THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

VARIATION AND FLEXIBILITY ON THE

COLUMBIA NATIONAL FOREST

By

MATTHEW MAWHIRTER

A thesis in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY
Department of History

May 2013

To the Faculty of Washington State University

The members of the Committee appointed to examine the thesis of MATTHEW MAWHIRTER find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

_____
Laurie Mercier, Ph.D., Chair

_____
Steven Fountain, Ph.D.

_____
Richard McClure, M.A.

_____
Jeffrey C. Sanders, Ph.D.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to thank Rick McClure who helped me start down the path to researching the CCC and in finding my current position with the Forest Service. He was generous in letting me wander out into the woods to search for a missing CCC camp site with no previous experience in site survey or recording. Without his previous research and historical knowledge of the Gifford Pinchot National Forest it would have been impossible to write this paper. The paper would have also not been possible without the site surveys done by Cheryl Mack and Charlene Schmid who produced excellent site forms, something that I am finding out is not always possible with the time given on Forest Service projects. Their well-researched historical background for the camps gave me more information than I would have had time to find on my own.

I would also like to thank Dr. Laurie Mercier, my chair, who allowed me to run with my research and probably was a little more worried than she let on with some of the tangents I went down. Her flexibility helped me shape my degree and research, to help secure my current employment as an archaeologist.

Finally, I would like to thank my family who has helped me search through the woods and put up with me working late on the weekends after being gone for the week working in the woods.

THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

VARIATION AND FLEXIBILITY ON THE

COLUMBIA NATIONAL FOREST

Abstract

By Matthew Mawhirter, M.A.
Washington State University
May 2013

Chair: Laurie Mercier

In the depths of the Great Depression, at the beginning of the New Deal, President Roosevelt created one of the most popular jobs programs ever created, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The CCC put young impoverished men to work on public lands in every state and territory in the United States. Most would work on projects in the National Forests, many in the Pacific Northwest, in conservation and resource development projects. Many Americans who reside in or visit the Northwest are familiar with the legacy of CCC work, visible in some structures, campgrounds, or hiking trails. Few understand how these projects were managed and how CCC enrollees experienced camp life.

Most of the scholarly works written about the CCC focus on the administrative elements and assume conformity between all levels of the agency that did not exist. This study looks at the camps on the Columbia National Forest, later the Gifford Pinchot National Forest, to examine if the conformity assumed by other authors disappears when closely investigating local camp construction and practices. CCC Camps had the same intended function but aesthetically differed between Army districts, between camps within a district, and between the different types of

camps. The differences, however minor, must have changed the enrollee's experience. An examination of the camps and comparison between camps in one national forest, beyond what was published by the Army, Forest Service and CCC, should present a more complex and complete picture of the CCC.

With the identification of new historical sources for the CCC, this study will also examine the potential for archaeology to add more to the story of the enrollees' experience. CCC camp sites and dumps could have the ability to show adaptability based on environment and local economic conditions. Because so little archaeology has been conducted on CCC associated sites it is difficult to make a good comparison. The survey of more camps and excavation of camp dumps should expand on the preliminary findings of this thesis and support the argument that the CCC was a flexible agency, which had significant variation between camps.

Contents

List of Figures

Figure 1. Regional Forester C. J. Buck, Thornton T. Munger, Chester Morse (R-5), Robert Fechner, Director of the CCC, Supervisor J.R. Bruckart, Chief Forester Silcox, Engineer James Frankland and Ranger John Kirkpatrick. Taken on the Columbia National Forest, August, 1934.Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Introduction

From 1929 until the beginning of World War II, the world suffered economically during what became known as the Great Depression. Because of the Great Depression Franklin Delano Roosevelt would become President in 1933 after Herbert Hoover's presidency could not produce a recovery or deliver relief. Hoover's inability to effect change became a major driver in Roosevelt's win. Once in office Roosevelt proposed a sweeping array of programs to help relieve the effects of the depression while working within the budget. He called the proposed program the New Deal.

The New Deal was designed to rebuild America by rebuilding the broken spirits and bodies of those affected. The crash of 1929 had created more than an economic problem; the crash affected the social and cultural make-up of the United States. Many lost their savings; unemployment rose to as high as 20 percent in most parts of the country, with Washington State

peaking at 25 percent. The American ideal of a male breadwinner was challenged, families could not stay together and the youth of the United States had an unclear future. The Dust Bowl of the Midwest and falling farm prices compounded the probLEM, with many rural Americans beginning a never ending migration in search of work.

The Depression took place in the middle of a social and economic transition that was not fully complete. Increased farm mechanization, education reform and labor reform put the youth of the United States on unfamiliar ground, with the old systems of family and community unable to support those family members least capable of taking care of themselves.[1] At the same time the difficult economic conditions created support for new political ideologies that opposed the current political system that failed to provide relief. Roosevelt recognized that the youth of the country could follow the path of youth in Europe towards political beliefs opposing democracy if at least minimal support could not be provided allowing for some hope of better times.[2]

The first New Deal program proposed by Roosevelt, the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW), better known as the CCC, was created in 1933. Initially the CCC restricted enrollment to males 18 to 25 years of age who were on relief by giving them useful conservation work on public lands in order to build productive men.[3] Much has been written about the program as a whole, and many self-published works have documented individual experiences in various camps throughout the country. There is a disconnect though, since the larger works try to encompass the entire CCC from 1933 to 1941 on a national scale, while the individual works are snapshots of one person's experience in one, maybe two camps, for no more than two years but

[1] Judith Sealander, The Failed Century of the Child (Cambridge: University Press, 2003), 154, 180-181, 197, 203, 205-206; Errol Lincoln Uys, Riding the Rails: Teenagers on the Move During the Great Depression (Florence, Kentucky: Routledge, 2003), 12-17, 47-49, 52-54.

[2] Rolland Dewing, Region in Transition: The Northern Great Plains and the Pacific Northwest in the Great Depression (Boulder: University Press of America, 2006), 80-81, 84, 87-88.

[3] Emergency Conservation Work, *Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work Embracing Activities from April 5, 1933, through June 30,* 1935(Hereafter cited as Report of the Director) (Washington DC:1935), 21-22.

usually only for a six-month period. Generally both the scholarly works and memoirs simplify the story of the CCC too much.[4] The previous works present their version of the agency as the true story, often creating a very standardized and rigid image of the CCC. A closer examination and comparison of previous works actually hints at a complex agency that showed significant variation at the Corps and lower levels. The camps in the Columbia National Forest, today the Gifford Pinchot National Forest, can offer a good comparative group because of the unique administrative and geographical boundaries present during the time of the CCC.

Previous studies most often focused on the military's role, the possible militarization of enrollees and enrollees' defiance against the military leadership. These studies lack the necessary context for understanding the terms under which the military joined the CCC and the interactions between the agencies, specifically the U.S. Forest Service and Army. The Army's actions have been viewed through the records of the CCC and the public, which have propagated misperceptions. Only one scholarly work has used War Department records and focused on the military's point of view.[5] This thesis attempts to create a more complete story by showing how the two agencies interacted, carried out their roles, and defined their physical space in the CCC

[4] For examples see; Neil M. Maher, Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement (Oxford, University Press: 2009), the author tries to project the modern idea of conservation onto the CCC even though conservation meant something different in the 1930s; Leslie Alexander Lacy, The Soil Soldiers: The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Great Depression (Radnor, Penn: Chilton Book Co., 1976), is a great example of a work that just reuses most of John Salmond's work and uses random information that is atypical as being the norm; Dr. M. Chester Nolte ed., Civilian Conservation Corps: The Way We Remember It 1933-1942 (Taducah, Kentucky: Turner Publishing Company, 1990); Edward Sekermestrovich, interview by Royal G. Jackson and Karen Thomas, Life at CCC Camp Aboretum Benton County, Oregon: 1933-1940, 1980; Norman A. Myers, Letters to Home: Life in CCC Camps of Douglas County Oregon 1933-1934 (Roseburg, Oregon: USDA-Forest Service Umpqua NF, 1983), are a some examples of former enrollee centered work..

[5] For examples see; Janna Tuck, A Beer Party and Watermelon: The Archaeology of Community and Resistance at CCC Camp Zigzag, Company 928, ZigZag, Oregon, 1933-1942 (unpublished thesis, Portland State University, 2010), is an example of an author that has little experience or knowledge of the military and makes assumptions that do not hold true; Charles Heller, *The U.S. Army, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and Leadership for World War II, 1933-1942*, Armed Forces and Society, Vol. 36, No. 3 (2010): 439-453; Major Roger L. King, The Militarization of American's Youth: The Army and the Civilian Conservation Corps (Unpublished Master Thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 1993), which gives too much influence of the Army on enrollees based on the success of enrollees during World War II even though the militarized focus did not appear until 1941.

in one national forest. Today the Gifford Pinchot National Forest covers 1,527,761 acres in the south central area of Washington State. The Gifford Pinchot National Forest was originally a part of the Pacific Forest Reserve created in 1893, then became the Mt Rainier Forest Reserve in 1897, and in 1908 became the Columbia National Forest. In 1949 the name was changed again to the Gifford Pinchot National Forest to honor conservationist and the first Chief of the Forest Service, Gifford Pinchot.[6]

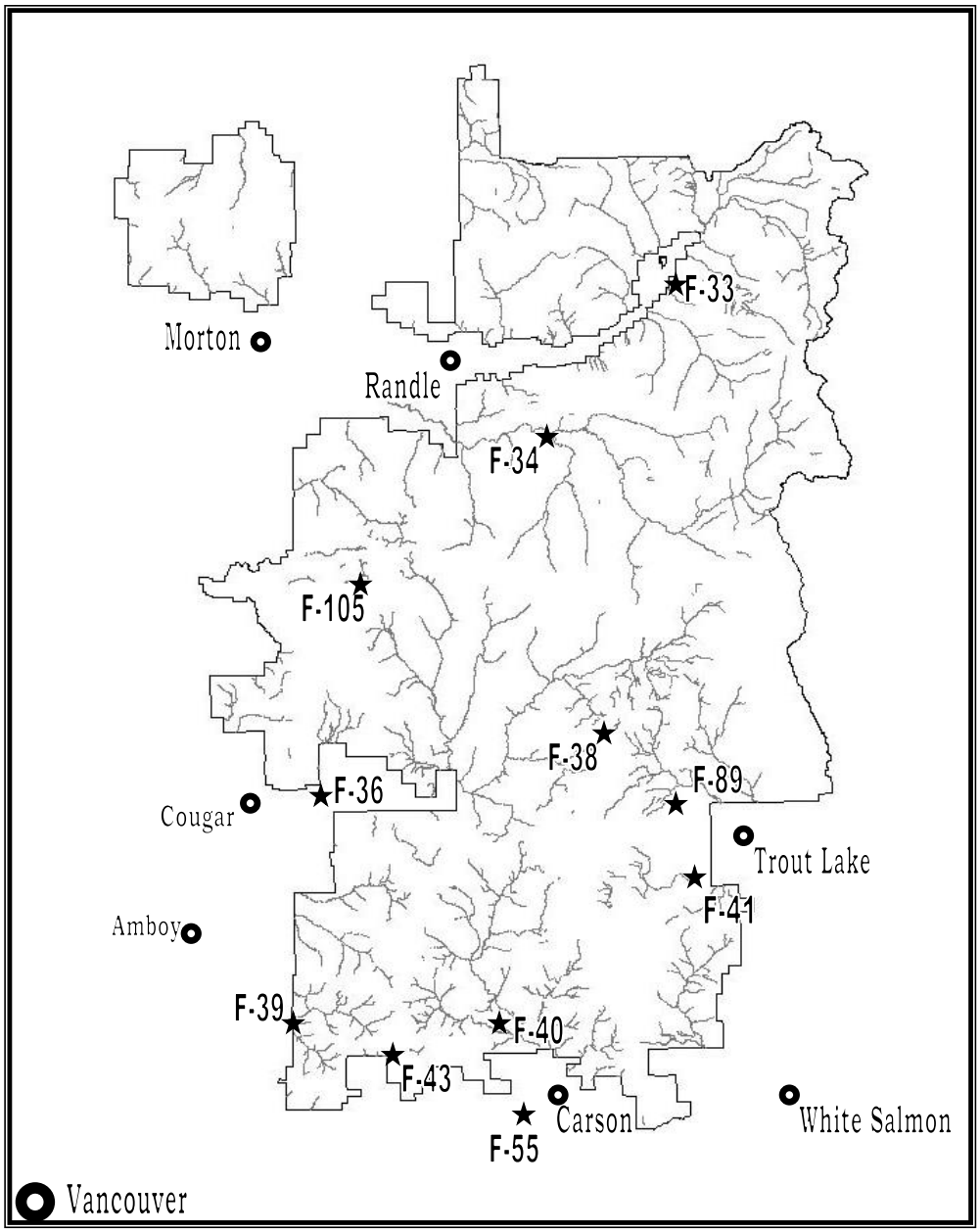
The Columbia National Forest would host the Army and boys of the Civilian Conservation Corps from 1933-1941.The Army broke down the administration of the CCC among the nine Corps areas that the Army used to administer their resources for the defense of the country. The CCC Corps HQ was located with the Army Corps HQ and for the 9th Corps the HQ was located at Ft. Lewis, south of Tacoma. The Corps were broken down further into districts with a military installation as district headquarters. Within the 9th Corps there were 14 districts with the Ft Lewis district and Vancouver district administering the CCC camps on the Columbia National Forest.

This thesis provides context for the CCC in the political and cultural setting of the time. Other works acknowledge the difficult economic times but do not address the political motivation for providing a relief program for male youth. Economic depression had happened before but never as long and never requiring, in the United States, a national program that for the first time included male youth as part of the relief. Other works also fail to acknowledge the variation present at the Corps and lower levels and the flexibility built into the administrative structure of the agency.

[6] For the Greatest Good: McClure and Mack 1999, 2, 60. USDA Forest Service, http://www.fs.usda.gov/Internet/FSE_DOCUMENTS/fsbdev3_004813.pdf (accessed: March 1, 2013).

Chapter one of this thesis will explore youth in the United States and how youth's changing place in society created challenges that created the context for the need for the CCC. Chapter two will look at the CCC and how the regional narrative conforms to the national narrative. Combining the oral histories from former enrollees and Forest Service personnel from all the camps located on the Columbia National Forest along with Forest Service, War Department and CCC records reveals a broader experience in one forest that demonstrates the flexibility alongside the possible conformity within the CCC.

Chapter three of the thesis will look at the physical structures of the camps, and compares camps from two different districts within the Columbia National Forest in order to examine what factors may have been responsible for variation and conformity within the same Corps. The discussion in chapter three leads to a consideration of the archaeology of the CCC on the Gifford Pinchot National Forest as another potential source of information for the examination of variation between camps. By comparing the Gifford Pinchot National Forest collections and other studies of CCC archaeology the information potential of the archaeological record can be further evaluated in the hopes of highlighting areas for further exploration.



Camp Number	Camp
F-33 (NP-7)	Packwood
F-34	Lower Cispus
F-36	Lewis River-Peterson
F-38	Twin Buttes
F-39	Sunset Falls
F-40	Hemlock
F-41	Peterson
F-43	Lookout Mountain
F-89	Smoky Creek
F-105	Spirit Lake

Figure 2. Map of the Gifford Pinchot National Forest showing location of camps and surrounding towns. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

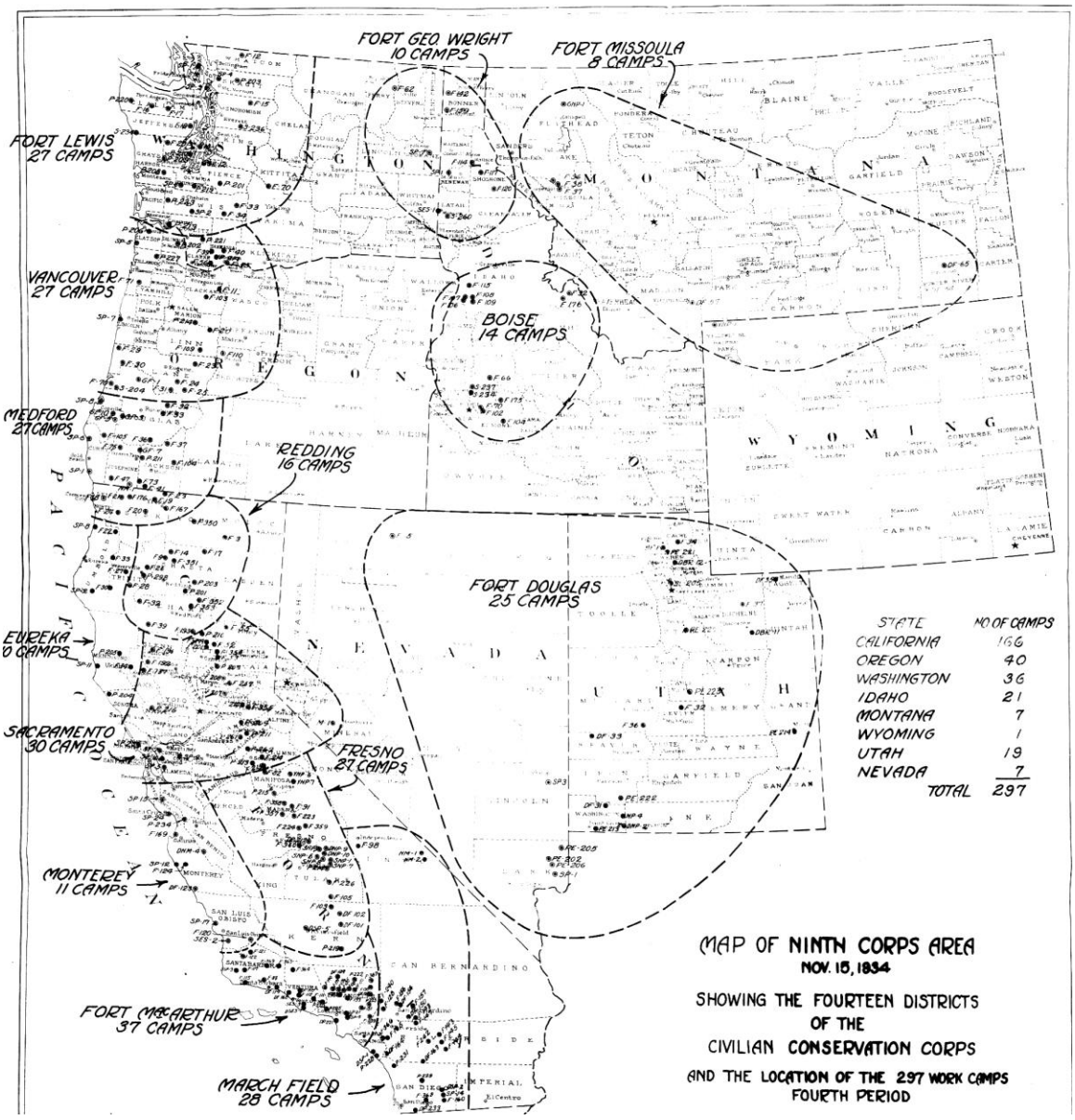


Figure 3. Map of Ninth Corps Area 1934. Courtesy of Naitonal Archives and Records Administration.

Chapter 1: The Youth Problem and the Origins of the CCC

As the depression worsened, though President Hoover refused to allocate money for relief of individual citizens, despite the state and local governments' diminishing capabilities to provide such relief, he did allocate money to private businesses and banks to help spur growth. Even though the federal stimulus money given to the various industrialists and bankers never produced any real recovery, Hoover continued to promote stimulus for the top through the four years of his presidency. With no tangible recovery, people sought change and at the next election elected Franklin Delano Roosevelt.[7]

The onset of the Great Depression and Hoover's policies increased the popularity of alternatives to capitalism. Labor groups had already begun to organize around socialist ideals in the nineteenth century in response to horrific working conditions created by industrial capitalism. By the twenties, Communism, Socialism and Fascism found supporters in western countries as the promises of capitalist democracies could not be met, and high long-term unemployment became endemic across Europe and then the United States.[8]

While the Depression was difficult for everyone affected by symptoms of the collapse, children had a harder time since they were also caught in the middle of a transition in societal thinking about the place and role of children. New child labor laws, mandated education, and the

[7] Thomas B. Allen and Paul Dickson, The Bonus Army: An American Epic (New York:Walker and Company, 2006), 51, 208-209.

[8] Dewing, 80-81, 83-84. Allen, 44-45, 49, 52-53, 204-205, 217; Reivo, W.N., "The Finnish Socialists in America," *The March of Socialism, 1928-1932: Journal of the Seventeenth National Convention, Socialist Party, Milwauikee, Wis., May 20-24, 1932* (Chicago: Socialist Party of America, 1932), 1-2; Should the American Workers Form a Political Party of their Own? A Debate. Published as a pamphlet by Rand School of Social Science (New York: 1932). "Notes on the United Front Problem," *The American Socialist Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 3 (May 1936): pp 7-11.

lack of relief aid all led to a mixed message as to a child's place and importance in American culture and society. The high level of unemployed and transient youth and the possibility of the children becoming more politically active was known as the "youth problem." Roosevelt recognized the tragedy of the "youth problem" and sought to make sure that the children of the depression would not become a lost generation which would cripple any recovery of the country in the future.[9]

The problem of youth was not uniform across the country, as demographics varied depending on urban, rural and regional locations. By 1933, there were 250,000 to 300,000 youth transients moving around the United States. Some took the road looking for adventure after reading Jack London stories of riding the rails in the early twenties, but most were pushed from their homes in the hopes that they could have a better chance of providing for themselves than their parents could. Some children left to not be a burden on their families, and many, some as young as thirteen, left because their father threw them out of their homes. With little prospects of a job, many rural youth began to move to urban areas to find work or rode the rails in an endless round of seasonal work.[10]

The financial burden of children during the Depression increased for poorer families, child labor laws restricted the ability of children to help support the family and compulsory education laws with the expansion of the public school system added expenses. This meant that a child who might have otherwise helped to support the family in hard times became wholly dependent on their parents who, because of the depression, might only be partially employed or

[9] Homer P. Rainey, "What Is the American Youth Problem," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp 18-24

[10] Sealander, 152, 156;Uys, 11.

unemployed. In many cases, compulsory school created an additional burden since families had to provide school supplies and purchase school books for their children.[11]

The compulsory education laws came about during an expansion of the public education system at the beginning of the twentieth century. The expansion of public education created a struggle for the direction and make-up of the educational institutions and curriculum. For public education, two different ideas vied for the direction of education; one side advocated educational equality and the other advocated for a two-tier system of academic and vocational education.

Education equality produced an overabundance of educated children graduating high school to enter the workforce as white collar workers, only to find not enough positions available. Furthermore, their lack of vocational skills disqualified them from many skilled labor positions leaving only unskilled manual labor as an option.[12] Further barriers existed for children seeking jobs, such as industry preference for older workers, trade unions' minimum age of 21 and competition with adults for the few jobs available.[13]

The location of many of the jobs compounded the difficulties of finding a job. The majority of youth resided in rural areas, but the Depression had spurred an increased mechanization and loss of farms, eliminating jobs which young rural people had often filled.[14] Urban areas could not handle an increase in the unemployed, as urban resources to aid the

[11] Newton Edwards, Youth as a Population Element, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp 6-17; Williams, Aubrey. The Government's Responsibility for Youth, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp. 119-128. Rainey, 18-24.

[12] Sealander, 197, 203, 205-207.

[13] Ordway Tead, "Youth and the Labor Unions," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp 42-47.

[14] At this time much of the population was located from the Midwest to the East coast. The West had an abundance of rural seasonal farm jobs but a labor shortage. Because the work was not year-round many people began to ride the rails around the west working on various farms to try and create full time employment since different crops required different work at different times of the year. While this provided full time employment, it was not stable and the wages provided only a subsistence lifestyle; Uys, 38-39.

unemployed became stretched and Hoovervilles grew on the edges of cities. Groups advocating for a change in the economy and politics concentrated in urban centers. Politically active groups attempted to organize the unemployed around the promise of new political theories to deliver relief. At the turn of the twentieth century, new political ideas were vying with each other for control over western nation states. Anarchists, Communists, Socialists and Fascists fought the established monarchies and democracies for power to effect socio-economic change. The United States government took notice of previous and current unrest in Europe. The War Department elt the possibility of unrest in the United States real enough to take measures to assess any possible threats, thus creating contingency plans to deal with possible radical uprisings, even before the Great Depression.[15]

The U.S. Army would take the tactics used by the Fascists against the Communists in Germany, known as Landesjaeger, and use them in the 1920s for the creation of plans to put down civil unrest within the United States. The first test of the new plans took place against veterans who marched on Washington DC demanding payment of a bonus. Because General Douglas MacArthur's believed the Bonus Army a veiled communist threat, General MacArthur authorized the use of soldiers with fixed bayonets and tear gas, backed by tanks to push any organized group out of Washington D.C.[16]

The United States government felt that it needed to have information to assess possible threats posed by perceived radical groups and the responsibility for domestic spying fell to the War Department. The military intelligence division split the country into nine corps areas, the

[15] W. Thacher Winslow, "International Aspects of Modern Youth ProbLEM," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp. 165-173; Knebel, A.G. "Leadership for Modern Youth," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp. 174-180; Sealander, 152, 156; Uys, 11-13, 22, 28-29, 52-53.
[16] Allen, 44-45, 54-55.

same corps areas used for the administration of the CCC, to secretly collect intelligence on radical elements within the United States. The Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) went as far as breaking into the Communist Party headquarters in New York City to gather information and frame a rival group for the break-in to cause fighting between groups. The ONI also broke into the Democratic Party headquarters to see what information they had against President Hoover.[17]

In addition to seeking out possible threats, some within the federal government created bogymen, which only increased the concerns felt by those in leadership positions. One of the worst examples of crying wolf would be J. Edgar Hoover who had started his career in 1919 as the head of the Enemy Aliens Registration Section of the Justice Department. He became head of the Bureau of Investigation (BI) in 1924, which was the precursor of the FBI, which J. Edgar Hoover helped to create in 1935. As head of the BI, J. Edgar Hoover constantly produced reports about large groups planning radical activities within the United States. In 1933, he reported possible uprisings from the communist Purple Shirts, Mystic Multitudes and a force of 330,000 from the Oppressed People of the Nation. The most outrageous report included an unknown group numbering 473,000 trained men with 116 airplanes and 123 machine guns ready to take action. None of J. Edgar Hoover's reports ever came true.[18]

Newspapers also aided in hyping the red threat, one example being the labeling of the race riots of 1919 as the Red Race Riots. Linking legitimate issues to communist activity became

[17] Allen, 74-75.
[18] Allen, 210-211. Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/award98/ichihtml/hayhome.html (accessed: February 27, 2013); Hard Core History, "(BLITZ) Radical Thoughts ," show 40 (originally published Oct. 12, 2011), 51:00, 55:32, 55:44, 56:40.

common.[19] The focus on Communism and Socialism by association was disproportionate and hampered legitimate democratic movements during an economically difficult period.

The focus of the government had been on Communism but fascist activities in the United States increased more significantly during the twenties at the same time as fascist parties took control, first in Italy in 1922, then Germany in 1933 and later Spain.[20] Roosevelt's election increased fascist organization, but groups had started organizing during Hoover's presidency. After Hoover's and General MacArthur's attack and dispersal of the Bonus Army, Walter W. Waters the organizer of the Bonus March formed the fascist Khaki Shirts. In June of 1933, the Khaki shirts and communist party members clashed in the streets of Philadelphia similar to communist and fascist clashes in German prior to the Nazi takeover.[21]

Fascism was not socially unacceptable like Communism, and some established national organizations supported fascist philosophies. The American Legion support of fascism at the time was not a secret as Alvin Owsley Commander-in-Chief of the American Legion, made clear in his speech at the 1934 national conference:

> If ever needed, the American Legion stands ready to protect our country's institutions and ideals as the Fascist dealt with the destructionists who menaced Italy…The American Legion is fighting every element that threatens our democratic government-Soviets, Anarchists, I.W.W., revolutionary socialists and every other Red…Do not forget that the Fascist are to Italy what the American Legion is to the United States.[22]

[19] University of Washington, http://depts.washington.edu/labhist/cpproject/ (accessed: October 15, 2012).
[20] William Brustein, "The "Red Menace" and the Rise of Italian Fascism," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 56, no. 5 (Oct., 1991): pp. 652-664; Steiner, H. Arthur. "Fascism in America?," *The American Political Science Review,* Vol. 29, No. 5 (Oct., 1935): pp. 821-830; Shenton, James P. "Fascism and Father Coughlin," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History,* Vol. 44, No. 1 (Autumn, 1960): pp. 6-11; Katie L. Delacenserie, "Wall Street's Search for a Man on a White Horse: The Plot to Overthrow Franklin Delano Roosevelt" (For Presentation to History 489, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, 2008), 9.
[21] Allen, 83, 204-205, 216.
[22] Delacenserie, 29.

Youth during and before the Great Depression had started to take more of a role in politics. With increased youth participation, possible disenfranchisement with the status quo and growing support for alternative political ideas could have created a destabilizing presence, as seen in Russia, Germany and Italy.[23]

In the November 1937 journal, *Annals of Political and Social Science,* the journal's focus was on American youth and the Great Depression. The articles discussed unemployment, domestic work programs, international work programs and education and population issues. Many of the articles hint at or explicitly mention the threat of youth adopting "Isms," as one article phrased the perceived problem.[24] Many called for the guidance of youth since unemployed youth moving to urban areas to find work would have become exposed to alternative ideas found in the working class immigrant communities.[25]

With the United States entrance into World War I, anything challenging capitalist democracy became extremely unpopular, and the youth societies that adhered to communist or socialist ideals had to change to keep from being banned.[26] After World War I, youth organizations focused on international discussions, the League of Nations, World Court and the discussion of peace and avoidance of war. It was not until the Great Depression that alternative ideas to democracy and capitalism came forward again.[27]

---

[23] Heinz Sunker and Hans-Uwe Otto ed., Education and Fascism: Political Identity and Social Education in Nazi Germany (Washington DC: Falmer Press, 1997), 36-54; Brustein, 652-664.
[24] Knebel, 180.
[25] Franklin Spencer Edmonds, "Youth in Politics," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp. 67-72; Rainey, 21-22.
[26] Max Horn, The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 1905-1921: Origins of the Modern American Student Movement (Boulder: Westview Press, 1979), 182-184, 196-198, 220-224, 244.
[27] Thomas F. Neblett, "Youth Movements in the United States," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp. 141-151.

Other countries dealt with the same economic hardships as the United States and had to contend with the probLEM created by the large numbers of disenfranchised youth. European countries felt the effects of the Depression and attempted to fix the problem and take measures to mitigate possible unrest. Some of the mitigation methods, such as creating youth labor camps similar to the CCC, had been proposed in Europe prior to the Great Depression in response to other perceived youth issues.[28]

European countries had debated whether to implement a youth labor system starting at the end of the nineteenth century. Prior to World War I, few proposals went beyond academic debate, except in the case of Bulgaria which implemented a youth labor program during that time period. Some private individuals that advocated for national programs did create small private endeavors that often revolved around international understanding and peace when the governments seemed unlikely to institute their own programs. After World War I, the peace camps became more popular as youth tried to reconcile the devastation of war and the failure of society to prevent the atrocities. By this time, America's involvement in the war led to youth work groups organizing in the United States based on European examples.[29]

With the Great Depression the public in Germany began to see the lack of the traditional youth labor service or military service as part of the unemployment and economic problem. In Germany prior to WWI, compulsory labor systems existed to support the military and indoctrinate youth into a culture of militarized national service. The Treaty of Versailles forbid

[28] Kenneth Holland, Youth in European Labor Camps, American Council on Education (Washington, D.C.: 1939), 2-9; Hartmut Heyck, "Labour in the Weimar Republic and Their Idological Godparents," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Apr., 2003): pp. 221-236; Kenneth Holland, "The European Labor Service," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp.152-164; W. Thacher Winslow, "International Aspects of Modern Youth ProbLEM," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp. 165-173.

[29] Holland, Youth in European Labor Camps, 4-7.

militarized work camps after the war and no need for, nor broad social pressure for an alternative national youth labor system existed.[30] Germans felt that military service and youth labor programs had been a traditional source to soak up excess youth from the labor market.

The same line of thinking could be found in the United States, but instead of the lack of community service the blame for the perceived corruption of youth fell on the loss of the frontier based on Fredrick Jackson Turner's 1890 frontier thesis. Many Americans felt that youth no longer had any place to go to help themselves because youth could not go into the wilderness to escape the corrupting effects of the city. In the United States a replacement for the frontier needed to be provided to solve the youth problem.[31] This line of thinking totally ignored that the majority of unemployed youth were located in rural areas.[32]

The treatment of women during the Depression took the form of benign neglect but two million women found themselves unemployed by 1932.[33] The New Deal created some programs open to women who did not have a male head of household and provided the only source of income for their family, but while 142,000 women received aid in 1934, nine times the number of men received aid in the same year.[34] Planners never considered unmarried young women for relief, since they assumed the benefits for male relief should have taken care of most of the women.

---

[30] Heyck, 223, 226.
[31] Heyck, 223, 227-228, 236.
[32] John A. Salmond, the CCC 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967), 108; Bruce L. Melvin, "The Special ProbLEM of Rural Youth," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp. 25-33.
[33] Diane Balsar, Sisterhood and Solidarity: Feminism and Labor in Modern Times (Cambridge: Southend Press, 1999), 155-156.
[34] Joyce L. Kornbluh, Mary Fredrickson. Sisterhood and Solidarity (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 255-256.

From the start of the CCC, the National Women's Trade Union League advocated for a parallel organization for young women. Within the Roosevelt administration Eleanor Roosevelt tried to give a voice to women's issues and personally advocated for a woman's CCC. Unlike the CCC, the women's program, given the mocking nickname "She She She," had to be completely civilian-run, modeled on Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) residential camps, providing young women a chance to learn industrial skills.[35] The administration dragged its feet for two years, giving excuses such as lack of funding and the fear of discipline probLEM with groups of women living together in camps. It did not approve and provide necessary funding until 1934. The program would fall under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), directed by Harry Hopkins and not be independent like the CCC. The "She She She" would be very different from the CCC with only one hundred camps created. The "She She She" also required that the facilities used for the camps be donated, and the women would be restricted to the facility, with all work and education to take place on site. The enrollment period would be considerably shorter than for the CCC enrollees; the women enrollees were only allowed to stay for six to eight weeks. They received a small stipend and the enrollees administered the camp through popular vote.[36]

Unlike the CCC, the "She She She" designated education, not work as the top priority. Unfortunately, the first enrollees overwhelmed the program since young women could find no other aid at the time; relief agencies then sent the most desperate young women to the camps. The program could not meet the goal of education or work since the enrollees suffered from malnourishment and mental health probLEM. The girls also lacked the maturity or workplace

[35] Kornbluh, 257.
[36] Balsar, 255.

experience for the proposed worker education. When the program transferred to the National Youth Administration (NYA), the women enrollees and camp administrators began to see the program as an escape or break from the harsh conditions the women lived in. With the shift in administration to the NYA, the focus shifted from vocational education to civics and discussions of current events and community.[37]

The lack of support meant the program did not have consistency between camps, and the program could not weather attacks like the CCC could with the massive amount of materials produced to educate the public and address any opposition. Education often focused on domestic skills perpetuating the view of women not as workers but dependent on men, only a few camps actually offered practical skills such as job interview tips, application writing, job counseling and follow-up job placement. With little to no public education of the program, public groups and communities around camps began to attack the program. After the National Women's Trade Union League pushed to create the program, they then took a lead role in administration of the program. Their emphasis on civic education, accepting socialists as camp administrators and the singing of labor songs during recreational time led to accusations from surrounding communities and the American Legion of promoting communism. The administration did not have time to deal with a program that they did not support, and the program only lasted three years.

Because the "She She She" made the suffering of young women apparent to administration officials the NYA expanded to include more women to help pick up those women that would have participated in the "She She She". The NYA dropped the self-government model, cooperative management, personal guidance and worker's education that raised so many

[37] Balsar, 264, 272.

complaints. The “She She She” failed as a job training and placement program but like the CCC, the program did succeed in feeding the young women, all of them gaining weight and according to interviews from the time increased their self-esteem and gave them a better outlook on life. The program also brought women with the same probLEM together, allowing them to learn to work together and live with other people.[38]

The CCC, unlike the She She She, had success almost from the beginning because of the supported the CCC received and because of how the agency had been organized and operated.

[38] Kornbluh, 259. 261-264, 266-267, 270, 272, 279.

Chapter 2: Putting Young Men to Work

The Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) Act, approved on March 31, 1933, initially enrolled male youths age 18-25, on relief and physically fit. The ECW was more popularly known as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and in 1937 officially changed from the ECW to the CCC. The CCC had two mandates: to provide relief and to conduct conservation work. In addition to young males during the initial organization of the agency two other groups received authorization to enroll. On April 14, 1933, the agency added 14,400 Indians as their own branch, under the Department of the Interior. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) managed the program called Indian Emergency Conservation Work and later, the Civilian Conservation Corps Indian Division (CCC-ID).[39] The threat of another veterans' march on Washington DC, similar to the Bonus Army marches under Hoover, compelled the agency to add veterans in May of 1933.[40] Robert Fechner became the director of the CCC and coordinated the four departments that oversaw different aspects of the CCC.

The War Department trained, clothed, fed and housed all CCC enrollees, while also dispensing pay. The Department of Agriculture identified and supervised projects in the national forests. The Department of the Interior had the same responsibilities for national parks, monuments, and Bureau of Indian Affairs land; state agencies oversaw projects at their level. The Department of Labor administered the selection of enrollees and used state relief agencies to make the selection of candidates instead of creating a duplicate agency from scratch. The Bureau of Education would fall under the War Department's control.[41]

[39] Report of the Director, 3; Salmond, 33, 36.
[40] Allen, 216.
[41] United States Department of Labor Office of the Secretary Washington National Emergency Conservation Work What It is-How it Operates, *Emergency Conservation Work*, Bulleton No.2 (Washington DC: 1933), 1-12; Perry

Speed in implementing the program had been necessary since the ECW Act only lasted for six months before Congress would have to vote to extend funding, making the future of the program uncertain.[42] Relief agencies would have to identify 250,000 enrollees, provide medical examinations and transport the qualified candidates to military installations for initial inprocessing and physical conditioning. While at the conditioning camp the enrollees were formed into companies to be sent to projects identified by land management agencies and approved by the state and CCC administration.

The structure of the CCC made the agency unique among all the New Deal programs since the agency would consist of existing departments which maintained independence with the CCC director's office acting as a coordinator. Other New Deal programs would be created from the ground up under management agencies created under the New Deal. The flexibility and existing knowledge and resources that came with the organization of the CCC probably helped with the long term success compared to other New Deal programs.

Supervision

The burden of implementing the CCC program fell upon the Army in the beginning as the Army had the most responsibilities. In order to establish the camps, the Army first relied upon their existing assets. Tents, clothing and camp supplies all would come from WWI surplus held in storage at the different military posts. The use of surplus equipment by the Army allowed for the rapid enrollment, equipping and deployment of enrollees, along with the outfitting of camps, but a more permanent supply system would need to be created in order to supply the next group of enrollees to enlist after the first six months. Because the CCC was a civilian operation and

---

H. Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942* (Montpelier: Perry H. Merrill, 1981), 197-200; Salmond, 33-37

[42] Report of the Director, 23, 47-48; Salmond, 38-40,

funded separately from the military, the new contracts would not be a part of the established quartermaster contracts.[43]

Because the Pacific Northwest lacked the large urban centers of the East Coast, and most of the work would take place in remote rural areas, many of the first enrollees to work in the region came from places like Chicago, New York and the South. Later periods would see more local boys participating in the CCC, as word of the program spread into local communities.[44]

Typically, the local relief office would choose enrollees from the already-registered families, or a prospective enrollee would approach a relief officer and after a medical exam, would be sent to a conditioning camp on a military base and then to the work camps.[45] The remoteness that had initially hampered enrolling local boys in the first six months seems to have created a situation, at least on the Columbia National Forest, where enrollees could go straight to the work camps after being identified by relief agencies. The camps could perform the medical checks and supply the enrollee with his initial issue. The ability of camps to outfit local boys with their initial issue without requiring them to travel to Vancouver Barracks or Fort Lewis probably allowed more local boys without means to participate and relieved the local relief offices from having to expend resources to transport new enrollees.[46]

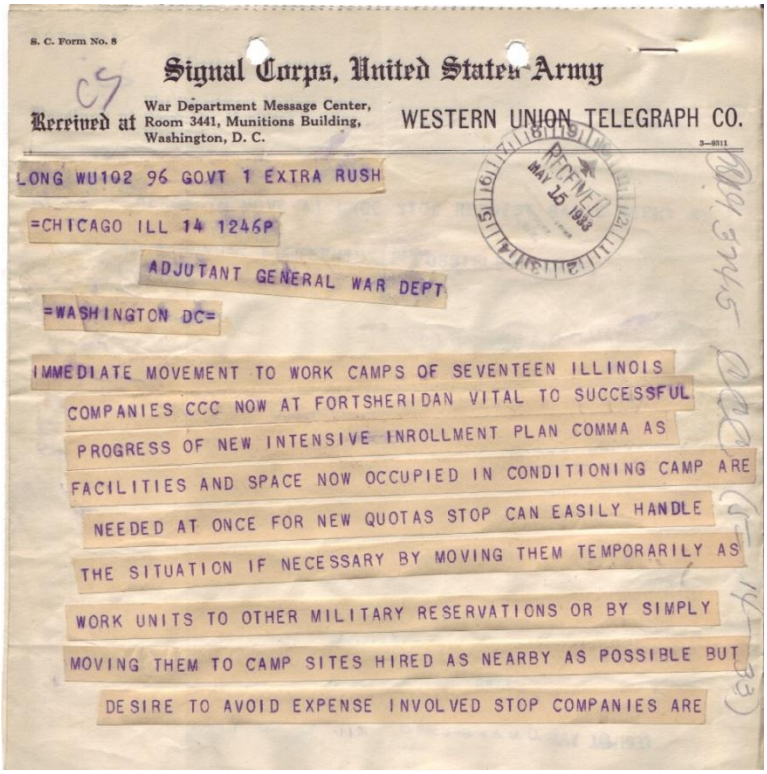
---

[43] The continued presence of the USQMC mark on china after 1933 could indicate that the CCC china orders required the full production capabilities of the china manufacturers so that plants that normally would have produced china for the hotel industry produced china for the CCC in addition to the normal USQMC production. A further investigation of company records might help show the economic benefits of the CCC for the hotel china industry at the time and help to show the wide economic effects of the CCC throughout the nation. Charles William Johnson, The Civilian Conservation Corps: The Role of the Army (unpublished dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1968), 41-43.

[44] The Columbian, "450 Forest Men from Mid-west Arrive at Post" May 22, 1933.

[45] Salmond, 33-35, 45; Johnson, 6-9, 12.

[46] Charles Price Harper, The Administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps (Clarksburg, West Virginia: Clarksburg Publishing Company, 1939), 36; Orie Hisel, interview by Rachel Lamson, Gifford Pinchot National Forest Headquarters in Vancouver, Washington, May 22, 2002.



S. C. Form No. 8

Signal Corps, United States Army

Received at War Department Message Center, Room 3441, Munitions Building, Washington, D. C.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO.

RECEIVED MAY 15 1933

LONG WU102 96 GOVT 1 EXTRA RUSH

=CHICAGO ILL 14 1246P

ADJUTANT GENERAL WAR DEPT

=WASHINGTON DC=

IMMEDIATE MOVEMENT TO WORK CAMPS OF SEVENTEEN ILLINOIS COMPANIES CCC NOW AT FORTSHERIDAN VITAL TO SUCCESSFUL PROGRESS OF NEW INTENSIVE INROLLMENT PLAN COMMA AS FACILITIES AND SPACE NOW OCCUPIED IN CONDITIONING CAMP ARE NEEDED AT ONCE FOR NEW QUOTAS STOP CAN EASILY HANDLE THE SITUATION IF NECESSARY BY MOVING THEM TEMPORARILY AS WORK UNITS TO OTHER MILITARY RESERVATIONS OR BY SIMPLY MOVING THEM TO CAMP SITES HIRED AS NEARBY AS POSSIBLE BUT DESIRE TO AVOID EXPENSE INVOLVED STOP COMPANIES ARE

Figure 4. Radiogram from Fort Sheridan to Adjutant General, May 15, 1933 regarding deployment of CCC companies from Chicago.[47]

The Forest Service in the Pacific Northwest and Army had worked together on forest work projects prior to the creation of the CCC. During World War I, shortages of spruce for the manufacture of aircraft for the war, as a result of corporate greed and worker disruption of production prompted the creation of a special military division. World War I was the first war to rely on aircraft, and the spruce logged from forests in the Pacific Northwest played an essential role in the construction of airplane frames of the time. Many of the loggers in the Pacific Northwest at that time belonged to the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) union. The lumber companies had kept production levels artificially low, to keep the prices high but when the IWW went on strike all spruce production stopped. Both parties had created a resource crisis

[47] Fort Sheridan to Adjutant General War Department, Telegram, National Archives and Records Administration.

but the IWW became the scapegoat. To meet spruce needs, a special division of the Army called the Spruce Division took over logging to break the strike, built and worked in new mills to meet production output needs. The Army established logging camps in the coastal forests and built the first system of roads for hauling the timber to rail lines to transport the spruce to the Spruce Division mills.[48]

The Columbia National Forest never housed soldiers from the Spruce Division since private land supplied the spruce for the mill at Vancouver Barracks, but other forests in the region did host large numbers of soldiers. The Olympic National Forest had soldiers stationed around the edges of the forest, building railroads and camps and felling spruce for the private mills in the area. The Forest Service worked with the Army to help identify resources and direct logging operations in the forest. The Forest Service and the Army played similar roles during the CCC era, except the Forest Service would take on a much larger role in implementing and designing work projects.[49]

The camps established by the Spruce Division were like the standard CCC main camp that utilized tents instead of wooden barracks. Pyramid tents over wood frames with Sibley stoves in neat rows could be found in both CCC and Spruce Division camps. Soldiers and later

[48] University of Washington, Seattle General Strike Project Northwest Labor and Civil Rights Project University of Washington, http://depts.washington.edu/labhist/strike/mickelson.shtml (accessed: May 22, 2012); Gerald W. Williams, "The Spruce Production Division," *Forest History Today* (Spring 1999): 2-10; Forks Washington, Olympic Peninsula, Spruce Production Division Railroad No. 1, http://www.craigmagnuson.com/spdrr01.htm (accessed: May 22, 2012); Fort Vancouver Cultural Survey Report, IV. Fort Vancouver: Vancouver Barracks, 1861-1918, Spruce Division. http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/fova/clr/clr2-4a.htm (accessed: May 22, 2012).

[49] Williams, 4, 7.

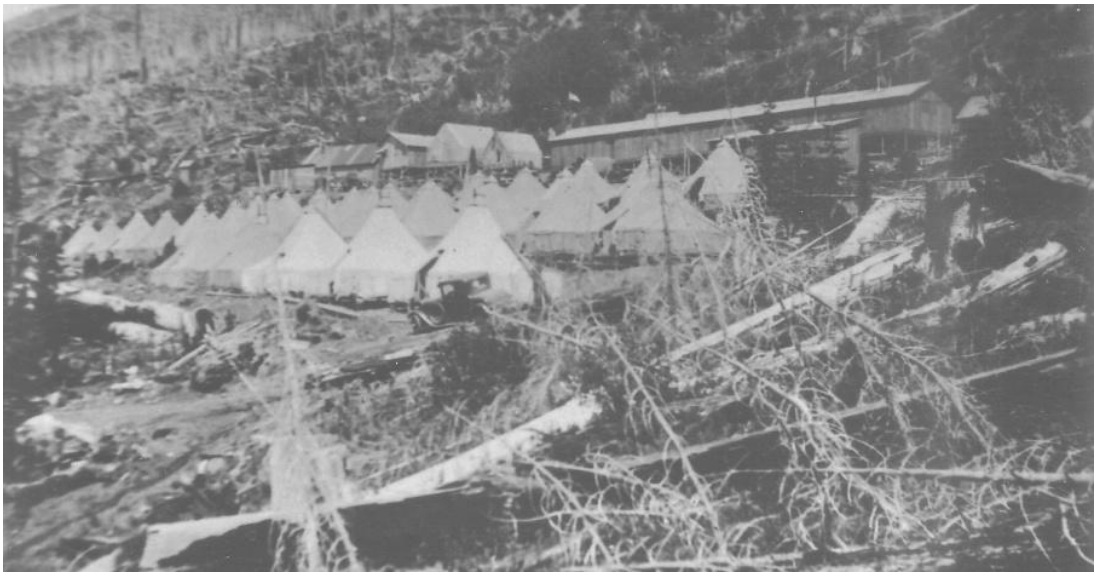


Figure 5. CCC Camp Lookout Mountain Columbia National Forest. Courtesy of the Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program

Figure 6. Spruce Squadron Camp Near Lake Pleasant. Courtesy of the Olympic National Forest Heritage Program.

the initial CCC enrollees wore the same uniforms. The work performed by the soldiers of the Spruce Division was similar to the work performed by the CCC enrollees, although considerably more limited in scope, and none of it to benefit the nation in a lasting way. The ages of the soldiers would have been similar to the boys in the CCC and like the CCC enrollees, the soldiers in more remote areas took part in social activities in the communities they worked near.

While the camp commanders for the CCC and even the district staff might not have been old enough or in the military long enough to have had experience with the Spruce Division, those at the higher levels would have known about, if not actively participated in it. The local communities in the Pacific Northwest would have also remembered the last time a group of young men under the military went to work in the woods, and the first camps established by the CCC would not have been unfamiliar to them.

Figure 7. July 4, 1918, Celebrations in Quinault, Washington with Spruce Squadron in Attendance. Courtesy of Olympic National Forest Heritage Program.

The Forest Service had originally opposed the inclusion of the Army in the administration of the CCC, as the agency felt it could handle the logistics of establishing the program in the National Forests. However, the enormity of the project quickly overwhelmed the Forest Service, and the War Department took over the logistics of training, equipping, transporting, housing and feeding the 250,000 enrollees called for in the initial enrollment.[50]

The War Department did not go into this project without preparation for a task of this scope. Prior to Roosevelt and the creation of the CCC, some politicians in Washington, DC had floated the idea of using the Army to aid in large scale relief efforts. Senator James Couzen in 1933 submitted a bill calling for the Army to administer a work relief program on military bases. The bill failed, but because of Senator Couzen's bill, the Army decided to create a contingency plan that could be implemented in case they were to be called on in the future to mobilize, house and feed a civilian relief work force.[51]

Misunderstandings of how the CCC worked and what role the military played during the first year caused apprehension about the purpose of the CCC. Opposition to it during Congressional hearings revolved around the American Federation of Labor's (AFL) concern over job stealing and wage under-cutting and worries that the CCC camps could become paramilitary training camps.[52] The last large military-run program in the woods, the Spruce Division, did steal jobs and under-cut wages. Because the CCC demonstrated that the work performed by enrollees did not infringe on union labor, AFL opposition ended soon after the initiation of the CCC.[53]

Although there were concerns over paramilitary training in camps, the Army had no wish to take on the responsibility of the CCC for any longer than they had to. The Army saw the CCC

[50] Johnson, 8-9, 91-94.
[51] Salmond, 9; Harper, 83; Johnson, 4-5.
[52] Salmond, 11, 27-29, 114-115.
[53] Salmond, 11, 27-29, 47; Maher, Neil M., Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 79-80.

as a drain on their resources and a possible morale killing duty for the officers and enlisted men. Initially, the Army filled camp staff positions from the active Army ranks with a few reserve officers called up as needed. However, not all areas of the United States had sufficient numbers of military personnel, and many units did not operate at full strength due to budget constraints.[54]

The War Department had to quickly fill the positions of camp commander, executive officer, supply sergeant, mess sergeant and company clerk for each of the CCC camps. The number of active duty personnel needed raised objections as the War Department's role increased because military leaders felt that the administration of the program would hinder their first mission, the defense of the nation. The Army also felt that there could be issues with enlisted men working in CCC camps, as CCC enrollees made more per month, on paper, possibly lowering the morale of the enlisted man. These worries turned out to be unfounded, as the Army found CCC duty to be enjoyable, although leadership styles of the enlisted men did not always fit well with the civilian nature of the CCC.[55]

For the first initially authorized six-month rotation, the organization worked, but it became clear that if the program ran longer changes to camp management needed to take place. The first change involved replacing the Non-Commissioned Officers (NCO) with civilians or enrollee leaders. Enrollees replaced the enlisted men's positions, except the position of mess sergeant, which needed a civilian with experience. Often, the civilian mess sergeant had been a military mess sergeant before being hired under the CCC. Reserve officers replaced the active duty officers and received the nickname "Depression soldiers" by Forest Service employees since many only joined to bring in a little more money during the Depression.[56]

---

[54] Johnson, 6-7, 9-10.
[55] Johnson, 10-14; Harper, 42-44; Salmond, 84-86
[56] Don Fechner, interviewed by Arend Hall and Rick McClure, Hodgson-Lindberg Training Center, near Carson, Washington, May/June 2002; Johnson, 16-18.

The initial War Department opposition to managing so much of the CCC operations changed as the active duty soldiers and officers had the burden of administration removed, and the Army began to see benefits from its involvement. The CCC work on military bases allowed for the reduction in back-logged maintenance, and the transfer of surplus equipment to the CCC allowed the War Department to acquire newer items in better repair with the money used to compensate for the use of the surplus supplies. The Army saw the biggest benefit from the training the CCC provided for reserve officers who otherwise would have no practical leadership experience. To maximize the perceived benefit of training, the Army proposed rotating more reserve officers into command positions, but Fechner and the currently employed reserve officers opposed this change. Fechner worried that officers unfamiliar with the CCC rotating in all at once would hurt morale and could negatively affect the smooth operation of the agency. The reserve officers saw the command position as their job and opposed replacment. The officers even proposed to form a union to protect their jobs with the CCC. The Army and Roosevelt, always worrying about the CCC public image decided against pushing the issue and backed off on the camp command rotations.[57]

For camps of fifty or more enrollees the military administered the camp no differently than the main camps. If the side camp fell below fifty enrollees then the Army separated themselves from the administration of the camp and put the responsibility of ensuring supply and discipline on the Forest Service. The side camps made sense to the Army as seasonal movement to higher elevation during the summer took the enrollees too far from camp to justify daily transport back and forth from the work sites but the Army resisted the Forest Service's request for the creation of spike camps. The Army felt that the division of enrollees into such small and possibly numerous groups would be difficult to properly administer. The Army lost the fight to

[57] Salmond, 84-86; Johnson, 18, 59-60, 63-69, 72-80, 200.

not have spike camps but made sure that they would not be responsibile for the care and welfare of the enrollees in the smaller camps.[58] The Army had influence over the enrollees in the main camps and in some of the larger side camps, but that influence became less noticeable or disappeared in the numerous small side camps. The Forest Service supervisors already had a large influence on enrollees during working hours, as they provided on-the-job training and mentorship to young men with little to no skills.[59] When the CCC began, the Forest Service did not have enough people with required skills to supervise all of the proposed projects. To solve the problem, the Forest Service, through the CCC, could hire Local Experienced Men (LEM) serving as foremen, to supervise and train the enrollees in addition to the Forest Service foremen.[60] The hiring of LEM increased employment in the local area, lowering resistance from unemployed locals who might have felt that the young men of the CCC had stolen jobs. This especially helped in the Columbia National Forest, where unemployed loggers who ended up supervising and training the snag falling crews could have caused trouble.

Even though LEM fell under Forest Service supervision, their pay came from CCC funds because LEM had to enroll, which meant their pay was processed by the Army who handled all wages for the CCC. If LEM choose to stay in camp and eat in the mess hall, they had to pay room and board. While the Forest Service remained distinct and separate from the participating entities, LEM, like the enrollees, had a shifting status among the agencies, depending on their environment and activity, but unlike the enrollees, the LEM had not been the point of the CCC, but rather a benefit to the men that became LEM and the communities the men lived in.[61]

[58] Harper, 77; Johnson, 95-100.
[59] Sinclair, 48, 142, 200, 201, 209.
[60] Report of the Director, 7, 13.
[61] Johnson, 99-101; Salmond, 34; Sinclair, 190.

The addition of enrollee leaders on top of the LEM helped the Forest Service perform a greater number and variety of tasks than they otherwise could have, as the budget limited the number of LEM foremen in each camp. For example, at Lower Cispus there were eight Forest Service foremen and an additional twelve LEM and one mechanic.[62] Because of the budget limitations placed on the number of foremen that could be hired, coordination had to take place so that the foremen hired for various camps possessed different skills. By coordinating hiring, the Forest Service could rotate the foremen to different camps, depending on the type of work needed for specific projects. This meant that foremen might work in different Army districts as they moved between camps on the same Forest.[63]

Figure 8. Teaching Blueprint Reading, Columbia National Forest, 1936.
Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

The decentralized nature of the CCC and flexibility in camps like those seen on the Columbia National Forest would prove to be one of the reasons the agency was so successful. The Forest Service or appropriate land managing agency knew best what needed to be done and

[62] Harper, 57; Jim Langdon, interviewed by Judy Caughlin, Langdon Home, Vancouver, Washington, September 4, 1981, 19.
[63] Jim Langdon, 36.

how to get the job done better than any outside organization could. In the case of the LEM, if the Army had not just been in charge of pay, but also the hiring, the district boundaries would have caused probLEM with work administration, especially for the Columbia National Forest, which was divided in half between the Fort Lewis and Vancouver Barracks districts.[64]

Nonetheless, probLEM between the Camp Commanders and Forest Service employees occurred and in some cases must have hindered the effective operation of the camps. In the Ninth Corps 111 commanders had to be relieved early in the CCC and initially arguments over the number of enrollees necessary for camp projects, as opposed to work projects, caused friction. As the lines of responsibility became clearer and compromises reached, conduct between the Army and Forest Service became more routine. In one case that highlights the cooperation in one camp but possibly the continued friction in other camps, Jim Langdon, Forest Service Camp Supervisor for Camp Lower Cispus, was asked by Captain Jeppson to meet his commanding officer, Colonel Doughtery so the Colonel could thank him for working so well with his Captain.[65] Even with the clear separation of authority in camps the two agencies, with differing management styles, sometimes conflicted, as a foreman punched by an enrollee in camp refused to allow the camp commander to punish the enrollee. The foreman felt that since the dispute started on the job, the dispute was not a camp matter.[66]

LEM and foremen did more for the success of the CCC than supervise the work projects; they also acted as teachers and mentors for the young enrollees. Enrollees arrived in camp lacking skills, and the LEM and foremen had to provide training. Jim Langdon complained that the CCC leadership and regional Forest Service leadership of the time felt that the foremen did too much of the work, but many of the jobs required the enrollees to learn by example. When

[64] Jim Langdon, 36-37.
[65] Jim Langdon, 22.
[66] Sinclair, 275-276.

teaching enrollees how to set charges for blasting, e.g., Mr. Langdon would have them watch him and then let the enrollees try.[67] Phil Amuroso had a different experience as his foreman, Wade McNee, would only offer bits of advice while Phil tried all morning to figure out how to start a piece of machinery.[68] The quality of work produced by the enrollees is a testament to the training, supervision, patience and trust provided by the LEM and foremen. LEM and foremen entrusted seventeen year-old boys to operate heavy machinery, fell snags and handle explosives, often under enrollee supervision.[69] Yet supervisors exercised cautious judgment. At Camp Twin Buttes a foreman from the local community, Orin Pearson, stepped in to take over falling a snag that he felt too dangerous for the enrollees, and his instincts proved correct since the falling snag killed him.[70]

Some oral histories speak to close calls such as losing control of a bulldozer or having a snag "barber chair," split and spring back at the feller. Luckily the bulldozer operator leapt clear of the bulldozer and the faller fell in a ditch when the tree fell on him and both enrollees walked away.[71] Even with such dangerous work, compared to the national average for male workers in the same age group, CCC enrollees had a significantly lower injury and death rate.[72]

The success of the LEM came from the flexibility in hiring since the lowest levels made the hiring decisions. Men from the local community with good reputations added stability and experience that affected the safety and learning environment of the CCC. If a more centralized hiring system had been in place, the number of inappropriate men being hired would have most likely been a problem.

---

[67] Jim Langdon, 38.
[68] Sinclair, 10.
[69] Pat Sutherland, discussion with author, Fort Vancouver visitor center, Vancouver, Wa, February 28, 2013.
[70] Charlene Schmid, correspondence with author, March 7, 2013.
[71] Sinclair, 48, 134, 137, 142, 200-201, 209.
[72] Fechner, 139.

Chapter 3: Variations on Columbia National Forest

The Columbia National Forest had seven main CCC camps including Camp Hemlock, Camp Lower Cispus, Camp Peterson Prairie, Camp Sunset Falls, Camp Smoky Creek and Camp Mineral (See Figure 2). Camp Washougal operated at times on the forest but since on private land it did not fall under Forest Service control. Associated with the different main camps, six summer camps operated on the Forest: Lookout Mountain, Twin Buttes, Upper Cispus, Sheep Lake, Spirit Lake, Willard, Camp Guler, and Camp Packwood.

The operation of the camps and the built environment, when looked at over the entire nine years of the CCC can make the CCC more personal than the broad administrative narrative commonly presented. Camps generally conformed to some standard organizational norms but still present considerable variation between camps within a district and between districts. Camps also changed over time along with the individual enrollees experience, so an enrollee from 1933 had a different experience in the same camp as an enrollee from 1942.

The standard main camp had a mess hall, bath house, latrine, equipment storage facilities, garage, recreation hall, dispensary or infirmary, office, officer's quarters and LEM and foremen quarters. This is by no means all of the structures found within a camp since many had powder storage, carpenter shops, generator houses, fire houses, cooler house, grease racks, oil houses and various other smaller outbuildings. The additional structures depended on the kind of work being performed and location of the camps.

Side camps sometimes fell under Forest Service control when the number of enrollees fell below fifty. Additional side camps of between 25 and 50 enrollees operated in addition to the six side camps noted above but since these fell under the Forest Service control it is not known

how many actually existed and are not included with the spike camps because of their size. An unknown number of spike camps more temporary in nature and having very few enrollees operated throughout the forest and because of their small temporary nature no documentation exists from the time period to give any idea of the number of spike camps operated by the Forest Service at any given time. Currently only four spike camp locations and the general area of two are known because of informants and former enrollees mentioning their location and purpose.[73]

Each camp received a unique alphanumeric number that identified the land management agency that supervised the work in the camp. Camps were assigned numbers sequentially in order of their establishment within the Corps area. For example, this meant that the first Forest Service camp within a Corps was F-1.[74]

While the camp number never changed as long as the camp remained in operation the company occupying the camp could change frequently, with companies formed out of state rotating through it. The camps within the Columbia National Forest did have some companies change, but after the initial 1933 formation of companies out of state, because later companies became a mix of local enrollees and out of state enrollees, the companies in the camps retained their company number.

Camp Number	Camp
F-25	Mineral
F-33 (NP-7)	Packwood
F-34	Lower Cispus
F-35	Upper Cispus
F-36	Lewis River-Peterson
F-37	Siouxon
F-38	Twin Buttes

[73] Civlian Conservation Corps Legacy, Passing the Legacy to Future Generations. http://ccclegacy.org/CCC_Camp_Lists.html (accessed: March 1, 2013). Sinclair, 13, 140-141.
[74] See Appendex A for a complete list of various land management agency camp designators.

F-39	Sunset Falls
F-40	Hemlock
F-41	Peterson
F-43	Lookout Mountain
F-89	Smoky Creek
F-105	Spirit Lake

Figure 9. Columbia National Forest year-round and summer main camps.

Of the two main camps used year-round on the Forest, Camp Hemlock remained under the use of Co. 944 from 1933 to 1941 and Camp Lower Cispus remained under the use of Co. 2919 from 1935 to 1941. Main camps held a full size company of 200 enrollees with tents being used in 1933 during camp construction; wood buildings replaced the tents after 1933. Other companies did operate on occasion in some of the side camps associated with those two camps but only for the summer when a project of sufficient size justified a complete company of 200 enrollees on top of the already established 200-enrollee camp. The new companies operated in new temporary tent camps or took over an already established side camp. A total of eighteen companies would work on the forest from 1933 to 1942 in seventeen camps, not including spike camps.[75]

In the Columbia National Forest early main camps would more often than not be located at the site of existing or proposed ranger stations, with the exception of Camp Siouxon. Locating camps at administrative sites had three benefits: the CCC could take advantage of already established structures and cleared land, the Forest Service had work crews close to the rangers who identified work projects, and the Forest Service could benefit from any improvements to the ranger compounds after the CCC left. The Forest Service, like the conditioning camps on military installations, would take advantage of the large work force to improve existing and build more structures that would otherwise have been cost prohibitive without the CCC funding and

[75] See appendix A for full list of companies that operated on the forest, their camp and time period of operation.

large labor force. Because Lower Cispus and Camp Siouxon both needed to be closer to potential work areas and no administrative sites existed in those areas the camps did not have or plan to have administrative facilities. Lower Cispus would be used later as a work center but that use for the camp did not seem to be planned, unlike the planned administrative improvements found in the other camps. Camp Souixon would only be used to help build and extend roads to give Camp Hemlock and Smoky Creek access to more of the Forest and making Camp Siouxon redundant. The administrative sites in the northern part of the forest because of weather and access had been placed along the main all weather road, today Highway 12, to Cowlitz Valley. Lower Cispus allowed for the establishment of work facilities deeper in the forest although camps did exist at both the Randle and Packwood ranger stations on Highway 12 during winter months.

Camps existed to provide useful year round work which meant climate influenced camp location. Main camps had to be located in an area with little to no snow fall with easy all weather road access to allow for the supply of the camp. In 1933 road access to the forest was limited with many of the first camps being placed at or near the end of the road until the extension of roads allowed access to areas further into the Forest. After road construction the side camps and spike camps could be established further from the permanent main camps. Peterson Prairie, Willard and Siouxon became unnecessary as main camps as work could be done further into the Forest.

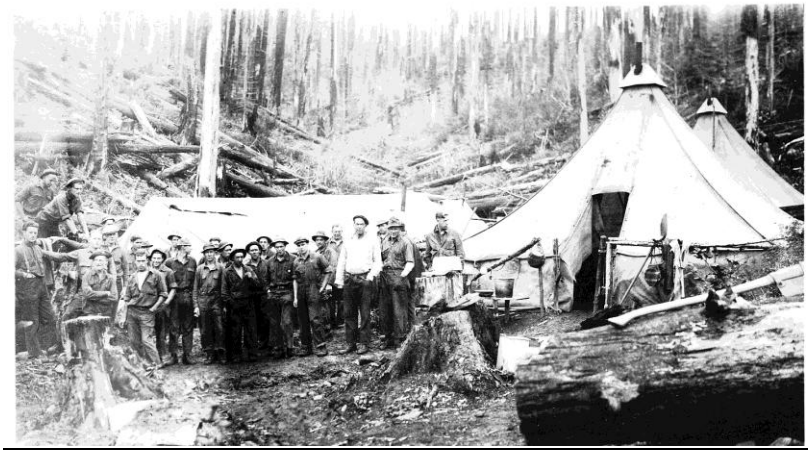


Figure 10. Camp Sunset Falls during construction in 1933. Tent lacks the wooden platform. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Tents provided the minimum shelter in all camps and could also be used to provide additional space without the permanence and cost of constructing a building. The Army pyramid tent was the most common tent used in the CCC with wall tents being used for non-housing purposes. The Army pyramid tent could house 6-8 enrollees with enrollees sleeping on Army folding cots and hay stuffed mattresses. For heating, tents used Army Sibley stoves, a conical shaped metal stove. Wood platforms with side wall frames provided a clean floor and support for the tent. The use of the platforms gave the tent more headroom and interior space.[76] Improvised furniture such as food crate shelves, small wood keg seats and wood rounds with a wood plank for a bench are commonly seen in period photographs from side camps. The one recorded spike camp had similar improvised furniture left in the camp area.

Because of the uncertainty of how long the CCC would last and the need to keep costs down, the military established guidelines to keep camp construction as temporary in nature and to only construct those buildings necessary to operate. The guidelines at first led to camps being

[76] McClure, No Gold Bricking Here, 179.

uniform in number of buildings and appearance but because the CCC would be extended for nine years, buildings slowly changed over time because of repairs or improvements.[77]

A comparison of some camp structures in the Columbia National Forest can help to show the similarities and flexibility between camps since buildings should have had the same structural design with possibly only minor aesthetic variations.

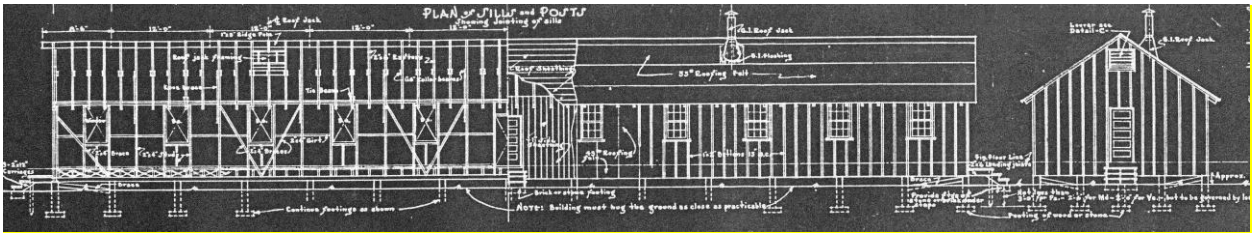


Figure 11. 1934 blueprints for a standard CCC barracks. Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

The most numerous and obvious building in pictures of camps from the period is the Barracks. The barracks were typically 20'x133', one story, low or normal pitched roof, front gabled, balloon framed, shotgun structure. Based on observation of camp pictures, the normal pitched roofs utilized a principal truss with inverted "W" bracing with the arms of the "W" extending down past the truss. The use of low or normal pitched roofs seemed to be decided based on location and possible snow load. Those camps in high snow load areas used normal pitched roofs while some lower level buildings used low pitched roofs. While normal pitched roofs were used at lower elevations, low pitched roofs were never used on higher elevation buildings.

Variation in barracks appearance is most often in details added to the basic structure and change over time. Board-and-batten with tar paper formed the original exterior, to provide water

[77] War Department, 28-52.

and wind proof barrier but no insulation. Later some camps replaced the exterior with cedar shakes. All roofs used cedar shakes or shingles. Door locations seem to have been consistent throughout the region but the main door emphasis shifted and pictures of camps in other Corps show doors in other locations.

Barracks often had awnings over the doors; these showed considerable variation between camps. At first the most common was a small free-hanging awning that extended just over the few steps to the door, only just wider that the door. Camp Hemlock would later add fully enclosed porches.[78] Three examples of the interior finish of barracks survive from pictures taken at Camp Hemlock and Camp Lower Cispus. Camp Hemlock had an open rafter and walls with exposed sheds. Lighting ran the length of the building down the center isle attached to 2x4 boards. Enrollees slept on bunk beds made from the same lumber used in the construction of the barracks. Two stoves placed close to either end of the barracks provided heating. The stoves consisted of two 50-gallon drums placed horizontally and stacked on top of each other. The drum on the bottom functioned as the stove with the top drum capturing more of the heat before it was lost to venting out of the stove pipe.

The walls of the barracks are hard to see so it is not clear if shelves, cabinets or trunks were used to store personal items, but in an interview Phil Amoruso said that in 1935 each enrollee had their own foot locker and had to share a wall locker with another enrollee.[79] The barracks' open and bear interiors, with exposed studs and no color presented a very utilitarian appearance resembling logging camp bunkhouses from an earlier time.

An early picture of Lower Cispus shows the same open and bleak interior except each bed had a cabinet above the bed and each enrollee had a single bed instead of a bunk bed. By

[78] McClure, Unpublished excavation notes from Camp Hemlock dump, Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, Troutlake, Washington. Period photographs also seem to show concrete stairs for the barracks.
[79] Sinclair, 11.

1937 the interior walls and ceiling had plywood paneling with thin battens over the seams. The lighting remained the same as Camp Hemlock except that the light fixtures extended down from wood lattice running the length of the barracks helping to enclose the rafters. Examples from other camps on other forests within the Fort Lewis District show the same finished interior while camps in the Vancouver District show the utilitarian interior of Camp Hemlock. Sometime before 1937 the Fort Lewis District must have established a policy to improve the interiors of the camp buildings while the Vancouver District did not. Most likely the change in interior came about because of a command decision at the district level since the same interior improvement is not seen in the Vancouver District within the same corps. If there had been a safety or functional reason for the improvement, then other districts would have also improved building interiors.

Lower Cispus used the Barcalo Army bed made of a metal bedframe with spring suspension instead of the camp-built bunk beds like at Hemlock. The wall cabinets remained but had been painted white like the rest of the interior and each enrollee had a foot locker. Two stoves provided heat in the same locations as the Hemlock barracks but the type of stove differed and based on photographic evidence changed at some point in time. One picture shows a single 50-gallon drum laid horizontally and another picture shows some sort of commercially made vertical cylinder type stove.

Other variations to the barracks were minor and depended on individuals responsible for camp construction or modification made after initial construction. Variation to the entrance awning is one example already mentioned but other changes were often unique to individual camps. An exterior trap door at each stove to allow for easy resupply of wood was only found at Camp Lower Cispus. Since cooks had to awake before the rest of the work crews, Camp Hemlock built a partition in one of barracks so that the cooks wouldn’t wake the rest of the

barracks. Because some of the camps operated for almost nine years other changes probably took place but will never be known because of the lack of evidence.

Normally in camps, recreational facilities utilized the same building size and design as the barracks. The interior would be left open or divided off for classrooms, canteen or recreation equipment storage. The camp commander and recreational advisor had the responsibility for equipping and maintaining the building. Recreation buildings commonly had pool tables, ping pong tables, radio, and a library. Camp Hemlock dump revealed ping pong balls, a piece of a pool cue, radio parts, magazines and newspapers among the artifacts recovered. The pieces of magazines found in the dump came from national publications such as LIFE but the newspapers consisted of both national and local publication. The camp store provided basic hygiene items and comfort items for purchase by enrollees. Camp funds purchased the items provided for the store and the profits from the sales went back into the camp funds. The funds would help add to budgeted money for special events or new recreation equipment.

Early in 1933 the most notable variation in buildings occurred at Lower Cispus's recreational hall. Lower Cispus had been identified by the state of Washington as the number one priority in the state and therefore the first camp built in the Fort Lewis District. The establishment of standard plans and cost saving measures came after the construction of Lower Cispus. The large A-frame structure that housed a full-sized basketball court would not have been allowed under cost caps but even after the initial structure's destruction in a flood, the camp asked for and received authorization to rebuild the same structure. The camp did play host to sporting events involving the surrounding community but so did other camps; the camp held dances in the large building but enrollees also attended dances in Morton, Wa. There is really no good explanation for why the Army built such a large expensive structure and then rebuilt it after

the first building's destruction in a flood.[80] But the building clearly represented a truly unique and important showcase structure on the Columbia National Forest.

The dining facilities most resembled the barracks but varied with the addition of a kitchen which could be added to the end, making the building longer or to the side of the building. Even though dining facilities performed the same function in every camp, like the barracks, some variation is seen between camps. Smoky Creek had a unique mess hall, the standard mess hall consisted of a simple rectangular building capable of feeding a full camp at the same time but Smoky Creek's mess hall did not have to feed 200 enrollees so the building was smaller. The smaller mess hall had had two wings with the kitchen added to the side and had a second floor added for the cooks to sleep in making up the west wing. No other camp had this kind of design with the cooks living above the kitchen. Instead of an insulated outbuilding to store cold items the east wing's walls had been heavily insulated to act as the cooler. The same aesthetic variation between the barracks can be seen with dining facilities as some had finished interiors. Camp Lower Cispus and others remained bare and open.

After costs mounted across the country with the number of camps moving as work projects ended, a prefabricated building design was used as much as possible. Camp Hemlock had at least one prefabricated building, probably a barracks building, and both Hemlock and Lower Cispus added buildings over time with some new barracks added after 1937. Camp Hemlock started with four barracks and Lower Cispus started with five barracks.

[80] Sinclair, 167.

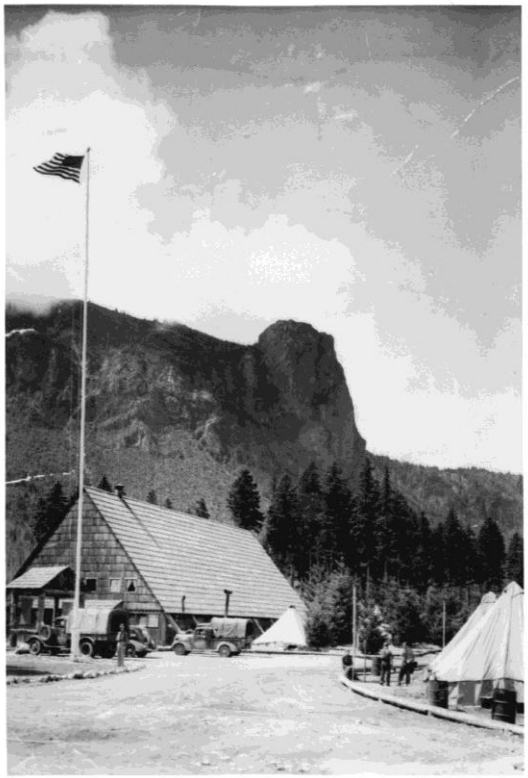


Figure 12. CCC Camp Lower Cispus Co. 2919 August 11, 1937. Dederick, Tacoma, Wa. Note large A-frame recreation hall. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Figure 13. First A-frame recreation hall built at Camp Lower Cispus. Destroyed in a flood in 1933. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Figure 14. CCC Company 603 at Camp Siouxon prior to camp construction. June 24, 1933. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

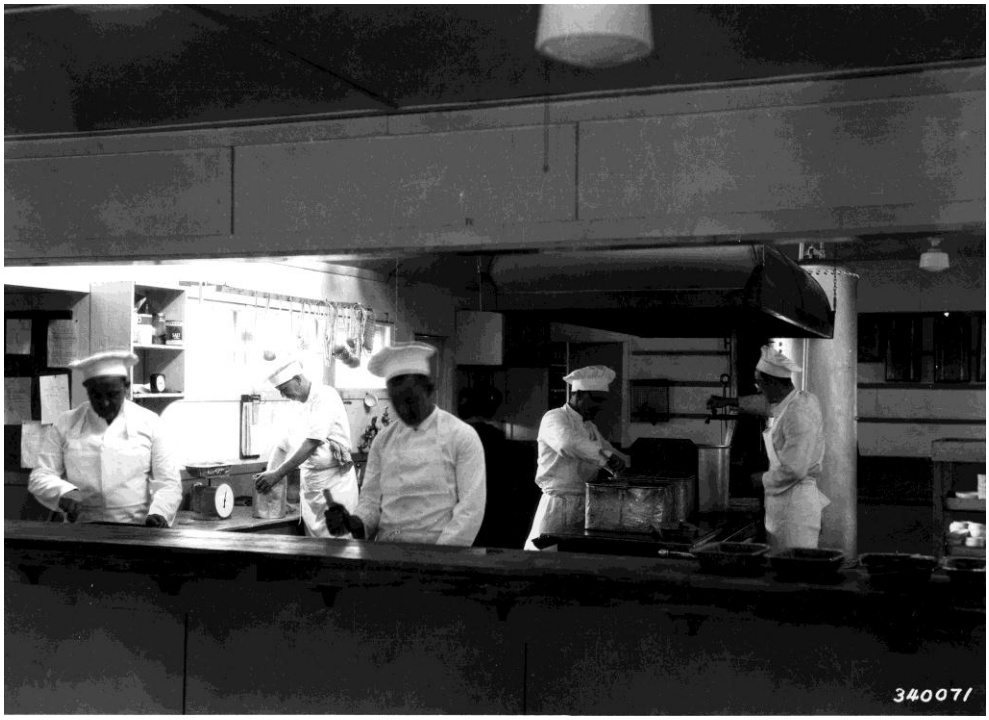


Figure 15. CCC Lower Cispus, Kitchen Crew, Columbia NF, WA 1936. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

The difference in the starting number of barracks reflects the use of bunk beds and single beds. In 1942 with the end of the CCC, Camp Hemlock had five barracks and Lower Cispus six.[81] Camp Zigzag in the Vancouver District added a fifth barracks in 1939 and might indicate a change in regulations regarding housing for enrollees.[82]

Temporary Army structures varied in the kind of footings they had but the most common consisted of wood post and pier footings. Smoky Creek, Camp Sunset and the side camp of Upper Cispus used logs for footings, probably because of the abundance of snags in the area; using logs felled in or near camp would not have been labor intensive. Log footings are also common in railroad logging camps and the construction foreman could have been influenced by prior work in the choice of log footings. Terrain often played a part in the type of footing as camps located on slopes, such as Lookout Mountain, used stilts and terraced hillsides in order to fit the required structures in camp. Photographs from the period indicate that only the tent pads, messhall, latrine and cooler seem to have been on level ground with every other building on stilts.[83]

The layout of a camp might look different between camps but camps needed to be oriented in such a way as to allow waste disposal without contaminating water sources or creating a breeding ground for insects or vermin. This meant that camps would be laid out according to the slope and drainage with a specific order to the buildings. Mess hall and kitchen would be at the top of the slope, living quarters next, bathing and latrines would be the last

[81] Jim Langdon, 19.
[82] Tuck, 28.
[83] Mack, --, --, --; Schmid.

Figure 16. Enrollee on left is Ted Lindburgh with falling partner in front of barracks at Camp Hemlock 1934. Note siding on building. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage program.

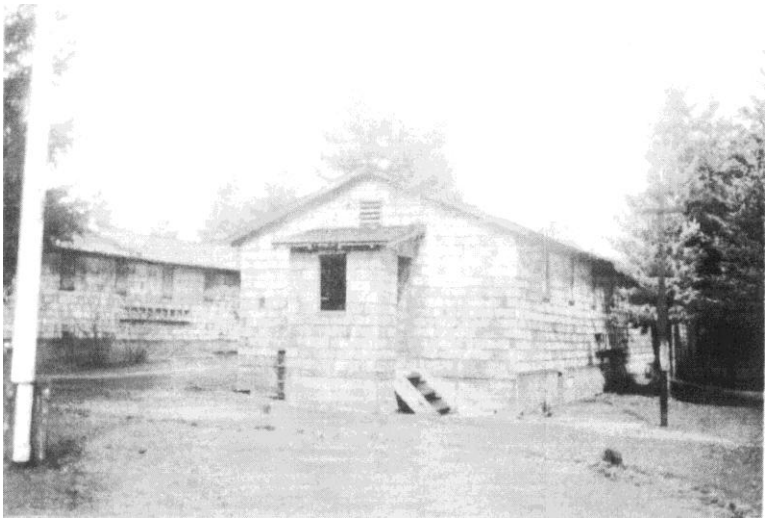


Figure 17. Lynn Hazen's bunkhouse at Camp Hemlock. 1938 photograph by Lynn Hazen, scanned by Donna Sinclair. Note cedar shake shingle on exterior. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Figure 18. Lower Cispus Barracks interior, unknown date.
Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Figure 19. Interior of bunkhouse at Camp Hemlock, unknown date. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest.

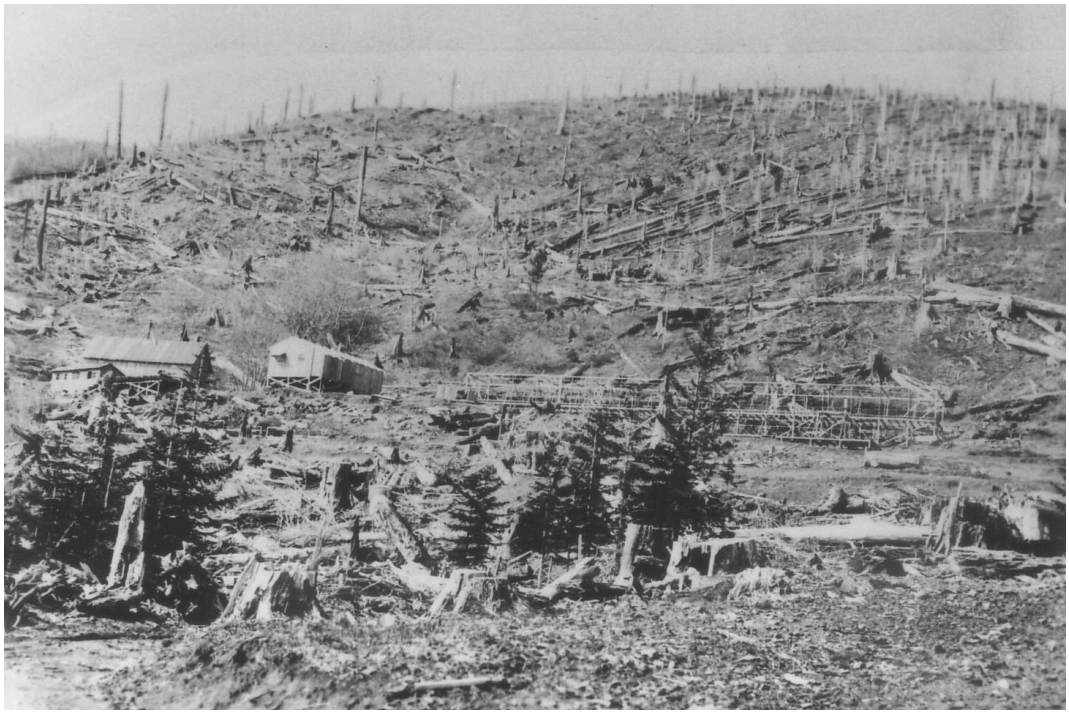


Figure 20. Camp Lookout Mountain under construction 1933. Note wood frame structures at top of camp on stilts. Mess hall under construction. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Figure 21. Clearing snags from the Camp Sunset Falls site, 1933. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

buildings, with the latrines being 75 feet from the nearest quarters and 100 yards from the kitchen.[84] Camp Smoky Creek was the only camp not to follow this layout and that could have been because the camp received its water from a source other than the creek running through camp.

Latrines in main and side camps were wood structures built over some sort of storage pit for the waste. The standard latrine had six seats and a urinal trough, Smoky Creek might have had flush toilets but most likely the later users of the camp added the flush toilets after the CCC abandoned the camp. The side camp of Sheep Lake possibly had the most elaborate waste disposal system with the camps six-seater latrine having an automatic flush toilet system. Placed over a small creek running through the camp, the latrine had a cantilevered system with a weight on one end and a 50-gallon barrel cut length wise and laid flat on the other end. The creek would fill the barrel half and when that filled it would tip and dump the contents. The mechanism eliminated the use of a vault but probably contaminated the creek and meant the latrine had to be down slope from the camp.[85]

Camps needed access to a clean, sufficient and reliable source of water to supply the messhall and washroom. Each camp used the same basic system to supply water, which varied aesthetically depending on terrain, water source and permanence of the camp. The basic water system involved a small dam built above a camp on a slope in order to utilize gradient change for water pressure, a cistern or water tank and galvanized steel piping network to transport the water. The size of the camp along with the consistency of the water flow dictated the size of the cistern or water tank and the location. The water tank helped to provide a consistent water pressure and store extra water. The water tank could be placed near the check dam or placed in the camp. In

[84] United States, Basic Field Manual, Vol. 1, Field Service Pocketbook (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Press, 1936), 5. War Department, 108.
[85] Krah Walter, 13-14.

the case of the tank being located in the camp, the water brought into camp would be pumped into the water tank located on a tower.[86]

Camp Sunset Falls benefited from being at the bottom of steep hills and the streams in the area flowed at a fairly consistent rate throughout the year. The camp only used a cistern placed in a creek with the water piped down to the camp. This simple system seems to have served the camp and precluded the need for a large water tank as none appear in photographs of the camp. Lower Cispus located near the Cispus River could not use the same system as Sunset Falls because the Cispus Valley was broad and flat with the camp located next to the Cispus River. Water had to be piped from a creek through a wooden pipe to a cistern in camp where an electric pump pumped the water into a water tower. The water tower gave the camp the needed water pressure and consistency in pressure that could only have been provided otherwise by a pump, and the economics of running a pump all day made that not an option. Camp Hemlock similarly piped water in a wooden pipe from a concrete cistern a half mile from camp to a water tower.[87]

Smoky Creek had the problem of being located in an area of relatively little elevation change along the water drainage and huge variations in the water flow throughout the summer. Early in the summer the water flowed at higher levels while later in the summer the water lowered considerably in the branch of Smoky Creek that ran through the camp. The common water system of a check dam above the camp feeding water directly to camp structures or to a water tower did not work.[88] The camp had to locate its water intake system over three quarters of a mile from the camp on a different branch of the Smoky Creek than the one running through

[86] Personal survey of Camp Smoky Creek's water system.
[87] Personal correspondence with Richard McClure.
[88] There is evidence that a check dam was constructed less than a half mile up the creek that the camp was located on. The check dam would have been extremely low and would not have held much water. Most likely this first check dam was either just temporary until the other system could be constructed or was a failed attempt. Authors survey of area.

camp to utilize that branch's more consistent flow and create enough water pressure. Because sufficient gradient still did not exist in the three quarters of a mile, a wooden water tank had to be located with the check dam and not placed in the camp to create a higher and more consistent water pressure without the need of a pump and tower. The water tank used consisted of wood stays banded together with metal loops, made of one inch rods. The tanks came in prefabricated kits shipped to the camps and put together by the enrollees.

All main and side camps had electricity provided by diesel generators of the appropriate size for the camp except Camp Hemlock. The logging camp that had occupied the Camp Hemlock site prior to the Forest Service used a log cribbing splash dam to transport logs. When the Forest Service took over the site they converted the dam into a small hydroelectric dam and bridge. Camp Hemlock first received power from the splash dam but eventually the camp and nursery put too much strain on the power system since the camp ran a carpentry and machine shop with electric tools. To solve the problem the enrollees built a concrete hydroelectric dam to replace the splash dam. The dam provided power for the camp and nursery while also creating a reservoir that would be developed into a recreational site.

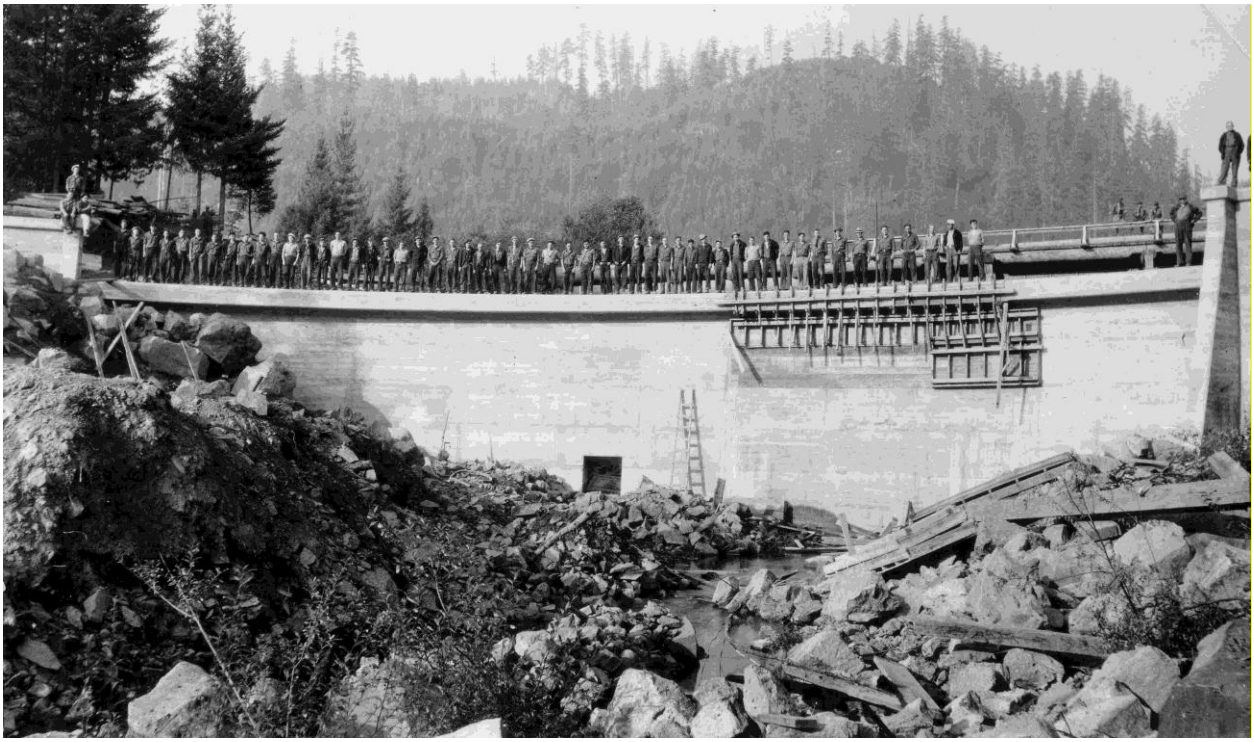


Figure 22. CCC-built dam, Trout Creek, Columbia National Forest. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Lower Cispus's side camp of Upper Cispus and Hemlock's side camp of Lookout Mountain had small generators to provide electricity for lighting the mess hall and kitchen. Tents could be wired for electrical light and most camps did have this done. Buildings that did not utilize electricity for lighting used military issue oil lamps and all cooking, hot water heating and heating of buildings used wood fires in all camps. Lower Cispus would eventually install electric cooking ranges in the kitchen but initially the camp used wood stoves. Because so much of the camp relied on wood fires the camps required large amounts of firewood provided by assigned enrollees who fell, bucked and split trees for wood. In Camp Hemlock it took twenty enrollees working full time to meet the wood demand for the camp.[89]

[89] Sinclair, 111-112, 132, 190, 259.

Figure 23. Texas Gulch planting camp 1936. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Officer's quarters varied between camps and since the Army had a higher standard of living for an officer than that of a CCC enrollee, their living quarters would include more finish work. The Army did not consider the officers in the camps to be on relief, even though the commander might be a reserve officer who had possibly been unemployed prior to filling the camp commander position. The Army considered tents or any temporary structure in nature substandard housing entitling the officer to a stipend in addition to his normal pay.[90] The requirement for higher quality housing but no standard design led to variation in officers' quarters between camps but because of the higher standards the quarters had the same amenities. For example, the quarters at Camp Hemlock had knotty pine paneling and the quarters at Lower Cispus had Douglas fir bark. Both buildings had open hearth fire places and chimneys made of local cobble stone. The officers had their own rooms and the building's furnishings came from the camp wood shop.[91]

[90] War Department, 30-31.
[91] Sinclair, 181.

Figure 24. CCC Camp Lower Cispus, Columbia NF, WA 1936. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Figure 25. Officer's quarters at Camp Hemlock, 1941. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

LEM's (foremen) from the local area with family could stay with their family and commute but had the option of staying in camp if this met their needs. Like the Army, the Forest Service had higher standards for living for their employees than the CCC regulations allowed the enrollees but LEM would not receive a stipend for substandard housing. The LEM also had to pay for their quarters out of their paycheck.

Figure 26. Forest Service LEM bunkhouse at Camp Hemlock, unknown date. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

The LEM bunkhouse design varied less than officer's quarters because the Forest Service had already established plans. The LEM bunkhouse looked like a combination of enrollee barracks and officer's quarters. The exterior resembled a smaller barracks but the interior was divided into small rooms to give each man a little privacy, and like the officer's quarters, a living area to relax in. The interior of the LEM bunkhouse was finished and had an open hearth cobblestone fireplaces and chimneys.

Figure 27. Interior of Forest Service bunkhouse at Camp Hemlock, unknown date. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

The built environment of the camp, along with the landscape shows the same conformity and flexibility found throughout the CCC. Variations in camps spoke to more of a cosmetic difference than functional. Terrain dictated camp layout and those camps with large level ground available begin to show more conformity in layout, but when lacking space camps looked very different. Even with the variation in building layout, camp buildings throughout the Forest met a standard order based on environmental conditions.

The aesthetic differences would have been noticeable between camps and possibly had an effect on enrollees' experiences. The difference in layout, appearance of buildings and landscape made the camps themselves unique to the enrollee, helping with group cohesion and esprit de corps. Yet even with the differences the similar purpose of the camps and regulations created a basic continuity between camps. Barracks might aesthetically vary but they would still have the same form and function. Significant differences in form, such as the large A-frame recreation hall was a rarity among camps and while being impressive would have only added to an enrollee's esprit de corps with his camp. Enrollees entering a different camp for an inter-camp sporting event would have found the camp unfamiliar but not alien and those enrollees could have still navigated the camp without help.

Chapter 4: Enrollees and Life in Camps

The enrollees who occupied the CCC camps came from financially strapped families and enrolled in order to help their families, while making a little money for themselves. Being financially limited and unemployed, they brought little with them, which meant that the CCC would need to supply basic necessities to all enrollees to ensure proper hygiene, safety and self-esteem. During the entire program, the enrollees received room and board, along with all clothing necessary for CCC work, in addition to their pay. The Army provided these items when the enrollee in-processed.[92]

CCC enrollees made thirty dollars a month, with up to twenty-five dollars deducted and sent to the enrollee's family, even though the executive order never specified a required amount to be sent home. The Labor Department made it clear that those enrollees willing to send more money home would receive preference for selection, making the twenty-five dollars an unofficial minimum. In later years, as the relief component of the CCC became less of a focus, more enrollees opted to send less money home to their designated dependents. An enrollee could be promoted to assistant leader, earning thirty-six dollars a month, or leader, making forty-five dollars a month.[93] Enrollee leaders served as assistants to the LEM hired by the land management agencies to help supervise work projects. LEM were older men, preferably chosen from the local community with skills required for the specific work being performed by the camp. The LEM and foremen helped choose which enrollees would be promoted to supervise

[92] Harper, 36. Sinclair, 59, 138.
[93] Report of the Director, 12, 25-26, 35-36. "*Your CCC": A Handbook for Enrollees,* revised edition (Washington DC: Happy Days Publishing Co, 1938), 52; Harper, 44.

work, while the Army chose a few enrollees to promote in order to fill camp administration positions.[94]

Enrollee leaders and assistant leaders took over the role of NCOs and filled positions equivalent to platoon sergeant and squad leader. Each barracks had an enrollee leader responsible for the cleanliness and order of the barracks who accompanied the camp commander during morning inspections of the barracks. It is not clear if the practice of giving enrollee leaders their own room in the barracks started from the beginning or began later but at some point a small room added by partitioning off the end of the barracks gave the enrollee leader his own room.[95]

Clothing makes the man, and many enrollees lacked proper clothing when they enrolled. During in-processing, enrollees received two sets of work clothes consisting of denim pants, plain t-shirt, denim jacket, hat, two sets of dress clothing similar to the Army dress uniform, a rain hat and rain coat. The first enrollees in 1933 received surplus World War I uniforms placed in storage after the military demobilization at the end of war. The amount of supplies stored at Vancouver Barracks did not meet the demand for the outfit of the first camps, but because many of the first companies assigned to the southern portion of the Columbia National Forest deployed from the East and Midwest, they brought camp supplies such as tents and clothing with them.[96]

All enrollees received two sets of footwear, dress shoes and slick-soled work boots. Enrollees in the forests of the Pacific Northwest received an additional pair of caulk boots for working in the woods.[97] Included in the initial issue was one barracks bag (laundry bag), toilet articles and towels. The initial supply of toilet articles, consisting of tooth brush, tooth paste,

---

[94] Johnson, 101-103.
[95] Sinclair, 131, 139.
[96] Columbian, "Chicago Youths to be Stationed in Columbia National Forest," May 22, 1933; Columbian, "450 Forest Men from Mid-West Arrive at Post," May 22, 1933.
[97] Caulk boots are used by loggers and have small spikes on the sole to help provide traction while walking on wet logs. One enrollee remembers how cold his feet were all the time from wearing the boots because the metal spikes went into the boot and acted as a conductor. Sinclair, 104, 291.

soap and metal cases to store them would be issued, but the enrollees would have to purchase new soap, toothpaste and toothbrushes from a civilian store or in the camp canteen. As surplus supplies of dress uniforms ran out, enrollees received a modified version of the Army uniform specifically designed for the CCC that resembled the uniforms worn later by soldiers during World War II. Blankets, mess kit and other items of a non-personal nature were issued, but these had to be returned at the end of the enrollment, along with one dress uniform set, if serviceable.

Figure 28. CCC Enrollees on left with no hats at Camp Beacon Rock, Washington 1941. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

The sensitivity to having the military in charge made the use of surplus uniforms less than ideal, as the enrollees looked exactly like active duty Army personnel to the public. Even with the supply of surplus uniforms, there is some evidence that the supplies at Vancouver

Barracks could not fully equip the local initial enrollees. Stories of enrollees being issued clothing too large or too small were common among those that enrolled in 1933. Uncommon sizes probably made up a good portion of the surplus.[98] As Army supplies were depleted, local sources seem to have been used to fill the gap in essential items for at least a short period of time.[99]

Figure 29. Enrollees with pants so big that two of them could fit in the pants. Columbia National Forest, unknown date. Courtesy of Gifford National Forest Heritage Program.

The financial benefits of the CCC were never meant for just the enrollees, their families or those directly involved. Camps received their supplies and food from the Army's district headquarters which trucked supplies to the camps using CCC enrollees stationed at the headquarters. Camps in the southern part of Columbia National Forest such as Hemlock and

[98] The Army still issues items that are too big or small if they no longer have a soldier's size. I was issued a size small uniform when I first enlisted in 1997. The sleeves only went half way down my forearm and later in 2004 I was issued winter boots two sizes too big because they no longer had my size.

[99] Frank Walsh, 6-7.

Peterson received their supplies from Vancouver Barracks and the camps in the north such as Lower Cispus received their supplies from Fort Lewis. The food items delivered included only the bulk processed items purchased through national contracts.

From the beginning the decentralized nature of the CCC allowed for funds spent by the camp to go into the local economies as much as possible. The military's policy of decentralization in the CCC allowed for the Corps to handle materials purchasing directly and encouraged districts to purchase as much as possible locally. Perishables such as meat, milk and eggs would be the responsibility of the individual main camps.[100] For most of the country, small farms still common in the 1930s allowed for the easy procurement of perishables at camp level. To help districts and camps procure meat from local sources, the Army modified its policy for the procurement of meat since the military only allowed for USDA or Veterinary Corps United States Army (VCUS) inspected meat to be purchased. The modified policy allowed a specially created CCC VCUS unit to certify state or local facilities for meat purchase. This allowed camps to purchase meat from farms and ranches in the communities around the camps.[101]

Archaeological investigation of a dump at Camp Hemlock and another series of dumps at Twin Buttes produced faunal remains of domestic animals, including the remains of beef and poultry animal bones.[102] The Vancouver District headquarters only delivered bacon to the District camps meaning that the other meat had to come from local sources.[103] At least one camp kept chickens which could have been to supplement a shortage of local availability and while it seems likely that they were used for both eggs and meat there is no evidence if the chickens provided

[100] Sinclair, 86, 97, 269.
[101] War Department, 31-33.
[102] Richard McClure, Camp Hemlock dump excavation artifact table, Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, Troutlake, Wa.; Schmid, Charlene, Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form, Twin Buttes CCC Camp, Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, Troutlake, Wa.
[103] Sinclair, 31.

one or both. Oral histories mention the delivery of half racks of beef from local farmers that would be butchered in camp and delivery of milk from local dairies. Educational classes included poultry care and could indicate that some camps raised chickens since educational opportunities often helped improve the camp or fill regular responsibilities of the camp.[104] Even if only the beef came from local farmers, the amount of meat consumed by 200 boys provided considerable economic support to local farms and dairies.

It is difficult to know if there was an attempt to vary the types of food ordered and served based on the cultural origins of the enrollees. One example comes from an oral interview of a local boy at a camp predominately made up of enrollees from the South and he complained of the amount of grits served for breakfast. This might an indicator of variation in camps based on enrollees' culture.[105]

Side camps of less than fifty enrollees and spike camps might not have had access to the same quality and quantity of fresh meat as one former enrollee remembers having to sneak into the cooler and take a half rack of beef so that the small camp could have fresh meat instead of canned meat. The former enrollee had to hide the meat in the woods since camp officials went looking for the meat soon after its disappearance.[106]

This meant that the staple food items served at camps would vary little while types and quantities of foods might vary depending on the availability of local sources. The presence of fish bones in the Camp Hemlock dumps shows the informal supply acquisition, revealing that camp residence contributed locally caught fish or sometimes cooked their own food. Only enrollees from Camp Hemlock could name their cook, Dutch Halle, and they all spoke of the

[104] Sinclair, 86, 97.
[105] Donna Sinclair and Richard McClure ed., "No Gold Bricking Here": Oral Histories of the CCC in the Columbia National Forest, 1933-1942, http://www.ccrh.org/oral/ccc%20book_all.pdf (accessed January 20, 2010).
[106] Sinclair, 269.

quality and quantity of his meals. When in season he would pick berries to make pies but even with such good food some enrollees would offer suggestions for improvement.[107] An enrollee would only make a suggestion once since after their first suggestion they would receive a "Dutch special" and while none of the former enrollees could recall what a "Dutch special" actually consisted of, they all knew they didn't want it for their lunch.[108]

In the messhall enrollees ate at long tables with benches in assigned groups. Enrollees assigned to the messhall as stewards set the tables and stocked the tables with food. The enrollees served family style from serving dishes. When a serving dish was emptied, the enrollees would place the dish at the end of the table so that a steward could refill the dish. Enrollees could have all they could eat and many recall having extremely good food.

Figure 30. Interior of Camp Lower Cispus's messhall, 1936. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

[107] Orie Hisel, 6, 17.
[108] Pat Sutherland, January 19, 2013.

For the first enrollees the food provided would have a significant impact on their physical health, but the CCC also provided the only medical care an enrollee had ever had. For major medical emergencies such as a life, limb or eyesight injuries on the job, the enrollee would be evacuated to either a civilian hospital close by if the injury required urgent care or to the nearest military hospital. Each district had its own ambulances that could be stationed at various camps and with enrollees detailed out from their camp to drive the ambulance. For enrollees seriously injured in the Columbia National Forest the local hospitals could do little for them and the enrollees were taken to Vancouver Barracks or Fort Lewis. All enrollees would be placed in a military hospital for recovery or long term care.

A dentist travelled between camps within one district took care of dental probLEM, spending a short amount of time in each camp to inspect all enrollees. The dentist used the camp medical facility during his stay in the camp. The dentist had one enrollee assigned to him as his aid to drive him and assist him in camps. The district headquarters selected an enrollee from a camp and detached the enrollee from their assigned camps for the length of the assignment.

Besides the benefits to the enrollees and the financial benefits to the local community, the CCC provided unforeseen benefits to communities that surrounded the camps. Camp Hemlock assisted Native Americans trapped in the berry fields around Mt Adams by an early snow. The dozers from the camp plowed a path for the Indians to drive and ride out on, and then housed and fed the Indians for one night.[109]

In 1933 a major storm took place that caused considerable flood damage to the Cispus and Cowlitz valleys. Camp Lower Cispus became a temporary shelter for those that lost their homes and the enrollees of the camp helped to rescue those trapped, clear blocked roads and rebuilt bridges. Camps from the Columbia National Forest also took part in the larger rescue

[109] Sinclair, 109.

efforts during the same flood along the Chehalis River.[110] The enrollees provided a fast response in remote areas that might otherwise have taken much longer and cost many more lives. They also rebuilt the infrastructure for those communities that might not have been rebuilt or would have taken years without the sizable pool of labor and equipment the CCC provided.

The CCC camps also provided recreational opportunities for the enrollees and community. Camps in the Vancouver District lacked large recreation halls but sporting events and dances could be found in Carson, and Stevenson, Washington, and Hood River Oregon. Enrollees from Camp Hemlock participated in boxing matches in Hood River and competed against sports team from other camps or the local community that attracted spectators from the surrounding community. Camp Lower Cispus enrollees attended dances in camp and in Morton, while Camp Hemlock enrollees attended many dances at the American Legion hall in Carson.

For Camp Hemlock the largest building the camp had access to was the wood shop. The wood shop served as a dance hall and boxing ring for the camp on occasion where as Camp Lower Cispus used the large recreation hall.[111] The types of recreation varied between camps depending on the camp and local community amenities but every camp provided some recreational opportunities that often benefited more than just the enrollees.

[110] The Chehalis Bee Nugget, Vol. 51, No. 23, page 9; Dec. 15, 1933. Lewis County Advocate, Vol. 61, No.22, page 3; Dec. 29, 1933. The Chehalis Bee Nugget, Vol. 51, No. 25, page 6; Dec. 29, 1933. The Chehalis Bee Nugget, Vol. 51, No. 26, page 1, Jan. 5, 1934.
[111] Orie Hisel, 10, 20; Sinclair,181.

Figure 31. Camp Hemlock Carpentry Shop, 1941. Taken by Andy Prounchick . Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Flexibility with Discipline

Although the CCC was a great success and enjoyed a positive public image at the time that has probably only grown over time, putting 200 adolescent boys in a camp together will create probLEM. Discipline fell under the Army's responsibility; each company commander handled individual discipline actions, district and Corps officers acted only in case of an appeal by an enrollee. Because the CCC was a civilian organization, Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) did not apply to the enrollees, and the camp commander relied on civilian authorities for criminal offenses, with the enrollee dishonorably discharged. This was not commonly necessary, as crimes such as theft might be handled in camp, in order to give the enrollee a second chance.[112] More serious crimes could not be handled in camp and at Lower Cispus, two enrollees

[112] Harper, 45-46, 88-89, 109.

were remanded to the sheriff for stabbing another enrollee, and at Camp Hemlock, one enrollee was arrested after stealing a police car and going for a joy ride.[113]

Informal punishments could be used for non-criminal offenses that fit with punishments used against enlisted personnel in the military. This included the assignment of additional duties outside of normal work time, loss of privileges such as the weekend pass and forfeiture of wages, either a portion or all of the money kept by the enrollee. If the enrollee continued to misbehave he could be dishonorably discharged. If an enrollee left camp without permission then after eight days of being absent from camp the enrollee would be found to be AWOL. Because of the civilian nature of the CCC, enrollees could go AWOL, or "over the hill" as enrollees termed it, and not be criminally prosecuted like enlisted men would have been.[114] The ability for the enrollees to leave camp at any time without being detained or criminally charged meant the punishments available to company commanders relied on the enrollees wanting to be in the CCC.

How well discipline worked and how often enrollees needed to be disciplined is not clear, as the records beyond the number of AWOL enrollees have not survived. There is also evidence of major criminal violations or misconduct being covered up.[115] In Camp Zigzag, a camp in the Vancouver District but in Oregon, an enrollee assigned as a medic refused to continue to work for the camp doctor because of the possibility of criminal charges due to the misconduct of the doctor. The doctor attempted to have the camp commander discipline the enrollee but after the

[113] The Chehalis Bee Nugget, Vol. 50, No. 52, page 1, Fri. July 7, 1933; Sinclair, 187.
[114] War Department, 19-24.
[115] Files from the Portland Red Squad indicate that there was an incident at the camp in Tillamook, Oregon that was serious enough for the camp commander to have enrollees arrested. Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) representatives approached the enrollees and tried to convince the enrollees to let the IWW represent them at a criminal hearing. The Sheriff indicated that this would not be necessary since the boys were not going to be charged. The enrollees were discharged and the commander was relieved with no formal discipline being recorded so that the incident remained out of the press.

doctor talked with the camp commander, the enrollee never heard about the issue again.[116] The transfer of an officer or enrollee to another camp or other duty would keep any formal complaints or disciplinary action appearing in the record. If publicly negative actions had been taking place regularly the Army would not have been able to cover them up for very long and morale would have probably suffered with an increase in enrollees going AWOL. Since AWOL numbers remained low for most of the time that the CCC operated, major incidents probably occurred rarely and the camp commanders remained flexible with deciding when to punish enrollees for rule infractions.[117]

Janna Tuck's thesis helps to show the flexibility of rule enforcement, and not the hardline authoritarian environment that Tuck herself sees in the CCC. The Army officers in camp established a set of expectations for the enrollees in order to keep good discipline and order in camp, but the strict authoritarian methods perceived by Tuck to enforce order and discipline didn't exist.[118] Oral histories of enrollees tell how officers managed their camps that went against the premise of militarization or enrollee rebellion against authority. Pat Sutherland recalled that three enrollees had cars stashed in the woods outside of camp and Phil Amuroso had stashed a model A vehicle in the forest to get to town on the weekends. [119] An enrollee could not have a personal vehicle in camp and if caught could have faced punishment. The camp commander apparently knew they had the vehicles and at some point pulled the enrollees aside to remind them of the rules. Instead of punishing the enrollees, the camp commander let them know that they could continue to hide the vehicles as long as the vehicles stayed outside of the camp and

[116] Janna Tuck, A Beer Party and Watermelon: The Archaeology of Community and Resistance at CCC Camp Zigzag, Company 928, ZigZag, Oregon, 1933-1942 (unpublished thesis, Portland State University, 2010), 60-61.
[117] Salmond, 133, 181.
[118] Tuck attempts to show that the Army's involvement in the CCC created an authoritarian environment through the use of archaeological remains found at Camp Zigzag in Oregon but the remains association with the CCC are suspect and those that might be are out of context.
[119] Sinclair, 22-23.

their use didn't cause probLEM.[120] Bending of the rules for enrollees that worked hard and didn't cause probLEM served as an informal reward system that is common in the military.[121]

Tuck specifically attempted to find evidence for enrollee resistance to authority through the presence of alcohol containers in the archaeological excavation of a refuse dump at Camp Zigzag.[122] Enrollees could not officially possess or consume alcohol in camp and many of the enrollees could not have had alcohol even if they were not enrolled since they were under age. This does not mean that enrollees did not drink alcohol since many oral histories mention alcohol consumption while on pass, in the woods outside of camp and sometimes in the barracks.[123] Phil Amuroso remembers that Dutch Halle, the camp cook, would throw a watermelon and beer party at the end of the month if Dutch had extra funds.[124] Sometimes LEM would reward a hard working crew with a bottle of beer for each enrollee. The commanders of the camps could not have ignored that alcohol consumption took place, especially with beer served in the messhall. But as long as the alcohol didn't become a problem and the camp functioned, then the commander was not going to make it a problem.

Socializing probably motivated most enrollees alcohol to consume but the context of the times should also be considered and many of the boys had seen hard times before enrolling. Some boys had probably developed a bad drinking problem before they enrolled and since alcohol abuse remained a topic not socially talked about or treated, the boys would not have stopped just because their situation had temporarily improved. Pat Sutherland mentions some enrollees so desperate for a drink, they drank hair oil to get drunk because of its high alcohol

[120] Pat Sutherland, January 19, 2013.
[121] During my nine years in the Army I benefitted from the informal reward system of not punishing minor infractions and as a leader I used this system with my soldiers. Sinclair, 84-85, 141, 184, 186-187, 190, 265, 305.
[122] The author's use of alcohol as a sign of Foucault's theory of rebellion against authority taking place makes many assumptions. Unfortunately the alcohol bottles used as key evidence were most likely dumped on the site after the CCC abandoned the camp site, making the author's assertions suspect.
[123] Sinclair, 12, 19, 84, 120, 137.
[124] Sinclair, 18-19.

content. The canteen sold hair oil making the oil the most accessible form of alcohol for those desperate for a drink. Pat's memory is backed by the large numbers of hair oil bottles found in Camp Hemlock dump excavation.[125]

The Army instilled discipline, order and cleanliness in the enrollees only to insure the health, wellbeing and orderly administration of the camp. The environment would be similar to active duty, and enrollees that fought in WWII credit their CCC time for their success in the military. But the CCC was not active duty. The enrollees always had a way out and could voice grievances in a way that active duty soldiers could not.[126] The CCC probably gave the enrollees the stability and free time to be more of a kid than they had otherwise ever been able to be. Not having to worry about the next meal or their safety allowed the boys to relax and "goof off" in their free time.

The militarization of the enrollees also implies a conformity process of the boys that participated. While the enrollees' day was regimented, the regimentation did not vary too much from a worker in a logging camp or industrial worker.[127] The enrollees could choose to do whatever they wanted to in their free time. Conformity and militarization would have also precluded cultural differences among enrollees, but stories of importing cultural differences into the CCC camp environment are common, such as Chicago boys starting gambling rackets and local boys wandering off into the woods to fish. The enrollees never lost their cultural values they brought to the camps. Former enrollees who joined in 1933 and 1934 had worried about the

[125] Pat Sutherland January 19, 2013. The artifact list from the Camp Hemlock dump excavation contained hair oil bottles, along with the excavation of the Cove Creek Idaho CCC dump.
[126] Sinclair, 141-142.
[127] The enrollee's day revolved around the eight hours of work they performed and meal times. The addition of revelry and inspections along with a uniform, are the biggest changes from other jobs. Sinclair, 144, 265, 285-286.

military involvement creating a harsh and restrictive environment but after joining found that their fears were unfounded.[128]

Figure 32. Photograph taken at Camp Hemlock, unknown date. From the Orie Hisel Collection given to the Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Good discipline and low AWOL numbers continued as long as unemployment remained high and work hard to find outside of the CCC. The relief component of the CCC insured that the enrollees came from the poorest and most desperate conditions. After the removal of the welfare requirement in 1937, in order for the CCC to meet its quotas, the discipline proved to be less effective, and the number of enrollees going AWOL increased. In 1939 one in five enrollees went AWOL, Fechner blamed weak leadership and the addition of 17-year old boys but the country had begun to change. Jobs became more common, unemployment rates had dropped and

[128] Sinclair, 53, 58, 84, 86-87, 115, 121; Krah Walter, 16-17.

programs such as the National Youth Administration (NYA) began to compete for enrollees.[129] The change between 1933 and 1942 in the type of enrollee that enlisted can be seen in photographs from the Columbia National Forest as early pictures show a broader age representation, with more boys that stuck out as being considerably older or younger. Later photographs seem to show less of an age difference, and a more militarized look with the addition of more military regimentation in the enrollees' routine.

Enrollees at Work

Most of the enrollees' time would be spent outside of camp and away from the military while working. The Forest Service identified the work and supervised so an enrollee would have more personal contact with Forest Service supervisors then a camp officer. The work assigned to an enrollee could vary greatly depending on the time of year and available work projects to the camp. The variation in work projects affected an enrollees experience and could affect the enrollees' life after his enrollment if the work provided a skill that led to employment.

Figure 33. Boring Tree for Blasting Powder, Columbia NF, WA 1933.

[129] Salmond, 181, 184-185, 198, 202-203.

The Forest Service, like the military, had some prior preparation before assuming its supervisory role. Much of the initial work assigned to the CCC such as tree planting and fire break construction had been identified as critical work by the Forest Service in the 1920s but, lacking the money or manpower, could not carry out. Because of the uncertainty of how long the CCC would be funded, early work emphasized improving access to the national forests for recreation and for fire prevention and suppression. For the Columbia National Forest, the work focused on improving access to those parts of the forest affected by devastating burns in the beginnings of the twentieth century because of the increased fire hazard the previously burned areas created. This meant that the early work fell under the categories of road work, snag felling and reforestation.[130]

Figure 34. CCC enrollees "heeling in" or temporarily storing seedlings at Copper City 1936. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

[130] Alison T. Otis, William D. Honey, Thomas C. Hogg, and Kimberly K. Lakin, The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42, United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service, FS – 395 (August 1986), 45-46.

Main camps had a superintendent assigned by the Forest Service who managed the Forest Service personnel, equipment and designated camp work projects. Side and spike camps fully regulated by the Forest Service fell under the control of a foreman who most likely also supervised the specific task being performed by that detachment. The smaller spike camps, usually made up of a few enrollees, could be run by an enrollee leader who had proven capable of performing the task needed without supervision.[131]

The CCC performed a wide variety of work within the Columbia National Forest. During winter the enrollees worked at lower elevations improving roads, Forest Service administration sites, campgrounds and worked in the CCC camps themselves. During summer the enrollees dispersed throughout the Forest establishing new roads which involved surveying, snag falling, blasting, and heavy equipment operation. Summer also included fire control projects, felling snags, building fire lookouts, establishing new trails to improve access for firefighting, hanging telephone wire for communications, replanting burned areas and fighting fires. Enrollees replanted much of the burned areas from the devastating fires early in the twentieth century and this is probably the biggest impact seen on the forest today.[132]

Forest firefighting before the CCC required the hiring of temporary workers from the local community, including transients who often congregated on Burnside in Portland, Oregon, giving them the name Burnsiders. With the CCC the Forest Service had a large available pool of labor to combat the fires with enrollees placed on pass restrictions during fire season so that there would be enough enrollees in camp to respond.[133] The Spud Hill fire had 2000 enrollees fighting the fire with Lower Cispus acting as the base camp.[134]

---

[131] Harper, 57; Johnson, 91, 93-96.
[132] Sinclair, 10, 17-18, 134, 155, 167, 171, 178-179; Jim Langdon, 37.
[133] Salmond, 46; Sinclair, 11.
[134] Jim Langdon, 34.

Enrollees often created poems or songs about their experiences in the CCC and while on a fire Jerry York from Camp Hemlock recorded a song made up by another enrollee working on the same fire, which underscored the transfer of the Forest Service's institutional culture towards fire to the enrollees during fire season.

"Forest Fires"

One little forest fire
Drying up the dew
A chance wind came along
Then there were two.

Two little forest fires
Burning many a tree
Somebody dropped a match
Then there were three.

Three little forest fires
Burning trees galore
Someone had a picnic
Then there were four.

Four little forest fires
Bright and alive
A man lit a cigarette
Then there were five

Five little forest fires
Burning threes and sticks
A donkey engine had no screen
Then there were six

Six little forest fires
Lighting up the heaven
A careless man lost his pipe
Then there were seven

Seven little forest fires
A match was the bait
A man built a camp fire
Then there were eight.

Eight little forest fires
Burning up the pine
A little red spark flew
Then there were nine.

Nine little forest fires
Caused by careless men
Another man came along
And then there were ten.

Figure 35. Poem written by an unnamed enrollee but written down by Jerry York at Camp Hemlock.[135]

[135] Poem written down my Jerry York is on file with the Gifford Pinchot Heritage Program.

Figure 36. CCC Fighting Fire, Columbia NF, WA 1937. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

The work in the forest for fire protection could have an enrollee working with 100 other enrollees digging fire line or working with just one other enrollee falling snags. Forest improvement and fire protection took place during the summer and enrollees during that time often spent little time in main camps. The experience of enrollees enrolled over the summer could be very different from enrollees working during winter when the summer side and spike camps shut down and most of the company would be in one camp. During winter enrollees established and improved recreation areas or worked on Forest Service administrative areas. Enrollees at Camp Lower Cispus established La Wis Wis campground, the largest campground on the Forest in Cowlitz Valley. The work took multiple winters to complete.

Enrollees could change jobs if they wanted but most stayed with the job they were assigned during the first six-month enrollment, allowing them to become proficient at their assigned detail. Most jobs were fairly repetitive, falling trees, planting trees, constructing lots of the same type of furniture but some jobs offered variety. The construction of Forest Service administration buildings required more skill to build since in the case of the many ranger stations built by the CCC, knowledge of electrical, gas piping, plumbing, masonry and carpentry would

be required.[136] The enrollees lucky enough to be present in Camp Hemlock during the construction of the dam took part in a monumental building project that was rare for the CCC.

An enrollees' job shaped the enrollees' experience since a job could keep the enrollee in the main camp his entire enrollment, take him to remote spike camps or allow him to travel to other forests to fight fires. The experience in main camps with their built environment and amenities differed from side camps, which varied widely in the number of enrollees they accommodated, and in length of use and number of permanent structures. The number of permanent structures built depended on the expected length of use although all side camps utilized tents for enrollee housing, allowing for more flexibility in expanding and contracting the size of the camp. Side camps administered by the Army would have a civilian cook, like the main camps, but camps administered by the Forest Service designated an enrollee as cook for that camp.[137]

Twin Buttes, a side camp of Camp Sunset Falls, ranged between forty to fifty enrollees but in 1934 housed 186. Sheep Lake, a side camp of Lower Cispus, housed sixty to a hundred enrollees over four summers between 1935 and 1939. Responsibility of side camps with fifty or more enrollees fell under the normal military control but companies only had two officers per company. During summer time when the CCC companies spread out to work out of side camps the Forest Service supervisors took over more of the camp management responsibilities if the officers didn't move to the side camps with the various company elements.

Recreational opportunities were limited for enrollees working from side camps because they did not have the same number of specialized buildings as main camps. The largest building, the mess hall, became multipurpose with classes and recreation taking place after dinner during

[136] Division of Engineering, Acceptable Plans Forest Service Administrative Buildings, United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service, 1938.
[137] Sinclair, 13.

the week and on weekends when not back at main camps or on pass. At Twin Buttes dances held in the messhall and the berry pickers camping in the area were often invited to participate since the enrollees did not have access to local communities.[138]

An enrollee's work directed the enrollee's experience in the CCC since all aspects of his life revolved around work. Depending on the type of work enrollees could have very different experiences from other enrollees in the same company.

Education in the CCC

The original ECW Act did not have an educational component to it other than the training needed to perform the jobs enrollees had been assigned to and whatever education the camp commander felt important. The National Youth Congress, the Office of Education and public education proponents pushed from the beginning of the CCC for a strong educational component. On November 22, 1933, against the wishes of Fechner, a national education plan became part of the CCC, which established camp libraries, distance learning, evening classes and vocational training outside of on-the-job training.[139] Fechner never liked the education aspect of the CCC and felt it was a distraction from the work which the CCC had been created to do.[140] The Army opposed the addition of the educational program, as this would possibly bring an outside authority into the camp which they felt would interfere with the proper administration of the camp. The Army argued that the camp commanders already acted as counselors to the enrollees, coordinated entertainment and organized educational opportunities and the addition of the Office of Education's education program would not be needed. The Army lost the battle against the formal education program, but they did retain complete control of the camps by successfully pushing the position of the Office of Education as subordinate to the War

[138] Sinclair, 68.
[139] Salmond, 47; Report of the Director, 28-29.
[140] Salmond, 47, 53, 59, 76-78, 150, 153, 155-156,162-163, 167.

Department. Instead of leaving the educational representatives at the Corps and camp level free to create an independent educational program like the "She She She", the CCC education counselors acted as an advisor to the Army and fell under the supervision of the Corps and camp commanders.[141]

The Forest Service felt an educational program could be beneficial but felt that the focus should be on vocational skills instead of academic. The Forest Service's argument hinged on the CCC's mandate of providing useful job skills for future employment and pointed to the uselessness of enrollees taking a handful of academic classes which often did not relate to each other. The Forest Service probably had no other motive other than an honest desire to provide for the welfare of the enrollees, but a shift to vocational-only education would have put the educational program under the Forest Service's control. Outside of the CCC, the unions lobbied for a larger vocational focus and felt the unions needed to take a bigger role in the vocational training and job placement after an enrollee's discharge. The unions felt that only through the unions would youth understand the democratic process.[142] Even though Fechner had been a leader in the Machinists Union, he opposed any kind of educational component as a distraction from the true purpose of the CCC as a relief agency and resisted any outside influence.

Because of the lack of employment due to their age and lack of experience, the CCC became an enrollee's first real work experience. The job training and educational opportunities have been emphasized, but unlike the financial and health benefits, many enrollees mention the difficulty in finding jobs after their enrollment or their continued enrollment past six months due

[141] Johnson, 112-113; Robert Fechner, "The Civilian Conservation Corps Program," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp. 129-140; Harper, 43, 47-48; Ned Harland Dearborn, Once in a Lifetime: A Guide to the CCC Camp (Charles E Merrill Co, 1935). War Department, War Department Regulations Relief of Unemployment Civilian Conservation Corps (Washington, 1935), 111-116.

[142] Ordway Tead, "Youth and the Labor Unions," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): pp. 42-47; Salmond, 47-53, 81

to the lack of jobs. The vocational and on-the-job training provided by the CCC helped the enrollees with their work in the CCC but did not prepare them for the depressed job market.

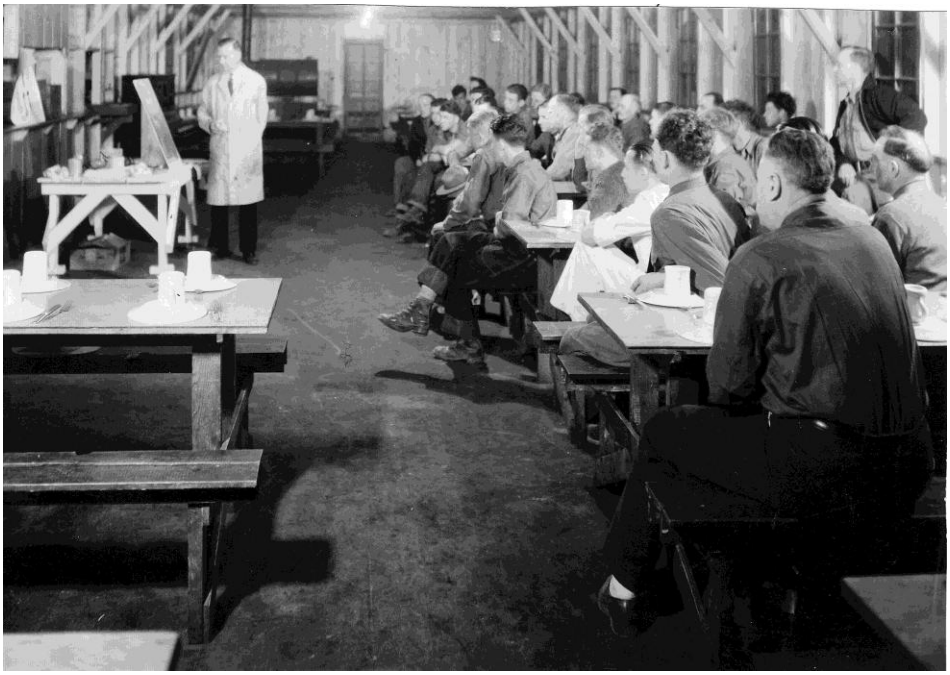


Figure 37. CCC Evening Classes, Columbia National Forest. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Some enrollees received specialized training as a rigger or heavy equipment operator that proved beneficial when they sought employment after discharge. The majority of enrollees did not receive such specialized jobs or training and outside of the land management agencies, falling snags and reforestation did not translate to the general job market.[143] Like the public education system in the US, the CCC failed to prepare enrollees for the few jobs available. The CCC produced too many people with the same skills for fields with a limited number of jobs. The addition of a job placement service in 1938 helped to solve some of the post CCC employment

[143] Jim Langdon.

probLEM but by that time the job market had begun to improve. Even still the enrollees general good work habit and not job skills became their most marketable aspect.[144]

The Army had wanted to limit the amount of influence the Forest Service had on enrollees, and pushed back against the Forest Service educational proposal. Even though it had initially opposed the formal educational program, the Army accepted a program under their control as a better alternative than a program under Forest Service leadership. The Forest Service was not successful in excluding academic studies, but in the end, due to a lack of resources due to the limited educational program under the Army, vocational classes made up a large portion of the educational program. The conflict at the national level did not carry down to the camp level and the education programs in camps show the cooperation between agencies and the flexibility of the CCC by utilizing the facilities and equipment available in camp to provide enough classes for the enrollees.[145]

[144] Salmond, 134.

[145] Orie Hisel. Krah Walter, interviewed by Judy Caughlin, November 6, 1981. Examples of classes in camps included but were not limited to engine repair, car maintenance, cooking, baking, tree identification, forestry and radio operation; Sinclair, 201, 209.

Chapter 5: World War II, the end of the CCC

As the nation began to prepare for the possibility of war, changes to New Deal programs began to take place. A new oversight agency was created, placing all New Deal programs including the CCC under the Federal Security Agency (FSA). The FSA then began to phase out redundant programs and review the budgets of others. Director Fechner had mandated from the beginning that for every CCC project, no more than $930 could be spent per enrollee on the project in order to maximize the amount of money going to relief instead of materials. The cost restriction rarely worked out, and the CCC had a history of over-running the cost per enrollee, but because the agency only answered to the president, they had been able to take care of cost issues in house. Now that a third party had oversight authority of the CCC and needed more resources to be diverted to war preparation, pressure increased to cut costs per enrollee. The CCC also found itself justifying its continued existence, as more programs ended and the need for the agency as a relief program became less important, considering increased job opportunities in the United States and the difficulties meeting enrollee quotas.[146]

Besides the increased scrutiny from the FSA, those critical of the CCC began to use the weaknesses appearing in the agency, such as reserve officers being called to active duty and questions of its continued relevance, to propose changes.[147]

[146] Salmond, 128-129, 177-178; Report of the Director 1933 to 1935, 25.
[147] Salmond, 208.

Figure 38. Dedication of commemorative plaque for CCC Director Fechner, Randle, Washington 1940.

Fechner died in 1939 with James McEntee replacing him. The new supervisor found himself having to try and find a new purpose for the CCC but came up against barriers that had been created by Fechner over the CCC's operation. The CCC seldom developed a structured educational program and never provided substantial skills for future employment, as the agency focused on relief first. The inability to adopt a formal education system that provided a serious academic or vocational education and job placement meant the agency would become irrelevant if the economy ever improved. When the economy and employment situation did improve, with the increase in defense work due to the approach of World War II, the CCC began to suffer with shortfalls in recruiting, making it difficult to justify the budget. To prevent the cancellation of the CCC, McEntee and the Army began to back-pedal on their opposition to increased education and defense training for enrollees. Because the relief component no longer could be justified, McEntee tried to play up the educational component of the CCC. He found, though, that the earlier battles that Fechner had fought against adding a large formal centralized educational

program now came back at McEntee, as the government criticized the secondary and ad hoc nature of the CCC's educational program.[148]

Some members of Congress proposed using the CCC as a training organization for the military, and although both McEntee and the Army opposed this idea, as they felt that the CCC should remain a civilian organization, they soon capitulated.[149] This did not stop the Army from increasingly using CCC companies on military installations to repair and improve facilities neglected since the World War I. The Army had used CCC enrollees on military installations from the beginning, but previously, these enrollees would only work there during their conditioning term, or, in the case of some African American companies, military installations might have been the only place they could be stationed without a public outcry.[150] McEntee became increasingly desperate and began to back track on his opposition to an increased militarization of enrollees. Also, as Congress seemed determined to force military training on CCC enrollees, General Marshall, who opposed militarization of the CCC, created a compromise where the educational component of the CCC would change to defense training in military support skills but no combat training, although enrollees had close order drills added to the daily schedule in some camps.[151] By 1942, a mandate that all CCC work fall within two criteria, aid in war work construction and war resource protection and development of natural resources was officially adopted.[152] Because the Forest Service managed the timber reserve of the nation, this

[148] Salmond, 47-52, 81, 193-198; Johnson, 110-141; War Department, 111-116.
[149] Salmond, 195-196.
[150] Dr. Susan Goodfellow, Marjorie Nowick, Chad Blackwell, Dan Hart, Kathryn Plimpton. Nationwide Context, Inventory, and Heritage Assessment of Works Progress Administration and Civilian Conservation Corps Resources on Department of Defense Installations (Engineering-Environmental Management, Inc., 2009), 14-15.
[151] Salmond, 197.
[152] J. J. McEntee to Interior Department Representative, January 27, 1942, Bureau of Indian Affairs Umatilla Indian Agency Pendleton, Ore., CCC Programs & Activities 1938-1942, Box #3, L-M, 300 Projects, RG75, NA, Seattle.

new mandate only affected the work on recreational improvements, but road work, stand improvement and fire control still played an important part in the CCC's work in the forests.[153]

The military model had been downplayed and remained absent in the beginning as isolationists, pacifists, communists, and labor unions opposed any funding for an agency that could be perceived to militarize youth. Enlisted soldiers did not fit the cultural ideal of a successful man. Few heroes came out of World War I, and a poor public image of soldiers and the negative effects of war, such as PTSD and self-medication through alcohol abuse, shaped public opinion.[154] In 1938 with the actions of Germany, Italy, and Russia, the earlier groups which opposed militarizing youth lost clout, and a more militarized image of the CCC became socially acceptable.[155] By 1942, with the end of the CCC and U.S. entry into World War II, the popular cultural image of masculinity shifted from a self-reliant, independent male worker to a clean-cut, straight-laced, disciplined soldier. [156]

Fechner had opposed any outside influence, but his successor McEntee did not have the same clout that Fechner had. McEntee could have made up for that by taking a lead, instead of constantly reacting to situations, in molding the CCC into a more relevant agency but he never did, causing the administration to look at those that did propose change.[157] McEntee's lack of leadership and the military's concern over a growing threat of war led to an experiment in 1940, in an abandoned CCC camp in Sharon, Vermont called Camp William James. The purpose for the camp was justified differently, to various interested parties, creating contradictions that doomed the experiment at a time the CCC could not afford negative publicity.

---

[153] Salmond, 196-197.
[154] Jeffery Ryan Suzik, "Building Better Men" The CCC Boy and the Changing Social Ideal of Manliness, *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 2, no.2, (October 1999), 159.
[155] Suzik, 157; Salmond, 193.
[156] Suzik, 167, 169, 171, 174-176; Christina S. Jarvis, The Male Body at Work: American Masculinity during World War II (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010), 22-24.
[157] Salmond, 92, 95-101. Cole, Olen Jr., The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps (Miami: University Press of Florida, 1999), 19-24, 56.

Dr. Eugene Rosenstock-Huessy, who was instrumental in the creation of the Wiemar youth labor service and fled Germany after Hitler formed the Reichsarbietsdienst or Hitler Youth. He came up with the idea for the camp and lobbied for the creation of the camp. Dr. Rosenstock-Huessy, with support of some prominent women, gained Eleanor Roosevelt's support to push for Roosevelt's approval for the camp.

The official proposal for the camp called for it to be a staff school for future leaders of the CCC, in order to replace the military officers being called to active duty with the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) in charge. Outside supporters and camp enrollees saw the camp as an expression of democracy at work and meant for the breaking down of class barriers by bringing youth of different socio-economic groups together. The USDA wanted to secure long term funding for the CCC working on USDA projects since they figured the CCC would naturally end soon if an alternative path was not found for the agency. McEntee continued his opposition to any variation of the established regulations and guidelines of the CCC and also disapproved of the USDA taking unilateral control of the experiment, which would have also expanded the CCC beyond conservation to aiding farmers, the explicit mission of the USDA.[158]

The experiment was a complete failure at that time, since the enrollees came from middle to upper-class families and attended Ivy League colleges. The public could not see why youth from financially stable families should be a part of an agency still seen as a relief agency by the public, even if the relief mandate had been removed in 1937. The German heritage of the founder did not help the public image of the camp, especially since he was tied to what became the political indoctrination program by the Nazis for German youth.[159] The growing lack of leadership from the director's office, the military and the longevity of the program had created a

[158] Salmond, 202-204; Calvin W. Gower, ""Camp William James": A New Deal Blunder?" *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Dec., 1965): pp. 475-493.
[159] Salmond, 203-204.

situation where the CCC could no longer adapt to solve probLEM. Public image of what the CCC was supposed to be would not allow any major changes, along with growing disciplinary probLEM, dwindling enrollee numbers and decreased funding the agency could not hope to continue.

Eventually, the reserve officers would be replaced by civilians whom often were just the same reserve officer who had been taken off active duty to be hired to fill his old job. The civilians were still under Army control, making the move more of a symbolic one and a slight cost savings, as the civilians fell under CCC not military regulations, reducing their pay and ending stipends afforded to officers. As war seemed more likely, the civilian commanders would be called back to active duty, leaving the command of the camp to civilian clerks.[160]

The attack on Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941 occurred on a Sunday and by Monday many CCC enrollees and foremen had enlisted for active duty; one camp superintendent could not find enough people in camp to put together proper work crews.[161] By March of 1942, Congressman McKellar introduced a bill that would have abolished the CCC, and at the hearings for the bill many testified on the CCC's good defense work. Considering the still-strong feelings for the CCC, instead of voting on the bill Congress took the politically safer approach of voting to deny funding.[162]

The task of closing camps and inventorying the massive quantities of supplies left in camp fell to the remaining clerks. On the Columbia National Forest the supplies and equipment would first be consolidated in the two main camps, Lower Cispus and Hemlock and anything useful to the war effort would be shipped back to the district headquarters. Anything not useful to the war effort would be left and the Forest Service would have to figure out ways of disposing of

[160] Sinclair, 245-250.
[161] Jim Langdon, 19.
[162] Salmond, 214-215.

the excess goods. Much of the material would sit in the former camp buildings until after the war when the Forest Service had the time and manpower to try and auction off the surplus, including the buildings. Some of the buildings and equipment from the main camps were purchased by individuals and companies but most of it did not and other means had to be found to dispose of the surplus. Eventually all the surplus was given away or destroyed with most of the buildings burned, bulldozed and buried. Buildings left in side camps were left to deteriorate and collapse on their own or eventually burned by the Forest Service as a safety precaution.[163]

As a well-liked and the longest running New Deal program, the CCC disappeared quickly. World War II quickly drew the public's attention and the remains of the agency were left to a few individuals who saw the task of inventorying and disposing of the camps as a burden. Few records remain from individual camps and the camp newspapers produced by the camps are held by a private repository with high access fees effectively making the newspapers inaccessible.

Little remains of the CCC camps that had been established on the Columbia National Forest. Only two camp structures built for CCC still exist at their original camp sites and of those only the former LEM quarters at Camp Guler, now Mt Adams Ranger District headquarters, retains any architectural integrity, although it has been moved. The former Army officer's quarters at Camp Lower Cispus is located on its original footprint but has had substantial modifications. Neither structure serves its original purpose. The LEM quarters now functions as the ranger station exercise room, bunkhouse laundry room, and a shower room for employees

[163] Sinclair, 241-250.

that commute. The Army officer's quarters has changed purposes several times and undergone modifications because of the repurposing and maintenance.[164]

Until 2012, Camp Smoky Creek still had over half of the original CCC structures used by the CCC during the camp operation. They had all been moved and slightly modified because of repurposing and maintenance but retained enough integrity to be easily identifiable. Due to age and a carpenter ant infestation the structures had to be condemned and destroyed.[165] Only one barracks building still exists from all the camps but the Forest Service no longer owns the building. Sold as surplus during the liquidation of Camp Hemlock, the person who bought the building moved the barracks to Stevenson, Washington. Cut in half, placed on a terraced piece of ground and reconnected, the barracks now serves as a duplex with the original CCC cedar shakes still covering the outside of the building.[166]

Because the original buildings no longer exist for the majority of camps the original layout of a camp is best known from photographs taken by the enrollees and Forest Service personnel. Site plans are rare for CCC camps and are often only available because of their association with an administrative site that had survey plans created during the operational period of the CCC or soon after. Unfortunately not all the camps had pictures taken and even camps that did, the pictures do not show the entire camp or only represent the camp at one point in time. Hemlock did not always have five barracks and the smaller outbuildings added over time. Even when a picture does capture the numerous outbuildings in a camp the purpose of some of those buildings is unknown.

---

[164] Janet Liddle, Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form, Lower Cispus CCC Camp, Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, Troutlake, Washington, February 7, 1995.
[165] Richard McClure, personal correspondence, February 15, 2013.
[166] Cheryl Mack, Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form, Lower Cispus CCC Camp, Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, Troutlake, Washington, May 10, 2002.

Like the change in a camps infrastructure, enrollees' experiences and activities in the CCC camps changed over time. The few oral histories and historical documents do not capture the complete picture. The only area left to help inform the historical record is the remaining archaeological record.

Chapter 6: CCC Camp Sites and the Archaeological Record

Within the Gifford Pinchot National Forest, a total of eleven CCC camp locations have been identified and documented as historic period archaeological sites (See figure 45). Very little in-depth archaeological work has been done on any of the camps, except Camp Hemlock, and analysis of the assemblage is not complete at this time.

USFS SITE NUMBER	CAMP NAME	CCC CAMP NUMBER
11081702	Camp Lower Cispus	F-34
10101801	Camp Upper Cispus	F-35
06093402	Camp Peterson Prairie	F-36
05073203	Camp Siouxon	F-37
07080302	Camp Twin Buttes	F-38
04042401	Camp Sunset Falls	F-39
04072702	Camp Hemlock	F-41
04062102	Camp Lookout Mountain	F-43
06090902	Camp Smoky Creek	F-89
06102207	Camp Guler	-
09100601	Camp Sheep Lake	-

Figure 39. CCC Camps identified and documented historic period archaeological sites.

Because of the limited archaeological investigation and data available this chapter will focus on the pattern of CCC camp site formation on the Gifford Pinchot National Forest and the potential for future data recovery based on the evidence produced from the work that has been done.

When the CCC was ended the assets not useable for the war or by the Forest Service were sold or destroyed. This included the structures and many were left to collapse or were burned after everything was removed.[167] The destruction of the camp could also be years or decades after the last enrollee left. Camp Hemlock had camp buildings standing for six years after it was

[167] Sinclair, 243-246.

closed with one barracks building sold.[168] The camp at Lookout Mountain had buildings standing until the 1960s when the last standing buildings were burned by the Forest Service to prevent forest visitors from using the structurally unsound buildings.[169] Twin Buttes had a similar fate with buildings there standing until 1963 when they were burned because of their poor condition. Camp Sunset Falls was eventually burned, destroyed, bulldozed and backfilled to clear the area for recreation development after the camp was abandoned. The Camp Sunset Falls site continued to have development work done to improve the recreational site until the present.[170]

All camps in the Gifford Pinchot National Forest would eventually be destroyed or left to collapse and decay but the process and timeline varied dramatically. The site creation process for the CCC camps produce similar looking sites and some common probLEM. Camps were not completely abandoned after the CCC left and since many had buildings standing until the 1960s, most camps were used at least until sometime in the sixties. A look at six CCC camp site use histories after the CCC ended can highlight a pattern of site use.

After the CCC left Camp Hemlock the supplies not removed from the camp were stored in some of the barracks and during World War II the camp was used by the Civilian Public Service (CPS) as a side camp for conscientious objectors from CPS camp #21, at Cascade Locks, Oregon. One barracks was removed from the site but the rest would remain until their destruction

[168] Cheryl Mack, Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form, Trout Creek Site, Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, Troutlake, Washington, April 10, 2002.

[169] The date range determined is based on a diary entry from 1938 that stated the camp would be burned that day but the camp saw later use by the CCC. There were also stories from Forest Service personnel about the building still standing during their time. Many buildings were burned in the 1960s as part of an attempt to remove excess property and mitigate hazards. Many historic lookouts were lost during that period. The evidence at the Camp Lookout Mountain site is that the buildings were burned. An aerial photograph from the 1970s show no buildings standing on the site.

[170] Mack, Sunset Falls.

in 1947. After World War II the site would continue to be used as an administrative site by the Forest Service with portable trailers placed next to and partially within the former camp site.[171]

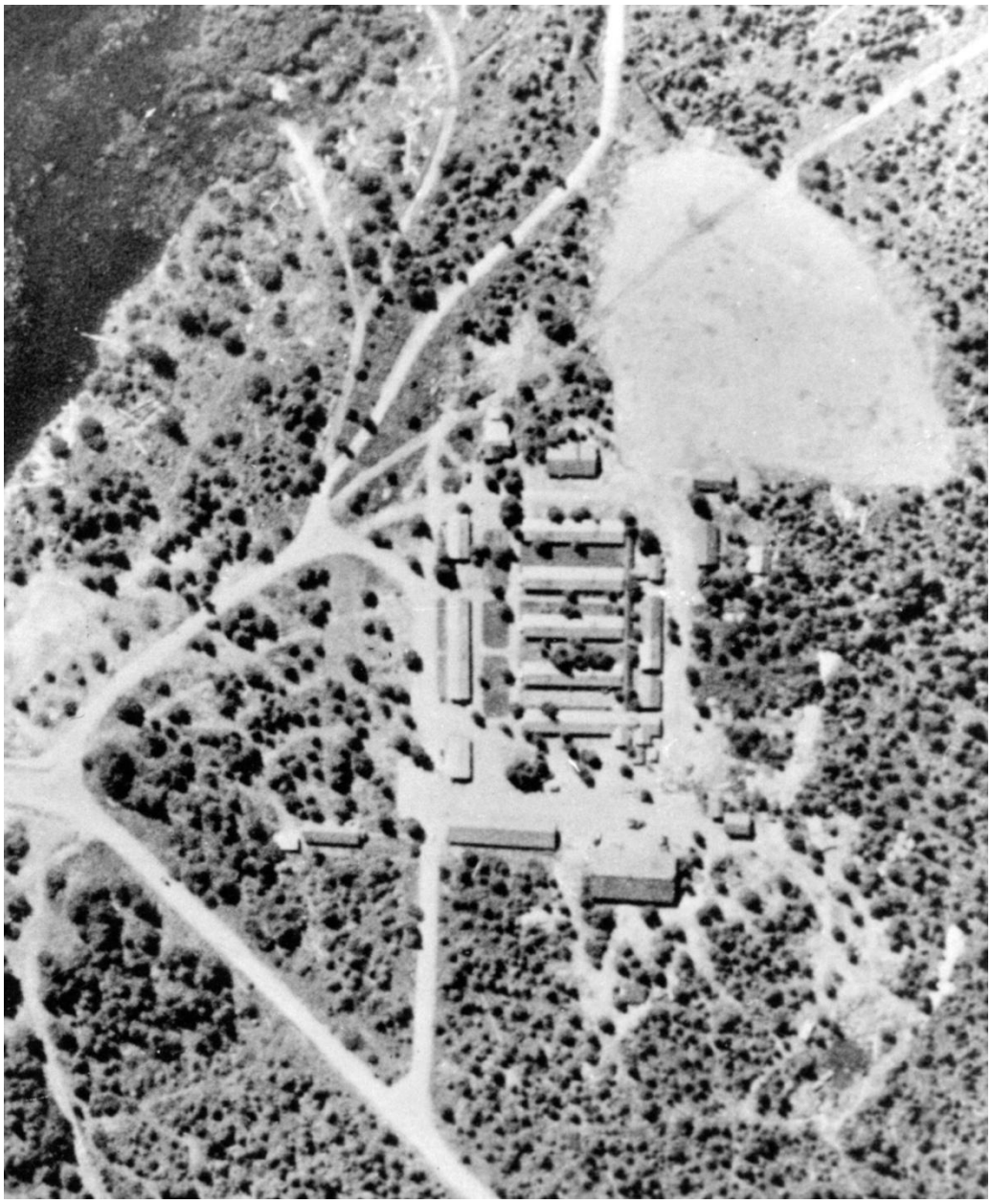


Figure 40. Air photograph of CCC Camp Hemlock, 1937. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

[171] Mack, Trout Creek.

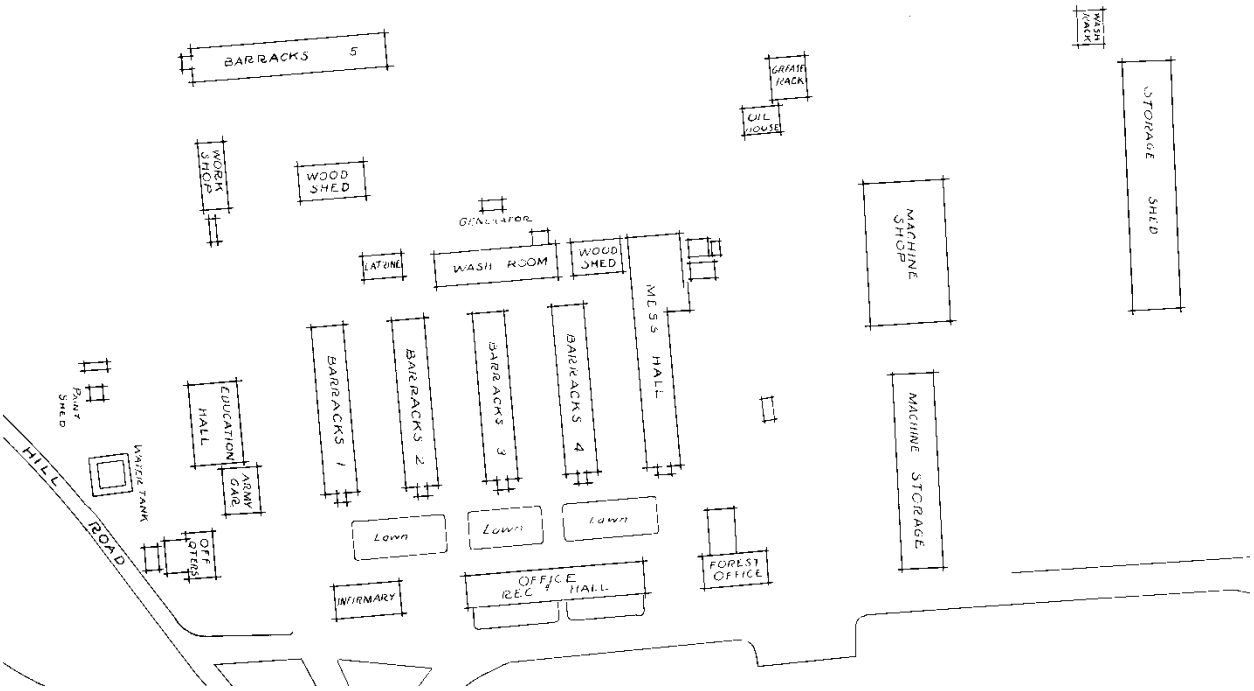


Figure 41. Sketch of Camp Hemlock 1941. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Camp Sunset Falls continued to be used by the Forest Service after the CCC abandoned the camp. The site would become the guard station site for the Lewis River Ranger District in 1948 and in 1956 or 1957 became a work center. In 1946 only eight buildings from the CCC remained and by the late sixties when the work center was closed all the remaining buildings were sold and removed. The site was filled and leveled for the expansion of the existing recreational site.[172]

[172] Mack, Sunset Falls.

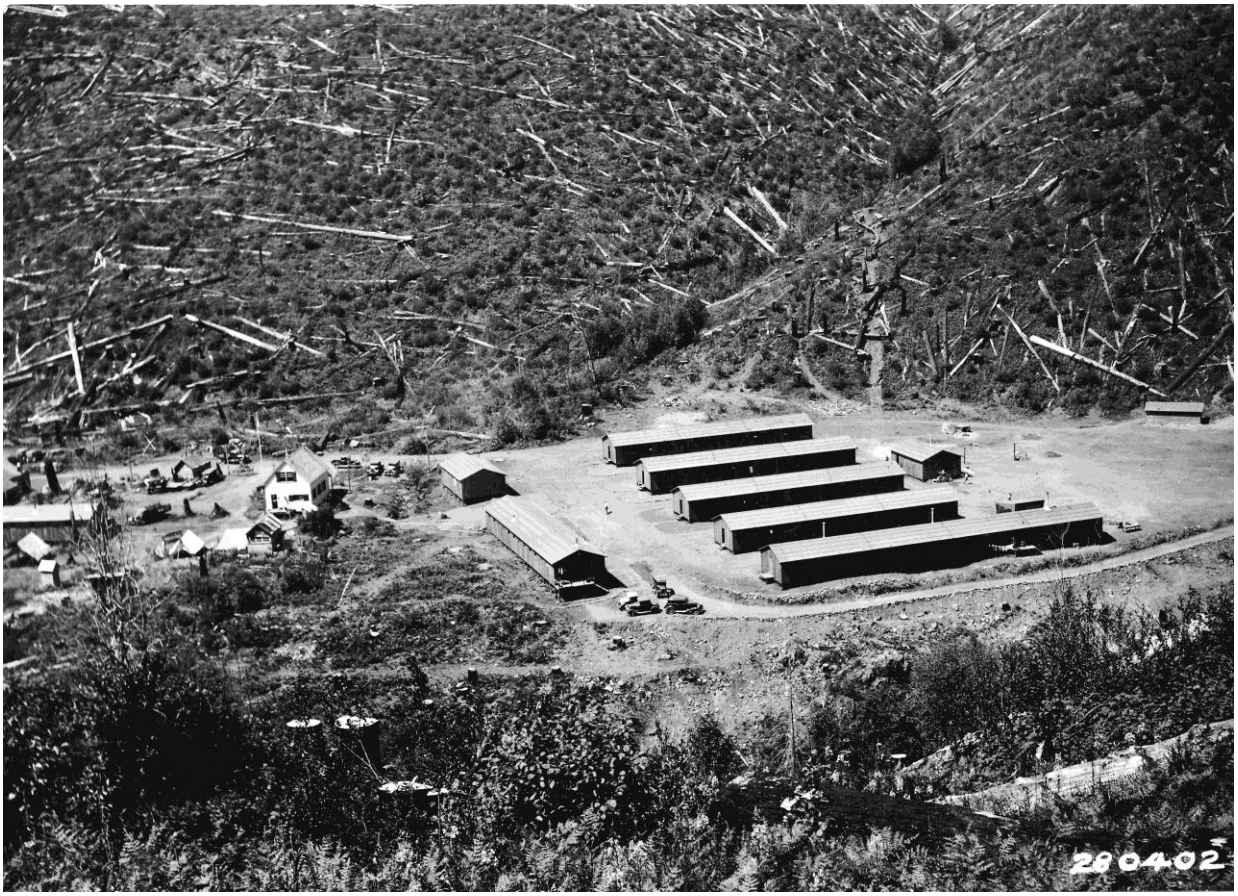


Figure 42. CCC Camp Sunset Falls, Columbia National Forest. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Camp Lower Cispus continued to be used by the Forest Service until the 1960s. In that time all but eight buildings had been removed by 1946 and in 1948 only six buildings remained. In the 1960s the Job Corps took over the camp site and turned the site into a vocational training center. Because the Job Corps provided heavy equipment training, after all but two of the buildings were removed the site was graded and bladed, and new buildings were constructed.

The site is currently under special use permit to the Washington State Principal's Association and only one original CCC camp building remains.[173]

Figure 43. View of Camp Lower Cispus from water tower. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Camp Peterson Prairie was used by Girl Scouts starting in the 1930s after the CCC stopped using the camp. After the Girl Scouts left, camp facilities were burned by the Forest Service. The site is on the edge of a developed Forest Service campground, and the open field seen in period photographs of the CCC camp is almost completely overgrown with trees.[174]

[173] Liddle, Lower Cispus CCC Camp.
[174] Cheryl Mack, Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form, Perterson Prairie Civilian Conservation Corps Camp F-41, Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, Troutlake, Washington, November 3, 2009.

Figure 44. Camp Peterson Prairie, 1933. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Figure 45. Picture of Camp Smoky Creek, unknown date. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Camp Smoky Creek has one of the best documented site histories since the camp has been continuously used since 1947, when the property was placed under special use permit to the Klickitat County Sheriff's Mounted Posse, then to the Smoky Creek Club and then in 1959 to the Mountain View Recreation Club. The CCC camp originally had nine structures with a barn added in the 1950s by one of the permit groups. In 1954 or 1955 the messhall/cookhouse collapsed due to snow load, in 1962 the administrative building and woodshed burned down and in 1970 the six-seater outhouse was removed. Every building has been moved to a different location with extensive structural modifications, although the original purpose is easy to identify.[175] The original water system remained in use and while being repaired over time still retains enough integrity to be a great example of the water systems installed by the CCC for camp use. After 77 years of use the last buildings were burned in 2012 because of a carpenter ant infestation.[176]

After Camp Lookout Mountain and Camp Twin Buttes were abandoned forest visitors used the structures for shelter. Both sites were burned in the 1960s to mitigate hazard buildings but even today hunters use Lookout Mountain's access road and a small remaining landing for camping.

Of the six camps, all had continued use after the CCC had abandoned the camp and went through some sort of effacement process, either complete or partial destruction of features or the site. Because of the limited archaeological investigation a comparison between the information recovered from Gifford Pinchot National Forest CCC camp sites and the results of a study conducted by Monica Smith might help show the potential for further meaningful data recovery from CCC sites on the Forest.

[175] Cheryl Mack, Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form, Smoky Creek Civilian Conservation Corps Camp, Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, Troutlake, Washington, June 9, 2009.
[176] Richard McClure, personal correspondence, February 15, 2013.

The Archaeology of a "Destroyed" Site: Surface Survey and Historical Documents at the Civilian Conservation Corps Camp, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico, a study by Monica Smith, looked at a CCC camp site purposely destroyed and landscaped as part of abandonment in order to determine if a camp site purposely destroyed can still have a visible foot print and if the site can still inform the historical records.[177] Specifically she hoped to see if a short-term occupation of multi-purpose type (e.g. camps) could be detected in the archaeological record and if low-frequency artifacts can inform the interpretation of sites with historical documentation.

The Bandelier CCC camp is a good comparative site because of the similar site formation process of abandonment, effacement and later use by park visitors and possible use by administrative personnel from the administrative facilities next to the site.

At the Bandelier camp site, Smith ruled out contamination, one of the probLEM with the Camp Zigzag site previously discussed, based on the dating of diagnostic bottles and cans found throughout the site. The architectural remains were considered to be a part of the camp site based on the unlikelihood of the National Park Service using an area purposely landscaped and near an administrative area as a dump for the monument.

The survey noted berm features, large pieces of cut sod, chunks of concrete, asphalt with structural artifacts represented over half of all artifacts recovered with a total of 339 architectural related artifacts noted. Of the 339 artifacts, 207 were nails and 25 window glass. An additional 14 artifacts possibly represented structural artifacts but because of their possible use in other camp functions, I did not include them with the total count of structural artifacts. It is important

[177] Monica L. Smith, "The Archaeology of a "Destroyed" Site: Surface Survey and Historical Documents at the Civilian Conservation Corps Camp, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico," *Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (2001): pp. 31-40.

to note that the number of nails is a not the complete number of nails in the site but a rough count of what was on the surface.[178]

Because a camp map and some historical pictures existed for the camp the features found on the ground could be attributed to different parts of the camp. The asphalt in the south might have belonged to the tennis court, the concrete probably belonged to the messhall and possibly the washroom. The association of the concrete is made based on the use of concrete foundations and slabs for other camps on the Gifford Pinchot National Forest.

A coal pile was noted and when compared with the camp map the coal is located next to the former location of the messhall. CCC camps in areas that had little to no firewood locally available used coal so there is a good association between the location of the coal pile and former use. Camps using wood could have as many as 20 enrollees working on cutting and splitting wood so the use of coal would have freed enrollees from the burden of fire wood procurement.

A nail concentration at the edge of the camp above a cliff face might indicate an area that structural debris was concentrated and burned or pushed to after burning. There is a possibility that some of the camp debris could have been pushed over the cliff edge but this possibility was not explored.

Based on the above, Smith concluded that

> Short-term occupation of multi-purpose type (e.g. camps) can be detected in the archaeological record, even when these occupations are designed to be temporary and/or their remains are deliberately effaced.[179]

Smith's first conclusion is supported by the camp sites on the Gifford Pinchot National Forest that fit within the same site formation process as the Bandelier CCC camp. If a camp site had continued use by other users and as the level of effacement increased, the ability to detect the

[178] Smith, 33-34.
[179] Smith, 38.

camp in the archaeological record decreases according to sites on the Gifford Pinchot National Forest. Contamination also becomes a bigger problem when camp sites see continued use and since buildings have been moved within camps that had continued use, the archaeological surface record becomes less reliable.

Even though Smith's first conclusion is supported by evidence from the camp sites on the Gifford Pinchot National Forest, some of her conclusions in regard to artifacts representing differential access to goods and the possibility of an elite association do not seem to be supported. When compared to information available from period pictures and oral histories from the Columbia National Forest camps, Smith's hypothesis for a differential association based on types of material present is not as strong as her first conclusion. She based the possibility of an elite association with specific artifacts and features, on the presence of the remains of an asphalt road bed and polished slate tiles concentrated in the north part of the camp site.[180] The presence of the road bed is not unexpected since the administrative office was located in the north and would have been the entrance point for the camp. Most camps had some sort of entrance portal to indicate to a visitor that they had entered the camp, and that included a road and parking area for vehicles. Often the administrative building for the camp would be located near the entrance and parking area, acting as another point of access to the camp for visitors. While delineating a clear line between camp space and the space outside, the road would not have represented differential access to goods.

Since the camp map does not show a separate officer's quarters it is possible that the administrative building served as the officer's quarters. Officer's and foreman's quarters had improvements and used materials not found in enrollee barracks and the slate possibly came from the officer's quarters and would indicate a differential access. But the recreation hall was

[180] Smith, 35.

also located in the north and as evidence from the two main camps on Columbia National Forest indicates, the same materials used to improve the officer's and foreman's quarters were used in the improvement of the recreation hall. If the recreation hall in the camp at Bandelier had been improved in a similar manner as those on the Columbia National Forest, then the differential access would be complicated since the recreation hall served as a common area for the enrollees. No matter which building had contained the higher quality building materials, the presence of slate shows that the practice of improving some buildings with locally available materials took place in camps outside the Columbia National Forest and probably was a common practice throughout the CCC.

Smith came to a second conclusion in regards to the artifacts

> Low-frequency artifacts can be used to support inferences about site usage, whether as single exemplars or grouped into similar-usage types. This is especially true for temporary sites, where occupants are likely to remove all of their belongings and singular finds maybe the only representation of some types of activities.[181]

The second conclusion can also be supported by camps sites in the Gifford Pinchot National Forest but often only at camps that had no use after abandonment and had no effacement of the site. Other than the coal pile identified at the Bandelier site much of the surface features and artifacts would be difficult to attribute to a specific activity without the use of the camp map. With the use of the map the distribution of artifacts can be attributed to the different activity areas in the camp. The indulgence items, such as pop bottles, are scattered in the area of the barracks where enrollees might have consumed them while relaxing on their time off. The other artifacts seem to be too disturbed and some of the concentrations seem to be a product of camp destruction, based on similar processes on the Gifford Pinchot National Forest. The

[181] Smith, 38.

concentration of cans in the north would indicate the possible presence of the messhall and the bottles found around the barracks area do help indicate general areas of differential use but the small concentrations of artifacts noted around the edge of the Bandelier camp site seem to only indicate where debris from the camp had been pushed by the bulldozers after abandonment. It seems more likely that instead of low-frequency artifacts informing site use, the historic site map informs the association of low-frequency items. The historic map confirming association of low-frequency artifacts is especially true for sites that have been modified or used after CCC abandonment.[182]

Figure 46. Camp Twin Buttes officer quarters remains, 2000. Cheryl Mack in picture. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

[182] Cheryl Mack, Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form, Sunset Falls, Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, Troutlake, Washington, November 14, 1995; Schmid, Twin Buttes CCC Camp.

While the CCC's short term occupation of a site can be detected in the archaeological record, even with continued use or effacement of the site, the data recovered is limited. As shown by Smith use of a camp map, the artifacts and features found would be difficult to properly place in context making the site relatively useless for informing the historical record. Smith's study only looked at a main camp and no dump feature was located associated with that camp. Main camps might not make for good archaeological sites but how do side and spike camp site locations compare with the main camp sites.

The side camps have generally been less disturbed than main camp locations. Most were not bulldozed or filled like main camp sites, but have still gone through some of the same processes as main camps. The Smoky Creek site had later use by an organized recreational club but unlike groups using main camps, the later users of the Smoky Creek site modified but retained many structures after the CCC abandonment. The water system for the site continued to be used until the present, the concrete and stone foundations of the office building and wash room remain. An archaeological survey of the camp identified two dumps associated with the CCC period of camp occupancy.[183]

Both the Camp Twin Buttes and Camp Lookout Mountain sites had no users after the CCC abandoned the camps. Both camps were left to deteriorate in place and the only site disturbance took place when some of the remaining structures were burned because of their advanced state of deterioration. Archaeological surveys of the Camp Lookout Mountain site identified some surface artifacts and features but the survey was preliminary and the site has the potential to yield more information. Camp Twin Buttes did receive a thorough survey and produced a much higher quantity of surface artifacts than other CCC camp sites. Surface artifacts

[183] Mack, Smoky Creek Civilian Conservation Corps Camp.

included some diagnostic ceramic dish and bowl fragments, but mainly consisted of architectural remains and can scatters.

Both the Camp Lookout Mountain and Camp Twin Buttes sites revealed more features than the more disturbed sites. Clear building footprints could be found because the buildings had been allowed to deteriorate in place. Small dumps at the edge of the Camp Twin Buttes camp site were found, like the Smoky Creek site dumps. At sites that had no ground disturbance numerous small depressions were noted in the camps that had an unknown purpose. The Camp Lookout Mountain, Camp Twin Buttes and Sheep Lake camp sites all had the small depressions and while the ones at Twin Buttes were hypothesized to be outhouses, the small size and shape does fit with a small single seat out house but not with the type of outhouses constructed by the CCC.[184]

Side camps have informed the investigation of the layout of camps and improvements not seen in photographic evidence such as the structural details of buildings. The Camp Twin Buttes and Little Goose Lake dump sites had the remains of a small incinerator showing that, at least the side camps burned some of their waste instead of burying all the trash in a dump. The use of an incinerator by a camp might provide an explanation for the lack of, or low numbers of certain artifact types in dumps.[185] The incinerator might also point to Forest Service influence since the side camps were located next to Forest Service administrative sites and incinerators were part of the sanitation standards for the Forest Service.

[184] Author's survey of the area in 2010; Schmid, Twin Buttes CCC Camp.
[185] Cheryl Mack, Forest Service Region Six Cultural Resource Inventory Record Form, Little Goose Dump, Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, June 14, 1985; Schmid, Twin Buttes CCC Camp.

Figure 47. Foundation of the latrine in Camp Lookout Mountain. Randy Mawhirter in picture. Photograph taken by Matthew Mawhirter October, 2010.

Figure 48. Remains of a small incinerator at the site of Twin Buttes. Taken in the 1980s. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

The CCC camps that were left to deteriorate and collapse can provide some of the most interesting information that is not available from historical sources. The Camp Lookout Mountain site has two remaining building foundations and one collapsed building. One of the foundations belonged to a six-seater outhouse and was made of concrete. The presence of a lined outhouse pit shows an adaptation to the small building area available since most outhouse pits were unlined and moved when full. Excavation might also reveal a septic system leach field down slope of the building which would have allowed the outhouse to be used much longer than an unlined pit. The foundation shows that the environment required the camp to adopt instead of forcing a standard plan to fit. Based on some personal investigation a main camp site on the Olympic National Forest also used a concrete vault but that vault was topped with a concrete slab with holes and not a wood floor like Camp Lookout Mountain.

The second foundation belonged to the messhall cooler and consisted of a poured slab within the concrete foundation. Two inch galvanized pipes in the poured slab had water piped through them to chill the cooler floor and help keep the building cold. Camp Smoky Creek's cooler was attached to the messhall and well insulated with no concrete slab left at the former building location. Camp Hemlock's cooler was separate of the messhall like Camp Lookout Mountain but made of stone and eventually utilized a double wall system to keep the building cool. All three examples show variability based on local conditions and in the utilization of locally available materials to accomplish the same purpose.

A collapsed building at the Camp Lookout Mountain site appears to be the washroom. The presence of brick and a fire stack indicate that the building had its own wood-fired water heater. The brick also has the Hidden Brick Co. maker's mark and indicates the use of local materials for camp construction and reinforces the impact of the CCC on local economies. The

washroom remains are important since this is the one building least likely to have had interior pictures taken. Unfortunately the Camp Lookout Mountain site is the only site to still have building remains intact enough to provide information.

Figure 49. Remains of Camp Lookout Mountain washroom. Taken by Matthew Mawhirter October, 2010.

186

Figure 50. Remains of sink from washroom with wood frame gone. Photograph taken by Matthew Mawhirter October, 2010.

[186] Author's survey of the area, 2010.

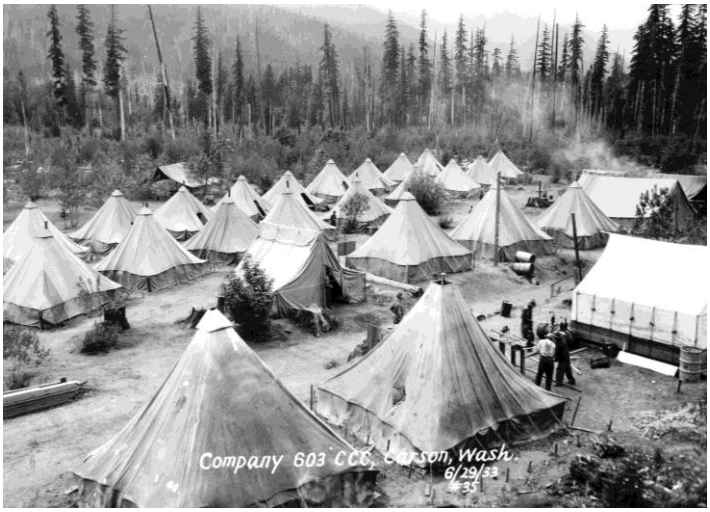


Figure 51. Camp Siouxon, 1933. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program.

Some CCC camp sites might produce little useful information but the exploration of those sites that represent uncontrolled enrollee recreation outside of camps have the potential to show what enrollees and their guests did when not under supervision. Exploration of areas outside of the built camp site can also produce dump sites that have the potential to inform the historical record much better than many of the camp sites themselves.

On the Gifford Pinchot National Forest two subsurface archaeological investigations have taken place at a dump associated with Camp Hemlock and a dump located just outside of Camp Smoky Creek. Of the two, only Hemlock's dump has had extensive subsurface investigation. Smoky Creek's dump was only explored below the surface to help identify the dumps association and general purpose. Shovel probes and surface surveys have been completed at Lower Cispus, Twin Buttes and Sunset Falls. Just surface surveys have taken place for Peterson Prairie, Lookout Mountain, Sheep Lake, Pole Patch, Camp B, Siouxon Road Spike Camp and an unnamed spike camp. A dump was discovered outside of the original survey and probes of Camp Lower Cispus

but beyond artifact recovery from the eroding area next to the stream, no systematic investigation has taken place.

CCC dump sites have the potential to provide more detailed information for different periods of camp use than a camp site could. The quality and quantity of information recovered from the dumps are also greater than the camp surveys. Because of the way the military operated camp dumps, the dumps provide a much narrower snap shot of time than the camp site. The military excavated pits or ditches that were used for no more than a year but often less and then the pit or trench would be back filled.[187] The dump site at Camp Hemlock can be dated to 1937 and provides a glimpse of the camp from that year. The Lower Cispus dump is dated between the camp establishment in 1933 and sometime in 1934. The CCC main camp dumps become a time capsule for different times for the entire nine years of the CCC. Side camp dump sites seem to follow the same pattern as main camp dump sites.

The only variation in dump formation for side camps could be a function of which agency had administrative control of the camp at that time. The Forest Service had the same policy of burying trash but because the camps would have had fewer than fifty enrollees the dumps should have been smaller. Camp Twin Buttes sometimes had fewer than fifty enrollees and at the Camp Twin Buttes site two dumps consisting of small shallow trenches are located next to the camp. There were Forest Service administrative buildings next to the camp but the items recovered from the surface of the dumps indicate the dump was used by the CCC. Because the dumps were shallow trenches next to the camp and not outside of the camp, the dumps could represent one of the periods the camp had less than 50 enrollees and administered by Forest Service personnel. Very little work has been done on side camp dump sites within the Gifford Pinchot National

[187] War Department, 92; Rossillon, 6-7.

Forest and could help to show possible differences between military and Forest Service administration.

The only known extensive excavation outside of the Gifford Pinchot National Forest of a CCC period camp dump was done in Cove Creek Idaho on a CCC dump associated with at least two camps that operated in the area from 1933 to 1941.[188] The report produced from the excavations provides a comparative collection for the Camp Hemlock dump and the limited recovery from other CCC camp dumps.

With the artifacts recovered from the Cove Creek and Camp Hemlock dumps, what information can be useful for expanding the knowledge about the CCC? The Cove Creek researchers tried to see if the dump would reveal any information on the CCC economic impact on the local communities. Other than presence of domestic animal bones in the dump indicating the purchase of meat from somewhere in the local vicinity, the researchers could find no clear information as to the economic impact on the community.[189] The Cove Creek researchers did not have the number of oral histories that the Gifford Pinchot National Forest has and the Cove Creek researchers did not have the ability to compare with other camps. For the Camp Hemlock dump the ability to pull information from multiple camps within the same Forest allows for more inference. The oral histories combined with the Camp Hemlock and Cove Creek dump artifacts show a much more adaptive system.

While items available locally might vary depending on location of the camp, it is safe to assume that all camps conformed to the same adaptive economic system as the Columbia National Forest CCC camps and the Cove Creek CCC camps. Cove Creek and Camp Hemlock's dump produced domestic animal bones that indicated local food purchasing and faunal remains

[188] Rossillon, 5.
[189] Rossillon, 68-69.

that indicate local food gathering. Camp Hemlock's dump produced fish bones that could have been caught in the surrounding area or purchased from locations on the Columbia River. The presence of deer and rabbit bones in the Cove Creek dump match the local food procurement found in camps on the Columbia National Forest and in Camp Hemlock's dump. The oral histories from the Columbia National Forest CCC camps helped to expand on the archaeological evidence and indicated that local food sources, such as huckleberries and fish, were collected when possible for use in regular camp meals. Milk and meat were delivered to the camps by local farmers and some camps might have raised chickens.[190] More than half the faunal remains at Cove Creek were chicken and turkey and the remains indicate that the animals had their feet and heads intact before processing at the camp. The Cove Creek researchers hypothesized that the birds had possibly been delivered alive but with the information from the Columbia National Forest Camps, the chickens could have been raised in camp.[191]

The economic benefits of the CCC can also be seen nationally in the Cove Creek and Camp Hemlock dumps. The presence of commercially produced foods in the form of cans and bottles are obvious economic impacts but the thick white tableware present in the dumps shows a more specific economic impact. The tableware used in camp was supplied by established tableware manufacturers that specialized in supplying tableware to hotels. The Camp Hemlock dump produced tableware with five different manufacturers' marks and Cove Creek produced nine manufacturer's marks, with no overlap in manufacturers' marks between sites. When compared to tableware recovered from other Gifford Pinchot National Forest camp sites and the Camp Zigzag site in Oregon, there are fifteen manufacturers' marks present.[192] It is not clear if

[190] Sinclair, 275.
[191] Rossillon, 27-28.
[192] Tuck, 97; McClure, unpublished artifact list for Camp Hemlock dump; Rossillon, Appendix B.2: Ceramics. See Appendix B for a chart detailing the tableware associated with each camp.

the use of so many different companies was done to spread the economic benefits or if the demand for the tableware by the CCC could not be met by just one or two companies. Either way, the economic benefit to the industry had to have been substantial with the rest of the economy generally depressed.

Figure 52. Maker's mark found on the bottom of a bowl recovered from the exposed dump at the former Camp Lower Cispus site. Taken by Kevin Flores, 2010. Courtesy of Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program

The Cove Creek dump along with the Camp Hemlock dump produced alcohol and beer containers and as discussed earlier, the presence cannot be specifically attributed to any one of the three groups that lived in camp. Oral histories obtained by the Cove Creek researchers noted that the camp commander had been very strict about no alcohol in camp during the time of the dumps use but because of the dumps location outside of camp, the enrollees could have consumed the alcohol near the dump or on their way back to camp from pass.[193] The alcohol could be from outside the time period of the informant's enrollment and represent a variation in command.

The Cove Creek dump confirmed that an interior finish used at another camp in the area had been used in the camp associated with the Cove Creek dump. The use of higher quality materials by the Cove Creek camps further reinforces an official or unofficial Corps policy of using better materials in some camp structures. A comparison with other Corps areas might link

[193] Rossillon, 31-32.

the use of better materials to a national CCC policy or possibly an Army practice that carried over with their administration of the camps. As the dumps show a snap shot of a relatively short period of time, a comparison between possible changes in camp users or policies could be made. Camp dumps could have the ability to show how the change in the economy and CCC policies manifested at the camp level and affected the enrollees' daily lives.

Across the county very little archaeological work has been done with the CCC considering the program operated in every state, on private and public lands for nine years. Most of the archaeological work has taken place on public lands under the Forest Service and National Park Service and the records produced are not easily accessible. There is also the possibility that other archaeological work has been done but never analyzed, published or exists in the so-called "grey literature". There is a need for a comprehensive inventory and summary of the archaeology performed at CCC camps and dumps in order to identify variations and similarities on a national scale. Unfortunately so little work is available that the bulk of information about the CCC still comes from the limited historical sources available. With the likelihood of gathering more oral histories decreasing as the enrollees are now in their eighties and nineties, more archaeological work needs to be done before time degrades the potential information left in and around the former camps.

Conclusion

Camps may have functioned the same, but differed aesthetically between Army districts and between camps within a district. Camp commanders did not administer the camps in the same way or necessarily according to regulations. The differences, however minor, changed the enrollee's experience. An enrollee's experience could further be affected by the type of work performed and whether the work took place in a side or main camp.

Most of the scholarly works written about the CCC from the 1930s until today, focus on the administrative elements of the CCC and assume a conformity between all levels of the CCC that did not exist. More work needs to be done on individual camps over the entire time the CCC operated and not just the brief time period of one enrollee's experience. For the camps on the Columbia National Forest the conformity assumed by other authors disappears with an investigation including the built environment and reports published by the Army, Forest Service and the CCC.

For those camps that have little historical information available, archaeology can help to fill the gap along with complementing the information that is available. Archaeology also has the capability of showing a more complete picture of the CCC over time than the historical record often shows. Dump sites have the most potential, but camp sites, given certain circumstances, can be almost as informative, depending on what historical information is available and the site creation process. A much richer and complete story can be told about the CCC if more researchers focused on the camp with information pulled from a broader range of sources and period of time.

The CCC initially had a lot of flexibility built into the administration of the program that allowed for efficient operation at the Corps level and lower. At the policy level the CCC had

been less flexible, mainly due to Fechner's narrow view of what the CCC should be and the differing interests between the participating agencies. As the CCC became more permanent and conditions in the country changed, the flexibility at lower levels was replaced with tighter budgets, more oversight and more standardization. The CCC changed over time but in ways that made the program less relevant and unable to deal with the changing financial conditions.

The National Association of CCC Alumni has as part of its mission to help advocate for the creation of the CCC for current youth. The CCC was a great help to the enrollees and their families but the agency was a product of the time it existed. The economic and social probLEM during the Great Depression were far worse than they have ever been, and those conditions helped with the success of the CCC. There was also broad public support and political will to create an organization as large as the CCC for relief of youth. Many youth at the time did not get enough to eat; 250,000 of them were homeless, riding trains in search of work.[194] Today's families and youth have the benefit of some social safety nets created during and since the Depression.

The CCC's failure to meet changing conditions contributed to its irrelevance and loss of support. Those calling for the recreation of the CCC ignore the probLEM experienced toward the end of the program. Supporters also forget that modern versions built from the same ideals as the CCC exist. First, Job Corps and then Youth Conservation Corps received national funding, and Jobs Corps came about in 1964 because of the founders' experience with the CCC. Today Ameri-Corps is a nationally funded program, and many states fund smaller but similar programs for youth. The modern programs show that if the CCC had downsized and adopted new elements to their mandate, the agency might have found continued success. Ironically the modern organizations look more like the failed "She She She" and the Camp William James experiment

[194] Uys, 11.

than the CCC but even the "She She She" and Camp William James experiment could not have happened without the ground breaking model of the CCC.

Just because the CCC failed to continue as an agency should not detract from the benefits the agency provided to youth, their families and the communities surrounding the camps. The agency was stated to be a relief agency and the CCC succeeded in providing monetary relief to youth, as well as improving their physical condition. Their mental outlook on life improved so that they did not feel hopeless and they built the confidence to work hard to improve their lives. The vocational skills gained might not have helped most enrollees find a job but the work training and confidence gained gave the former enrollees an advantage over their peers.[195] The CCC created a framework that allowed the youth that participated to find their place in society and achieve manhood.[196] As the war approached the CCC continued to guide youth and later enrollees found themselves being prepared for war. The CCC owned the largest fleet of motorized equipment by 1941 with the military able to pull 40,000 pieces of heavy equipment from that pool, along with trained operators. [197] The physical improvements in enrollees' condition that had helped to improve their emotional and psychological outlook, also made them more likely to pass the military physical for enlistment.[198]

With the beginning of the United States full involvement in World War II, the CCC became redundant since the military took over training of youth for the war. The relief aspect of the CCC no longer applied and the agency disappeared. The remaining structures and archaeological remains continue to show the flexibility of the CCC to adapt to local conditions

[195] Sealander, 207; Cole, 66.
[196] Jarvis, 21.
[197] Sealander, 163-164.
[198] From November 1940 to August 1945 the Army rejected 6.5 million or 35.8 percent of the men examined. The peace time rejection rate prior to this period was 52.8 percent. During the war the south had a 50 percent rejection rate while the Northwest had the highest I-A pass rate of any other region. Jarvis, 19-20.

and the impact the agency had on local communities. Further archaeological work is needed and given the time sensitivity of some types of artifacts prone to decomposition, the sooner that is done the better will be the information retrieved. More archaeological work and access to the camp newspapers will undoubtedly continue to show the flexibility, ingenuity and economic impact of the CCC at the regional and camp level throughout the United States.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bastai, Betty. *Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form: Sheep Lake CCC Side Camp.* Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, September 10, 2002.

Brown, Edgar G. *The Civilian Conservation Corps and Colored Youth.* Washington DC: Office of the Director, 1940.

Division of Engineering. *Acceptable Plans Forest Service Administrative Buildings.* United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service, 1938.

Civilian Conservation Corps. *Civilian Conservation Corps Activities July 1, 1937-June 30, 1938.* Washington DC: 1938.

Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Collection. Mount Adams Ranger District Headquarters, Troutlake, Washington.

Liddle, Janet. *Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form: Lower Cispus CCC Camp.* Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, February 7, 1995.

Mack, Cheryl. *Forest Service Region Six Cultural Resource Inventory Record Form: Little Goose Dump.* Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, June 14, 1985.

Mack, Cheryl. *Forest Service Region Six Cultural Resource Inventory Record Form: B Camp.* Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, October 22, 1981.

Mack, Cheryl. *State of Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form: Smoky Creek Civilian Conservation Corps Camp.* Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, June 9, 2009.

Mack, Cheryl. *State of Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form: Peterson Prairie*

Civilian Conservation Corps Camp F-41. Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, November 3, 2009.

Mack, Cheryl. *Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form: Trout Creek Site.* Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, May 10, 2002.

Mack, Cheryl. *Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form: Sunset Falls.* Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, November 14, 1995.

Myers, Norman A. *Letters to Home: Life in CCC Camps of Douglas County Oregon 1933-1934*. Roseburg: USDA-Forest Service, 1983.

Olympic National Forest Heritage Collection. Hoodsport Work Center, Hoodsport, Washington.

Schmid, Charlene. *Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form: Twin Buttes CCC Camp.* Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, January 3, 2000.

Schmid, Charlene. *Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form: Water Tank.* Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, December 23, 1989.

Tolfree, Jamie. *Washington Archaeological Site Inventory Form: Siouxon Road Talus and Spike Camp.* Gifford Pinchot National Forest Heritage Program, January 21, 1986.

War Department. *War Department Regulations Relief of Unemployment Civilian Conservation Corps*. Washington DC: War Department, May 15, 1935.

Secondary Sources

Balser, Diane. *Sisterhood and Solidarity: Feminism and Labor in Modern Times.* Cambridge: Southend Press, 1999.

Bonnifield, Juanita T. *Evaluating the Impact of National Park Service Landscape Preservation*

Policies on Archaeological Site Formation: Archaeology of the Nevada Camp (42WS4484). Unpublished Master Thesis. Oregon State University, June 16, 2006.

Bromert, Roger. "The Sioux and the Indian-CCC." South Dakota History 8, no. 4 (Jan., 1978): 340-356.

Brustein, William. "The "Red Menace" and the Rise of Italian Fascism." American Sociological Review, Vol. 56, No. 5 (Oct., 1991): 652-664.

Cannon, James P. "The New Policy of Stalinism in America." Socialist Appeal, v. 3, no. 74 (Sept. 29, 1939): 1, 3.

Carroll, Robert Wesley. *The Civilian Conservation Corps in Washington State 1933-1942.* Pullman: Washington State University, 1973.

Dearborn, Ned H. *Once in a Lifetime A Guide to the CCC Camp*. New York: Charles E. Merrill, 1936.

Dewing, Rolland. *Region in Transition: The Northern Great Plains and the Pacific Northwest in the Great Depression.* Boulder: University Press of America, 2006.

Dickson, Paul. *The Bonus Army: An American Epic.* New York:Walker & Company, 2006.

Eastman Max. "Motive-Patterns of Socialism." The Modern Quarterly, v. 11, no. 4 (Fall 1939): 45-55.

Edmonds, Spencer. "Youth in Politics." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): 67-72.

Edwards, Newton. "Youth as a Population Element." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): 6-17.

Ermentrout, Robert Allen. *Forgotten Men: The Civilian Conservation Corps.* New York: Exposition Press, 1982.

Fechner, Robert. “The Civilian Conservation Corps Program.” Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): 129-140.

Flynn, Gurley. “Defend the Civil Rights of Communits.” The Communist, v. 18, no. 12 (Dec. 1939): 1-2.

Gibbs, Allen G. *Institutional History as an Element of Community History: Civilian Conservation Corps in the Okanogan Country*. Okanogan: USDA-Forest Service, 1982.

Gorham, Eric. “The Ambiguous Practices of the Civilian Conservation Corps.” Social History, Vol. 17, No. 2 (May, 1992): 229-249.

Gotz, Norbert and Kiran Klaus Patel. “Facing the Fascist Model: discourse and the Construction of Labour Services in the USA and Sweden in the 1930s and 1940s.” Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Jan., 2006): 57-73.

Gower, Calvin W. “”Camp William James”: A New Deal Blunder?” The New England Quarterly, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Dec., 1965): 475-493.

Gower, Calvin W. “The Indian Division: Aid to Depressed Americans, 1933-1942.” Minnesota History 43, no. 1 (Spring 1975): 3-13.

Gower, Calvin W. “A Continuing Public Youth Work Program: The Drive for a Permanent Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942.” Environmental Review: ER 5, no. 2 (Autumn, 1981): 39-51.

Hanneman, Carolyn G. “Baffles, Bridges, and Bermuda: Oklahoma Indians and the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division.” *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* 428-449.

Harper, Charles. *The Administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps.* Clarksburg, West Virginia: Clarksburg Publishers, 1939.

Harry A. Kersey, Jr. *The Florida Seminoles and the New Deal 1933-1942*. Boca Raton: Florida

Atlantic University Press, 1989.

Hauptman, Laurence M. “The American Indian Federation and the Indian New Deal: A Reinterpretation.” The Pacific Historical Review 52, no. 4 (Nov., 1983): 378-402.

Hauptman, Laurence M. *The Iroquois & the New Deal*. Syracuse: University Press, 1981.

Heyek, Hartmut. “Labour Services in the Weimar Republic and their Ideological Godparents.” Journal of contemporary History, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Apr., 2003): 221-236.

Hill, Edwin G. *In the Shadow of the Mountain the Spirit of the CCC*. Pullman: Washington State University, 1990.

Hill, Frank Ernest. *The School in the Camps: The Educational Program of the Civilian Conservation Corps.* New York: J.J. Little and Ives Company, 1935.

Holland, Kenneth. “The European Labor Service.” Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): 152-164.

Holland, Kenneth. *Youth in European Labor Camps: A Report to the American Youth Commission*. Washington DC: American Council on Education, 1939.

Hyland, Terry and Harry Matlay. “Lifelong Learning and the 'New Deal' Vocationalism: Vocational Training, Qualifications and the Small Business Sector.” British Journal of Educational Studies 46, no. 4 (Dec., 1998): 399-414.

Jackson, Donald Dale. “They Were Poor Hungry, and They Built to Last.” Smithsonian, Vol. 25, No. 9 (Dec., 1994):66-77.

Jarvis, Christina S. *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity during World War II*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010.

Jeansonne, Glen. “The Apotheosis of Huey Long.” Biography, Vol. 12, No.4: 283-301.

Johnson, Charles W. “The Army and the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942.” Prologue 4

(Fall 1972): 139-155.

Johnson, Charles W. “The Army, the Negro and the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942.” Military Affairs 3 (October 1972): 82-87.

Johnson, Charles William. *The Civilian Conservation Corp: The Role of the Army.* Fayetteville, Ark: University of Arkansas, 1977.

Kantorovitch, Haim. “Notes on the United Front Problem.” The American Socialist Quarterly, v. 5, no. 3 (May 1936): 7-11.

Kelly, Lawrence C. “The Indian Reorganization Act: the Dream and the Reality.” The Pacific Historical Review 44, no. 3 (Aug., 1975): 291-312.

Kersey, Harry A., Jr. “The Florida Seminoles in the Depression and New Deal, 1933-1942: An Indian Perspective.” The Florida Historical Quarterly 65, no. 2 (Oct., 1986): 175-195.

Kiefer, E. Kay and Paul E. Fellows. *Hobnail Boots and Khaki Suits: A Brief Look at the Great Depression and the Civilian Conservation Corps as Seen Through the Eyes of Those Who Were There.* Chicago: Adams Press, 1983.

Knebel, A.G. “Leadership for Modern Youth.” Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): 174-180.

Koppes, Clayton R. “From New Deal to Termination: Liberalism and Indian Policy.” The Pacific Historical Review 46, no. 4 (Nov., 1977): 543-566.

Levy, Carl. “National Socialism and Conservatives in Europe, 1914-1945: Issues for Comparativists.” Contemporary European History, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Mar., 1999): 97-126.

Lovestone, Jay. “The Moscow Trial in Historical Perspective.” Workers Age, v. 6, no. 6 (Feb. 6, 1937): 3.

Melvin, Bruce L. “The Special ProbLEM of Rural Youth.” Annals of the American Academy of

Political and Social Science, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): 25-33.

Melvin, Bruce L. *Youth-Millions Too Many? A Search for Youth's Place in America.* New York: Association Press, 1940.

Merrill, Perry H. *Roosevelt's Forest Army A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-1942*. Motpelier: Perry H. Merrill, 1981.

Myers, Norman A. *Letters to Home: Life in CCC Camps of Douglas County Oregon 1933-1934*. Roseburg: USDA-Forest Service, 1983.

Neblett, Thomas F. "Youth Movements in the United States." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): 141-151.

Nolte, Dr. M. Chester Ed., ed. *Civilian Conservation Corps: The Way We Remember it 1933-1942*. Paducah, Ky: Turner Publishing, 1990.

Olen Cole, Jr. *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps*. Miami: University Press of Florida, 1999.

Oliver, Alfred C., Jr and Harold M. Dudley. *This New America: The Spirit of the Civilian Conservation Corps.* New York: Longman, Green, 1937.

Otis, Alison T., William D. Honey, Thomas C. Hogg and Kimberly K. Lakin. *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*. United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service, August 1986.

Paige, John C. *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942*. Washington DC: National Park Service, 1985.

Parman, Donald L. "The Indian and the Civilian Conservation Corp." The Pacific Historical Review 40, no. 1 (Feb., 1971): 39-56.

Patel, Kiran Klaus. *Soldiers of Labor: Labor Service in Nazi Germany and the New Deal*

America, 1933-1945. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Radcliffe, Herbert E. *A Socio-Economic Interpretation of Our Educational Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps.* Providence: 1938.d

Rainey, Homer P. "What Is the American Youth Problem?" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): 18-24.

Rajala, Richard A. "Bill and the Boss: Labor Protest, Technological Change, and the Transformation of the West Coast Logging Camp, 1890-1930." Journal of Forest History, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Oct., 1989): 168-179.

Reiman, Richard A. *The New Deal & American Youth: Ideas & Ideals in a Depression Decade.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992.

Richardson, Elmo R. "Was There Politics in the Civilian Conservation Corps?" Forest History 16, no. 2 (Jul., 1972): 12-21.

Rich, Stephen O'Neal. *The Civilian Conservation Corps: A Life Changing Experience.* Long Beach, CA: California State University, 2003.

Rose, Nancy E. *Put to Work: The WPA and Public Employment in the Great Depression*. 2nd Edition. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2009.

Rossillon, Mitzi. *The Cove Creek Civilian Conservation Corps Dump in Central Idaho.* Butte: Renewable Technologies, Inc, February, 1999.

Salmond, John A. *The CCC 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1967.

Schmidt, Hans. *Maverick Marine: General Smedley D. Butler and the Contradictions of American Military History.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1987.

Sealander, Judith. *The failed Century of the Child: Governing America's Young in the Twentieth*

Century. Cambridge: University Press, 2003.

Sekermestrovich, Edward, interview by Royal G Jackson and Karne Thomas. *Life at CCC Camp Arboretum Benton County, Oregon: 1935-1940* (1991).

Shenton, James P. "Fascism and Father Coughlin." The Wisconsin Magazine of History, Vol.44, No. 1 (Autumn, 1960): 6-11.

Sinclair, Donna and Richard McClure ed. *"No Goldbricking Here" Oral Histories of the CCC in the Columbia National Forest, 1933-1942*. Portland: University of Portland, 2003.

Smith, Monica L. "The Archaeology of a "Destroyed" Site: Surface Survey and Historical Documents at the Civilian Conservation Corps Camp, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico." Historical Archaeology, Vol. 35, No. 2 (2001): 31-40.

Smith, Vern. "Beginnings of Revolutionary Political Action in the USA." The Communist, v. 12, no. 10 (October 1933): 1041-1054.

Stibbe, Matthew. *Women in the Third Reich.* New York: Oxford Press, 2003.

Stowell, Ellery C. "The General Smedley D. Butler Incident." The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 25, No. 2 (Apr., 1931): 321-324.

Sunker, Heinz and Hans-Uwe Otto ed. *Education and Fascism: Political Identity and Social Education in Nazi Germany.* Washington D.C.: The Falmer Press, 1997.

Suzik, Jeffrey Ryan. *"Building Better Men": Education, Training, and Socialization of Working-class Male Youth in the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1945.* Pittsburgh: Carnegie Mellon University, 2005.

Tead, Ordway. "Youth and the Labor Union." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): 42-47.

Throop, Elizabeth Gail. *Utterly Visionary and Chimerical: A Federal Response to the Depression*

An Examination of Civilian Conservation Corps Construction on National Forest System Lands in the Pacific Northwest. Unpublished Master Thesis. Portland State University, 1979.

Tresca, Carlo. "Where is Juliet Stuart Poyntz?" The Modern Monthly, Vol. 10, no. 11 (March 1938): 12-13.

Unsigned. "Soviets Doom Plotters." The Workers Age, v. 5, no. 35 (Aug. 29, 1936): 1.

Vaughn, Courtney. "The Legacy of Huey Long." Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Winter, 1979): 93-101.

Weaver, Robert C. "The New Deal and the Negro, A Look at the Facts." Opportunity Journal of Negro Life 13 (July 1935): 200-203.

Williams, Aubrey. "The Government's Responsibility for Youth." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): 119-128.

Williams, Gerald W. "The Spruce Production Division." Forest History Today (Spring 1999): 2-10.

Williams, Gerald W. *The U.S. Forest Service in the Pacific Northwest: A History*. Corvallis: Oregon State University, 2009.

Winslow, Thacher. "International Aspects of Modern Youth ProbLEM." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 194, The Prospect for Youth (Nov., 1937): 165-173.

Winthrop, Kathryn. *Klamath National Forest and the CCC*. Corvallis: Oregon State University, 1983.

Wright, Marian T. "Negro Youth and the Federal Emergency Programs: CCC and NYA." The

Journal of Negro Education 9 (July 1940): 397-407.

Unpublished Secondary Sources

Delacenserie, Katie L. *Wall Street's Search for a Man on a White Horse: The Plot to Overthrow Franklin Roosevelt*. Unpublished Paper. University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Spring 2008.

Libbon, Jonathan R. *We Had Everything But Money: A Study of Buying Strategies at a Civilian Conservation Corps Camp in the Allegheny National Forest.* Unpublished Master Thesis. Indiana University of Pennsylvania, May, 2011.

Marshall, Emily Lacy. *The Forgotten Treason: The Plot to Overthrow FDR.* Unpublished Master Thesis. Wesleyan University, April, 2008.

"To All Active Supporters of Democracy and Peace: The text of an Open Letter calling for greater unity of the anti-fascist forces and strengthening of the front against aggression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, released on August 14 by 400 leading Americans." Soviet Russia Today, v. 8, no. 5 (Sept. 1939): 24-25, 28.

Tuck, Janna Beth. *A Beer Party and Watermelon: The Archaeology of Community and Resistance at CCC Camp Zigzag, Company 928, Zigzag, Oregon, 1933-1942.* Unpublished Master Thesis. Portland State University, 2010.

Websites

Craig Magnuson. "Spruce Production Division Railroad No. 1." Craig Mugnuson. http://www.craigmagnuson.com/spdrr01.htm (accessed: May 22, 2010).

Library of Congress. “Chicago Anarchists on Trial Evidence from the Haymarket Affair 1886-1887.” http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/award98/ichihtml/hayhome.html (accessed: February 27, 2013).

National Park Service. “Fort Vancouver Cultural Survey Report, IV. Fort Vancouver: Vancouver Barracks, 1861-1918, Spruce Division.” National Park Service. http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/fova/clr/clr2-4a.htm (accessed: May 22, 2012).

University of Washington. “Seattle General Strike Project Northwest Labor and Civil Rights Project University of Washington.” http://depts.washington.edu/labhist/strike/mickelson.shtml (accessed: May 22, 2012).

Appendix A

Tableware Makers' Marks by Camp

Lower Cispus Dump	Hemlock Dump	Cove Creek Dump	Camp Zigzag	Twin Buttes	Sheep Lake
	Wallace VG China Wallace ZG China Wallace – China D Wallace China RD		Wallace China		Wallace China Company
	KT&K S – V China				
	C.F.C. – O. CO. 7 20 1 SEMI – VIT				
	Buffalo China D.E.A.				
	…HOTEL…GEORGE …89				
JACKSON *Vitrified* CHINA					
SHENANGO CHINA NEW CASTLE PA SHENANGO NEW CASTLE, PA. 'CHINA' USQMC ****-P-31 4768-P-33 SHENANGO NEW CASTLE, PA. CHINA 5695-P-34		SHENANGO NEW CASTLE, PA. 'CHINA' USQMC	SHENANGO CHINA	SHENANGO CHINA NEW CASTLE PA	
	HALL	HALL			
		O.P. Co. SYRACUSE CHINA			
		RADISSON W.S. GEORGE MADE IN U. S. A.			
		VITRIFIED WELLSVILLE CHINA CO OHIO CHINA			
		U. S. Q. M. 5322-P-B PORCEL			
		MAYER *CHINA* EST 1881			
		Royal Ivory THE CRESENT CHINA			

		CO			
		U. S. Q. M. C. - 85-P-38 THE BAILEY WALKER CHINA			
		Mc NICOL CHINA CLARKSBURG, W.V.			
		ILLINOIS I CHINA CO. LINCOLN ILL.			
		U.S.Q.M.C. **-P-34			
				Chester Hotel China	

Appendix B

Land Management Camp Identifier

A	Agriculture (Bureau of Animal Industry), U.S. Forest Service and Bureau of Animal Husbandry, Department of Agriculture
Army	Military Reservations, U.S. Army, War Department
BF	Federal Game Refuge (Biological Survey), Bureau of Biological Survey, Department of Agriculture
BR	Bureau of Reclamation
BS	Biological Survey
C of E	State Land (Corps of Engineers), U.S. Army, War Department
CP	County Park
D	Private Land (Drainage), Bureau of agriculture Engineering, Department of Agriculture
DG	Public Domain, Division of Grazing, Department of the Interior
F	National Forest, U.S. Forest Service; Department of Agriculture
GLO	General Land Office
L	State and Federal Land (Levee), U.S. Forest Service, Department of Agriculture
MA	Metropolitan Area Municipal Park, National Park Service
MC	Private Land (Mosquito Control), U.S. Forest Service and State, Department of Agriculture
MP	Military Park, National Park Service, Department of the Interior
NA	National Arboretum (Bureau of Plant Industry), U.S. Forest Service, Department of Agriculture
Navy	Naval Military Reservation, U.S. Forest Service, and U.S. Navy (except Navy-I-VA, by National Park Service and Navy), Department of Agriculture
NHP	National Historical Park, National Park Service, Department of the Interior
NM	National Monument, National Park Service, Department of Interior
P	Private Forest, U.S. Forest Service and State, Department of Agriculture
PE	Private Land Erosion, U.S. Forest Service and State, Department of Agriculture
S	State Forest, U.S. Forest Service and State, Department of Agriculture
SCS	Private Land, Soil Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture
SP	State Park, State Park Division of National Park Service, Department of the Interior
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority, U.S. Forest Service and Tennessee Valley Authority, Department of Agriculture
TVA-P	Tennessee Valley Authority, State Park Division of National Park Service and Tennessee Valley Authority, Department of the Interior