# Doing Valuable Work

A Conscientious Objector's Wartime Service on the Manistee National Forest

**BY JEAN MANSAVAGE** 

At the outbreak of World War II, conscientious objectors in the United States had several options for serving their country. Emil Mansavage spent the war doing forestry work. He captured his time at a Civilian Public Service Camp in Michigan in a scrapbook and unpublished memoir.

> n July 4, 1942, Emil Mansavage, a central Wisconsin farm boy and tractor mechanic, lost his independence to the first U.S. peacetime draft. Under the Selective Service System, the federal government sent Emil, a conscientious objector who refused military service, to Civilian Public Service Camp #42 in Michigan, where he performed "work of national importance"

for the war's duration. Camp Wellston, a former Civilian Conservation Corps forestry camp, is the backdrop for more than 300 photographs Emil shot to document his four-year experience. His photos and unpublished memoir reveal the role played by roughly 150 conscientious objectors at Camp Wellston in maintaining and guarding the Manistee National Forest during World War II.<sup>1</sup>

# CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS AND THE DRAFT

In 1939, the German invasion of Poland and the resulting declarations of war by Great Britain and France spurred the U.S. Congress to approve large military appropriations and granted preparedness powers to President Franklin Roosevelt. The following year Congress created the first peacetime draft. The underlying tenet of the



Emil Mansavage holds a threading rack of pine seedlings before transplanting them in the Chittenden Nursery in 1942. In the shelter Orlando Weaver is threading the seedlings into the rack.

Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, the legal authority for the draft, was that no citizen liable for military service be exempt in time of national emergency. Nevertheless, when preparing that legislation, Congress developed provisions for men who were opposed to participation in war because of religious training and belief—better known as conscientious objectors, or COs. Section 5(g) of the Selective Service Act distinguished two types of objectors: those classified I-A-O, who opposed combatant military duty and served primarily in the military's medical corps, wearing uniforms and receiving military pay and benefits; and those classified

IV-E, who opposed all service with the armed forces and performed alternative work under civilian direction but collected no pay or benefits for their service.<sup>2</sup>

The Selective Service assigned roughly half of the nearly 11,950 IV-E conscientious objectors to 151 Civilian Public Service (CPS) camps, which had been built by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and were operated under

technical direction of the U.S. Forest Service, Soil Conservation Service, National Park Service, Bureau of Reclamation, or U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Of the remaining IV-E objectors, roughly one quarter worked in mental hospitals and the rest as dairy farm laborers and herd testers, health educators, and human subjects in medical research projects.3 By law, the Selective Service administered the overall CPS program and provided camp buildings and basic tools, and the War Department lent cots, bedding, and larger mechanical equipment. However, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors (NSBRO), an organization representing the three traditional peace churches-Mennonites, Brethren, and Quakers-oversaw the day-to-day camp activities and

In 1942, the War Production Board classified wood as a critical war material, a decision with major consequences for the national forests.

supplied food, clothing, medical care, education, and recreation for the men. The above federal land-management agencies supervised the actual work projects that the COs performed.<sup>4</sup>

In 1942, the War Production Board classified wood as a critical war material, a decision with major consequences for the national forests. Timber harvests from those stands increased eighty-nine percent

> between 1940 and 1944. Concurrently, tree plantings in national forests decreased ninetysix percent because of manpower and funding shortages. To make matters worse, the Forest Service lost the labor of CCC enrollees when Congress terminated the program in mid-1942. With the forfeiture of about 2,500 permanent and seasonal employees to the military draft, the Forest

Service sought alternative means to maintain the essential tasks related to timber growth, fire protection, and lumber production. The disbursement of approximately 2,000 IV-E conscientious objectors into thirty CPS camps under Forest Service direction helped offset those losses.<sup>5</sup> Conscientious objectors at those thirty sites-the most camps directed by any single agency-completed 1.2 million man-days of labor for the Forest Service performing routine forestry tasks: fire presuppression and disease control; maintenance and construction of roads, trails, fire towers, and communication lines; nursery operation; and reforestation. Additionally, about 250 COs served as smokejumpers in the western states, parachuting to fight and prevent fires in the back country.6

### EMIL MANSAVAGE'S SERVICE EXPERIENCE

Emanuel "Emil" Mansavage, born March 25, 1916, in Stevens Point, Wisconsin, was the third of seven children and a second-generation American of Prussian-Polish extraction. Emil attained only an eighth-grade formal education because his father, Anton, required his six sons' labor on the family's seventy-acre potato and rye farm. Most Polish immigrants to Portage County, Wisconsin, adhered strongly to the rituals and customs of Catholicism. However, around 1930, when Emil was in his early teens,

his family left the Catholic Church and joined the local Jehovah's Witness congregation.<sup>7</sup>

During World War II, the Selective Service viewed Jehovah's Witnesses as the "most troublesome" of all the groups of conscientious objectors.8 Unlike the traditional peace churches, Witnesses did not teach nonresistance as part of their doctrine and did not hesitate to use physical force. Church

leaders did not advise members to claim conscientious objector status and deemed congregants who were sufficiently knowledgeable of the Bible to be the equivalent of ordained ministers, and thus eligible for complete deferment from military service as recognized clergy members under the IV-D draft classification. The nebulous qualifications for the faith's "ministers" led the Selective Service to deny the IV-D deferment to many Jehovah's Witnesses, who then typically refused to report to military induction or to work at a CPS camp. Department of Justice statistics show that Jehovah's Witnesses constituted over two-thirds of the 6,086 draft law violators who professed some type of religious conscientious objection but did not comply with the 1940 draft law.<sup>9</sup>

Emil, however, chose not to defy the draft law and wanted to perform civilian work of national importance. Initially, Emil's local draft board denied him the IV-E status and classified him 1-A, available for combatant military service, in May 1941. He promptly appealed his 1-A classification and ultimately received CO status in August 1941,

> becoming his county's first conscientious objector. Emil based his petition on religious training and belief, saying that he was conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. He later explained, "I just couldn't see training and going out and killing someone I didn't even know, so I chose civilian service instead."10 His oldest brother, Ted, had struck out on his own in 1927 and served in the Merchant Marine

during World War II; older brother Victor received a medical deferment because of heart problems; younger brothers John and David both served prison sentences after being denied ministerial deferments and for refusing to become IV-E conscientious objectors; and the youngest brother, Don, was too young for the draft.<sup>11</sup> On May 2, 1942, the Selective Service called Emil to serve and mandated that he report to Camp Wellston, Michigan, on July 4, 1942.<sup>12</sup>

Emil's past employment experience positioned the twenty-six-year-old

well for work under Forest Service direction. In addition to helping on the family farm, he had labored as a farm equipment mechanic for three years, served for two years as a parttime fire warden and towerman for the Wisconsin Conservation Department, and was also a qualified radio and business-machine operator and a large truck and tractor driver. At Camp Wellston, Emil performed an array of assignments in line with those skills.<sup>13</sup>

The CPS COs performed more than eight million man-days of labor yet were paid no wages for their work and did not qualify for life or medical insurance or any other GI benefits. The "no pay" policy for men in CPS was a congressional and Selective Service System policy aimed at making COs prove their pacifist sincerity. As Col. Lewis Kosch, chief of Selective Service System Camp Operations, stated to Congress, "We have been against payment [because] 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."14 Lack of congressional appropriations for compensation caused hardship; the COs, their families, and churches paid for conscientious objectors' and any dependents' necessities. In March 1942, camp-sponsoring churches decided to give each man \$2.50 per month for soap, razor blades, tooth powder, brushes, combs, shoe polish, and similar items. Two years later, churches raised the amount to \$5 a month. In mid-1945, thirty-two Wellston COs went on a seven-day fast, while continuing to work, to publicize the lack of consideration given their dependents; their goal was to have the 54 cents per day it cost to feed them distributed to the neediest dependents of men in the camp.<sup>15</sup>

Emil mentioned this no-pay policy in his memoir: "I worked for free for almost 4 years for the federal

Emil Mansavage chose not to defy the draft law and wanted to perform civilian work of national importance. He reported to Camp Wellston, Michigan, on July 4, 1942.



government . . . Never got a dime from them." Emil and 64 other men at Wellston would have accepted pay for their work. A signed petition directed to Selective Service, Church of the Brethren, and NSBRO leadership dated November 18, 1943, stated, "We the undersigned members of CPS Camp #42 would accept pay (not to exceed that of the Armed Forces) for our services to the Government of the United States." In a letter accompanying the petition, its initiator clarified, "Many times in the past, during discussions concerning pay for CPS men, it has been stated that conscientious objectors will not accept pay. Therefore, since no vote has ever been taken among the men concerned, I thought it fitting to submit this petition as a cross section of the opinion on this subject."16

## WARTIME WORK ON THE MANISTEE

President Roosevelt established the Manistee National Forest on October 25, 1938, in Michigan's Lower Peninsula along the shores of Lake Michigan from lands the federal government had previously acquired under the Weeks Act of 1911 and from several additional land purchases. The original forest unit encompassed almost 400,000 acres, of which 66,000 acres were logged or burned and 350,000 acres needed replanting. By 1945, the Manistee covered 539,000 acres and stretched forty miles east to west and seventy miles north to south.<sup>17</sup> During the Great Depression, the Manistee hosted 25 CCC camps, with Forestry Camp #68, Company 677, moving to Camp Wellston in July 1938 to facilitate work in the

Diagram of CPS #42, Camp Wellston, Michigan, from Emil's time there. The barracks' names have a pacifist theme: Leo Tolstoy, the Russian novelist and nonviolent anarchist; Toyohiko Kagawa, a contemporary Japanese Christian pacifist; Satyagraha is a Sanskrit term coined by Mahatma Gandhi for his particular style of nonviolent resistance; and Henry David Thoreau, author of "Civil Disobedience."

Chittenden Nursery, a quarter of a mile from the camp.<sup>18</sup> Wellston housed as many as 165 enrollees at a time between 1938 and 1942.

To establish the nursery on 87 acres east of the town of Wellston in March 1934, CCC workers cleared 35 acres



for seed beds, and six months later they planted 65 million seeds. They also built a pump house, a warehouse, oil storage, a residence and office, and structures for cone storage, seed extraction, and a greenhouse. In four years' time, the nursery produced between 25 million and 50 million red, white, jack pine, spruce, cedar, and hardwood seedlings.19 By September 23, 1942, when Camp Wellston officially became a CPS camp under Selective Service System direction, the nursery had expanded to 120 acres, with 75 acres of seed beds, where 50 to 120 men worked for six months of each year.20

Emil's assignments over the four years at Camp Wellston included several projects high on the Forest Service's priority list: maintaining forestry telephone lines, cultivating and transplanting nursery trees, managing timber stand improvement crews, and contributing to fire hazard reduction, fire presuppression, and firefighting efforts.<sup>21</sup> Following several weeks of physicals, orientation, and safety training, he began his first task in the hot days of August 1942 replacing old insulators and retying the wires on more than one hundred miles of Forest Service telephone lines strung across the national forest. In September, Emil began a six-week assignment of transplanting racks of pine seedlings into the furrows at the nursery. Emil and the other two men with whom he worked were considered the most productive team of the nursery crew.<sup>22</sup>

During heavy snows in the winter of 1943, Emil's duties shifted to lumbering tasks when he supervised a "tie gang" that felled low-quality trees for use as railroad ties. This task provided needed materials for the war effort and also opened space in the forest for planting higher-quality trees.<sup>23</sup> For this work, Emil employed his surveying skills to run "a line around 40"—to delineate each 40-acre plot to keep his crew working on government property and to obtain an accurate count of the Emil "running a line" around a forty-acre plot while wearing snowshoes to navigate the deep winter snows. By demarcating the plot that belonged to the Forest Service, Emil accurately recorded the number of ties removed from each area and kept his crew off private property.

number of ties taken from the plot. He also performed a daily inventory of the tools charged out to his crew, and he drove a Cletrac 20 dozer and Caterpillar tractor to skid the ties out of the forest. The men performed this work during winter months because they could skid ties over the snow without damaging the sandy soil. The crew was also responsible for cutting wood for the camp's winter heating fuel supply.<sup>24</sup>

In the spring of 1943, the camp's Forest Service technical director, Wilbur "Bud" Gardner, learned of Emil's fire-hazard assessment experience with the Wisconsin Conservation Department and transferred him to work the telephone switchboard at the Camp Wellston guard station. This was the "nerve center" for all fire towers in the northern section of the Manistee: all telephone and radio communications regarding spotting and fighting fires came to this location. At the dispatcher's desk, Emil marshaled these communications along with the fire lookouts' "cross shots" to determine fire locations and record burning permit locations to help determine where firefighting crews were needed.25

To assess the daily fire hazard during fire season-a calculation that determined fire tower staffing requirements—Emil took weather readings three times a day. He measured wind velocity, noted the days since rain, recorded the amount of last precipitation, took psychrometer readings to determine the relative humidity in the atmosphere, logged minimum and maximum temperature readings, observed the condition of vegetation, and compiled the data into several graphs and charts to complete fire-watch forms for his Forest Service supervisors. Many of Emil's photos also illustrate his responsibility for seasonally maintaining weather monitoring equipment, such as the anemometer, used to measure wind speed, that sat high atop an antenna tower.26

Dry weather during the first twelve days of October 1943 generated high fire-hazard warning levels on the forest. Being short of fire lookouts, Gardner assigned Emil to the Kellogg Tower on the Cadillac District of the Manistee, roughly 18 miles from camp. During his three days there, Emil spotted a visible fire, used an Osborne

Emil drove a 1930s Cletrac 20 dozer tractor to skid logs out of the woods.

Firefinder to get a bead on the flames, and notified the Wellston guard station of its location. In addition to watching for fires, Emil also trained a new lookout to take over for the remainder of the fire

season. In November, after fire season ended, Emil collected equipment from the towers for repair and maintenance.<sup>27</sup>

While Emil worked communications and recorded weather conditions at the guard station, other CPS men at Wellston fought forest fires, conducted deer counts, built bridges to shorten the travel distance to fight fires, and assisted local farmers with seasonal farm needs.<sup>28</sup> Pitching in to help local farmers

promoted generally good relations between CPS men and nearby communities. However, some local residents disparaged the COs at Camp Wellston as unpatriotic slackers. Emil appears to have angered a man with a vacation home near the camp. Joseph Floersch's complaint was actually a backhanded compliment when he

Other CPS men at Wellston fought forest fires, conducted deer counts, built bridges to shorten the travel distance to fight fires, and assisted local farmers with seasonal farm needs. observed that "these boys work for other people during the day...One works at Halstead's Garage. They say he's is a very good mechanic."29 Emil did moonlight at that garage during his evenings after work and on his day off from guard station duties, at the request of Claude "Pop" Halstead. It helped Emil work out some of the "kinks in the old game," the mechanic skills he'd honed

working for the farm implement dealer.<sup>30</sup> The NSBRO camp section representative, Joseph N. Weaver, repeated Emil's explanation in his



response to the complaint to Selective Service headquarters: "The assignee working at Halstead's Garage worked there after [the] evening meal and at the request of the proprietor who had an urgent need for a good mechanic" and had followed the Selective Service directive regarding controlled absences from camp.<sup>31</sup>

Emil's work ethic earned Bud Gardner's respect and as a result he stayed at the guard station for the remaining three years of his stay at Wellston. When Gardner learned that the Selective Service twice intended to transfer Emil to a CPS camp in Oregon, the Forest Service supervisor halted the move by classifying Emil as a "key man," a designation the Selective Service had instituted to ensure that camps did not lose CPS men with critical skills, training, experience, or leadership abilities. Because key men could not be transferred without approval of the camp director and camp superintendent, Emil remained at Wellston,<sup>32</sup> even as many other Wellston men were transferred to CPS camps in the West, including several who had become Emil's close friends.

### **CLOSING CAMP WELLSTON**

World War II officially ended when the Japanese signed surrender documents on September 2, 1945. After that date, the Selective Service began releasing IV-E objectors from CPS camps in the same order as members of the military, as determined by length of service and age. Emil was discharged on March 15, 1946, nearly four years after his arrival at Camp #42. When all the COs had been released from the camp,

Dick Mommsen and Lloyd Hulbert sawing out ties from a recently felled tree in February 1943. Note that the snow is up to the men's knees. Wellston was transferred, with its equipment and accessories, to the Forest Service for continued use in protecting the national forest.<sup>33</sup>

Over the course of the war, conscientious objectors in Forest Service CPS camps had provided invaluable service that kept the national forests operating, productive, and protected. The Forest Service chief summarized his ten regional foresters' opinions of CO projects: "We appreciated the CPS assignees as a source of manpower when many types of labor were virtually unobtainable during the war.... There were certain types of work in which

the assignees performed unusually effective services. This covered such projects as smoke jumping, 'white collar' researcher undertakings, some special fire-prevention activities, and from certain camps, farm labor." In his annual report the chief also stated that wartime nursery maintenance would permit rapid resumption of planting at the war's end.<sup>34</sup> A forest supervisor on the Manistee added, "The objectors are

"The objectors are doing valuable work in the forest . . . Without them, we wouldn't be able to continue our planting operations and program of forest improvement. The work performance of the objectors is superior to that of the CCC, for the [CO] enrollees are mature, and many have farm backgrounds."<sup>35</sup>

Of his time in camp, Emil wrote, "I gave them almost four years of free service but felt it was worth it." His years in camp were a time of great personal growth,

and his CPS experience influenced his remaining life in many respects, including his faith. "I went in as a J[ehovah's] W[itness] but got disenchanted when I found there were over 100 sects in that camp



"The objectors are doing valuable work in the forest... Without them, we wouldn't be able to continue our planting operations and program of forest improvement."



and they all figured they were on the right track." He discovered the tenets that had served as the basis for his CO status were not sincerely held by some of his fellow workers. Many Witnesses did not share his work ethic or abide by their promise to work for the government. In his four years, Emil was "sick in quarters" for only three days, but others, he observed, were out "on sick leave an awful lot. As for me I felt I'd committed myself so I'd put out. As the result, I no longer attended their meetings" while in camp; the disenchantment with organized religion continued after the war.36

Although Emil parted ways with the religion that had kept him out of the war and ultimately brought him to Wellston, his faith in God never wavered. And, in subsequent years he maintained numerous lifelong friendships he had made in camp, and continued to practice the nurseryman and woodsman skills he refined there. After his discharge, Emil returned to work at the Ace Hardware and Lumber Yard he had purchased with his brother Victor just before the war, eventually becoming the sole proprietor of the small business before retiring in 1988. At home, Emil worked for decades to maintain a healthy timber stand and to create habitat for the native birds and animals on his family's Wisconsin property and each spring he planted two hundred pine seedlings in those woods. While he rarely spoke of explicit religious beliefs, Emil's stewardship of the natural world demonstrated his faith in God, just as his work on the Manistee provided a constructive response to the conditions of war.

Despite being apart from his family and earning no income for the duration of the war, and the criticism he received from a few Michigan residents, overall, he viewed the time positively. Years later, when asked to sum up his CPS years, Emil affirmed, "All in all it was a darn good experience, and if it came up again I'd do it all over again."<sup>37</sup> Emil at the dispatcher's desk checking the location of a fire after taking "cross shots" from the towermen. The telephone switchboard and radio sending and receiving sets are all in one unit. The white spots on the map are small yellow pins representing burning permit locations. The daily log right in front of Emil is where he recorded the day's weather data and fire hazard status.

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### NOTES

- Emil Mansavage, "My Recollection of the Depression: Background Information," April 1984, 9; Emil Mansavage, Civilian Public Service photo album, both in possession of the author. Emil learned photography skills from fellow COs, two brothers from Chicago who ran their own camera shop and taught evening photography classes at the CPS camp. Another CO, Chuck Vette, taught typing classes, where Emil learned how to caption those images.
- 2. National Headquarters, Selective Service System, Camp Operations Division, "Material Concerning Conscientious Objectors," March 30, 1945, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) Record Group (RG) 147, Selective Service System (hereafter, SSS), Entry PI 27-23, Conscientious Objectors General File (NARA RG 147-CO), Box 193; Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Executive Order 8675, Authorizing the Director of the Selective Service System to Establish or Designate Work of National Importance under Civilian Direction for Persons Conscientiously Opposed to Combatant and Non-Combatant Service in the Land or Naval Forces of the United States," February 6, 1941, NARA RG 147-CO, Box 193.
- National Headquarters, Selective Service System, Camp Operations Division, "Projects and Service of Conscientious Objectors," revised March 1, 1945, 1–2, NARA RG 147-CO, Box 193; SSS,

Conscientious Objection: Special Monograph No. 11, Volume I (Washington, DC: SSS, 1950), 315.

- 4. Mulford Sibley and Philip E. Jacob, Conscription of Conscience: The American State and the Conscientious Objector, 1940–1947 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952), 119–23. The Mennonite Church was the largest of seventeen denominations grouped as "Mennonite bodies" (including the Amish people and Hutterites) by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in its 1936 Census of Religious Bodies. Brethren included four church bodies, the largest and oldest being the Church of the Brethren and also included Tunkers, Dunkers, and Dunkards. During SSS operations from 1940 to 1947, there were four denominations of the Religious Society of Friends, commonly referred to as Quakers. SSS, Conscientious Objection: Special Monograph No. 11, Volume I, 9-14.
- L. A. Reuss and O. O. McCracken, *Federal Rural Lands* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1947), 21–22; U.S. Forest Service, "Forestry in Wartime: Report of the Chief of the Forest Service, 1942" (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1942), 3, 18–19, at https://digital.library.unt.edu/ ark:/67531/metadc799727/m1/; U.S. Forest Service, "Forests in War and Peace: Report of the Chief of the Forest Service, 1943" (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1943), 15–17; SSS, *Conscientious Objection: Special Monograph No. 11*,

Emil arrives home in Plover, Wisconsin, after spending nearly four years in a Civilian Public Service Camp as a IV-E conscientious objector, March 1946. Afterward, Emil wrote, "I gave them almost four years of free service but felt it was worth it."

*Volume II*, Appendices A–G (Washington, DC: SSS, 1950), Appendix G, #119, "List of 151 Civilian Public Service Camps," 283–88; Sibley and Jacob, *Conscription of Conscience*, 126–27.

6. National Headquarters, Selective Service System, Camp Operations Division, "Projects and Service of Conscientious Objectors," revised March 1, 1945, NARA RG 147-CO, Box 193; SSS, Conscientious Objection, II: Appendix E, #75, "Man-days Spent in Work of National Importance, by Registrants in Civilian Public Service, May 15, 1941-Mar. 31, 1945," #76, "New Construction and Maintenance Work Accomplished for the United States Forest Service, by Registrants in Civilian Public Service, May 15, 1941-Mar. 31, 1947," 189-192, Appendix G, #119, "List of 151 Civilian Public Service Camps," 283-88; Robert C. Cottrell, Smokejumpers of the Civilian Public Service: Conscientious Objectors as Firefighters in the National Forest Service (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2006), 5;

Mark Matthews, Smoke Jumping on the Western Fire Line: Conscientious Objectors during World War II (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 4; Sibley and Jacob, Conscription of Conscience, 127–29.

- 7. Michael J. Goc, *Native Realm: The Polish-American Community of Portage County,* 1957–1992, 46–56; Emil Mansavage family genealogy; Mansavage, "My Recollection of the Depression," 1–2.
- 8. Sibley and Jacob, *Conscription of Conscience*, 31.
- 9. Sibley and Jacob, *Conscription of Conscience*, 31–35; SSS, Conscientious Objection, I: 18–19, 261–64.
- SSS, "Conscientious Objector Report: Emil Mansavage," D.S.S. Form 48, August 18, 1942; Mansavage, "My Recollection of the Depression," 9.
- United States v. Mansavage, 178 F. 2d 812 (7th Circuit Court of Appeals, 1949); letter, David Mansavage to Emil Mansavage, September 30, 1946; Mansavage, "My Recollection of the Depression," 1–2, 5.
- 12. SSS, "Order to Report to Work of National Importance: Emil Mansavage," D.S.S. Form 50. In November 1943, his former employer, a farm implement repair service, unsuccessfully petitioned the Selective Service to release Emil as an essential skilled employee. Emil Laszewski, Laszewski Brothers Allis-Chalmers Tractors and Implements General Repair, to Paul Comly French, Executive Secretary, National Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, November 8, 1943.
- Brethren Service Committee, "Civilian Public Service Personnel Form: Emil Mansavage," Personnel Form 2, 1–2, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Document Group 25, Records of the Center on Conscience and War, 1940-ongoing [formerly NSBRO and NISBCO], Collection: DG 025, Part I, Series F1 (hereafter, DG 25): "Emil Mansavage case file (restricted)."
- 14. U.S. Senate, Committee on Military Affairs, "Hearings on S. 2708: A Bill to Amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as Amended, so as to Extend the Benefits of the Employees' Compensation Act to Conscientious Objectors," August 19, 1942 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1942), 6; Sibley and Jacob, *Conscription of Conscience*, 112, 119–24, 217–20.
- 15. SSS, Conscientious Objection, I: 193; Joseph F. Deeb, U.S. Attorney, Department of Justice, Western District of Michigan, to Lt. Col. Simon P. Dunkle, SSS Camp Operations, April 17, 1945; Earl S. Garver, Camp Wellston Director, to Joseph N. Weaver, NSBRO Camp Section representative, April 19, 1945, both NARA RG 147-CO, Box 117.
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Camp #42, to Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Col. Lewis B. Kosch, Brethren Service Committee, National Service Board for Religious Objectors, November 18, 1943, NARA RG 147-CO, Box 53.

- 17. Presidential Proclamation 2306: "Manistee National Forest, Michigan," October 25, 1938, Proquest Congressional, at https://congressional-proquestcom.pentagonlibrary.idm.oclc.org/ congressional/docview/t67.d72.1938pr-2306?accountid=6768; Joseph J. Jones, "Transforming the Cutover: The Establishment of National Forests in Northern Michigan," Forest History Today (Spring/Fall 2011), 48-55; U.S. Forest Service, "Huron-Manistee National Forests: History and Culture," https:// www.fs.usda.gov/main/hmnf/learning/ history-culture; David E. Conrad, The Land We Cared For: A History of the Forest Service's Eastern Region (Milwaukee, WI: U.S. Forest Service, Region 9, 1997), 80. In 1945, the Forest Service consolidated the Manistee and Huron national forests into the Huron-Manistee National Forest.
- Conrad, *The Land We Cared For*, 100; Civilian Conservation Corps, "Camp Inspection Report: F-68, Wellston, Manistee, Michigan," June 6, 1940, NARA RG 35, Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Entry 115 (NARA RG 35), Box 104.
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- 22. Mansavage photo album.

- 23. U.S. Forest Service, Eastern Region, "Environmental Impact Statement: Land and Resource Management Plan," September 1981, 143; Mansavage photo album.
- 24. Mansavage photo album. Cletrac was short for the Cleveland Tractor Company.
- 25. Mansavage photo album; Mansavage, "My Recollection of the Depression," 10.
- 26. Mansavage photo album.
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