Duane C.S. Stoltzfus. *Pacifists in Chains: The Persecution of Hutterites during the Great War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 2013.

During the First World War, Hutterite farmers were among many religious objectors to war caught up in the efforts of US President Woodrow Wilson's administration to induce young men to register for the draft and enter military training camps. *Pacifists in Chains* tells the story of four such men, each of whom were married and had families, from Rockport Colony in southeastern South Dakota: brothers David, Michael, and Joseph Hofer, and Joseph's brother-in-law Jacob Wipf.

In the fall of 1918, shortly after armistice, Joseph and Michael died in federal custody at Leavenworth, Kansas, victims of mistreatment at the hands of prison officials frustrated by their steadfast refusal to obey orders as wartime conscientious objectors. Their kinsmen, David Hofer and Jacob Wipf, survived similar ordeals and eventually returned to their Hutterite colony and to a grieving extended family. While this episode in civil liberties abridgement has already been well documented by historians, Duane Stoltzfus details the Hutterites' experiences to remind readers of legacies of persecution in American history and to draw attention to periodic failures in "democratic" governmental policies.

A key theme of this volume is the dehumanizing of conscientious objectors, especially once they had moved through the process of court martial and entered disciplinary barracks. Stoltzfus argues that the treatment of the Hutterites "became a shameful example of the failure of a government to stand by its constitutional guarantee of freedom to practice religion and promise to safeguard citizens from torture and other cruel and unusual punishments" (xii). Throughout the war and in the months following, President Wilson and Secretary of War Newton Baker were slow to respond to reports of prisoners' mistreatment.

A strength of this work is its broad attention to conscription in the 1918-1919 era and how the process often fell short of planners' ideals. Debates about conscription in the United States have often centered on questions of fairness, and this particular wartime program had structural problems as well as difficulties with enforcement. For example, several million draft-age men evaded military service by simply not registering. Further, depending on when they became eligible for the conscription program, some drafted

men had more alternatives than others. Central to the Hutterite story is that farm furloughs were never an option for the Hofers and for Wipf, although conscientious objectors who entered military service a few months after they did were able to obtain these relatively attractive assignments in lieu of entering military training camps. The timing of a draftee's engagement with governmental demands on the homefront, it seems, could make the difference between life and death.

The narrative arc of this account follows the Hofer brothers and Wipf from their home community in South Dakota to Camp Lewis in Washington state, where commanding officers immediately noticed that the men "won't fall in" (82). Despite careful and even kind explanations by military officials to the Hutterites that they had to line up with other men and sign papers to receive camp supplies, including blankets, the Hutterites simply refused. At their court martial proceedings, where they relied on military-appointed counsel to defend them, the Hutterites explained that "We can't sign any papers. We don't believe in war. We won't do anything at the army" (81).

Despite pleading not guilty to charges against them, they, like nearly all other court-martialed objectors in 1918 and 1919 were convicted and sent to federal prison. The author recounts the misery that the men experienced first at Alcatraz, where they refused to work, and then at Fort Leavenworth, where Joseph and Michael Hofer arrived so ill that they were immediately hospitalized, and where conscientious objectors were routinely harassed and abused by prison authorities.

Pacifists in Chains buttresses the disturbing story of the Hofer brothers' deaths with broader civil liberties activism in this era by Mennonites, Quakers, and advocacy groups such as the National Civil Liberties Bureau. Few American conscientious objectors in the World War I era were as resolutely absolutist in their responses to governmental and military dictums as the Hutterites, and Stoltzfus frames the Hofers' story in the broader context of varied responses to wartime conscription. Archival research in denominational and federal repositories undergirds this work, in addition to the author's interviews with the Hofers' descendants in Montana and Saskatchewan. Eighteen photographs, mostly exterior and interior images of the federal prisons at Alcatraz and Fort Leavenworth, enhance the book.

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