

**A STUDY OF THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION  
CORPS WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE SOUTH**

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**ROBERT LYON MCNEW**

A STUDY OF THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE SOUTH

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An Abstract

Presented to

the Graduate Council of

Austin Peay State University

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In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

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by

Robert Lyon McNew

August 1971

## Abstract

The Civilian Conservation Corps was a relief agency established by Congress in 1933 to provide work for unemployed young men between the ages of 18 and 25, and to provide the needed man power necessary to do vital conservation work, such as erosion prevention, reforestation, and forest fire prevention.

There are two questions with which this work is mainly concerned: (1) how well did the Corps live up to its reason for being? And, (2) did it provide any benefits other than employment to the youths who became members? The last question is especially hard to answer since it deals generally with abstract qualities.

The depression had been settling deeper and deeper on the country for three and one-half years before the Civilian Conservation Corps was established. Roosevelt saw that both young and middle-aged men would need a means of earning a livelihood. When he put through bills setting up a public works system, the CCC was one of the first agencies to be set up.

Roosevelt patterned the CCC after the youth movements of Fascist Europe. This Americanization of a Fascist idea gave rise to a lot of criticism, although it was completely different in almost every respect from its European counterpart. The CCC, however, soon became the most popular of all the agencies established to aid in fighting the depression. This popularity lasted until its abolition in 1942.

There has only been one monograph written about the Civilian Conservation Corps. It was written by John A. Salmond, of New Zealand,



as a dissertation at Duke University and published in 1967. Salmond's work, though excellent, was not relied on very heavily for sources. Instead the author of this work chose to research the subject on his own and came up with some sources unused by Salmond.



A STUDY OF THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS  
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Master of Arts

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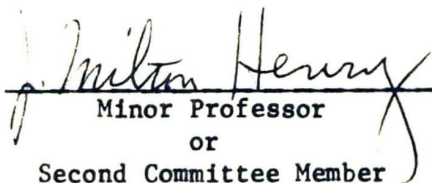
by  
Robert Lyon McNew  
August 1971

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a Thesis written by Robert Lyon McNew entitled "A Study of the Civilian Conservation Corps with Special Emphasis on the South." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.

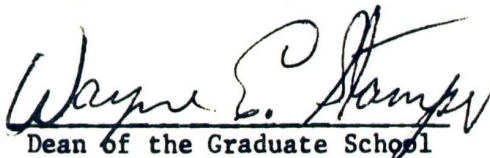
  
Major Professor

We have read this thesis and  
recommend its acceptance:

  
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or  
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Third Committee Member

Accepted for the Council:

  
Dean of the Graduate School

## Introduction

The Civilian Conservation Corps was a relief agency established by Congress in 1933 to provide work for unemployed young men between the ages of 18 and 25, and to provide the needed man power necessary to do vital conservation work, such as erosion prevention, reforestation, and forest fire prevention.

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The information in this thesis comes largely from periodicals, government documents, newspaper articles, and the McKellar Papers. Without the kind assistance of the staff of the Joint University Library of Peabody-Vanderbilt-Scarritt in Nashville, the Cossit-Goodwin Library in Memphis, and the State Archives in Nashville, this work might never have been written.

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## Chapter I

### THE FOUNDING OF THE CCC, 1933

On March 21, 1933, two identical bills were introduced into the House and Senate. The bills were for "The Relief of Unemployment Through the Performance of Useful Public Works and for Other Purposes." The bill in the Senate was introduced by Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, and was committed without debate to the Committee on Education and Labor. From the start it seemed that the two great forces of progress, Education and Labor, were destined to be intertwined in the life of the Civilian Conservation Corps. The bill in the House was introduced by Joseph W. Byrns, Representative of Tennessee. It was committed to the Committee on Labor without debate.<sup>1</sup>

Thus started the conflict that was to haunt the CCC throughout its existence. Some groups of citizens always looked upon the Civilian Conservation Corps as nothing more than an agency to aid the current labor crisis. Other groups, however, saw an agency that could aid both Education and Labor by giving men job experience and vocational training at the same time.

It is important to note carefully the primary provisions of these bills in light of their subsequent change as a result of heavy opposition. They put the authority to create a Civilian Conservation Corps

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<sup>1</sup>John A. Salmond, The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942; A New Deal Case Study (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1967), pp. 12-13.



composed of unemployed males to be enrolled for a year, and to determine the rules and regulations for the issuance of discharges in the hands of the President. Pay for the enrollees was to be no more than \$30 per month. If the enrollee had dependents, he would be compelled to make a monthly allotment to them. No age limit on enrollment was set, and there was no provision against enrolling married men. The head of any department instructed to carry out a public works project would have the right to acquire real property by purchase, donation, condemnation or otherwise. Money to carry out the provisions of this act will be appropriated from unobligated funds in the treasury.<sup>2</sup>

Once the provisions of these bills were made public, the voice of opposition was raised by several leaders of the American Federation of Labor. No information concerning this matter could be found regarding the leaders who in 1937 formed the Congress of Industrial Organizations, John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman, and David Dubinsky. Thus William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, became the spokesman for labor as a whole when he successfully summed up labor's opposition in a blistering attack on several of the provisions of these bills.

He felt that the principle of regimentation of labor was admitted by the provisions for the use of the army, the involuntary allotment provision, and the strictures against discharge until a year's service had been completed. He felt that the proposed wage rate, of approximately one dollar per day, would inevitably have a depressing effect on general wage standards. He also felt that the use of unobligated funds to finance the work projects could deprive some free laborers of their livelihood.

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<sup>2</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, 73 Cong., 1st Sess. (1933), LXXVII, No. 1, 650-651.

Mr. Green was supported in this stand by A. J. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Trainmen; M. J. McDonough of the Building Trade Department of the A. F. of L.; and Herbert Benjamin of the National Committee of the Unemployed Council of the United States.<sup>3</sup>

As a result of the opposition of labor, the members of the joint committee, formed by the union of the House Committee on Labor and the Senate Committee of Education and Labor, realized that a new bill should be drawn up. The restrictive provisions dealing with enrollment and discharges were not mentioned and neither was the highly controversial \$30 per month salary. The President was simply authorized to run the CCC unhampered by any statutory fetters. He could set up his own rules and regulations, and could utilize any existing departments or agencies to help him. However, partly as a result of labor's opposition to the original bill, several groups in Congress began to voice their disapproval of this new bill, which was introduced into the Senate on March 27, 1933.<sup>4</sup>

In the Senate, the opposition consisted mainly of Republicans. They were led by L. J. Dickinson from Iowa, Arthur Robinson from Indiana, and Henry Hatfield from West Virginia, who felt that the bill gave the President even more power over wage rates and employment conditions than the original one. However, under the guidance of Democrat David I. Walsh from Massachusetts and Republican William E. Borah from Idaho, the CCC Bill passed the Senate by voice vote on March 29, 1933.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Salmond, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>4</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, op. cit., pp. 861-872.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

In the House, opposition to the new bill was led by both liberal Democrats and Republicans. The two men who played the greatest role in directing this opposition were William P. Connery, a Democrat from Massachusetts, Chairman of the House Committee on labor, and Bertrand H. Snell, a Republican of New York, House Minority Leader. They felt that the bill would tag labor at one dollar a day throughout the entire United States. They objected to the granting of even wider power to the President. They also felt that the bill would lead the masses to believe that it was the duty of the Government to put them on the payroll. Although Connery and Snell were both opposed to the bill they did not work together as a unified opposition. Instead they were divided along party lines. Connery was supported by Marion A. Zioncheck, Democrat from Washington; Richard J. Walsh, Republican from California; and Glenn Griswold, Democrat from Indiana. Snell was supported by Carroll L. Beedy, Republican from Maine; John Taber, Republican from New York; and by two Southern Democrats, Lister Hill from Alabama, and John J. McSwain from South Carolina. The supporters of the bill were led by Robert Ramspeck, a Democrat from Georgia. The bill was passed on March 30, 1933, by a voice vote. Only one major ammendment had been added by the House. This was proposed by a Negro representative, Oscar DePriest, a Republican from Chicago, Illinois, and was passed almost as an afterthought. It stated that no discrimination shall be made on account of race, color, or creed. On March 31, 1933, President Roosevelt signed the bill providing for the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps into law.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 953-995.



President Roosevelt's first major decision, regarding the CCC, was the appointment of a director. Robert Fechner, a member of the General Executive Board of the Machinists Union, was the person he chose. It was hoped that, by appointing a member of the American Federation of Labor as director, organized labor would support the CCC.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>"Conservation, Poor Young Men," Time, Vol. 33 no. 6, February 6, 1939, pp. 10-12.

## Chapter II

### THE EARLY YEARS, 1933-1937

During the first four years of existence, the CCC took on a look of impermanence that it was never really able to lose. The Civilian Conservation Corps was based upon two major objectives: (1) to prevent the nation's male youth from becoming semi-criminal hitch-hikers by supplying subsistence to the unemployed youth in exchange for labor performed, and by repairing some of the human damage done by unemployment, and (2) to make possible conservation work on a large scale.<sup>1</sup>

After the passage of the act that established the Civilian Conservation Corps in March, 1933, the forty-eight states were divided into nine Corps Areas. The Southern states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee were in Corps Area IV. Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, was the Headquarters of this Corps Area, and its Commanding Officer was the Commander of the Sixth Cavalry. The other Southern states were divided among four other Corps Areas, as follows: Virginia, Corps Area III; Kentucky, Corps Area V; Arkansas and Missouri, Corps Area VII; and Oklahoma and Texas, Corps Area VIII.<sup>2</sup> The first CCC camp to be built was near Luray, Virginia. It

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<sup>1</sup>Henry Coe Lampher, "The Civilian Conservation Corps: Some Aspects of Its Social Program for Unemployed Youth," Social Service Review, Vol. 10 No. 4, December, 1936, p. 623.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work on the Operations of Emergency Conservation Work for the Period Extending from April 1, 1933, to June 30, 1935, Robert Fechner, Director (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1935), Appendix D.

began operation on April 17, 1933. This camp soon came to represent the entire Corps in the eyes of Senators and Congressmen, because of its close proximity to Washington, D. C.<sup>3</sup>

During the period from April 1, 1933, to September 30, 1935, 2,706 CCC camps were built in the South as compared to 2,928 camps built in the West, and 3,154 camps built in the North. Of the 2,706 Southern camps, 1,436 camps were in Corps Area IV. Of the 1,436 camps in Corps Area IV, 279 were in Tennessee.<sup>4</sup> Only eight percent of the enrollees in Corps Area IV had completed high school.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps the greatest of all the criticism, that was thrown upon the CCC during the period from 1933 to 1937, was the charge of racial discrimination. This was introduced in April of 1937, when Governor Herbert Lehman, of New York, protested an order sent to the Second Corps Area, directing that "Negroes will not be allowed to enroll during this enrollment period." He accused the CCC of being discriminatory against a part of the population which had the highest percentage of unemployment and poverty of any other group. Governor Lehman stated in a letter to Fechner, head of the CCC, that "there were very few complaints with regard to Colored camps, made in New York." Fechner, in reply, stated "a Negro quota was based upon the relationship of the Negro with the whole population, as found in the 1930 census from which all enrollments are based." Fechner also stated "six Negro companies have completed their work on the Walkhill flood project. No order had been issued to keep Negroes from enrolling." Then Fechner went on to say that he had merely meant to advise selecting agencies that no more negroes

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Appendix D.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

could be selected because there were no vacancies in CCC Negro junior companies.<sup>6</sup>

This is an example of the treatment of the Negro by the CCC all over the country. Georgia, with a Negro population that was thirty-six percent of the total state population, by June, 1933, had selected only 178 "non-white". The state director of Florida, John C. Huskisson, reported: "on the basis of merit, no negroes [sic] have yet been selected for the CCC." Selection procedures in Arkansas were investigated after an NAACP complaint of discrimination. However, Alabama and South Carolina had no problems in complying with the restrictions against discrimination. The little state of Delaware never had any Negro camps, nor were any of its Negro citizens ever admitted to the CCC. The CCC officials never attempted to create integrated camps on a national scale. These camps were only permitted in regions where Negro enrollment was so slight that no Negro Company could be formed.<sup>7</sup>

It soon became obvious that the establishment of Negro camps was conditional on winning the approval of local communities. Many camps were no sooner occupied, than angry complaints began to flood Fechner's office insisting that they be filled with white enrollees or be removed. Fechner ruled that no Negro could be transported outside his own state, and all sites for Negro camps had to be selected by the state's governor. There was far less protest from the South on this question than from any other region. Almost all the moderation in this issue came from Alabama, where a well-rounded Negro CCC program performed with much

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<sup>6</sup>"Lehman Protests Negro 'Ban' by CCC," New York Times, April 9, 1937, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup>Salmond, op. cit., pp. 89-91.



useful work. Later on, Arkansas and Georgia accepted many Negro camps. White citizens of Morton, Mississippi, declared that if only the protesting areas of the country could see the high standard of work accomplished by the Negroes, they "would be glad to get them instead of some white camps."<sup>8</sup>

By insisting on the dual policy of rigid segregation and confinement to the home state, Fechner had closed the only means the selection agents could use to enroll more Negroes. His reluctance to override local protests in placing of Negro camps put definite limits on their expansion. By 1935, Fechner began to lean more and more toward authorizing a definite restriction of Negro enrollment. In July of 1935, Fechner issued an order that from then on Negroes would be selected only as vacancies became available in Negro Companies that were already established. President Roosevelt had given his approval to Fechner's policy, but asked that his name not be used in any public or private statements.<sup>9</sup>

The enrollees began to be accused of having poor moral habits and despicable behavior. Mr. L. E. Tharpe, a student at a theological seminary in Virginia, made the following observations at the five camps near Luray, Virginia:

- (1) At 6 p.m. the boys are turned loose, come to town, loaf, shoot pool, replenish the bootleggers, and frequent the homes of women of questionable character. They have been guilty of every conceivable depredation, both in the country and in town, and according to one reputable citizen of the town 'have raised hell in general.'

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 92-93.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 98-99.

- (2) Large trucks with U.S.-CCC painted in prominent letters are used to bring them from the camps. There is no one in charge. They are permitted to roam the countryside until 5 a.m. if they desire.
- (3) I learned that most of them possibly work three hours a day, some not three hours a week, and some not at all!
- (4) I learned that many of the parents of the boys were sending their check for \$25, or whatever their part may be, back to the boys, thus indicating that many of them do not need the money to help finance the family at home.<sup>10</sup>

However, another report, different in every respect, was presented by the Rev. Carl Knudsen of the Church of the Pilgrimage, in Plymouth, Massachusetts. He had held services in two camps for three months, and had mingled freely with the men. He believed that the movement was a Godsend to the overwhelming majority of those enrolled. He stated that "the dissipation Mr. Tharpe describes is unknown around here." He had found that adequate recreational leadership and other safeguards made some camps models of social conduct, and said that "where conditions are otherwise, let us not blame the CCC project."<sup>11</sup>

In March, 1933, the enrollment periods were set up at six month intervals. In January, 1934, the Director of the CCC took a poll of the States to determine whether future enrollment periods should be limited to six months or be extended to a year. Each State Director of Relief Administration was asked to vote. Fifteen states, with a combined quota of 78,500 men, voted for a one year period. Thirty-three states, with a combined quota of 171,500 men, voted for a six month period. There were three reasons for the State Directors of the thirty-three states to

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<sup>10</sup>L. E. Tharpe, "Conservation Camps and the War Department," The Christian Century, Vol. 50 No. 35, August 30, 1933, p. 1089.

<sup>11</sup>Rev. Carl Knudsen, "A Different Report on the CCC," The Christian Century, Vol. 50 No. 37, September 13, 1933, p. 1149.

vote for the six month period. The first was the assurance of the selection of better qualified enrollees. It was believed that the longer period might kill the initiative in enrollees to return to private employment. The second was to insure greater stability of the enrolled force. The shorter period would permit easier sifting out of undesirable. The third was to promote a better effect on morals and welfare of the families of the enrollees.<sup>12</sup> In order to provide a wholesome leadership over the younger men, and to insure local hospitality toward the camps, a group of older men, above the set limit of 18-25, was to be added. These men were "local experienced men," who lived in the immediate vicinity of the work project, and were selected because of their knowledge of the work to be done.<sup>13</sup>

When the first camps were being built in the spring of 1933, many localities were reluctant to have one in their vicinity. The feeling seemed to prevail that the camps would be occupied by several hundred strange, young men, who would have no concern for the peace and welfare of the community, and who would be under no discipline or restraint. Wherever this apprehension prevailed, it was quickly removed once the camps were in operation. The enrollees invariably won the respect and affection of the citizens with whom they came in contact. Almost every county in the forty-eight states asked for at least one. Later when it became necessary to close a camp, the director would be

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<sup>12</sup>"Selection of Men for the Civilian Conservation Corps," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 40 No. 5, May, 1935, p. 1167.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 165.



flooded with protests and pleas from the citizens of the surrounding area to permit it to continue.<sup>14</sup>

There is evidence to back up the idea that most communities heartily approved of and supported the camps near them. The monthly operating expense of a camp that averaged 200 men was about \$15,000. One-third was spent locally, one-third nationally, and one-third went back home to relatives. Of the \$5,000 spent locally \$1,500 went for food; \$1,500 for other supplies and utilities; \$1,000 was spent by officers and supervisors who were frequently accompanied by their families; and \$1,000 was spent by the men.<sup>15</sup> The cost of feeding the men in each camp was based on the cost of the Army ration in that particular locality. Some typical foodstuffs that were usually purchased by the CCC camps were: bacon, fresh meats, fowl, eggs, milk, butter, cheese, flour, cereal products, fruits, vegetables, lard and lard substitutes, coffee, tea, cocoa, jams, sugar, vinegar, syrup, salt, and other seasonings and condiments.<sup>16</sup> Whenever practicable, electricity and the water supply were obtained from local companies, thus contributing to the support of those industries, and incidentally, benefiting local employment. Local carpenters and other workmen were employed on the construction of camp buildings. Purchase of operation and maintenance supplies was administered by the various field agencies. This way funds generally were

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<sup>14</sup>Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work, 1935, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup>"CCC Also Spends," Business Week, Vol. 296, May 4, 1935, pp. 12, 14.

<sup>16</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps on the Activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps for the Period Extending from July 1, 1935, to June 30, 1936, Robert Fechner, Director (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936), p. 10.



used locally for the purchase of supplies and services. The local expenditure of those funds tended to a wider distribution of them throughout the country for the benefit of small industries, local dealers, and working men.<sup>17</sup>

Needless to say, the CCC helped many towns and cities through the money sent home to relatives, \$25 out of their \$30 per month salary, and also through the placement of 200 new consumers or more, depending on the number of camps, close by. The CCC was the most expensive form of work relief that had been devised by the federal government at that time.<sup>18</sup> The expenditure per enrollee for each twelve month period for the first twenty-seven months of existence, was \$1,175. This overall total can be broken down as follows: \$372, for salaries; \$140, for food; \$88, for shelter; \$18, for medical care; \$50, for transportation; and \$224, for other costs.<sup>19</sup>

Relations between CCC camps and neighboring towns were not always good, however. An example can be drawn from several camps in the district of Congressman Parker of Georgia. It seems that CCC officials of camps in his district were very inefficient in business transactions that they had with local people. The main fault people found with the officials was that they did not, or would not, pay their bills properly. The camp at Hinesville, in Liberty County, used privately owned trucks

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 8-9.

<sup>18</sup>Howard Rowland, "Can the CCC Blaze a New Trail?," Survey Graphic, Vol. 26 No. 6, June, 1937, p. 324.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

and civilian truck drivers for a number of months. The owners and drivers found it very hard to get any pay for this service.<sup>20</sup>

A Mr. J. W. Griner appealed to Parker to help him collect what was due him after he had furnished and driven a truck for the Hinesville Camp for approximately two months time. Because he asked for Parker's assistance, he was dismissed by the camp officials. Parker took the matter up with Fechner. Parker was able to have Griner put back to work later. Some one-half dozen or more truck drivers were also working for the Liberty County Camp at the same time as Mr. Griner. None of them at that time had received any pay, though they had been working for four or five months.<sup>21</sup>

Parker had complaints from citizens of his home county of Bulloch in regard to accounts due them by the officials of the Brooklet Camp. Owners of a bakery in Vidalia, Toombs County, who were also his constituents complained that they had not been able to collect for bread sold to the camp at Soperton, in Treutlen County. They had furnished the bread to this particular camp on June 30, 1933, which was seven months past. These same people had sold bread to the Government for the Reidsville, Tattnall County, Camp in October of 1933, for which they had not been able to collect by January, 1934.<sup>22</sup>

No matter in what part of the country a camp was located, it would suffer from two handicaps common to all camps. Perhaps the greatest handicap was the meagerness of equipment. Many camps cost less

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<sup>20</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, 73 Cong., 2nd Sess. (1934), LXXVIII, No. 12, 642.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

than \$20,000 apiece, and this sum covered the Company commander's home, the infirmary, the barracks, and mess hall only. During the first two years of the Corps, for athletic equipment each camp of 200 boys received four horseshoe pitching sets; two volleyball sets; four sets of boxing gloves; and bats, balls and gloves for two baseball teams. For educational material, a camp was given six sheets of writing paper and two envelopes, per man, per week; a set of Army and Navy hymnals; a dictionary, and a half-dozen Spalding arithmetic handbooks; and the right to share with other camps in the use of a traveling library of detective stories. For absolute necessities, camp commanders had the right to ask for additional funds from their corps area headquarters.<sup>23</sup>

In the first camps to be built, the only place the boys had to sit in during the evenings was the mess hall, usually a long, narrow, enclosed shed without partitions. If a few boys wished to study, the rest had to keep silent; if a few wanted to play games, there could be no studying. The mess halls were lighted by weak, unshaded bulbs along the ridge pole, which made reading extremely tiring. The test of camp, therefore, rapidly came to be the ability of the camp commander and boys somehow to improvise tools and material for the building of a proper recreation hall. The satisfying of such a vital need as a recreation hall should not have been left to chance and the permission of a company commander. In camps in which the company commander lacked resourcefulness, the boys suffered greatly from the lack of camp equipment.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Jonathan Mitchell, "Roosevelt's Tree Army: I," The New Republic, Vol. 83 No. 1069, May 29, 1935, pp. 65-66.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 66.



The second handicap from which the enrollees had to suffer, was lack of properly trained camp commanders. The camp in Warm Springs, Georgia, was the only camp in 1935 that had a regular Army officer as camp commander. This was due partly to the fact that it was the only camp President Roosevelt ever visited. The other camps were run by reserve officers who were unemployed college graduates. This was the group that suffered the most from loss of self-esteem and unaccustomed hardship. These reserve officers regarded their CCC work as just a stopgap to better times and jobs that were disappointingly slow in coming, and grew bitter and resentful and began to hate the boys. This caused riots among the boys, and detrimental publicity. The best camps were those with enrollee self-government. This was unworkable, however, except where camp commander and enrollee trusted each other.<sup>25</sup>

The two most common accusations against the CCC were, first, that it was too militaristic, and second, that it was a step toward fascism. In regard to the first accusation it should be said that military drill was forbidden, and this prohibition was generally, although not completely, observed. Should the Army have been eliminated from the CCC, the enrollee would still have to be disciplined. There would still have to be first aid, the stretcher, and ambulance call. There would have to be roads to the camps, to make possible the transportation and billeting of troops in case of actual war.<sup>26</sup> The Army has had long experience in maintaining essential standards of sanitation and fire protection. In many cases, the Army officers in charge of the camps had a harder job to adjust themselves to camp life than had the enrollee. Discipline had

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 64.      <sup>26</sup>Rowland, op. cit., p. 325.



been organized by an executive order into a system of penalties. Such penalties included admonition, suspension of privileges, substitution of specified camp duties instead of regular work for a week's time, or deduction of cash allowances not exceeding three days per month, or in extreme cases, discharge from the camp. The camps were in many cases a distance from the towns and cities. There was small opportunity for social contact with the outside.<sup>27</sup>

In regard to the second accusation, the trend of the CCC's educational program was altogether away from fascism. The official purpose of the CCC, which was to conserve and improve America's resources by cooperative effort, without profit, for the benefit of all citizens does not jibe with fascist ideas. However, it is impossible to take 300,000 to 600,000 young men out of the traditional American family system, and organize them on a basis of loyalty to each other and to camp leaders, without at the same time creating a political instrument with unknown potential.<sup>28</sup>

Another area of CCC life open to criticism was the educational program. It was found that large numbers of enrollees were completely illiterate. An educational program was set up with Dr. C. S. Marsh as educational director. There immediately began to arise many points of conflict between Marsh and Fechner, the head of the CCC. Marsh wanted to give the boys an education that was relative both to the times and to their backgrounds and futures. Fechner merely believed in the three R's.

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<sup>27</sup>John Herrick Hiram Darling, "The CCC Makes Good!" The Christian Century, Vol. 50 No. 43, October 25, 1933, p. 1333.

<sup>28</sup>Jonathan Mitchell, "Roosevelt's Tree Army: II," The New Republic, Vol. 83 No. 1071, June 12, 1935, p. 129.

Marsh needed a series of proper textbooks. In order to get the special texts, Marsh created them himself, printing them in editions of 300,000. When he asked Fechner for funds, Marsh found him wholly apathetic. He promptly went outside the government, and obtained \$40,000 from the General Education Board. For the first of his series, he coerced Professor Ogburn into writing a pamphlet, "You and Machines," on the industrial revolution and its modern consequences. It was given wide margins and printed in 12-point type on non-glare paper, so that boys could read it without strain even in the wretchedly lighted mess halls. A cartoon by J. G. Cooper was on every other page to attract the boys' interest. Ogburn's text was entirely in one and two syllable words, and was quite moving and provocative. Other pamphlets commissioned by Marsh were "Youth and the Depression" and "Strikes." The only one ever printed was "You and Machines." Fechner ordered Ogburn's pamphlet suppressed, after having had it read by an assistant. He stated, "We don't believe the American people want men paid by Rockefeller or Carnegie money telling our boys what they ought to think." Since "You and Machines" pictured the 1930's in a painful, realistic, and unflattering light, and Fechner himself once called it "too pessimistic," his explanation seems very thin.<sup>29</sup>

Immediately after his pamphlet was suppressed, Marsh resigned. The man who replaced him wrote a "Manual for CCC Instructors," which was very conservative in nature. The most interesting advice deals with how to keep from discussing controversial issues:

. . . Should it be indicated that dangerous topics are being brought up for discussion in the class, the instructor should

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 127.

analyze the situation, and if it is considered unwise to deal with any given topic, lead the discussion away from the topic. One safe way is, of course, to stay away from dangerous topics. Recognize them early in the discussion, and switch the subject to something of greater interest to the group if possible.

Another way is to promise to bring up the dangerous issue at some future time. This will make it possible for the instructor to secure additional information before discussing it, and it also sets up the possibility of the topic being forgotten. A story to switch the interests of the class is a clever device for changing the topic. Frankness and honesty help, and if the case warrants it, the instructor should tell the class that the dangerous issue is not a part of the lesson, and should refuse to discuss it.<sup>30</sup>

There had been a thirty-three and one-third percent turnover in camp educational directors from 1933-1935. By February, 1935, 430 camps had no full time educational adviser. In those camps the educational courses were set up by the camp commander. For the most part, they consisted of shorthand, typing, and English, for no reason except that material for them was easily available. Marsh sought to shift the CCC's vocational courses to place more emphasis on the manual trades, because he knew that boys in the CCC could not compete for white-collar jobs with boys whose parents had been able to keep them in high school. Such training was to be blocked until 1937 in the interest of organized labor. To avoid any threat to the existing hierarchy in the Labor Unions, at this time, members felt that trade training was not possible apart from the job itself. Others felt that it would be unrelated to the work and life of the CCC, and would not meet with a hearty response from the enrollees. Still others felt that the cost of such a vocational training program would also be an obstacle.<sup>31</sup> The greatest weakness of the CCC

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<sup>30</sup>"Sedition in the CCC," The New Republic, Vol 86 No. 1106, February 12, 1936, pp. 6-7.

<sup>31</sup>Rowland, op. cit., p. 323.



educational program arose from the fact that all studying was done at night, when the boys were exhausted by a day's work out of doors.<sup>32</sup>

As of November, 1937, enrollees were engaged in more than 150 major types of work. The following nine types are the most important:

- (1) Forest culture, including tree planting and the thinning out of timber stands to improve timber growth;
- (2) Forest protection from fire, insects, disease, and other pests;
- (3) Erosion Control;
- (4) Flood control, irrigation, and drainage;
- (5) Transportation improvements, principally the construction of truck trails through forest areas;
- (6) Structural improvements;
- (7) Range development;
- (8) Wild-life conservation; and
- (9) Landscape and recreational work in parks and forests.<sup>33</sup>

By 1937, 54,200 miles of firebanks had been completed, saving untold billions of feet of lumber; 2,620,000 acres of forest stand improvement had been completed; 40,000 foot, horse, stock, and vehicle bridges were built; and 4,000 large dams had been constructed.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>"Roosevelt's Tree Army: II," op. cit., p. 128.

<sup>33</sup>Robert Fechner, "The Civilian Conservation Corps Program," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 194 (November, 1937), p. 134.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 135.



### Chapter III

#### LIFE IN A TENNESSEE CCC CAMP, 1933-1937

The CCC camp located in Clarksville, Tennessee began operations in June, 1933. It was located just outside the city limits between Greenwood Avenue and State Highway 13.<sup>1</sup> For the first month the boys were restricted to a seven mile radius, working to clean and beautify the dump on River Road.<sup>2</sup> The boys were to work in Montgomery County for seven months before working in adjoining counties. The work of the local camp was mainly in erosion prevention, building fire towers, and planting trees.<sup>3</sup>

For the most part relations between the camp and the citizens were very harmonious. The Camp Commander was invited to speak to the Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, the local churches held a party in the basement of the First Baptist Church to welcome the boys to Clarksville, and a Fall Dance was given by the camp, and citizens of Clarksville were invited to attend.<sup>4</sup>

However, the first note of discord sounded on March 9, 1934, when a riot occurred at the Clarksville Camp. Carl J. Summerall, of Memphis,

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<sup>1</sup>The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, June 23, 1933.

<sup>2</sup>The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, June 30, 1933.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, June 30, 1933, October 6, 1933, and November 17, 1933.

recently had been released from the hospital following an appendicitis operation. He complained of his right side hurting and asked for either relief from night duty or an honorable discharge. Captain David Kassman, the camp commander, offered him a dishonorable discharge instead. That afternoon at lunch, Kassman gave Summereal some uncooked food and told him that if he ate at all he would have to cook his own food. Kassman then ordered Summereal out of the mess hall, but he refused to go. Kassman then ordered the other CCC boys to throw Summereal out, but they refused. Sheriff Beaumont was called, but he sent two deputies, Mack Hodges and a Negro, instead. The deputies were driven away by stones. Finally Beaumont came himself and calmed the men down. Then Beaumont called the commander of the Sixth Cavalry at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, who put the matter under investigation.<sup>5</sup> A week later, on March 16, it was announced that Lieutenant W. E. Harper would replace Kassman as the commander of the Clarksville Camp. Kassman was transferred to the TVA section in East Tennessee. It was also announced that Summereal had been given the honorable discharge he asked for.<sup>6</sup>

In March, 1936, a disaster occurred in the Middle Tennessee area. From March 14, to March 17, 20 forest fires were reported in Middle Tennessee. Fifteen forest fires were in Montgomery County. Both the Clarksville and Burns, Tennessee, Camps fought the fires in Montgomery and Cheatham Counties. Three thousand acres of timber were destroyed in Cheatham County. The largest fire in Montgomery County was the Ayer-Lord Tie Company tract of 8,000 acres, which overlapped into Stewart County.

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<sup>5</sup>"Near Riot in Clarksville Camp," The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, March 9, 1934.

<sup>6</sup>The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, March 16, 1934.

The people of Montgomery County praised the boys for days for their fire fighting work.<sup>7</sup>

From June, 1933, to September, 1935, the Clarksville CCC camp was under the supervision of the Forest Service. The boys of the Clarksville Camp, and the two sub-camps of Dickson and Kingston Springs, had set up a comprehensive system of fire control over 500,000 acres in Stewart, Houston, Humphreys, Dickson, and Cheatham Counties. They built 60 miles of truck trails, 226 miles of fire telephone lines, four fire lookout towers, five log cabins for firemen, and put in 2,000 man-days of fire fighting. After October 18, 1935, when the camp was transferred to the Soil Conservation Service, their work in Montgomery County was chiefly in soil erosion. A drainage area of 2,000 acres of 170 farms had been processed. Seven thousand three hundred forty-seven temporary dams were constructed; 24,660 lineal feet of diversion ditches were dug; 50,737 square feet of gully-bottoms were shingled; 1,184 lineal rods of fencing were put up; and 185,183 cubic feet of banks were sloped.<sup>8</sup>

The CCC camp members found time for recreation. Each camp had a baseball team, and a championship series for Middle and East Tennessee had been developed. The champion from Middle Tennessee would play the champion from East Tennessee for the state title. The team from the Paris, Tennessee Camp was the Middle Tennessee champion in 1937.<sup>9</sup>

At 9:30 p.m., on August 21, 1937, Monroe Busby, a twenty-four-year-old member of the Clarksville camp, was run over by a train at the

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<sup>7</sup>The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, March 17, 1936.

<sup>8</sup>The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, April 14, 1936.

<sup>9</sup>"CCC'ers to Play Paris Team at Richview Sunday," The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, August 14, 1937.



Lawn Street crossing of the Tennessee Central Railroad. He was rushed to the Clarksville Hospital where he died nine hours later at 6:30 a.m., August 22. Engineer Fisher on west bound freight train number 85, said Busby was lying on the tracks apparently asleep. The train was brought to a halt after the engine and one car had passed over the body. Members of the train crew, however, found dried blood around a wound on Busby's head immediately after he was struck by the train. Lieutenant Charles A. Fenn, Jr., commander of the local camp, believed Busby had been assaulted and left unconscious on the tracks. However, Patrolman A. D. Curtis, who investigated the incident himself on the night of the twenty-first, felt that Busby just fell asleep on the tracks.<sup>10</sup>

The district CCC commander appointed three Civilian Conservation Corps officers to act as a Board of Inquiry. They were Lieutenant Charles A. Fenn, Jr., President of the Board; Lieutenant J. T. McKnight, also from the Clarksville Camp; and Lieutenant Phillip D. Smith, of the Burns Camp.<sup>11</sup> The Board disclosed that Busby had an official pass to leave camp and was not "AWOL". Johnnie Guffey, a member of the local camp, testified that Wesley Feals was the last person who knew Busby to see him alive. Feals testified that he saw Busby "up town" not long before he was found injured, and that Busby said he was going down to Riverside Playground on Front Street for awhile. No one knew, however, whether he was coming or going from the playground when he was struck by

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<sup>10</sup>"Death of CCC Youth May Be Investigated After Foul Play Rumor," the Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, August 23, 1937.

<sup>11</sup>"Probe Is Begun in Boy's Death," The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, August 24, 1937.

the train. On August 25, the Board of Inquiry announced that they had uncovered no evidence of foul play, and that the investigation was over.<sup>12</sup>

On October 27, 1937, the Clarksville CCC Camp was officially dedicated the Joe Byrns Memorial Camp, because it was largely through the efforts of Representative Byrns that the camp was situated in Clarksville. Only 150 farmers and businessmen attended. Chilly, cloudy weather was blamed for keeping a larger crowd away.<sup>13</sup>

The Clarksville High School Band was secured to furnish a musical program.<sup>14</sup> Congressman Richard M. Atkinson gave the dedicatory address. C. W. Bailey, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Agricultural Committee, spoke along the lines of what the CCC is doing to help the farmers here. Mr. J. E. Bradfote, project manager from the Springfield Camp, and Mr. W. M. Hardy, State Co-ordinator from Jackson, were both present.<sup>15</sup>

Four days prior to this big event, letters had been mailed by Mr. J. Ranking, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and by Mr. Cuyler Dunbar, head of the Montgomery County Farm Bureau, to magistrates and bureau members asking them to bring their neighbors and friends to the dedication.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>"Probe in Death of CCC Youth May Be Over," The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, August 25, 1937.

<sup>13</sup>"Late Speaker's Name Is Given to CCC Camp," The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, October 27, 1937.

<sup>14</sup>"CCC Camp Dedication Tomorrow," The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, October 26, 1937.

<sup>15</sup>"Camp Program Being Shaped," The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, October 21, 1937.

<sup>16</sup>"Invitations Sent to Camp Program," The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, October 23, 1937.

Before making the official announcement of the dedication of the Clarksville Camp, Congressman Atkinson wrote Collier Goodlett a letter giving the news that the camp was to be permanent. Mr. Atkinson had talked with Conrad L. Worth, Assistant Director of the National Park Service, who agreed not to move the camp.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>"CCC Will Not Be Removed," The Clarksville Leaf-Chronicle, August 27, 1937.



## Chapter IV

### THE WORK OF THE CCC IN THE SOUTH, 1933-1942

Prior to the establishment of the CCC, in only six Southern states (Arkansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas) were there national parks under development. Five states (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee) had acquired property but had not yet begun construction of a national park. Three states (Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia) had not even acquired any property. This appalling situation came about because the states had little or no help from the Federal Government in acquiring land and building a national park.<sup>1</sup> In 1933, work on national parks was started in eleven states, with the most camps in the five states that had not had any parks prior to that time. The three states which had not acquired property, did not get a national park project until 1936.<sup>2</sup>

The CCC built relief models and dioramas of all the eastern national parks and monuments in the museum at Fort Hunt, Virginia. The actual work at those parks was simulated in detail on the models at the museum, by specially selected enrollees. The enrollees were supervised

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps on the Activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps for the Period Extending from July 1, 1938, to June 30, 1939, Robert Fechner, Director (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 37.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps on the Activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps for the Period Extending from July 1, 1935, to June 30, 1936, Robert Fechner, Director (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936), p. 39.

by trained technicians with the result that the enrollees were able to carry on this type of work after they were discharged from the CCC.<sup>3</sup>

In December, 1933, the forty-five CCC camps at work in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park were supplied with \$1,550,000. This money was to be used for the purpose of acquiring additional land for the park.<sup>4</sup> By 1935, 33,948 acres had been added to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park at a cost of \$947,747. The camps had 25,636 acres more under contract to be purchased for \$868,175. Also, by 1935, Mammoth Cave National Park had acquired 9,228 acres at a cost of \$300,000; and Shenandoah National Park had acquired 5,023 acres at a cost of \$47,154.<sup>5</sup>

The forty-five camps engaged in conservation and recreational development in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park were there continuously from 1933 to 1942.<sup>6</sup> The horse, foot, and truck trail systems in the Great Smoky Mountains, of North Carolina and Tennessee, were built almost exclusively by CCC labor. A huge program of roadside improvement carried out there under difficult engineering conditions was a great

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<sup>3</sup>Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work on the Operations of Emergency Conservation Work for the Period Extending from April 1, 1933, to June 30, 1935, Robert Fechner, Director (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 32.

<sup>4</sup>The CCC received the money according to the provisions of the bill signed on March 31 by Roosevelt which gave the head of the department in charge of a public works project the right to acquire real property by purchase, donation, condemnation, or otherwise.

<sup>5</sup>Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work on the Operations of Emergency Conservation Work for the Period Extending from April 1, 1933, to June 30, 1935, Robert Fechner, Director (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 33.

<sup>6</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps for the Period Extending from July 1, 1939, to June 30, 1940, Robert Fechner, Director (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 45.

contribution by the corps.<sup>7</sup> In 1938, temporary camping facilities for Negro visitors to the Great Smoky Mountains were built.<sup>8</sup>

In 1942, several national parks in the South had been completed: Fort Pulaski National Monument, and the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Parks in Georgia; and Ochs Memorial Observatory and Museum on Lookout Mountain, and the Shiloh National Military Park in Tennessee; the Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Park, and Shenandoah National Park in Virginia; the Rocky Knob National Park in North Carolina; the Blue Ridge Parkway in Virginia and North Carolina; and the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in Tennessee and North Carolina. In 1939, the entrance to the Frozen Niagra section of Mammoth Cave National Park in Kentucky was completed.<sup>9</sup>

In Mississippi there was a CCC camp doing soil erosion work in the Vicksburg National Military Park. The park was situated on hills of wind-blown "loess" in a region that has excessive precipitation. Four hundred forty-four acres of land were beautified by the erosion-control program, and approximately 117 acres of sodding and seeding were completed.<sup>10</sup>

One of the largest national park undertakings, in which the CCC had a part, was the Big Bend National Park in Texas. It was begun in 1936, as the Big Bend State Park and was completely developed by the

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<sup>7</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1939, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>10</sup>Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work, 1935, p. 32.



CCC. Later, 800,000 acres more were acquired by Texas, and the whole was turned over to the Federal Government. It was expected that an international park would be developed out of the national park later, with co-operation from Mexico.<sup>11</sup>

Tennessee was one of the first states to take advantage of the CCC program of state park development.<sup>12</sup> In 1939 a development program was started at the Buffalo River State Park at Yellville. At Montgomery Bell Recreational Demonstration Area, buildings, impounding dams, beaches, picnic grounds, parking areas, trails, roads, bridges, and water systems were built by the CCC.<sup>13</sup> A masonry dam was built in Cumberland Homesteads State Park. Pickwick Dam Park was opened to the public in 1939.<sup>14</sup> Tennessee was also the first state to set aside, and develop, Negro state parks. They were the Booker T. Washington Negro State Park in Hamilton County, with 350 acres, and the T. O. Fuller Negro State Park in Shelby County, with 1,000 acres.<sup>15</sup> The first state park to open was the Pickett State Park in 1934. Other parks opening in 1934, were the Novis State Park, Big Ridge State Park, and Fall Creek Falls State Park.<sup>16</sup> Parks

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<sup>11</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1936, p. 38.

<sup>12</sup>Tennessee Department of Conservation, Biennial Report, 1939 to 1940, p. 16.

<sup>13</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1939, p. 44.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>15</sup>Tennessee Department of Conservation, Biennial Report, 1939 to 1940, p. 16.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

opened in 1941 were: Standing Stone State Park, Dale Hollow Dam Park, Cedars of Lebanon State Park, Chickasaw State Park, Natchez Trace State Park, and Cumberland Homesteads State Park.<sup>17</sup> Parks that were not completed when the CCC was abolished in 1942 were: Harrison Bay State Park, Booker T. Washington Negro State Park, Watauga State Park, Indian Archaeological Park, Cove Lake Negro State Park, and Cumberland Mountains State Park.<sup>18</sup>

In Mississippi the largest CCC park dam then constructed in the East was finished in 1939. It was built in Percy Quinn State Park on the Tangipahoa River. The dam was a 2,000 foot earthen barrier which impounded a 540 acre basin.<sup>19</sup> Lodges were built in the Tishomingo State Park in Mississippi.<sup>20</sup>

Louisiana began work on a dam in Chicot State Park in 1940 which was to impound a 2,000 acre basin and have a depth of seven feet. Work was started on the Tchefuncte and Longfellow-Evangeline State Parks.<sup>21</sup>

Bath houses were constructed at the Gulf State Park in Alabama. The Alabama State Museum of Natural History at Mound State Monument was completed. The DeSoto and Monte Sano State Parks in Alabama were open to the public in 1939. Historical restoration was started in Fort Morgan,

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<sup>17</sup>Tennessee Department of Conservation, Biennial Report, 1941 to 1942, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>19</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1939, p. 59.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 44.

Alabama.<sup>22</sup> In 1940 construction of a soldier rest or recreation area was begun at Huntsville.<sup>23</sup>

In 1939 the Gold Head Branch State Park in Florida was opened to the public. Historical restoration was begun in Fort Clinch, Florida, and lodges were built there. The Florida Botanical Gardens were completed.<sup>24</sup> In 1940 construction of a soldier rest or recreation area was begun at St. Augustine. The CCC started recreational developments along the overseas highway from the Florida Mainland to Key West. The Florida Caverns State Park was completed in 1940.<sup>25</sup>

In Arkansas work was begun on Crowley's Ridge State Park near Walcott in 1939.<sup>26</sup> By 1940 floodlights were set up to permit night swimming at Crowley's Ridge.<sup>27</sup> In 1939 trees were planted and new foot trails built at lake Catherine State Park near Hot Springs. Also work

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>23</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1940, p. 37.

<sup>24</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1939, p. 44.

<sup>25</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1940, p. 29.

<sup>26</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1939, p. 44.

<sup>27</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1940, p. 63.



was begun on the Boyle Metropolitan Park in Little Rock.<sup>28</sup> In 1940 two new parks were started, Petit Jean State Park and Devils Den State Park.<sup>29</sup>

In 1939 development programs were begun in Hunting Island, and Greenwood State Parks in South Carolina.<sup>30</sup> In 1940 construction of a soldier rest or recreation area was begun at Charleston.<sup>31</sup>

In 1939, a development program was begun at the Bedford County Park in Virginia. At Swift Creek Recreational Area in Virginia, buildings, impounding dams, beaches, picnic grounds, parking areas, trails, roads, bridges, and water systems were constructed by the CCC.<sup>32</sup>

In 1940, work at Tyler State Park in East Texas was complete, and new roads and trails were built in the Big Bend State Park.<sup>33</sup> In 1939, the CCC completed a combination shelter and concession building and a stable for riding horses in the Dr. Edmund A. Baker State Park in Missouri.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1939, p. 44.

<sup>29</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1940, p. 63.

<sup>30</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1939, p. 59.

<sup>31</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1940, p. 37.

<sup>32</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1939, p. 44.

<sup>33</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1940, p. 63.

<sup>34</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1939, p. 60.

State forests were given precedence in Tennessee over all other types of state or privately owned land for the establishment of CCC camps. From July 1, 1934, to July 1, 1940, Tennessee led all the other Southern states in the number of state forest camps. In 1933, when the CCC began its work, there were 38 acres of state forest land in Tennessee. By 1942, the total acreage was 90,000, after \$12,000,000 had been spent to acquire and improve the land.<sup>35</sup> In 1933, three state forests were opened in the Counties of Morgan, Pickett, and Bledsoe. In 1935, Grundy and Stewart Counties received state forests. State forests were set up in Lewis, Franklin, and Marion Counties in 1936. The CCC camp at Henryville worked on the Lewis Forest. The last state forest to be opened, under the auspices of the CCC, in Tennessee was the Scott County Forest in 1940.<sup>36</sup> In 1939, nurseries were established in Jackson and Bledsoe Counties. The TVA also used CCC boys to build nurseries at Clinton, Tennessee, and Muscle Shoals, Alabama. These four nurseries together produced 25,000,000 trees by 1942.<sup>37</sup> The roads in the state forests were built by the Civilian Conservation Corps, and were maintained by the Forest Service after 1942.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Tennessee Department of Conservation, Biennial Report, 1941 to 1942, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>38</sup>Lee S. Greene, Virginia Holmes Brown, and Evan A. Iverson, Rescued Earth: A Study of the Public Administration of Natural Resources, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1948), p. 40.

Sixty-two million young trees were planted by the CCC on 40,000 eroded acres on 8,500 farms within the TVA watershed.<sup>39</sup> Reforestation was carried out in the following five major areas in the TVA watershed: Hiwassee Island, containing 3,040 acres, in Meigs County; Lonesome Valley, in the Norris Lake watershed; Cove Creek, containing 2,120 acres, in the Norris Lake watershed; Island "F.", containing 450 acres in the Norris Lake watershed; and Walker's Ford, containing 5,050 acres, in the Norris Lake watershed.<sup>40</sup> Federal Forest Research Stations were established in Ashville, North Carolina, and New Orleans, Louisiana.<sup>41</sup> The Stuart Nursery in Louisiana, and the Ashe Nursery in Mississippi were started by the CCC.<sup>42</sup>

From 1933 to 1942, Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, and North Carolina, all had CCC camps allotted to the TVA. The relationship of the CCC to TVA could best be described as that of a contractor to an owner. The contractor (CCC) hires and fires, and actually has charge of field work, under plans and specifications of the owner (TVA), the work subject to the final inspection and acceptance of the authority.<sup>43</sup> The camps were assigned to work on TVA's forestry and soil erosion projects, and played an essential part in the Authority's integrated water--control program.

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<sup>39</sup>Tennessee Department of Conservation, Biennial Report, 1939 to 1940, p. 55.

<sup>40</sup>Tennessee Department of Conservation, Biennial Report, 1941 to 1942, p. 8.

<sup>41</sup>Tennessee Department of Conservation, Biennial Report, 1939 to 1940, p. 16.

<sup>42</sup>U.S., Conservation Corps, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939), pp. 1-2.

<sup>43</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1939, p. 56.



The CCC also assisted the TVA in wild life and fish propagation and protection. Up stream engineering and reforestation phases of the valley-wide soil and water conservation activity were emphasized. Major attention was given to restoration of vegetation cover to reduce soil and water losses from non-crop TVA lands adjacent to the reservoirs, and on seriously eroded privately owned lands where navigation and flood control phases were effected.<sup>44</sup> CCC labor enabled the Authority to develop technique simplification in controlled water disposal from terraced land, in the preparatory work on reforestation on seriously eroded areas, and in forest fire control.<sup>45</sup>

Several lakes were constructed in Tennessee for the purpose of rearing fish by the CCC for the TVA. They were: Arrow Lake, Bedford Lake, Carroll Lake, Laurel Lake, Marrowbone Lake, Portland Lake, Tullahoma Lake, and Whiteville Lake.<sup>46</sup> Fish rearing ponds were built in Pickett, Bledsoe, Franklin, and Marion State Forests by the CCC.<sup>47</sup> The CCC built state fish hatcheries in Springfield, Morristown, and Erwin.<sup>48</sup> The CCC built a Federal fish hatchery at Flintville, Tennessee, which contained 717 acres.<sup>49</sup> The Elk River Fish Hatchery was built by the CCC

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>46</sup>Tennessee Department of Conservation, Biennial Report, 1941 to 1942, p. 8.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

near Athens, Alabama. It was the largest in the world, and was completed in 1939. It contained 77 ponds that had a water surface of 111 acres.<sup>50</sup>

Nine hundred thousand acres were purchased by 30 state governments to be used as wild life refuges. These state governments included those of Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Missouri, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Alabama, and Arkansas.<sup>51</sup> The CCC built four game preserves in Tennessee: Reelfoot Lake Game Preserve, Stribling Game Preserve, Mullins Grove Game Preserve, and Andrew Johnson Game Preserve.<sup>52</sup> The CCC built the Tellico Game Management Area in Monroe County, and the Ocoee Game Management Area in Polk County.<sup>53</sup> The Cheatham Game Farm was built for wild turkey and deer.<sup>54</sup> A camp under the National Park Service and the Tennessee Department of Fish and Game built the largest quail and wild turkey hatchery in the world near Knoxville. The game was used to stock land where hunting was restricted.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1939, p. 76.

<sup>51</sup>Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work, 1935, p. 43.

<sup>52</sup>Tennessee Department of Conservation, Biennial Report, 1939 to 1940, p. 16.

<sup>53</sup>Tennessee Department of Conservation, Biennial Report, 1941 to 1942, p. 12.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>55</sup>U.S., Civilian Conservation Corps, The Civilian Conservation Corps and Wild Life (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 1-16.

## Chapter V

### THE FINAL YEARS: 1938-42

In the last years of the CCC, its officials failed to change its image in the eyes of the American people. They could see it as nothing more than a relief program. As employment conditions began to look better, especially after the war started in Europe, many people began to state that the CCC was no longer necessary. The desertion rate began to increase alarmingly during this period, because many boys felt that when war came the CCC would be drafted en masse. President Roosevelt contributed to this general weakening of the popularity of the CCC by calling for wholesale reductions in the numbers of CCC camps. Out of a total of 1,500 camps in operation in 1939, only 350 were in operation in June, 1942, when the fight to abolish the CCC was at its peak. Naturally people living in towns near one of the camps would fight to keep the government from closing down its camps. Citizens living in a town where a nearby camp was closed became very bitter toward the CCC officials because of Roosevelt's policy.

By 1939, 66.75 percent of the youths in the CCC came from families on relief; 29 percent came from families below an average standard of living; and three percent had no families. Nine percent of these youths were Negroes. In looking at the education of the junior enrollees, three percent were completely illiterate; 38 percent had not gone through grammar school; and only 11 percent finished high school. In 1939 there were 253,776 junior enrollees; 17,707 war veterans; 4,500 Indians; and



4,800 Territorials.<sup>1</sup> The veterans had their own camps and there was no time limit set on their enrollment; there were no prohibitions placed on the enrollment of married men.

The Indians began to be allowed to take part in the CCC in 1934, and by 1939, 77,000 Indians participated in the program. These Indians were adults and worked mainly on their own reservations. Special regulations permitted them to live in their own homes, or either in family camps or single men's camps near the work project on which they were engaged. Their pay was the highest of any enrollees, \$45 per month. The limitation of all enrollees to 20 days' work out of a month was changed to five, eight hour days' work each week.<sup>2</sup>

In 1939, 30,000 young Negroes and Negro war veterans were enrolled in the CCC. This figure constituted one-tenth of the total enrollment of the Corps. Negro personnel engaged in the work of their camps included: 2,000 project assistants, leaders and assistant leaders; 600 cooks; 800 boys working as store clerks and as managers in the CCC post-office exchanges; 400 typists; 10 college-trained educational advisers; 1,200 part-time experienced teachers; and 23 Medical Reserve Officers and Chaplains on active duty. Among the commanding officers ranking as captains in the U.S.A.R.C., on duty with the CCC, two Negro officers were included. In the Negro camps, classes in Negro history were held ever since the opening of camps in 1933. Six all Negro Colleges by 1939 had granted scholarships and fellowships to CCC enroll-

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<sup>1</sup>"Conservation, Poor Young Men," Time, Vol. 33 No. 6, February 6, 1939, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>"CCC Activities for Indians," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 49 No. 1, July 1939, pp. 94-95.

ees. These six colleges were Howard University, Wilberforce University, Tuskegee Institute, Hampton Institute, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical State College, and Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State College.<sup>3</sup>

In late 1939, California adopted a plan to help its enrollees to ascertain their interests and aptitudes, and then assign them to a camp where the training program was in line with those interests and abilities. In the first years of the Corps when its main job was combating the ills of the depression, the interests of the members were unimportant. Later, however, the value of the CCC as a training organization became so apparent that it was imperative to devise a workable system of selective assignment if the full potentialities of the Corps were to be realized.<sup>4</sup>

California's plan was based upon a systematic study of all the camps in the Southern California District relative to the courses of instruction that each was best qualified to offer. Each camp in the district was affiliated with a high school district to the extent that each camp was a branch high school with regular credentialed teachers and offering credit toward graduation. The only problem was to determine the aptitude, ability, and interest of each enrollee. That information was obtained from three sources: the enrollee's parents, officials of the school attended by the enrollee, and the enrollee himself.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>"The CCC Work for Negro Youth," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 48 No. 4, April, 1939, pp. 846-847.

<sup>4</sup>John E. Waller, "Selective Assignment in the CCC," School Life, Vol. 27 No. 4, January, 1942, pp. 117-119.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

The act of Congress which established the CCC was due to expire in June, 1940. One of the bills to come before the 1939 session of Congress provided for the extension of the CCC until July, 1943.

Kentucky's Andrew Jackson May, Chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, added an ammendment to this bill which provided for not less than two nor more than five hours a week to be devoted to military training. His reasoning was that since the CCC was already under military supervision, it would be a good idea to provide them with military training.<sup>6</sup>

This bill along with Representative May's ammendment failed to pass both houses, because of action taken by several critics of the CCC. They introduced a bill known as the Reorganization Act which deprived the CCC of its status as an independent government agency and at the same time extended it until July, 1943. The Reorganization Act was passed in July, 1939. The CCC was then made a unit of the Federal Security Agency.<sup>7</sup>

During 1940, the requirement for eligibility, "unemployed and in need of employment," had been interpreted to include young men who were jobless and needed employment, even though their families were not necessarily in financial distress. By 1941, an enrollee was sending home every six months an average of \$90 over the amount required by CCC officials. After 1940, the parts of the CCC program which were closely

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<sup>6</sup>"Conservation, Poor Young Men," Time, Vol. 33 No. 6, February 6, 1939, pp. 10-12.

<sup>7</sup>"Eight Years of CCC Operations, 1933 to 1941," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 52 No. 6, June, 1941, pp. 1405-1414B.



related to national defense were given the most emphasis. The training given the enrollees was in the duties performed by the Quartermaster Corps and the Corps of Engineers.<sup>8</sup>

Fechner, as well as critics of the CCC, saw three potential advantages in giving the members of the Corps military training. The first advantage was that army officers felt CCC men would meet their minimum training requirements for good fighters, in one month instead of the usual three. Second, the CCC kept a permanent, continuous, up-to-date list of its members in each of the nine corps areas. Finally, it could serve as a reservoir of air corps mechanics.<sup>9</sup> However, five major factors kept these critics of the CCC in Congress from putting through a measure in 1941 requiring CCC men to be given full military training. First, since the majority of enrollees came from poorer homes, it would be said that poor men's sons were bearing the brunt of selective service. Second, the age limits for the CCC and draftees were not the same; men between the ages of 21 and 35 were being drafted, while 87.6 percent of the men in the CCC were between the ages of 17 and 20.<sup>10</sup> Third, most enrollees signed up with the express understanding of not having to bear arms while in the Corps. Fourth, the Army was getting all the men it could handle; this was the most important reason. Finally, the CCC was

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>"Conservation, Poor Young Men," Time, Vol. 33 No. 6, February 6, 1939, pp. 10-12.

<sup>10</sup>Howard W. Oxley, "Analysis of Enrollee Personnel," School Life, Vol. 26 No. 6, March, 1941, pp. 187-188.

more useful as a reservoir of noncombatant personnel, e.g., clerks, typists, chaplains, medics, and others who do not participate in actual combat.<sup>11</sup>

In 1940, the American Youth Commission issued a report of a study on the CCC. It stated that the CCC was good, but far from perfect. The main criticism the Commission had was of the method of selection. Because the youths were enrolled through welfare offices, they could not obtain any advice about their number one problem, unemployment. The second point of attack was the desertion rate. Because so many quit too early in the enrollment period, 30 percent in three months, new replacements coming in every three months could not fill the need for new recruits. This was one of the major reasons cited by Kenneth D. McKellar as proof of the need to abolish the CCC. The solution the commission gave to these problems was to enroll youths through public employment bureaus monthly. Many of the youths on the commission disliked the brusque impersonal discipline of Army Reserve officers and were shocked to learn that few enrollees got any benefit from the compulsory evening classes in academics and trades. The Commission felt that new enrollees should be welcomed with more friendly attention, and that "markedly" better teachers should be hired. The Commission had two overall recommendations, that, if carried out, would have assured the permanency of the CCC. These were (1) the War Department should step out of the picture, and (2) the merger of the NYA and CCC because of overlapping duties.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>"Eight Years of CCC," Newsweek, Vol. 17 No. 15, April 14, 1941, pp. 23-24.

<sup>12</sup>"Civilian Bosses for the CCC Urged in Youth's Experts' Study," Newsweek, Vol. 16 No. 27, December 30, 1940, p. 31.

President Roosevelt agreed with the proposals of the American Youth Commission and requested Mr. Paul V. McNutt, head of the Federal Security Agency, and Mr. Harold D. Smith, Director of the Budget, to draft plans for the consolidation of the NYA and CCC. He even went so far as to intimate that he was considering a message to Congress on the subject. However, nothing actually came of his interest in the proposed merger. The Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association also urged that the CCC and NYA be merged. Similar public statements were issued by the American Association of School Administrators, the National Committee on Coordination in Secondary Education, the New England Superintendents Policy Commission, and the New York State Teachers Association. The three reasons these organizations gave as why they felt that the CCC and NYA should merge were (1) that two federal agencies operating in the same area was a waste of time and money due to dual administrative costs, and overlapping of function; (2) the inter-agency friction, which is still all too familiar on the Washington scene; and (3) the trend toward centralized control of education.<sup>13</sup>

On January 5, 1942, four U. S. Senators said they would fight all attempts to eliminate governmental programs for needy persons, youth training, and financial aid as part of economizing in non-defense expenditures. They were Senators Clark of Idaho, Bone of Washington, LaFollette of Wisconsin, and Norris of Nebraska.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Bulah Amidon, "The Future of the CCC and NYA," Survey Monthly, Vol. 77 No. 12, December, 1941, pp. 351-352.

<sup>14</sup>"Four Senators to Fight Cuts," New York Times, January 5, 1942, p. 7.



## Chapter VI

### McKELLAR AND THE CCC IN TENNESSEE, 1940-1942

In 1940, President Roosevelt began to cut down the amount of money appropriated to the CCC. This caused the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, J. J. McEntee, to issue orders that no new camps were to be started, and camps that were not providing training connected with National Defense would be closed down. Some of these camps were closed before their projects were completed. This made the CCC seem like a waste of taxpayer's money. To the average citizen it seemed as though nothing had been done at all!<sup>1</sup> This widespread feeling of disappointment started Senator Kenneth D. McKellar of Tennessee to lead a force of opposition against the Civilian Conservation Corps.

At the end of the 1937-1938 fiscal year, the economy began to swing upward. This upward climb was reinforced by the beginning of the war in Europe in September, 1939. McKellar began to feel that relief agencies were no longer needed and should be abolished, not only for economy measures, but also for the release of man power for the Army. McKellar could never have received enough support for the abolishment of the CCC on those grounds, if the Japanese had not attacked Pearl Harbor and forced us to fight a war on two fronts.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Cabell Phillips, From the Crash to the Blitz 1929-1939, (New York: The New York Times Company, 1969), pp. 256-290.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid,

Although McKellar was opposed to the CCC, this opposition did not keep him from doing his job as U. S. Senator in accordance with the wishes of his constituents. Many people in Tennessee, for one reason or another, were supporters of the CCC; in fact, McKellar only received two letters asking him to abolish CCC camps. When he received a letter concerning the CCC, he would contact the proper official to handle the case. However, he applied very little political pressure to help anyone.<sup>3</sup>

Like all politicians, McKellar saw to it that men who supported him received such political favors as a good job in the Civilian Conservation Corps. In fact, McKellar's recommendation was a prerequisite for a job in the DDC District Garage in Jackson, Tennessee. On May 7, 1940, Don McKellar, the Senator's brother and private secretary, received a letter from a Jackson attorney at law, David P. Murray, regarding "Your good friend, Mr. L. M. Morris, Superintendent of the CCC District Garage . . .". Morris was accused ". . . of playing strictly 'one sided' politics in the employment of persons here at the garage . . ." by the Director of the CCC. McEntee ". . . did not come right out and accuse him of playing 'McKellar' politics . . . but he strongly intimated the same . . . ." Murray wrote this letter because he felt that both of the McKellars should be acquainted with Morris' hiring practices, in case Morris should ". . . have to call on you and Senator McKellar for help, that is, if they keep building a fire under him from Washington . . . ."4

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<sup>3</sup>McKellar Paper (Cossit-Goodwin Library, Memphis) Box 10. All other footnotes in this chapter are referring to this box of McKellar's papers.

<sup>4</sup>Letter from David P. Murray, attorney at law, of Jackson, Tennessee, to Don McKellar on May 7, 1940.

In several cities in Tennessee, loyal McKellar supporters tried to keep the camps nearby from being closed by playing politics. In Townsend, for example, Chester R. Hackney and Seaton Garrett both wrote letters protesting the closing of a camp there. They both pointed out that the Townsend camp was operated by Democrats loyal to McKellar, while the other two camps in the area were operated by his political enemies. Both men wanted the other two camps closed, and the Townsend camp retained to do the work of the other two camps.<sup>5</sup> However, Senator McKellar could not even do anything to retain this camp due to mandatory reductions in the budget, number of camps in operation, and number of new enrollees.<sup>6</sup>

A social worker from Michie, Tennessee, tried to use the same tactics to get Senator McKellar to disband a Negro Veterans Camp at Pittsburg Landing, doing work in Shiloh Park. Mrs. Augusta Benny wrote three letters to Senator McKellar in a two week period from March 20 to April 1, 1940. She complained that most of the white men in the community were on relief since the Negroes took over work in the park. She complained also that these Negro CCC'ers did faulty construction work on the highway to Corinth, Mississippi, that their park work was ". . . destructive to the beautify /sic/ of Shiloh Park . . .", and that the fire patrol was ". . . a nusiance /sic/ to farmers and people living in the

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<sup>5</sup>Letters from Chester R. Hackney, November 8, 1941, and Seaton Garrett, November 19, 1941, both of Townsend, Tennessee, to Don McKellar.

<sup>6</sup>Letter from J. J. McEntee, Director of the CCC, to Senator McKellar on November 10, 1942.



community . . . ." However, she did state that she was not against the CCC as a whole, but only where they ". . . interfere with the return of prosperity."<sup>7</sup>

Mrs. Benny, in her letter of March 25, made a statement that the white men who had previously worked in the park were ". . . permanent citizens . . .", thus leading one to believe that all of the Negro workers came from out of state.<sup>8</sup> However, W. A. Robinson, commander of the camp in question, made it plain in a letter to Senator McKellar, that out of a total camp strength of 185 men, 105 were from Middle and West Tennessee. Out of the 105 Tennesseans, sixty-five percent lived within 100 miles of the camp.<sup>9</sup>

According to CCC regulations, if a Veterans Camp was abandoned, the men were transferred to another camp. There were only three other Negro Veterans Camps in the Fourth Corps Area. One was located at Ville Platte, Louisiana; one at Rockingham, North Carolina; and one at Linden, Alabama. The Camp at Linden, Alabama, was scheduled for removal at this time.<sup>10</sup> Senator McKellar conducted an investigation of the camp at Pittsburg Landing in March, 1940. He found no cause to ask for its removal, and it remained in operation until 1942.

In September, 1941, Senator McKellar received a letter from a CCC enrollee, who was in a camp near Jonesboro, Arkansas, regarding a

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<sup>7</sup>Letters from Mrs. Augusta Benny of Michie, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on March 20, March 25, and April 1, 1940.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., March 25, 1940.

<sup>9</sup>Letter from W. A. Robinson, Camp N.P.-9, Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on March 13, 1940.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

speech made by McKellar before the U. S. Senate. In his speech, McKellar verbally attacked the CCC and other relief agencies. Billy Dees, a clerk in the Jonesboro Camp, took issue against McKellar's idea of abolishing the CCC for economic reasons. Senator McKellar felt that ". . . boys enrolled in the CCC should be required to receive a better education instead of being in the CCC . . . ." Dees pointed out that, in the first place, education of two types, booklearning and practical experience, is required in the CCC; in the second place, CCC boys were able to attend college for considerably less than Senator McKellar, who said he attended college for less than \$1,000 a year; and, in the third place, it would take more money from Congress for relief in order to force civilians to attend school.<sup>11</sup> McKellar stated that to him, ". . . the sole purpose of the CCC was to provide employment for young men . . . ." Dees explained that the soil conservation and forest preservation work done by the CCC were important to National Defense; but if the CCC were abolished, money would still be needed to hire civilians to do this important work.<sup>12</sup>

Senator McKellar made three other derogatory comments about the CCC. He felt that money spent on the CCC ". . . could be put to better use in training men in the use of mechanical devices . . ."; he called the work the boys did ". . . outdoor exercise with a little employment thrown in . . ."; and he said that ". . . an ex-enrollee is likely to become a mendicant or beggar instead of an upstanding man . . . ." Dees pointed out that at this particular time, auto mechanics was being heavily emphasized; that the exercise the boys got was ". . . nearer to

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<sup>11</sup>Letter from Billy Dees, Company 3783 CCC, Jonesboro, Arkansas, to Senator McKellar on September 21, 1941.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

work than what some white-collar politicians get . . .", and that odds were more in favor of a civilian becoming a mendicant, because a CCC enrollee had had experience.<sup>13</sup>

There were some Tennesseans who did agree with Senator McKellar, and he received letters from two of them. J. Fred Johnson of Kingsport was against government spending. He thought far too much money was being spent on the CCC, and that the CCC was no longer needed. He felt that the Senate should investigate the matter of abolition. Thomas R. Smith of Bolivar believed that the CCC camps should be disbanded and the boys put either in defense industries or in training for the army.<sup>14</sup>

The year 1941 saw the closing of a large number of camps. In April, McKellar received letters from A. B. Foust, Mayor of Jackson; Hugh A. Sawyer, Secretary of the Jackson Chamber of Commerce; and Albert Stone, General Manager of the Jackson Sun, protesting the removal of Camp Herron Pearson. A number of boys from this camp were enrollees at the CCC District Garage, located in Jackson.<sup>15</sup> Charles H. Taylor, Assistant Director of the CCC, told Senator McKellar that the camp was to be abandoned ". . . in the best interest of soil conservation demonstration work in the state of Tennessee . . . ."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid. The full text of Mr. Dees' letter is contained in the appendix.

<sup>14</sup>Letters from Thomas R. Smith of Bolivar, Tennessee, on September 24, 1941, and J. Fred Johnson of Kingsport, Tennessee, on November 3, 1949, to Senator McKellar.

<sup>15</sup>Letters from A. B. Foust, April 3, 1941, Hugh A. Sawyer and Albert Stone, April 23, 1941, to Senator McKellar.

<sup>16</sup>Letter from Charles H. Taylor, Assistant Director of the CCC, to Senator McKellar on April 18, 1941.



In June, Senator McKellar received a number of letters concerning three camps about to be closed. On June 21, twenty-two citizens of Jamestown, Tennessee, including John S. Hale, wrote protesting the closing of Camp S-65.<sup>17</sup> Camp S-65 was removed to make a company available for National Defense work at Camp Forest, Tennessee.<sup>18</sup> On June 26, Senator McKellar received letters from C. A. Nice; W. B. Parks, commander of Bradley County Post 81 of the American Legion; the Mayor, and Presidents of the Chamber of Commerce, Kiwanis Club, Lions Club, and Rotary Club all of Cleveland, Tennessee. They were protesting the removal of Veterans Camp TVA-35 to Fort Payne, Alabama.<sup>19</sup> Camp TVA-35 was discontinued on recommendation of the Forest Service Division of the Department of Agriculture.<sup>20</sup> Also on June 26, Senator McKellar received telegrams from several citizens of Brownsville, Tennessee. They were Henry Dupree, President of the Chamber of Commerce; Aaron Kinney, President of the Junior Chamber of Commerce; and the City Commissioner, Sheriff, County Court Clerk, Trustee, and Registrar. On June 27 and 29, Senator McKellar received letters from John O. Bomar, Mayor of Brownsville, and John W. Norris, President of the Haywood County Farm Bureau, respectively. On July 1 and 25, Senator McKellar received letters from A. M. Carlton, Brownsville City Attorney, and T. J. Pearson, County

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<sup>17</sup>Telegram from 22 citizens of Jamestown, Tennessee to Senator McKellar on June 21, 1941.

<sup>18</sup>Letter from Charles H. Taylor, Assistant Director of the CCC, to Senator McKellar on June 25, 1941.

<sup>19</sup>Letters from citizens of Cleveland, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on June 26, 1941.

<sup>20</sup>Letter from Charles H. Taylor, Assistant Director of the CCC, to Senator McKellar on June 28, 1941.

Judge, respectively. They were protesting the closing of Camp S.C.S.-11.<sup>21</sup> Camp S.C.S.-11 was one of 264 Soil Conservation Camps to be discontinued so the men would be free to work on National Defense projects.<sup>22</sup> On June 30, Senator McKellar received letters from H. W. Yancey; the G. E. Silby Chevrolet Company; the J. R. Clay Service Station; John E. Malone, Postmaster; Robert Smith, President of the Farmer and Merchant Bank; and H. M. Meeks, Mayor, all of Adamsville. On July 1, Senator McKellar received letters from D. T. Hamilton, Mayor of Selmer, and Elmer Hodges, President of the Selmer Lions Club. They all protested the closing of a Forest Service Camp in Adamsville.<sup>23</sup>

In October of 1941, Senator McKellar received letters concerning the closing of two camps. On October 4, Burgin E. Dossett of Knoxville wrote to him protesting the closing of Camp S.P.-9 in Cove Lake State Park.<sup>24</sup> Camp S.P.-9 was one of 400 State Park camps to be abolished to free the men for work on National Defense projects.<sup>25</sup> On October 22,

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<sup>21</sup>Letters from citizens of Brownsville, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on June 26, June 27, June 29, July 1, and July 25, 1941.

<sup>22</sup>Letter from Charles H. Taylor, Assistant Director of the CCC, to Senator McKellar on June 27, 1941.

<sup>23</sup>Letters from citizens of Adamsville and Selmer, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on June 30, and July 1, 1941.

<sup>24</sup>Letter from Burgin E. Dossett of Knoxville, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on October 4, 1941.

<sup>25</sup>Letter from Herbert Evison, Acting CCC and ERA Coordinator, to Senator McKellar on October 14, 1941.

1941, R. S. Clemmer, of the Pikeville Civic Club, wrote protesting the closing of Camp S-78, because of enough incompleted work to last three years.<sup>26</sup>

On May 19, 1941, J. Charles Poe, Commissioner of the Department of Conservation in Tennessee wrote to McKellar requesting a side camp of fifty men to be left in the Cumberland State Park in Crossville for six months after Camp S.P.-7 is removed.<sup>27</sup> This was the only request by a constituent concerning the retention of a CCC camp that Senator McKellar was able to fulfill. On June 13, 1941, Poe wrote to Senator McKellar, thanking him for his efforts.<sup>28</sup>

Senator McKellar also received letters from persons interested in acquiring buildings left behind when a camp was removed, and persons interested in buying the land the camp was located on. On July 5, 1940, McKellar received a letter from John Sweeney of Paris, Tennessee, asking his help in acquiring the buildings of Camp TVA-36, which would then be used in a defense preparedness program.<sup>29</sup> Sweeney was turned down flatly, because the sixteen buildings would be carried to another location for continued use by the CCC corps and had been transferred to the Army on June 15, 1940.<sup>30</sup> On October 18, 1940, McKellar received an appeal

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<sup>26</sup>Letter from R. S. Clemmer of Pikeville, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on October 22, 1941.

<sup>27</sup>Letter from J. Charles Poe, Commissioner of the Department of Conservation, Nashville, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on May 29, 1941.

<sup>28</sup>Letter from J. Charles Poe, Commissioner of the Department of Conservation, Nashville, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on June 13, 1941.

<sup>29</sup>Letter from John Sweeney of Paris, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on July 5, 1940.

<sup>30</sup>Letter from Fred Morrell, Office of CCC Activities, to Senator McKellar on July 12, 1940.



from the citizens of Chattanooga that they be allowed to acquire three buildings and the equipment they contained which had been previously occupied by a CCC camp. The camp had been located on Signal Mountain. The people of Chattanooga wanted to use them for a Civilian Pilot Training School which would be located about ten miles from Chattanooga.<sup>31</sup> This request was also turned down flatly because all buildings had already been cleared to the Army by the Director of the CCC for further Corps use.<sup>32</sup>

In 1941, McKellar received a request for acquiring both the buildings and land of an abandoned CCC camp. On January 24, Mr. C. P. Reason of Humboldt wrote to ask the Senator's help in leasing the camp near Trenton, Tennessee, to house people working at a shell loading plant in Milan, Tennessee.<sup>33</sup> The buildings had already passed beyond the control by CCC officials, however, at the time Reason's letter arrived.<sup>34</sup>

On March 4, 1942, McKellar received a request from Wayne L. Hall, Mayor of Camden, to find out if the government would rent or lease the land of an abandoned CCC camp to an individual or a body of businessmen. The land he wanted was in the Gilbertsville Dam area. The old camp would then be used to house TVA workers coming in to Camden.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Letter from Senator McKellar to Lieutenant General Standley D. Embrick on October 18, 1940.

<sup>32</sup>Telegram from Lieutenant General Standley D. Embrick to Senator McKellar on October 19, 1940.

<sup>33</sup>Letter from C. P. Reason of Humboldt, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on January 24, 1941.

<sup>34</sup>Letter from J. J. McEntee, Director of the CCC, to Senator McKellar on February 10, 1941.

<sup>35</sup>Letter of Wayne L. Hall of Camden, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on March 4, 1942.

Although no new camps were opened in Tennessee after 1939, Senator McKellar still received requests for them, and still passed those requests on to the CCC. On April 9, 1940, Nixon Huddleston, County Court Clerk of Hickman County, wrote to McKellar asking for a Soil Conservation Camp to be located near Centerville. The camp was needed for erosion control. It was hoped that the Centerville Camp, if established, would do erosion control work in the neighboring counties of Lewis, Perry, Humphreys, Dickson, and Williamson as well. County officials had already selected a campsite which had abundant water and electricity.<sup>36</sup> In December of 1940, and January of 1941, Senator McKellar received several telegrams from citizens of McEwen, Tennessee, asking for a CCC camp to be established in Humphreys County. The camp was needed for erosion control, reforestation, and forest fire prevention.<sup>37</sup>

On March 19, 1941, B. E. Biggs, of Benton, wrote asking McKellar's help in getting a CCC camp established in the Copper Basin in Polk County. The camp would do reforestation work there.<sup>38</sup> There was already a camp in Polk County, which was located at Archville. It was not going to be removed in the near future, so there was no need for a new camp.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Letter from Nixon Huddleston of Centerville, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on April 9, 1940.

<sup>37</sup>Letters from J. Cayce Fuqua, Secretary of Shiloh Holland Civic Club, on December 12, 1940; Walter Long, Secretary of Olivet Community Club, on January 8, 1941; and Wilburt Enochs, President of Liberty Civic Club, on January 11, 1941, to Senator McKellar.

<sup>38</sup>Letter from B. E. Biggs of Benton, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on March 19, 1941.

<sup>39</sup>Letter from Charles H. Taylor, Assistant Director of the CCC, to Senator McKellar on March 26, 1941.

On May 14, 1941, H. M. Harper, Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce in Union City, wrote McKellar asking for a CCC camp to be established in Obion County to develop Reelfoot Lake.<sup>40</sup>

In March of 1940, Senator McKellar received a telegram from the Chamber of Commerce of Munford, asking him to use his influence in locating a white CCC camp there. In late 1939, the War Department obtained a five year lease on land located near Highway 51, to establish a Soil Conservation Camp. They had just been informed, however, by Captain Gridges from the Memphis Soil Conservation Camp, that their chance of getting a white camp was slim. A Negro camp could definitely be located there. The citizens of Munford objected strongly to a Negro camp being located near them.<sup>41</sup> Senator McKellar was informed by CCC officials that the exact location of this proposed camp was unknown, and they also did not know the type of company the Army would have available for this camp.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Letter from H. M. Harper of Union City, Tennessee, to Senator McKellar on May 14, 1941.

<sup>41</sup>Telegram from Munford, Tennessee, Chamber of Commerce to Senator McKellar on March 21, 1940.

<sup>42</sup>Letter from D. S. Myer, Acting Chief of CCC, to Senator McKellar on April 9, 1940.



## Chapter VII

### THE CCC ABOLISHED, 1942

In February, 1942, Senator McKellar of Tennessee introduced into the Senate a bill to abolish the CCC and NYA. The bill would bring the activities of these two organizations to a close on December 31, 1942. It would at once prohibit further appropriations to these agencies for new projects. All displaced employees would be transferred to other offices or put on preferential hiring lists.<sup>1</sup> A joint committee on Non-essential Federal Expenditures, with Senator Harry Flood Byrd of Virginia as Chairman, was set up to hold hearings on McKellar's bill.<sup>2</sup>

Senator McKellar was severely critical of money used by the CCC for travel expenses. Senator Thomas of Utah said that if the amount, \$11,770,000 was divided by the 600,000 boys moved annually between their homes and the CCC camps, due to a new enrollment period every six months, the amount might not seem excessive. McKellar declined to agree, however, saying that it was absolutely unfair to give the boys all those trips.<sup>3</sup> The chief reason that McKellar gave to back up his bill was that the war labor demand had made relief agencies useless. Our country was more

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<sup>1</sup>"Senator Introduces Measure to Wind Up CCC and NYA Dec. 31, 1942," New York Times, February 24, 1942, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup>"Notes and Comments by the Editor," Social Service Review, Vol. 16 No. 3, September, 1942, pp. 532-535.

<sup>3</sup>Editorial, New York Times, March 18, 1942, p. 20.

prosperous at this period than ever before, and the need for man power was increasing daily.<sup>4</sup> Major General James A. Ullo, Judge Advocate General of the Army, and War Department representative on the CCC, urged the committee to retain the CCC because it was able to release large numbers of soldiers from non-combatant duty and permitted their training in combat activities.<sup>5</sup>

The vote in the joint committee ended up a 3-3 tie. The Gallup Poll taken in April, after the vote of the joint committee was released, reported that a majority of Americans would favor the abolishment of the CCC in its present form.<sup>6</sup> On the question, "Should the CCC be done away with in present form until the end of the war?" fifty-four percent voted yes; thirty-seven percent voted no; and nine percent was undecided.<sup>7</sup>

In his budget for the fiscal year 1943, Roosevelt called for Congress to appropriate \$102,150,000 for the NYA and CCC. Out of that figure \$49,101,000 would go to the CCC.<sup>8</sup> On May 21, Roosevelt changed his mind and asked that the CCC funds be upped to \$80,818,000 without giving any reasons why an extra \$31,717,000 was needed by the CCC.<sup>9</sup> This caused the House Committee on Appropriations to strike from the Labor

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<sup>4</sup>"CCC, NYA Useless McKellar Asserts," New York Times, March 24, 1942, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup>"Retention of CCC Urged by General Ullo," New York Times, March 31, 1942, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup>Italics here were added by author.

<sup>7</sup>"Scrapping of CCC Favored in Poll," New York Times, April 18, 1942, p. 22.

<sup>8</sup>"Roosevelt Asks for CCC and NYA Funds," New York Times, May 5, 1942, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup>"Roosevelt Asks 31 Million Rise for CCC," New York Times, May 21, 1942, p. 40.

Department-Federal Security Agency Supply Bill the funds needed to maintain the CCC. The reason they gave was that the CCC was drawing enrollees heavily from the areas where farm labor was so scarce that our "food for freedom" program was believed to be in danger.<sup>10</sup> On June 6, 1942, the House voted 158 to 121 to abolish the CCC as a measure for war economy.<sup>11</sup>

On June 25, 1942, the Senate Appropriations Committee voted 15 to 9 favor of upholding the decision of the House to end the CCC on July 1.<sup>12</sup> Two days later the Senate voted to continue the CCC for another year. The vote was 32 to 32; then Vice-President Wallace voted in favor of continuing the CCC and broke the tie. The bill was sent back to the House.<sup>13</sup> This vote of the Senate caused such an uproar in the House, that the Senate was forced to take a new vote. On July 1, 1942, the Senate abolished the CCC by a voice vote. The CCC would be liquidated in twelve months. A sum of \$8,000,000 was appropriated to bring this about.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>"House Committee Votes to Eliminate CCC Saving \$75,818,000," New York Times, June 6, 1942, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup>"House Kills CCC for War Economy," New York Times, June 6, 1942, p. 14.

<sup>12</sup>"Senate Committee Votes to End the CCC," New York Times, June 25, 1942, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup>"Wallace Breaks Tie in the Senate, Restoring CCC, with \$76,529,800," New York Times, June 27, 1942, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup>"Senate Ends CCC on House Demand," New York Times, July 1, 1942, p. 16.



## Conclusion

The Civilian Conservation Corps was the best relief agency created during the depression. There is no doubt of the success of the corps in dealing with erosion, reforestation, forest fire prevention, and soil conservation. Many states would not have an active system of State and National Parks if CCC men had not been there to do the work. These, however, are tangible results. They can be seen. It is the intangible result, the effect that being a part of the CCC had on thousands of young men, that is harder to measure.

The CCC has been described as being ". . . one of the most important developments in American Education in the past quarter century." The same source also listed the most important contribution made by the CCC ". . . probably lies in the recognition that it has given to the significance of a routine of useful work for every individual whether he is in school or out."<sup>1</sup>

C. S. Marsh, in an article written for The Forum, felt that there was a ". . . need for a shift of emphasis in the CCC." He believed that the whole concept behind the CCC should be that it ". . . is an essential part of the American educational structure." Mr. Marsh said that every

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<sup>1</sup>"CCC's Contribution to the War Effort and to American Education," School and Society, Vol. 55 No. 1434, June 20, 1942, p. 688.

camp superintendent, engineer, foreman, and commander ". . . should be chosen as much for his influence on the boys as for his technical competence."<sup>2</sup>

The CCC was something more than just a place for unemployed youth to ". . . get a job and get paid for half-working . . . ,"<sup>3</sup> it was a place where he could get a basic academic education as well as vocational training and valuable experience.

At least one group of interested citizens saw the great potential of the CCC and the need for a program similar to it in the future. The American Youth Commission predicted that widespread unemployment in the postwar period could lead to a social revolt within the United States. They said that plans should be made now to provide every veteran with a good job, and not wait until the time is forced on us. The Youth Commission pointed out:

. . . While these war veterans are overflowing the job market, more young persons will continue to come out of school hunting work. The result will be a 'piling up' of several million jobless, inexperienced new workers, . . . .<sup>3</sup>

Those workers could only blame themselves and accept personal failure, or blame the system and develop life-long tendencies toward radicalism.<sup>4</sup>

The Commission set up a program of five guidelines they hoped would be used to improve our economic system in order to prevent a

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<sup>2</sup>"The Future of the CCC," The Forum, Vol. 103 No. 5, May, 1940, pp. 283-287.

<sup>3</sup>"Gov. Phillips Calls NYA and CCC 'Poison'," New York Times, April 16, 1942, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup>"Planning is Urged for Jobs in Peace," New York Times, January 18, 1942, p. 32.

depression of such magnitude as the one of the early 1930's from ever occurring again. The guidelines were:

1. Make employment of all youths under 21 years of age a social responsibility.
2. Carry out this responsibility through the CCC, the NYA, and work programs, including not only public works but production of goods for use of such portions of these people as are unable to purchase necessities in adequate quantities.
3. Set the age of 16 as the minimum limit of education of all children. Require a year of work between high school and further schooling to give youth an understanding of its practicle abilities and needs.
4. Attack the problem of youth unemployment of a long range basis by improving the Capitalistic system to make it provide a job for 'all who are willing to work'.
5. Encourage Consumer Cooperatives, profit-sharing in business, and intelligent pricing so as to distribute income in such a way that goods and services will be available to the people who could and would consume them, thus making it possible for production to continue to expand.<sup>5</sup>

These guidelines still hold true today. Those people who advocate the abolishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps were only hurting their country by depriving it of a means to let the family on relief do an honest day's work for the money they receive.

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid.



## Appendix

## Appendix

Sept. 21, 1941

From: Billy Dees  
Company Clerk  
Company 3783, CCC  
Jonesboro, Ark.

To: Senator D. K. McKellar, Wash. D. C.

If this letter reaches your hands, it is hoped that your distorted opinion of the work done by the CCC has been completely changed. I think that when a person undertakes to make a speech before a body so well-known as the United States Senate, he should at least be acquainted with the subject that he chooses to make it on, instead of letting politics sway his opinion.

The first indication in your speech of your ignorance of the subject is the statement that you thought that the money could be put to better use in training men in the use of mechanical devices. If you were to happen to go into the study of the conditions in the CCC you would find that the one thing that is being emphasized most of all at this time is National Defense, which includes, as one of the biggest branches, auto mechanics. In addition of this course, there are many others which suit a man to make himself a better citizen, but then there is no need to mention them here, for it is felt that a man who is as badly disillusioned as you seem to be (by politics, no doubt) would not be easily swayed, one way or another--I am not trying to sway your opinion. I just wish you to know what thousnads of young men, who are now, or have been in the past, CCC enrollees, think of you and your distorted views.

To proceed farther, the second indication of your disillusionment quoted in the newspaper article is the fact that the boys who are now enrolled in the CCC should be required, in your opinion, to receive a

better education instead of being in the CCC. If you have made any investigation at all into the matter on which you spoke, it must have been made from some misguided source. Education is required in the CCC. Can you suggest any way in which to force a civilian to go to school without having to appropriate more funds to relief in order to facilitate this? Your only interest seems to be not in the matter of whether it is as worthy cause, but whether the government should "sacrifice" the money used in the maintenance. If you are really sincere in your belief that the government cannot afford the "expense", can you tell from what source the money for the forced education you spoke of will come? The CCC is furnishing education for each of its boys in two ways. Education should be in two divisions: "book-learning" and practical experience. The exercise that you spoke of them getting is, I dare say, nearer to work than what some white-collar politicians get. I defy anyone who knows as little about the CCC as you do to spend one week in a CCC camp or around one and after that one week conscientiously call what the CCC enrollees do "outdoor exercise with some little employment thrown in."

You made the remark that you went through college for much less than \$1,000 a year. For your information there are about eighty boys in this Company who can go you one better and truthfully say that they are going through college on much less than half what you spent, and are receiving the full college credit, at no extra expense to the United States Government. Since February, 1937, there have been approximately 6,000 college hours earned at Arkansas State College by CCC enrollees. The boys in this camp, and in many other camps as well, can earn one full year of training in college with one year on enrollment in the CCC. As for National Defense training, or use of mechanical devices, I defy you



to go out on the street and pick out a group of 190 men who have among them not less than thirty private pilots' licenses. The boys here in this camp can take CAA training at the college, and yet get in their full time in the outdoor exercise you spoke of. As for the educational level of our boys, you can not pick out eight regular college students who have better grade averages in college than the boys in this company. I dare say that there is at least one boy in this company who has as high, if not higher, a mental level than a lot of politicians who seem to think that the CCC is absolutely useless. The boy I speak of seemed to have enough journalistic ability to have an article he wrote published in the Congressional Record. That was, however, before he enrolled in the CCC. I suppose that you will probably think that the CCC has deteriorated his mind and ability, but he still has enough of that ability left to verbally flail at the President of Harding College in Searcy, Arkansas, who, like you, seemed to think that the CCC could be put to better use by complete abolition.

For another thing, anyone who knows anything at all about the CCC will realize that you made a gross prevarication when you intimated that an ex-enrollee is likely to become a mendicant, or beggar, instead of an upstanding man. Mr. Senator, I wish to tell you that a man who would make an accusation like that without any foundation whatsoever for his accusation is no better himself than a glorified mendicant, or in the language of the belittled CCC boys, a beggar. I gladly would take the consequences of this letter, if it gets past your personal secretary, if I could impress upon you what I, and many other CCC boys, think of you so you could understand it.

As for an ex-enrollee being likely to become a mendicant, the

odds are against a civilian more than they are against a CCC enrollee when it comes to getting a job of any type for which he is qualified. The so-called able-bodied youngster you spoke of will have much more chance to get the work if he has experience, which all CCC boys have. Each month, hundreds of boys leave the CCC to accept employment, and the majority of them would never have gotten the jobs if they had not had experience. In other words, I think you haven't the least idea what you are talking about when you belittle the CCC. Before I enrolled in the CCC seventeen months ago, I was as ignorant about the real facts as you are, but now, I am not only in the CCC--I am of the CCC and willing to fight for it. When I came here, I was only a high school graduate, with no special qualifications of any kind of work. I now have seventeen months of experience in office work, one year of college, and enough money saved to finish one more year. If it had not been for the CCC I would never have gone to college at all. As it is, I now have hopes of getting my degree some day.

For another thing, you seemed to think that the CCC was established for the sole purpose of employment of young men. All right, granting you that fact, do you realize that soil conservation of forest preservation is almost as important to National Defense as the manufacture of munitions? An army must eat, and they most certainly could not if floods destroyed much of the land, as they used to occasionally before the CCC started reforestation and other Conservation activities. If you abolish the CCC you are abolishing the Soil Conservation Service or Forestry Service, or you will have to hire civilian labor to do their work, and just what is the first thing you are against? The expenditure of money.

Hoping that I have made you realize that thousands of us boys are  
100% against you and your movement, I remain

Yours very indignantly,



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