the "bad boys" but he did call the CPS the "Civilian Public Servitude" and referred to camp work as "involuntary servitude." Beck acquired about half of the songs from Mancos and the others from Lapine. They were typically composed and sung by the same men, since they had been transferred to Mancos. Songs were typically sung in the dining hall prior to eating, and camp administrators did not try to stop the singing. Beck recalled a rather intense song singing at Lapine by Mancos transfers. The men were singing "Old Man Olsen Had a Camp." Olsen was the director of the Lapine camp that was in transition from a Mennonite camp to a government camp. The dining hall was divided between Mennonites, Mancosites (the men from the Mancos camp), and camp administrators. Beck said, "The Mennotie men had earlier been given a printed set of

songs and forewarned that they would be sung at mealtime. The government men and the Mennonite campers were aghast when the 'Mancos Group' boldly sang 'Old Man Olsen Had a Camp.'"[45] The other camp internees interpreted this as the Mancos men would be a non-cooperative group. "Mancos men were ready and willing to go to prison, men who were anti-war, anti-conscription, and anti-slavery, and didn't hesitate to let the government men know it… they were individualistic and very intelligent."[46] If men became too resistant, they would be sent to the isolated camp in Germfask, Michigan. For example, in 1945, Frank "The Singer" Fielding, was arrested in May and charged with refusing to work and "negligence in the performance of his duties." The administration at Mancos had become fed up with his loud singing on the job. His general theme was, "This is a slave camp." Following his arrest, the CO Problems Committee submitted a petition signed by sixty-five assignees saying that Fielding was a diligent worker up to the day of his arrest. Fielding was then sent back to camp.[47]

Overall, Beck remembered the men at the government camps as being less cooperative. They did not work as conscientiously, and the administration was less sympathetic to them. Director Thomas was less likely to recognize a sick camper and it was more difficult to get a discharge for being sick. Beck transferred to two other camps after Mancos and eventually found his way to Poland while caring for 900 horses on the ship. The horses were being transported for food since there was little food in Poland after the war. Beck returned to the U.S and was handed his discharge papers and hitchhiked home.[48]

A majority of CPS #111, *Action* articles reflected on themes of pacifism and what it meant to be a CO. The camp newsletters also contained many references to better food

and pay at Mancos. Many campers stated that the food was much better than other camps and the government had provided more money for the amenities at the Mancos camp. The next most prevalent issue was the lack of pay for men within the framework of the conscription system. Another topic of discussion was the relationship the government had created with the peace churches and their inability to function as a cohesive unit. Finally, the most controversial concern was prison sentences. The material conditions at Mancos did not alleviate the COs' complaints. They were labeled "chronic objectors" and were sometimes relocated or imprisoned for insubordination. Men who were chronically uncooperative were threatened with legal prosecution or reclassification.[49] Each *Action* issue revealed a deeper story of the 364 men that came and went from Mancos during July 1943 to February 1946. Their words, thoughts, and insights during this controversial era encouraged a more tolerant attitude of the pacifist and conscientious objector.[50]

Chapter 3

So Others Can Be Free

Prison sentences were common for conscientious objectors. Most men were imprisoned for refusal to enter the draft, refusal to work (RTW) for their selected classifications, or for leaving the CPS illegally (AWOL). The total number of men imprisoned more than doubled from that of World War I. In all, 6,086 COs were sent to prison for violating the Selective Training and Service Act during WWII.[1] Early in the war, many men used their prison sentences as a new form of radical pacifism. By 1943, prisons across the country were filled with COs opposing the "Good War." Two of the most famous prisons were the Lewisburg Penitentiary in Pennsylvania, which was known as being the strictest in the country, and Germfask Penitentiary in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. Prisoners often went on hunger strikes against the challenges of Fascism, tyranny, and injustice.[2] Germfask Camp #138 became a place of last resort for CPS men who had been defiant in other camps. Many of the men had been transferred from government camps at Lapine and Mancos after having been identified as "non-cooperators, men chronically reporting to sick call, men with psychiatric ailments, agitators and general troublemakers."[3] CPS men were mostly angered that the Selective Service did not meet the demands of pay for work of national importance and they viewed their work as slave labor. In addition, they were frustrated over furlough restrictions in the last two years of the CPS.

The Selective Service Act of 1940 allowed for Roosevelt to delegate all matters of conscientious objectors through the director of the Selective Service. According to the Selective Training Act of 1940, "The Direction is authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this order."[4] This legislation allowed General Hershey and the government to be protected in future claims that might come up. Congress did discuss matters of COs wages, payments to their dependents, and compensations for COs killed or injured during service. However, Hershey and Kosch's points of view differed greatly in dealing with COs. Kosch said, "It is not combat service, it is not service in the Army, but it is a service that is set up by the law of the country; so, we feel that the Government is responsible for them, as long as this law is in effect."[5] Representatives of the Selective Service discussed a proposed Senate bill on August 19, 1942 that would extend provisions of the Employee's Compensation Act of 1934 to men in the CPS. The bill called for forty-two dollars per month to be paid to the dependents of an assignee in the event of his death. Hershey did support the bill, however, Kosch viewed the lack of pay as a central feature of what defined conscientious objectors. Kosch asserted, "We have been against payment due to the fact that we feel that the very fact that a man does not get paid is one means of sorting the conscientious objector from the slacker or the fellow who is just trying to hide behind the skirts of the religious objectors."[6] From this point forward, any legislation proposed and that Hershey supported was objected in Congress. This demonstrated that Hershey's power, as the director of Selective Service, was not all encompassing. Also the rights of COs were not viewed as a priority according to public relations.

Antiwar perspectives became an issue in the broader public through newspapers, journals, and popular novels. These perspectives caused a decline for CO benefits in Congress and by General Hershey. For example, Ann Chidester's novel *No Longer Fugitive*, published in 1943, portrayed a young, innocent man who left his small community to escape his local draft board and entered the CPS. Granville Hicks's book *Behold Trouble* exposed a nonreligious CO who caused uproar in his community.[7] Throughout the war, COs were easy targets of verbal attacks, especially men that were back in their communities on furloughs. Common attacks called COs "fourth-class citizens," "yellow bastards," "slackers," "Nazi," "Communist," and "Cronchies." They were used as shorthand for conscientious objector.[8] It became apparent that public attitudes did not uphold the values that conscientious objectors were fighting for. Many objectors questioned the constitutionality of the Selective Service Act and openly broke rules at the CPS camps. Following orders from the Selective Service, CPS camp tightened restrictions over the COs. The SS warned that "the assignee…has no free time…Hours of work, of rising and retiring, meals, meetings, ect., as well as liberty, leave, and furlough, are all subject to control."[9] This further demonstrated that the publics' perceptions of COs were shaping the legislation at the higher levels.

Some communities took great displeasure of COs and the CPS camps. In Coshocton, Ohio, with a large Amish and Mennonite population, many residents claimed CO status. As a result, the local draft boards had to rely on the rest of the population to meet its quota for the military. The community was very resentful of the CPS works.[10] The *Mancos Tribune-Times* featured weekly updates of the Jackson Gulch Dam and men convicted of crimes against the CPS. Headlines often read, "Objectors Receive Prison

Terms" and "Objectors Sentenced". For example, twenty-three year old Merwyn M. Bonnett, an Iowa Quaker, pleaded guilty to refusing to return to Mancos after his furlough expired. Bonnett held a Bible in his hand and offered to read from it to support his contentions in court.

The Judge began to question him, he asked, "You'll agree, won't you, that while we are fighting Hitlerism we are fighting the powers of anti-Christ?"

Bonnett mumbled, "We are fighting the wrong way. We must love our enemies."

Judge Symes continued, "You oppose control by our government, but you know that if Nazism wins you and all of us will be under a government control that will make us prisoners for life!" The Judge concluded with, "The trouble with you people is that you aren't willing to sacrifice your personal beliefs for the good of all. You should be man enough to help your fellow men in the way that is most needed now!" [11]

After receiving this scolding rebuke, Bonnett was sentenced a two-year prison sentence. Albert W. Hanger was also sentenced two-years for failing to return to the Mancos camp upon expiration of his furlough and Charles W. Leight was placed on a three year probation and ordered back to Mancos for being AWOL. In June 1944, four conscientious objectors challenged the constitutionality of the Service Act. They told the court they "wished to substitute their own ideas for those prescribed by duly-constituted authorities." In addition, they filed a petition for a writ of *habeas corpus* on the grounds that they were illegally "imprisoned" when sent to Mancos. Judge Symes declared, "The Constitution imposes duties upon the citizen as well as privileges, and the citizen cannot escape one thru claiming the other." He declared that the men were guilty of violating

the law and sentenced them to three years in prison.[12] For many COs, the issue was refusing to return after leaving on furlough. However, the furlough violations further verified the violation of church and state. In attempts to create a system for COs, the federal government had mixed with the various religious organizations. Although, the government still held the upper hand in dealing with COs and the HPCs acted as a sounding board that no one listened to.

In 1943, Director, Charles F. Thomas was asked by the men of the *C.P.S-G.I* to submit an update of the camps' progress. Thomas commented, "Happily we are reminded we are a year nearer the end of the bitter struggle which has disrupted every nation on this earth. One year nearer an end because nations are becoming exhausted economically and physically. In this little western community on the last frontier of America, we have been remote from war even though we are affected by it. To some great sadness has come in the loss of loved ones who have sacrificed their lives for our nation. No home nor community in all America has escaped the terribleness of war."[13] According to Thomas's positive assessment of the camp, the men at Mancos made great progress on the dam since July 1943. He claimed that the men put the work of the dam as a priority. Thomas conveyed optimistic attitudes for the CPSers newsletter. It can be supposed that Thomas report was cautious not to reveal too much information on the behavior of the men, as to not anger them. On the contrary, the Project History for 1943 reported, "Many of these men are well educated, or rather over educated, narrow minded, and very contentious. They object to any kind of regulations."[14] In addition, in the Project History Report, Thomas and supervisors claimed "most COs were uncooperative and extremely selfish."[15] The education of the CPS men was shocking. A majority of

the men were over educated for the manual work that was expected of them. The amount of formal education at Mancos ranged from basic grammar school to those with graduate degrees. Of the total three hundred and sixty-four men at Mancos, twenty-four had attended college and three had their Masters Degrees. Of the total 12,000 men who served in the CPS, one hundred and nine had a Bachelor Arts degree, ninety-two had received a Master's degree, and seventy-eight had a PhD.[16] These figures show that their levels of education may have also been a factor when they decided to claim CO status.

During 1944, twenty-eight parolees from the Federal Prison System were assigned to Mancos. This was unusual for the CPS and the U.S. Parole Board Policy. It raised two important issues. First, the parolees brought a greater understanding of the penal and justice system to the other men already at Mancos. In addition, the parolees played a significant role in spreading a more anachronistic view of the U.S government. Prison experience exposed detainees to knowing people in different and strange psychological conditions. It was evident that as more men came into Mancos with outside perspectives and news from other camps, that Director Thomas began to crack down and implemented stricter regulations, which denied basic liberties to the men. As a result, Mancos had a large number of walkouts that year, numbering twenty-six. This figure was high compared to the total number of walkouts at one hundred and fifty. This was due to the inadequate recognition of conscience in practice the CPS program: no pay, no care for dependents, inadequate medical attention, no education and no recreational programs. This claim captured the attention of some congressmen. Senator Monrad Wallgren (D-WA) wrote to General Hershey, "You are treating these fellows worse than the Japs." Representative John Sparkman (D-AL) stated, "It might surprise Congress to

know that we give fewer benefits to the conscientious objectors than we do to interned aliens, to Japanese-Americans, and to prisoners of war."[17] The U.S government even paid German prisoners of war 80 cents a day for their labor. Unfortunately, the peace churches could not change the legislation of the Selective Service Act and still believed that the camp program was going to be the best consideration for COs.[18]

As war continued, tensions rose on August 7, 1944, Thomas ruled that no more than five men could be on furlough at any one time and they could not be gone for more than fifteen days during the months of September, October, and November. One year after Thomas's positive account on the dam he then reasoned that progress made on the dam was considerably slow and work completion was unsatisfactory because of men on leave. This new restriction was difficult for those that needed more than fifteen days of furlough or for men who had family on the east or west coasts. The men once again petitioned to Col. Kosch; however, he responded that it appeared to be within the Director's authority and that he would approve it. Prior to this ruling men received $5 per month for "incidentals." This allowed men to use funds to travel and enjoy furloughs; however, they were charged seventy-five cents a day to leave. The new ruling made it impossible for men to take any furloughs. Many men wondered about the injustice of this ruling. This also lowered campers' morale. Furloughs were one of the greatest privileges the men could earn in the CPS.[19]

Walter K. Urich was the Supervisor of Parole for the Bureau of Prison. In June 1945, Richard Hanson, Secretary at Mancos, wrote to Urich expressing for clarification in regards to furlough options. Hanson expressed that six formal applications had been made for furloughs to work back home. However, Director Thomas expressed that no

"parolee may leave Colorado unless an extreme emergency exists."[20] Hanson was speaking on behalf of all the men at Mancos requesting that there be equal treatment to all men in regards to furlough options. He asserted, "Many parolees now feel that they would have been much better off if they had remained in prison rather than accept parole to CPS. The possibilities of furloughs were one of the chief reasons for that acceptance, which evidently now is being refused to them. Many of them have not been able to get their desired detached service, they get no pay nor dependency allotments, and are, in general, much worse off than those of their fellow-prisoners who remained in prison, refusing parole to CPS."[21]

In addition to revoking furlough privileges, Thomas revoked dental and optical examinations in August of 1944. The men petitioned to Colonel Kosch, "We feel that this ruling is obviously unfair in that it penalizes an assignee for something which is beyond his control. Furthermore we feel that the ruling is contrary to the rules and regulations set up to cover government camps. Such penalties are not assessed in either church camps or in prisons."[22] The men also included in the petition a copy of the Rules and Regulations that clearly stated that the director was responsible for providing assignees with proper medical, surgical, and dental treatment. In addition to revoking basic preventative care, Director Thomas also discontinued the education program. This occurred after Rev. Horace Kehl, who acted as the educational advisor, transferred to Lapine and Germfask. The men hoped to use Welfare Funds to start study classes. Many feared the loss of Kehl and his library would be detrimental to study groups at Mancos. Concurrently, NSBRO made the decision to give no official education aid to government camps. Instead, Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) offered assistance to government

campers. They contributed books, magazines, and helped organize and obtain necessary materials for educational and religious classes. Since the camps education program was entirely dependent upon camper initiative, it was hoped that other groups would help organize classes. The camp's library was dependent on contributions of books and on the Denver Loan Library, which had a very limited selection. Also, popular periodicals were received through the Camp Welfare Fund. All in all, the camp's education began to decline during the second half of its existence. FOR also encouraged and assisted campers to begin thinking about post-war employment. What occupational options would be available for men after the war were not very clear. The relationship between government campers, the NSBRO, and other service committees had become convoluted. Most government campers felt that the peace churches should not help administer conscription. "Most of us want to make a 'witness' against war. Even though many of us feel that CPS itself is not a real anti-war 'witness,' we could prove to the churches that what 'witness' that can be made through CPS can as easily be made in government camps as in church camps."[23] Many believed the misunderstandings between church and government camps could be settled through removing illusions and fears and accept help from American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). The men at Mancos proclaimed,

> In asking ourselves whether we should accept the AFSC's offer, let us not decide on what we want, but on what we really need. It so happens that what man usually desires is not always what he should have; I mean, should have for growth into a fuller and more integrated life. Once we find out what we need for that growth, then we might go to the AFSC and see if they have it to give.[24]

The denial of dental and optical examinations and decline of educational aid suggest the deterioration of the Mancos camp.

Illustration 6. Men at Mancos camp outside of Barack C. Circa 1944. Source: Mancos Library & Center of Southwest Studies, FLC.

Conflicts between the campers and Director Thomas worsened during the last two years of the camp. This led to assaults, chaos, and many petitions to the government to stop the autocratic conduct. For example, in 1946, the camp director through the use of corporal punishment was abusing the CPS men and an official charge of assault was filled. In addition, three men were arrested for refusal to work. The incident occurred when several campers were singing an anti-conscription song. Shortly after, Director Thomas followed the campers into the washroom. They were subjected to curses and slander and then Thomas began hitting Harper LeCompte and delivered one blow to his

jaw. When LeCompte and the three others appeared before Judge Symes, they were charged with violated the Selective Service Act. The men were each given a bail of $2,300. The events demonstrated unrest at Mancos camp. Prior to the incident, men had reported being struck by the director or foreman, and others had been charged with RTWs.[25] This incident demonstrates a clear violation in citizen's eighth amendment right, no cruel or unusual punishment or excessive bail.

Tensions also increased in the CPS prisons across the country. In Germfask Prison during the fall of 1944, Don Charles DeVault, who would later be released to Mancos, was agitated over his classification. He was classified as I-A-O but refused to serve for in the army. In January 1943, he was granted parole. Once at Mancos, he joined with another CO, Forrest Leever, and began experimenting with chemicals to develop antibiotics. During May through July, DeVault appealed to his parole officer to be transferred to a research university. His appeal was denied, and he was transferred back to Germfask on July 27 where he continued his work on his own time. In September he wrote to General Hershey requesting an assignment to do chemical research. His request was denied in a letter from Colonel Lewis Kosch, who stated that he would be considered for guinea pig research.[26] He remained at Germfask till the end of the war.

Along with Germfask, Lewisburg Penitentiary, Pennsylvania was home to hundreds of angry pacifists, most of whom had been sent there for refusal to work in the CPS. For example, on October 10, 1943, Paton Price refused to serve in the military, and as a conscientious objector, was sentenced to Lewisburg. Fellow comrade, Jim Watson was also jailed for RTW and was eventually paroled to Mancos for work. When

Watson was relocated to Mancos, he retold Price's story in the *Action* papers. "Millions of men are valiantly giving their lives in the holocaust of war for what they believe is a fight for freedom…I believe that real freedom will come only when men refuse to submit to tyranny wherever they are, and refuse to cooperate—non-violently, of course—with those who would enslave them. Believing so, should I be willing to pay the same price for obtaining it that my military friends are paying—vainly?"[27] The connections men made across the country were complex. Men were able to share each other's stories while in jail and then retell them through their camp papers. This gave many men a voice they did not have in prison. Pacifists at Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary engaged in protest-strikes on two main issues: the first was a refusal to work and the second was censorship of mail. Price had refused food from September 29, 1943 through October 10th. He had tried writing to his family, however his letters were not allowed out. The refusal of food was all the inmates had as a weapon against censorship. While most were not opposed to having their mail "inspected," the men were claiming freedom from censorship was their constitutional right. Price believed that prisons were based on the principal of upholding and reinforcing democracy. Price claimed, "Certainly there is no place in a democracy for a Bureau which cannot bear the light of truthful and candid discussion."[28] Thus far, *Action* had not been censored. Only once did Director Thomas for a correction to a statement he made, and that it be re-printed verbatim. However, because the government was supplying paper, they declared that they had the right to censor *Action's* material. Military mail was censored across the board. The camp paper, according to Mr. Olsen from Washington's Selective Service, was to represent the facts and their accuracy was to be checked by the Director. As a result, the men agreed that

they could not comply with Mr. Olsen's requests of censorship. They rejected the government funds and decided that the *G.I.* expenses would come out of their own expense. "We are still citizens, to the best of our ability and with complete freedom of expression for the writers."[29] They hoped to continue presenting the news at CPS #111, the views of the campers, and various issues of the world. The COs induction experiences apparently left them with perceptions that "they weren't in the army." Their perceptions of their rights and responsibilities differed from that of soldiers. While internees expressed a variety of sentiments about the camp, the camp manager had little regard for the motives and the abilities of the COs. The camp manager, Charles F. Thomas from Boulder, argued that the COs were uncooperative and they had more political oppositions to the war, rather than religious reasons. Thomas reported the COs were unskilled and irresponsible at times and required close supervision. Acts of vandalism often occurred and some workers emptied anti-freeze from the trucks and replaced it with water. Even the words "U.S. Slave Camp" and "C. F. Thomas Gestapo Chief" appeared on buildings. Akin to the resistance strategies of enslaved persons in the antebellum South, some COs would work slowly or intentionally damage tools on the project.[30]

With the news of Price's hunger strike from Jim Watson, another CPS worker, Igal Roodenko at the Mancos camp, thought he would go on a work-strike and a fast in support of the men at Lewisburg. Igal Roodenko was raised as a Zionist and earned a degree at Cornell University in horticulture. Roodenko believed that pacifism was more than just non-violence and opposition to war. He wrote: "[I]n essence, it is the program I found myself adopting when I added up all my concerns for individuals and for mankind:

it is the total of my endeavors toward truth and justice and compassion. I have always considered these things real - - never pleasant ideals the contemplation of which can be enjoyed in the seclusion of an ivory tower. I have always considered these goals as unattainable unless I joined with those . . . whose outlooks and temperaments were as mine."[31] In 1942, Roodenko received his draft notice and began declaring his conscientious objection. On February 1, 1943, he was ordered to CPS Camp #52 in Powellsville, Maryland. During this time, he attended a conference in Chicago where he learned of hunger strikes in Danbury Prison waged by COs. He conducted his own strike until Danbury's ended. Four days later, his ended. In July 1943, he was relocated to Mancos per his request. It was in Mancos that Roodenko became deeply involved in controversies that erupted over pay. He coined the phrase that COs were forced to a "slave labor camp" and consistently noted that their work was not of national importance, contrary to public law. [32]

In October, Roodenko began his own hunger strike at Mancos in support of mail censorship. "My concern was [with] . . . censorship which occasionally reached preposterous depths of pettiness and stupidity, censorship of mail and reading matter which frequently denied men the opportunity of reading and writing about those very matters which made them sacrifice comforts and respect for the ignominy and disrepute of a prison record. And it should be noted that the opinions of such men were not treasonous, but those objections to warfare recognized by Congress in the Selective Service Act."[33] On the twelfth day of his strike, he was arrested for refusal to work and was sent to Denver County jail. *Action,* noted that Roodenko would probably be put in jail with Price. In fact, upon being escorted out by the Marshall, he was putting the

finishing touches on a letter to Prison Director Bennett that urged a settlement with the Lewisburg fasters. The Newsletter noted that they had lost "an irreplaceable colleague and tireless worker for Social Action in CPS. Nearly everyone at Mancos regrets the loss of a guy who was a good egg, and always more than that. But he is not lost to us. He has merely moved up...up to Pacifism's Front Line."[34] While in Denver, he was tried and found guilty. On June 6, 1944 a Denver judge sentenced him to three years in a federal penitentiary in Sandstone, Minnesota.[35] During his time in prison, he was not allowed to write to his parents in Yiddish because prison officials could not censor his writing. He wrote scores of letters to government officials and engaged in more hunger strikes with others. He became a symbol for the struggle of the conscientious objector and helped the fight for justice. He wrote, "I would like to think that all the writing and thinking and talking during the past . . . years . . . have not been in vain, that when we are free men again, there will be found a considerable residue within us of that sometime unwise impatience with a world which is not to our liking and that we can get on the ball, each in our own way, and really get down to doing those things we now feel we certainly would do - - were we free."[36] After his release, he joined with another imprisoned CPS worker and started the Libertarian Press that published books, magazines, and artwork to promote peace and tolerance.

Other pacifists protested against censorship and racial segregation of Lewisburg prison. Eventually, Lewisburg was one of the first prisons to desegregate their facilities. Some of the men at Lewisburg conducted a sixty-five day fast, although were force-fed over half of that time. While hunger strikes were occurring at Lewisburg, the following article was printed in the Mancos *Times-Tribune*, December 1943: "In the past few weeks

officials of the CPS camp at Jackson Gulch report that a total of seven men have decided to quit objecting and join the armed forces. Three of the men have requested reclassification to I-A and four to I-A-O. At the present time there approximately 160 men assigned to the local camp." Bishop, a radical activist, commented "Perhaps the local citizenry should also be informed that SIX have walked out, inviting prosecution."[37] Bishop, a previous bookshop owner, was drafted from Hamilton, Alabama on March 19, 1942. He attended two previous camps before entering Mancos. When Roodenko was arrested, Bishop began fasting for fourteen days, although he remained at his duties. Compared to other CPS men, Bishop was perhaps known for being the most radical and extreme during the war time years. According to a fellow CPSer, Stephen Cary, Bishop resembled iconic John Brown. Cary recalled while Bishop was at Mancos he would advise the assignees not to look out the window because it was beautiful and it would raise their morale.[38]

Radical pacifists like Corbett Bishop anticipated that their acts of resistance during the war would be seen as revolutionary reassertion of individual freedoms throughout society. Bishop was a former air corpsman and had a degree in Chemical Engineering. He owned a bookstore in New York and had become a pacifist after joining the Church of Christ. He entered the Friends CPS camp in 1942 at the age of thirty-six. Bishop was already disgruntled when joining the CPS because he was not given enough time to sell his bookstore. He also was angered by the lack of pay for men and foresaw many resisting. Bishop had inquired about a furlough to be able to go home and sell his bookstore.[39] He was denied. Bishop then began his first of many hunger strikes. Bishop said, "The fight in CPS for Christianity, pacifism, humanity, and all I deem proper to live

for may leave me more effective in the long fight that will continue after World War II. Further, our effective disclosure of the true nature of CPS to the world may reveal more clearly the nature of our opposition and the right road to progress."[40] Bishop went on a forty-four day hunger strike and lost over forty pounds. During this time Bishop, formed a close tie with FOR (Fellowship of Reconciliation) and they helped him raise money to help him with his bookstore. In 1943, Bishop went on two more hunger strikes, one that was in tandem with Gandhi's twenty-one day strike for India's freedom. At the request of the Quaker administration, Bishop was sent to the government-run camp in Germfask. While there, he wore ball and chains to symbolize the oppression of the CPS. [41]

In 1944, while at Germfask, Bishop was granted a furlough. However, he refused to return when his time was up. Bishop was arrested and began fasting for eighty-six days while awaiting trial, and then fasted for another 144 days until released on parole. During this time, he was force-fed. Because he refused to cooperate with the terms of his parole, he was then arrested again and fasted for another 193 days. Bishop expressed his feeling of the CPS, "It never has seemed right and it cannot be right that Christians should be administering a program of conscription for the state where men work…at insignificant jobs without pay and without support for their dependents- all as a part of the national program of waging war."[42] In the end, Bishop won his release without any restrictions.[43]

Illustration 7. Corbett Bishop walks with ball and chain to protest against work without pay. Source: Source: Mancos Library & Center of Southwest Studies, FLC.

The term radical pacifism was used to describe those that took more serious actions, like hunger strikes, or those that were more out spoken. Many COs idolized

Bishop because of his extreme actions. As a result of his assertion of personal autonomy, he became an icon and a popular topic among the camps. The men at CPS #111 were very concerned about the well-being of Bishop. Herbert Wehrly, Secretary of the CPS Union, wrote to President Roosevelt on April 9, 1945. He said, "We, the members of Local #111 of the CPS Union, feel that this action goes far beyond the mere legal aspects of the case...That fast, undertaken in his religious humility, severely depleted his physical resources...We feel that these factors more than warrant your intervention in this case to save the life of a man who unwilling to ask 'favors' but who nonetheless is willing to die for his conscience. Is America to require that he pay such a price?"[44] Some chose to resist and go to prison and others chose to cooperate just as most of the slaves did in the antebellum South. Even after the war, men waited for their release from prison. Some were not paroled until as late as 1948.

By October 1944, hopes for a victory in Europe were growing and an unhealthy situation at Mancos was prevailing. More men were petitioning to be removed from Mancos through detached service. Many expressed interest in mental institutes or hospitals. At the onset, Jackson Gulch Dam needed one hundred and fifty to two hundred men for the Bureau of Reclamation dam project. During the previous seventeen months of 1944, only thirteen men applied for detached service. It appeared that the government-run camp was reluctant to lose its men to detached service. Interestingly, the Mancos camp was able to keep work production high by accepting transfers from Lapine and Germfask. Earlier in the camp's history, transferring men to and from camps was designed to rid the camp of dissatisfied participants. Director Thomas hoped that by creating a flow of workers, fewer men would apply for detached service. Although,

Director Thomas soon realized that the camp strength was garnered from two main sources, parolee assignments from prison, and regular Selective Service designation. Most parolees moved from camp to camp with the promise of detached service, however, this was not the case. As a result, lack of effort and poor attitudes spread throughout the camp and many of these paroles were sent back to jail. Mr. Weaver quoted Col. Kosh as stating, "When Mancos Camp was in the discussion stage, [it was implied] that men in government camps would have the same opportunities for detached service as men in the peace church camps. Despite such assurance, Selective Service has only given approval to transfer one man in the five months the camp has been open."[45] This further demonstrated the point that Mancos was intended more of an isolation camp, out of site and out of mind.

From June 30, 1944 to June 30, 1945, the number of men increased at Mancos from 117 to 153. This implied that more men were arriving as parolees on probation due to prison overpopulation. In the first year of the camp, fifty-nine men left Mancos, nine transferred to other camps, fifty went to detached service, five men had been sent to prison and eight walked out. By 1945, only six men were granted detached service. In addition, eleven men left the CPS and went to the army. This showed that the Selective Service was not allowing men to leave the CPS for alternative assignments and that more men were becoming disgruntled with the system and choosing the army over the CPS. The 153 men that were on the roles as of June 30, 1945 represented an interesting contrast in beliefs. They were originally from thirty-three different states, they averaged twenty-six years in age, and they were primarily Jehovah's Witnesses and the Church of Christ. Earlier, the Mennonites had held the highest numbers at Mancos. Occupationally,

the men were mostly farmers; however, there were over fifty different occupations represented, ranging from artists, chemists, teachers, and clerks, to laborers, and miners. Nonetheless, the number of men that went to prison so that others may be free outnumbered those who left for the armed services by forty to twenty-five.[46]

In July of 1945, the men at Mancos petitioned the CO Problems Committee of the War Resisters League to regain equal furlough privileges for parolees. Many men were going to face penalties for AWOL and RTW once demobilization occurred. Furious, the men banded together and created an informal labor union. This demonstrated the highest degree of unity ever attained at Mancos. This petition also provided the framework for CPS demobilization. The following petition was sent to the Selective Service Separation Board:

> Whereas penalties have already been provided for in the regulations for RTW and AWOL, and persons so charged already penalized and; whereas members of the armed forces are not charged additional penalties. We, therefore, the undersigned, assignees of CPS Camp #111, having no penalties entered against our records, earnestly request that the additional penalty be withdrawn in consideration of points toward demobilization. [47]

COs would experience more difficulty than returning soldiers in obtaining employment after the war. Prejudice was to be expected, and COs would not receive any assistance from the government. As demobilization plans were being laid, various attempts to help COs solve their post-war problems were getting under way. The National Service Board for Religious Objector's Interagency Demobilization Committee took the lead for providing specific employment plans for COs in occupational fields. Vocational counseling would be provided for COs who wished advice in making decisions, along with financial assistance through a loan fund, and health aid was planned for those needing medical, dental, and psychiatric treatment. The Demobilization Committee felt

that there was much to be done if the COs were to meet the readjustment period with minimum difficulty.

By 1945, much had changed for the U.S. forces fighting in Europe and the Pacific. Although, military gains oversees meant little for conscientious objectors accept the possibility of faster demobilization. The discussion to demobilize the CPS did not begin until Germany's unconditional surrender on May 7-8, 1945. General Hershey, Kosch, and the Historic Peace Churches began constructing a plan to discharge men in a timely manner. The Selective Service didn't begin releasing men from the CPS until October of 1945. The Selective Service Act of 1940 said that COs would serve for six months after the war ended. Originally, the Selective Service was going to discharge COs on a point system similar to the Army's that would look at total years served, marital status and family size. However, the Selective Service decided that they would not place a limit on how many children men in the CPS had. Angered, Congressman Arthur Winstead believed this would make it too easy for men to be sent home. He introduced legislation that strictly limited the demobilization process. His proposed point system was so strict that a man would need eighty-five points to be discharged. This would make it impossible for any assignee to be discharged. Winstead stated, "If the Selective Service follows this plan, it will be one of the most demoralizing blows to this country and to the men in service we have had during the entire war. If the conscientious objectors are conscientious, they will not want advantages over the fighting man."[48]

The majority of veterans groups, the War Department, and the White House opposed any demobilization of COs until all men had been released from the armed forces. Nearly five weeks after the war had ended, Lt. Col. Kosch and Paul C. French of

NSBRO met with the House Military Committee and received permission to allow "a systematic release of conscientious objectors from Civilian Public Service camps and units." The discharges began based on time served, but there was no point system in the CPS demobilization.[49] Congressman John Sparkman, who supported the HPCs, agreed that Winstead's plan was impractical. The Committee described a change in demobilization. "It is the opinion of the committee that conscientious objectors performing assigned civilian work should not be permitted release to resume normal life while the armed forces are still engaged in combat with the enemy and members of such forces are denied release. To provide for release of such conscientious objectors under the point system would adversely affect morale in the armed forces."[50] A month after the atomic bombs were dropped, Windstead agreed to withdraw his point system bill. The new plan for discharge was based on assignees age, length of service, and dependents.

Campers at Mancos claimed that by October of 1945, only a few hints towards release were known. On September 21st, Paul French had a conference with Congressmen and Selective Service Officials regarding a "systematic release" of COs. The first group to be released was to include all of those between the ages of thirty-five to thirty-eight who had served for two years. However, the only official direction on demobilization of the government camp came on October 1st. Director Thomas posted an announcement that, "Assignees who were 39 years of age or above on September 2, 1945, may make application through the undersigned for discharge from Civilian Public Service." This only included three men from camp. One camper noted, "No one seems especially concerned about the problem except the 'forgotten men' themselves."[51] In November 1945, the first three men were released from Mancos. The men were George

Fargo and John Bowman, both who had been at Mancos a long time, and Faith Somes who had been at Mancos since the previous June. Campers felt Director Thomas was withholding information about demobilization. It was hoped that all men within three years of service would be released no later than May 30, 1946, at Mancos.[52]

Nationally, by spring of 1946, demobilization was moving too slowly for the Peace Churches to be satisfied. The Selective Service claimed they were sending men home at a fairly decent rate from late 1945 to 1947. However, in March 1946, the AFSC decided to relinquish its responsibility of the CPS. They concluded that they were no longer responsible six months following the end of the war. At this point they stated that any remaining AFSC camps would fall under the Selective Service control, although, the Brethren and Mennonites decided to stick with the program to the finish. Morale fell as men remained in the CPS for months after the war was over. Their frustrations caused strikes at several of the camps. For example, the campers at Minersville, California, many of whom had been transferred from Germfask camp, burned down the dining hall in December 1945. General Hershey was accusing campers of destroying government property and sent the FBI to investigate. Ten men were indicted and many others were sent to other camps.[53]

Another strike broke out at Big Flats Soil Conservation Service camp. It was reported that one morning campers awoke to find the American flag replaced with a banner proclaiming, 'U.S. Slave Camp.' Thirty-five men at Big Flats went on strike. Most returned to work within a couple days, but six men continued to strike against the "flagrant waste of manpower, lack of compensation and support for dependents, and the inexcusably slow demobilization and other arbitrary injustices."[54] The six strikers were

taken away in handcuffs and were charged with unlawful failure to preform assigned work of national importance. They were later sentenced to eighteen months in prison. They refused probation, which would have allowed them back to camp. Kosch then added that any men who were affiliated or participated in work strikes could not file for discharge with their camp director.[55]

On February 21, 1946 the last of the men left Mancos and the camp was placed on a "standby" basis with J.S. Alexander and Gilmer Newsome as caretakers at the camp. The head engineer of the dam was sent to Salt Lake City where he would continue work there. The last man (his name is unknown) to leave the CPS was released at the end of March, 1947. Coincidentally the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 had just expired. By the end of January 1946, the Selective Service had demobilized about forty-five percent of the men in all the CPS camps, compared to about sixty-one percent of the men in the military. [56] Of the twenty thousand men to submit for CO status, about twelve thousand men performed national service through the CPS. The Justice Department convicted sixteen hundred for failure to report or not preforming assigned duties.[57] The short existence of the Civilian Public Service was over.

Conclusion

This study examined a small, but significant group of men from that same generation who refused to fight. Popular culture has dubbed the men that fought in World War II as the "greatest generation." This era has been dominated by military affairs on WWII. Yet, there was another side to this piece of history. The United States, has engaged in many wars to uphold its status as a global power. Concurrently, countless men and women have had to question whether it is right to participate in these wars. Although, the CPS men were a small percent of the population, they were still an important part of the "greatest generation." For the first time in United States history, a program was designed for conscientious objectors. However, this story revealed the problems of waging war in a pluralistic society.

To measure the success of the CPS program to the men is difficult. Men felt working without pay, no compensation for their dependents, lack of medical attention, and furlough restrictions were a clear violation of their civil liberties. The dependents of COs were affected financially from the CPS. Placing men away from home without work caused tight financial restrains on families. Approximately only five percent received assistance for their dependents. Although, most CPS men did not find their work meaningful. When men were released back to their communities, many faced lack of opportunities and found difficulties in beginning a life again. For some, it mirrored the austere times of the depression. The CPS had several flaws. The provision of work without pay carried the quality of involuntary servitude. The significance of the men that refused to fight does not resonate in the work of national importance completed in the CPS, but in their refusal to participate in what they were morally against. The number of

days that men worked during the existence of the CPS would have roughly estimated 22-30 million dollars for the economy of 1940.[58] The wide variety of CPS camps and the work performed from farming, forestry, to medical, did benefit humanity. Overall, it appeared that most men felt the camps lacked community and opportunities for intellectual stimulation.

The Historic Peace Churches viewed the CPS as mixed success. They called the CPS, "a working compromise between church and state…although it had proved inadequate for the achievement of all ends sought by pacifists."[59] Still the HPCs questioned why more men chose military service over the CPS. The Mennonite Peace Problems Committee noted, in 1943, that "all too large number of men in our younger ages have failed to meet the test of conscience and have entered the army voluntarily, choosing rather to surrender the faith of their fathers, even under the most favorable circumstances, and become part of the war machine."[60] The HPCs began re-examining their roles with the Selective Service and their peace teaching. Many men claimed the HPC's direct role within the conscription system contradicted their overall preaching.

The Selective Service viewed the CPS as a success. The system co-existed in a pluralistic society; it represented the diverse religious groups co-existing under one totalitarian rule. For General Lewis Hershey, the CPS was an "experiment in democracy to find out whether our democracy is big enough to preserve minority rights in a time of national emergency."[61] Although, Hershey and the government still ignored the compensation for CPS service. A bigger shock came when it became known that German prisoners of war received 80 cents a day for their labor. [62] In addition, Hershey

felt the COs would have the best experience if located in remote, isolated locations; out of sight, out of mind. In these terms, the CPS was a success for the World War II period.

The CPS also crossed a fine line between church and state. The role the HPC played in helping the military manage conscription was a joint effort. Many argued that the churches' collaboration with the Selective Service decision-making inevitably made them support conscription, which they were supposed to be fundamentally against. As a result, many men began to question the institutions that they had supported and relied on while following their conscience. One of the most significant Supreme Court cases for COs since WWII was *United States v. Seeger* (1965), a case that changed the history of conscientious objection by changing the requirements for a man to be a CO. It did so by altering the definition of a conscientious objector to, "an individual's belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but [not including] essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code."[63] The Court's decision was to allow people with general theistic belief system to be declared conscientious objectors. This court case was significant for COs because it allowed an expansive definition of what constituted religious-type beliefs. When applying for CO status, beliefs in nontraditional religions were offered the same rights as traditional faiths. This decision helped reverse the Selective Service Act in 1948 that only exempt men based on "religious training and belief." However, after conscription was abolished, the need for a CPS program was obsolete.

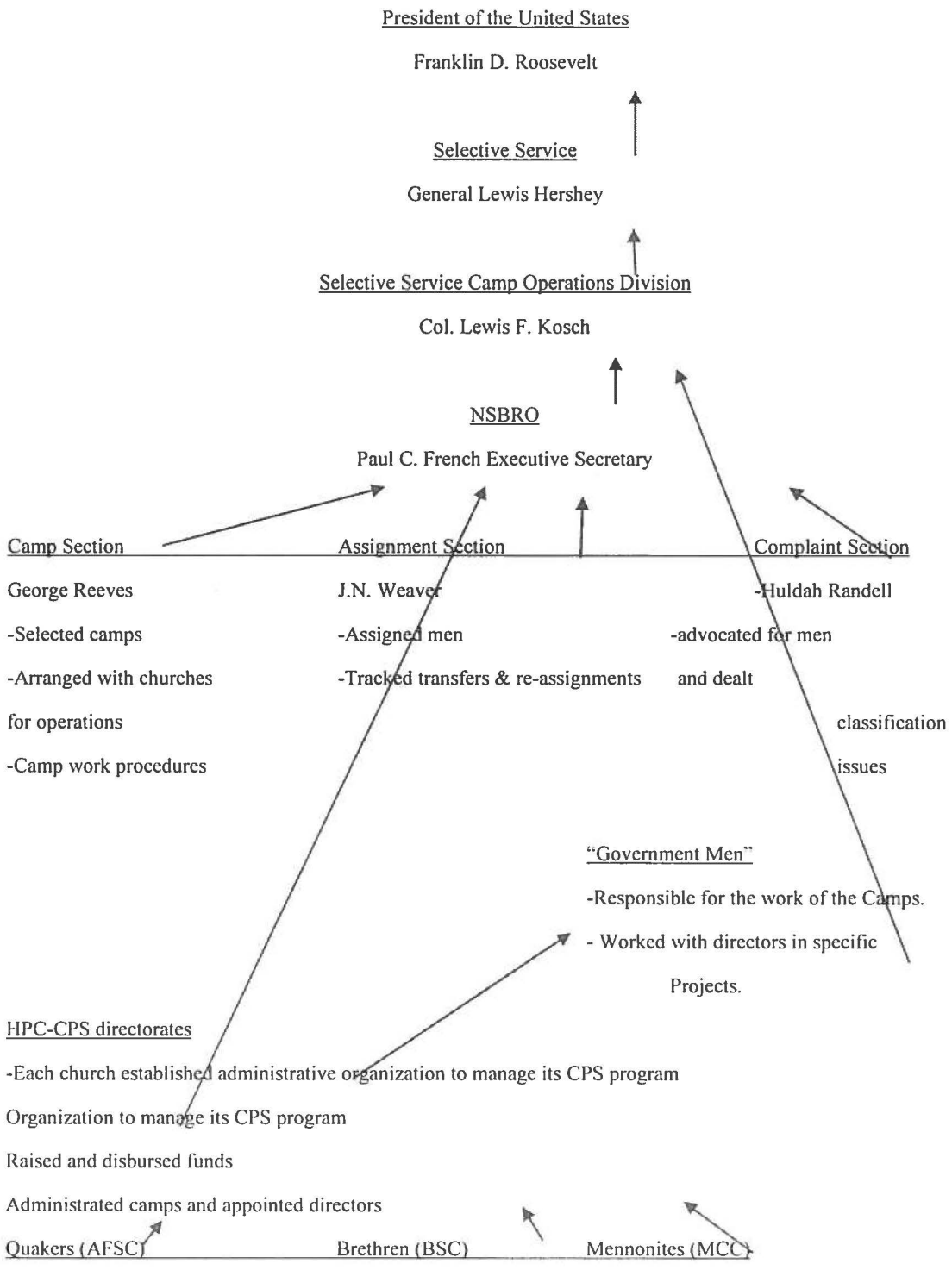
The CPS helped shape how alternative service would be viewed in later drafts. Ironically, this test in democracy was never available after World War II. Alternative service would solely consist of individual assignments. The I-W program of 1951 would

replace the CPS and end the draft in 1973.[64] Overall, a new social awareness developed from the CPS and new alternative service was developed for objectors. During the Vietnam War, the number of COs registering increased from 25.6 percent in 1970, to 42.6 percent in 1971.[65] Once the draft ended, the issue of conscientious objection was obsolete. The men of the CPS would continue their fight by affirming non-violence, peace, and social awareness.

The major changes for conscientious objectors after World War II included the elimination of work camps and the introduction of individualized service, and the legal definition for objecting to war. Towards the end of the war and the end of the CPS's existence, it was evident that the government had walked a fine line of violating campers' constitutional rights. However, the federal government was able to justify their actions through the Selective Service Act and viewing the CPSers the same as soldiers. Some men petitioned to the Supreme Court, but most did not have the time or the financial ability to do so. The CPS did influence men into positions of public responsibility, like leaders of their churches. Overall, Mancos, CPS camp #111, truly "was fascinating and was a laboratory for constitutional issues four miles up a dirt road from a little cow town in the Four Corners, not the marbled halls of the Supreme Court."[66]

APPENDIX A [67]

Chain of Command



APPENDIX B

List of camp workers at CPS No. 111 [68]

Ambler, William W.	Amburgy, Claude I.	Amburgy, Marvin E.	Amburgy, Wayne S.
Anderson, Verner V.	Armstrong, Robert N.	Atkinson, Alan W.	Audo, Maurice L.
Badten, Marion W.	Bailey, Agard H.	Bailey, Frank T. Jr.	Baine, Henry M.
Baird, George H.	Banaszak, Ernest H.	Barbarow, George P.	Barnett, David G.
Bartel, Roland A.	Bays, Ray L.	Beardslee, David C.	Beck, Vincent S.
Belansky, Aaron	Bell, Weldon D.	Benson, Purnell H.	Bernabei, George D.
Bero, Eugene E.	Besinger*, Curtis	Bichy, Arthur H.	Birdsong, Daniel T.
Bishop, Corbett	Bishop, Kenneth R.	Bjerg, Gladwyn G.	Blicharz, Walter
Blosser, Noah C.	Boley, Gerald D.	Bommerscheim, James H.	Bonaccorso, Joseph
Boucher, Arthur Lee	Bowen, Eugene	Bowman, John B.	Bozarth, Everett L.
Brantley, Lucian A.	Bridges, Frank L.	Brinton, Edward	Bristol, William B.
Browder, Paul J.	Brown, Harold Wayne	Brown, Harold Wright	Brown, Joseph N.
Brown, Nevin	Bunn, Elmo B.	Burgman, Raymond L.	Burkhalter, Wilson L.
Burnett, Randell N.	Butler, Herman	Butterworth, Harrison	Calef, John H.
Calhoun, David B.	Calhoun, David W.	Camp, Jesse P.	Carter, Gerald Lee
Carter, R. W.	Carter, Rayo	Chambers, Joel R.	Chojnicki, Mathew C.
Cillis, Joseph E.	Cimbanin, Michael A.	Cleveland, George H.	Cline, Garland L.
Cogburn, Travis J.	Collins, George S.	Cook, Marvin H.	Copeland, Julian Q
Copeland, Van T.	Cowan, Clyde H.	Cox, J. C.	Craigie, Stanton C.
Crane, Lauren Edgar	Crews, George W.	Cutrell, Orie	Dakan, Wayne D.
Davis, Buford R.	Dawson, Joseph E.	Dawson, R.B.	Dean, James F.
Dettweiler, Theodore	DeVault, Don C.	Dingman, Gerald F.	Dolch, Ben L.
Doucette, John H.	Droppers, John O.	Durham, Lee P.	Eager, Clarence R.
Eager, J. C.	Eastman, Richard P	Eberhard, Harold F.	Elgin, James G.
Elliott, Glenn E.	Emberton, Edward	Engelhardt, William	Erbaugh, Samuel

		J.	Eldon
Fancher, Clayton	Fargo, George H.	Fell, George B.	Fielding, Frank
Fiore, Quentin	Firmani, Peter	Fisher, Owen E.	Fitch, Sidney H.
Floyd, Edward D.	Foster, Woodrow W.	Francisco, Ernest	Franklin, Felix
Frechette, Romeo A.	Freeman, Judson Russ	Frentrup, Benjamin	Galbraith, Douglas
Gandy, Gordon G.	Gay, Walter H.	Gentry, Alvie M.	Glaser, Daniel H.
Glazebrood, Walter S.	Godwin, Donald M.	Golden, Ward C.	Goodall, Andy L.
Goudy, William C.	Gowell, Robert P.	Guckemus, Philip L.	Haag, Walter E.
Hall, Andrew A.	Hall, Charles B.	Hambenne, Joseph R.	Hanson, Richard R.
Hatfield, Frank W.	Hazelton, Oliver J.	Heinle, Charles A.	Hendrickson, Leonard D.
Henson, Abbott C.	Herrera, Eudora	Hewelcke, John J.	Hillen, Lawrence R.
Hixson, Leroy W.	Hodgson, Walter L.	Hofmeister, Herman F.	Hoggen, David L.
Hogrefe, Wayne C.	Hogue, Harold S.	Holmes, Hillard M.	Holmquist, Donald C.
Hopkins, Jason J.	Hordinski, Bill W.	Horton, Truman L.	Howard, Joseph
Howland, Clairmond	Hubbard, Robert C.	Hunger, Albert W.	Hutchinson, James G.
Iana, Socrates S.	Iannaccone, Lawrence	Jack, Iril B.	Jackson*, Melvin W
Jaffe, Jacob H.	Jarvis, Woodrow B.	Johnson, Alvin	Johnson, Howard I.
Juhnke, Leonard J.	Kantorik, Carl R.	Kapcala, John	Kast, Gaylord P.
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Keane, Harold D.	Kelley, Carl Franklin	Kessler, Carl L.	Kessler, Everett B.
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Koltohoff, Richard H.	Kosbad, Earl G.	Kurtz, Howard L.	Kurtz, Orie W.
Lang, Clifford L.	Lantz, Truman L.	Lazarus, Richard C.	Le Compte, Olin H.
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Lerch, Luther F.	Lesley, Ira C.	Lewis, Clemon D.	Lewis, Leonard W.
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Lipnicky, Mike S.	Lock, Louis Lee	Lowe, Waldron H.	Lowenberg, Richard A.
Lupo, C. Fred	Mallory, Guy E.	Manoukian, Armeneg	Marburg, Francis W.

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Marks, Emanuel M.	Martin, David C.	Mason, Charles A.	Mattox, Charles M. J.
May, Trent	McAlexander, Calla	McLeod, William I.	McManus, Lloyd C.
Melton, Glen E.	Mendro, Harold J.	Metivier, Ralph H.	Meyers, Everett
Micoleau, L. Tyler	Mielke, Edward H.	Mierau, Alvin	Miller, Arlon E.
Miller, David J.	Miller, Eugene E.	Miller, Freddie J.	Miller, Orba E.
Mills, Breelow P.	Montgomery, William C.	Moody, Douglas A.	Moore, Batsell S.
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Owens, Joe M.	Owens, Rodney C.	Pack, Fred O.	Pack, James M.
Palmer, Harold W.	Parker, L. E.	Parriot, Glenn P.	Patton, Gerald C.
Paulus, David J.	Pelgus, V. George	Peters, Arthur J.	Polhemius, George W.
Pope, Calvin C.	Porter, Eugene C.	Pribosic, Rudolph	Pritchard, Russell L.
Proctor, Paul W.	Pulliam, Ralph E.	Quilty, Stephen G.	Ragsdale, Randolph H.
Ratzlaff, Roland D.	Redger, Ira I.	Reeser, Maynard L.	Reid, James L.
Reynolds, Gaylon P.	Rhodes, Earl E.	Riddles, James A.	Roberson, Ernest C.
Robinson, James R.	Rohbock, Frank	Roodenko, Igal	Ross, Alfred R.
Ross, Eugene H.	Rosse, Nicholas	Roth, George H.	Rountree, Jonas C.
Rugg, Earl M.	Saeger, Armin L.	Schaeffer, Joseph P.	Scheier, Julius A.
Schertz, Melvin L.	Schmeelk, Albert T.	Schmidt, Albert	Schnee, Roy
Scott, Walter B.	Scroggins, Cleo L.	Sedig, Elmer V.	Seltzer, Chester E.
Severino, Frank O.	Shattuck, Claude R.	Shellabarger, Byron Mack	Shepplebaum, Albert E.
Shigeno, Theodore K.	Shinen, Louis W.	Shove, Jack H.	Simpson, Elmer J.
Sklover, Chaim	Smalley, Marion C.	Smith, Bracy N.	Smith, Loren E.
Smith, Robert W.	Smock, Jack W.	Somes, Faith	Spink, Louis V.

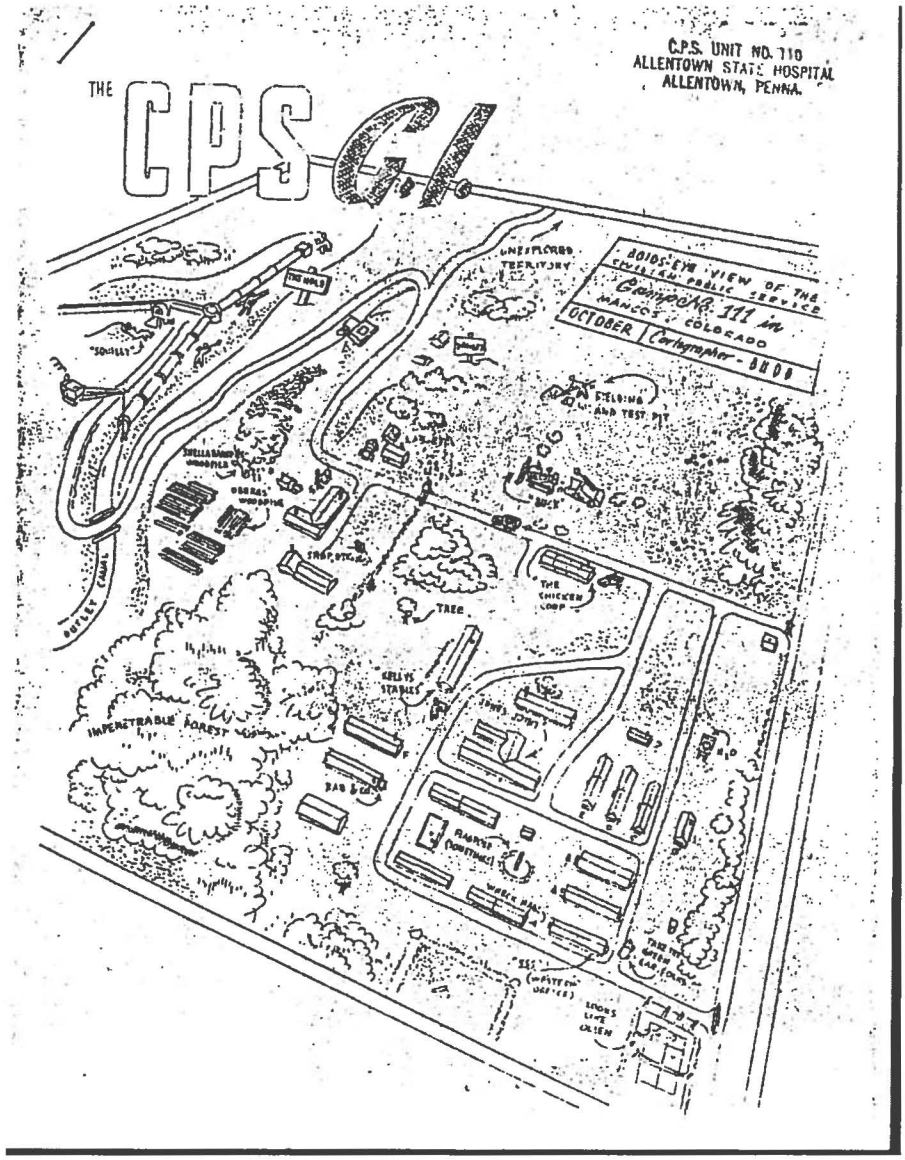
Spradley, Joseph B.	Squillacote, Charles E.	Stanley, Homer L.	Steinhilber, John B.
Strang, Lloyd A.	Strickland, William C.	Stucky, Roland P.	Stutts, William C.
Sussman, Marvin B.	Swain, Kurtis W.	Taborsak, Joseph G.	Taylor, Joseph E.
Taylor, Robert	Thomas, Harold Clifford	Thurngren, Earl E.	Tiebe, Harry O.
Troyer, Cephas C.	Truempelman, Arthur William	Turek-Ak, Henry T.	Ukranski, John W.
Vail, David K.	Vail, Walter G.	Vittetoe, Jack O.	Wagner, Richard E.
Walker, Vic	Warren, Herman D.	Watkins, Harry J.	Watson, James H.
Watters, Madill A.	Weaver, Edgar M.	Wehrly, Herbert A.	Welch, Henry C.
Wellman, Orville H.	Whitson, Clyde L.	Whitson, Kenneth Q.	Wiegand, Lewis E.
Williamson, Donald D.	Willis, Carl O.	Wilmoth, Raymond W.	Wine, Marlin E.
Wood, Avery C.	Wright, Frank M.	Wyly, Porter U.	Wyly*, Eton C
Wyse, Ervin O.	Yoder, Carl Quinten	Yoder, Marvin D.	Zajac, Nicholas
Zehr, R. Wayne	Zernoske, David	Zolner, George T.	Zucker, Jack W.

APPENDIX C[69]

Total Number of Religions in the CPS

223 --Baptist
127 --Christdelphian
1,353 --Church of the Brethren
78-- Church of Christ
209 –Congregational
78 --Disciples of Christ
88 –Episcopal
50 --Evangelical
101 --Evangelical and Reformed
157 --German Baptist
409 –Jehovah's Witnesses
108 --Lutheran
4,665-- Mennonitesı
673 --Methodists
192 --Presbyterian
951 --Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)
149 --Roman Catholics
76 --Russian Molokans
44 –Unitarians
1659 --Other Religious Groups
449 --Unaffiliated

Map of Mancos Camp #111 [70]



APPENDIX D [71]

What to Bring to Camp

From Instructions Sent to Each Camper

1. Not more than one suit of clothes suitable for Sunday wear.
2. Not more than one camp suit; these clothes suitable for wear evenings and Saturdays.
3. Overcoat.
4. Raincoat.
5. Work Clothes:
    a. Three pairs of good quality blue denim trousers.
    b. Three good quality work shirts.
    c. Three good quality blue denim jackets.
    d. Light sweater or similar windbreaker garment to war under jacket when necessary.
    e. Two pairs of gloves.
    f. Two good pairs of work shoes.
    g. One pair of overshoes (arctics).
    h. One warm cap.
    i. Six pairs of work socks.
6. Three shirts for good war.
7. One pair of good business shoes.
8. Several pairs of Sunday socks.
9. Underwear:
    a. Two pairs medium weights long underwear with long sleeves and legs.
    b. Lighter underwear if desired for camp purposes.
10. Two pairs of Pajamas.
11. Linens:
    a. Three bed sheets good quality, at least 63 by 99 inches when finished.
    b. Two pillow cases, same quality material.
    c. Three hand towels.
    d. Two bath towels.
    e. Two wash cloths.
12. Personal items--- supplies may later be replenished in camp:
    a. Shaving supplies.
    b. Dental supplies.
    c. Toilet supplies
    d. Shoe polish supplies
    e. Stationery and stamps
    f. Literature supplies--- notebook, devotional literature, Bible, etc.
    g. Musical instrument if desired.
    h. Hand mirror.
    i. Mending kit, needles, thread, pins, buttons, etc.
    j. Other personal items that you consider indispensable.

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