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THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

IN COLORADO, 1933-1942

by

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B.A., Western State College, 1970

M.A., University of Wisconsin, 1974

A thesis submitted to the  
Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Colorado in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of History

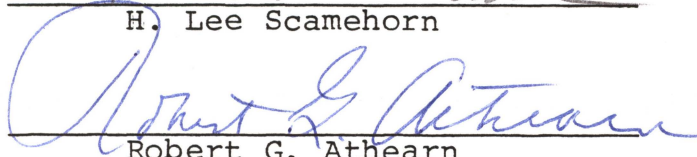
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This Thesis for the Master of Arts Degree by  
Robert Bruce Parham  
has been approved for the  
Department of  
History

by



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The Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado, 1933-1942

Thesis directed by Professor H. Lee Scamehorn

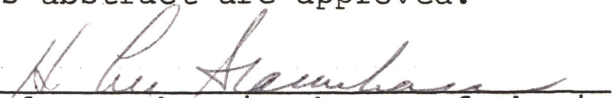
The Civilian Conservation Corps was created by Congress to fill the role of providing work opportunities for the nation's unemployed young men. Most Americans considered the CCC as having primarily a relief function with a secondary mission of performing useful conservation work. Essentially experimental, pragmatic and, above all, humanitarian, the Corps was similar in character to the other New Deal relief agencies. It was temporary in status, had no real precedent to follow, and no long-term goals to be reached. The Corps fulfilled its role, as more than two and one half million youths passed through its ranks, and about three billion dollars was spent in its ten years of operation.

In Colorado, the CCC brought very real economic relief and at the same time made a vital contribution to the conservation of the state's natural resources. The agency pumped more than \$56,000,000 directly into the state's depressed economy. The Corps significantly increased the income of communities which had CCC camps and financially assisted thousands of Coloradans through its allotment program. More than four thousand local boys participated in the CCC each year, and hundreds of local citizens worked in various capacities in the camps. There

were 172 camps in Colorado doing all types of conservation work which was of enduring value to the state. The CCC mended the state's damaged natural resources by improving and maintaining forest and park areas and saving thousands of acres from the ravages of soil erosion. Park and recreational areas were extensively developed by the Corps. Improvements made on the state's reclamation projects were particularly important to agriculture.

The Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado was highly successful in that it aided in the recovery of the state's economy and put a large segment of its idle youth to work. At the same time, it made significant contributions in the area of resource conservation. The effects of CCC work are difficult to measure and cannot be easily evaluated. Much of the Corps's work was left unfinished or has not been maintained. However, the public has judged the CCC as a success.

The form and content of this abstract are approved.

Signed   
Faculty member in charge of thesis

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The stock market collapse in 1929 ushered in a decade of economic depression that caught most of the nation by surprise. Businessmen floundered in a vast sluggish and unresponsive economy while workers lost their jobs, savings, and homes. During the initial years of the depression, the federal government responded to the woes of businessmen while private citizens were largely left to the resources of their respective states in seeking relief from economic disaster.

Although the full impact of the stock market crash and the depression were delayed in Colorado, largely due to the lack of industrialism, recovery would be equally delayed. By 1931, though, Colorado was suffering from the most severe financial and industrial disaster in its history. From 1931 to 1933, almost one-fourth of the banks (66 out of 237) closed their doors. The average loss to depositors in these banks was forty percent. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's declaration of a national bank holiday in early March 1933 avoided further disaster in many Colorado communities when the state's banking institutions were temporarily closed and

then reopened on a restricted basis.<sup>1</sup>

Business and industry suffered severely in the state. One of the large producers of manufactured goods, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company at Pueblo, faced with growing inventories and few orders, laid off workers as production levels dropped. Pig iron production by Colorado Fuel and Iron in 1932 plummeted to only twelve percent of the 1926 output. By 1933, Colorado Fuel and Iron was in receivership; it emerged in 1936 as the Colorado Fuel and Iron Corporation. In 1932, coal production fell to only one-half of the 1926 level, which resulted in the complete layoff of one-fifth of the state's miners. The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad entered receivership for the second time in 1935. Ironically, the previous year had been a climatic one in the railroad's history. The Dotsero Cutoff had been completed, linking Denver and Salt Lake City via the Moffat Tunnel, giving Colorado its long sought direct, mainline "transcontinental route" across the Rocky Mountains. The depression in business was reflected in the sharp drop in sales. Department store sales declined by almost one-third, and life insurance sales dropped off one-fourth. New passenger car registrations in 1932 declined forty-

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<sup>1</sup>Carl Ubbelohde, Maxine Benson, and Duane A. Smith, A Colorado History, Revised Centennial Edition (Boulder: Pruett Press, 1976), p. 309.

three percent below those of 1926.<sup>2</sup>

The advent of the Great Depression brought even greater distress in agriculture. Market prices for agricultural products plummeted between 1929 and 1933, affecting both irrigated and dry farmlands in Colorado. The slump in agriculture can best be shown by comparing the average annual price which the state's farmers received for selected agricultural commodities from 1929 through 1933. These prices for Colorado's crops, plus cattle and hogs, are shown in a table, "Average Annual Price Received by Farmers for Selected Agricultural Commodities, 1929-1933," on the next page.

Especially depressed were prices for the state's major agricultural crops, potatoes, wheat, corn, apples, and sugar beets. The farmer received only \$0.26 per bushel for his potatoes in 1932, instead of \$1.14 in 1929. Wheat prices declined to \$0.37 per bushel in 1932, as compared with the 1929 price of \$0.96. Many Western Slope fruit growers found that it cost more to pick, wash, and ship their apples to Denver than for what they could be sold for on the open market. The result was that a large number of growers left the fruit to rot on the trees.

At the very time when the state government was

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<sup>2</sup>Ubbelohde, et al., A Colorado History, p. 307; and Percy S. Fritz, Colorado: The Centennial State (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941), pp. 449-451.

AVERAGE ANNUAL PRICE RECEIVED BY FARMERS  
FOR SELECTED AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES,  
1929-1933

Crop	Unit	Price Per Unit (Dollars)				
		1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Corn	bushel	.71	.48	.36	.28	.40
Wheat	"	.96	.62	.33	.37	.65
Potatoes	"	1.14	.69	.33	.26	.61
Sugar Beets	ton	6.93	6.91	5.44	4.62	4.62
Apples	"	1.11	.86	.61	.42	.58
Peaches	"	1.45	1.45	.50	.42	1.30
Cattle	pound	.097	.081	.055	.045	.036
Hogs	"	.094	.087	.058	.0325	.033

SOURCE: Colorado, Co-Operative Crop Reporting Service, Agricultural Statistics, Crop and Livestock of the State of Colorado, 1934 (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1934), pp. 40-41.

least able to give relief, its citizens were in dire need of it. It seemed as if nature itself plotted against Colorado after the first years of the depression. Beginning in 1931, the state was confronted with a succession of unprecedented and widely extended droughts in the eastern counties, which in combination with dry, swirling winds, brought on the infamous dust storms of the early thirties. In some Eastern Slope counties, crop production

was as low as ten percent of normal. The total value of Colorado's farm crops in 1931 declined to the lowest on record.<sup>3</sup> Market prices for agricultural products were below the costs of production. In addition, overgrazing and the succession of dry years in eastern Colorado had reduced the vegetation on thousands of acres of pasture land to a sparse stand of grass and stunted Russian thistle. This resulted in sheet erosion, gully cutting and, when the torrential rains arrived, destructive concentrations of flood water.

When the weather cooperated, Colorado found itself confronted with mounting unemployment problems. According to a report made by the "Governor's Committee," representing industry, organized labor, and agriculture, over fifty thousand Coloradans were found to be unemployed in March 1932.<sup>4</sup> According to a United States Department of Commerce survey taken the same month, though, the state's unemployment rate ranked low when compared with the rest of the nation. By the summer of 1932 the situa-

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<sup>3</sup>The Colorado Co-Operative Crop Reporting Service reported in 1931 that the total value of crops declined to \$63,489,000, compared with \$134,537,000 in 1929, and \$126,174,000 in 1930. Colorado, Co-Operative Crop Reporting Service, Agricultural Statistics, Crop and Livestock of the State of Colorado, 1934 (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1934), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>"The Unemployment Emergency in Colorado," 2 February 1933, File 179, Container 10385, 1933 Correspondence, Edwin C. Johnson Papers, 1933-1937, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

tion had changed, as Colorado was feeling the full impact of the depression. Lieutenant Governor Edwin C. Johnson admitted that "unemployment conditions in Colorado are very serious and rapidly becoming acute."<sup>5</sup>

The first significant state-wide effort to deal with the depression came on August 1, 1932, when Governor William H. Adams formed the Official Colorado State Relief Committee. Under the provisions of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932, the State Legislature created this temporary state agency to administer emergency unemployment relief funds received from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The State Relief Committee allotted over one million dollars to 27,275 distressed and needy families in fifty-six counties during the latter part of 1932.<sup>6</sup>

Local relief agencies also participated in the relief effort by loaning their executives to the State Relief Committee to assist the counties in establishing local relief organizations. Agencies involved in this much needed work included the American Red Cross, the

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<sup>5</sup>Quoted in James F. Wickens, "The New Deal in Colorado," Pacific Historical Review 38 (August 1969): 277.

<sup>6</sup>Colorado, Official State Relief Committee, Bulletin on the Operation in Colorado of Federal Aid to Distressed Families (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1932), p. 4; and "The Unemployment Emergency in Colorado," 2 February 1933, File 179, Container 10385, 1933 Correspondence, Edwin C. Johnson Papers, 1933-1937, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

Colorado Child Welfare Bureau, the Colorado Prison Association, and the Denver Tuberculosis Society. When federal, state, and local relief funds became exhausted or inadequate, the unemployed responded to the desperate situation by organizing, by themselves, various self-help projects. In Denver, the Unemployed Citizens League was formed in June 1932 among the unemployed professional men of the city. The Denver League and similar organizations helped relieve the distress among the unemployed until they ceased to operate in 1933, after Congress passed the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Federal Emergency Relief Act, and the Civilian Conservation Corps Reforestation Relief Act.<sup>7</sup>

The transition from state to more direct federal involvement in unemployment relief work was a gradual and inevitable development. From August 1932 through 1943, two successive state relief agencies (the Official Colorado State Relief Committee and the Colorado Department of Public Welfare) and three federal agencies, the Civil Works Administration, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and the Works Progress Administration, dispensed a total of \$168,000,000 in federal relief funds throughout the state. Ultimately, the financial responsibility for all public relief work was delegated to the

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<sup>7</sup>Bernard Mergen, "Denver and the War on Unemployment," Colorado Magazine 47 (Fall 1970):326, 333.

Works Progress Administration and to other federal agencies. State agencies played a cooperative role by supplying administrative manpower and sponsoring work projects.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps the best single example of federal-state cooperation during the depression was found in the Civilian Conservation Corps. The CCC was the first of several of President Roosevelt's unemployment relief agencies, and put thousands of young men to work during its existence.

The Civilian Conservation Corps itself was created by the Civilian Conservation Corps Reforestation Relief Act, which passed both houses of Congress on March 30, 1933, and was signed into law the following day by President Roosevelt. This act authorized the President to bring into being an agency he named Emergency Conservation Work (ECW), but which quickly became known as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., "The Depression and the New Deal," in Colorado and Its People: A Narrative and Topical History of the Centennial State, vol. 1 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1948), pp. 554-557; and Arthur W. MacMahon, John D. Millett, and Gladys Ogden, The Administration of Federal Work Relief (Chicago: Social Studies Research Council for the Commission on Higher Education, 1941), pp. 303-305.

<sup>9</sup>The name, Civilian Conservation Corps, was first used by the President in March 1933. The agency was officially known as Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) until June 28, 1937, when Congress changed its title to the Civilian Conservation Corps. John A. Salmond, The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967), p. 26.

The legislation was purposefully designed by President Roosevelt to provide hundreds of thousands of unemployed young men with work which would aid in the conservation of the nation's natural resources. For Roosevelt, the act offered an opportunity, in his view, for America to properly utilize its long-neglected human and natural resources. The CCC was a means to end the tragedy of allowing idle young men to lead aimless lives dependent upon charity, and to reverse the reckless exploitation of the country's natural resources.<sup>10</sup>

During the short history of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942, it deservedly earned a reputation as being the most successful and popular of the New Deal relief agencies. It was successful because of a unique administration which effectively utilized the special expertise of the Departments of War, Labor, Agriculture, and Interior without any serious complications to the overall performance of the agency. It was popular because of its fundamental objectives and the permanent nature of its work projects.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Anna Lou Riesch, "Conservation under Franklin D. Roosevelt" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1952), pp. 185, 342; and James F. Wickens, "Colorado in the Great Depression: A Study of New Deal Politics at the State Level" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Denver, 1964), p. 116.

<sup>11</sup>H. Basil Wales and H. O. Lathrop, The Conservation of Natural Resources (Chicago: Laurel Book Co., 1944), p. 510; and Salmond, The CCC: A New Deal Case Study, pp. 221-222.

The number of federal agencies involved in the administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps gave it an appearance of being a complex, chaotic organization. In practice, administration of the program proved to be a relatively smooth operation. Several factors contributed to this success, including the delegation of particular roles to the Army, and the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, and the Interior; the lack of rigidity on the formulation of policy in the upper echelons of the organization; and the policy of decentralization practiced below the national level, which allowed the CCC's regional and state subdivisions to effectively handle their own problems according to local conditions.

The "enrollees" in the Civilian Conservation Corps program lived in 200-man camps under the administration of the Army, and were employed on more than one hundred and fifty types of work projects in the areas of reforestation, soil conservation, recreational development, and reclamation. They were paid thirty dollars a month, twenty-five of which was sent to their families or dependents. The CCC in Colorado began operations with the establishment of twenty-nine camps in the summer of 1933, then increased the number to forty-seven when the entire program expanded in 1935, and ended with forty-two in 1941, its last complete year of operations. During the ten years of its existence in Colorado, the CCC employed some thirty-two thousand young men, and contributed

\$56,000,000 to the state's economy. Nationally, the program spread into all of the states, and into most of the territories.<sup>12</sup>

A study of the Civilian Conservation Corps demonstrates just how federal, state, and local officials utilized the administrative framework of a complex agency to deal with the problems of high unemployment among the nation's youth and the deterioration of America's natural resources. Such a study also demonstrates some of the lasting benefits that not only the enrollees gained from the program, but communities across the country as well. Finally, by focusing attention upon the operations of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado, one gets a glimpse of what can be accomplished on the state level when a federal program, which was experimental and without precedent, succeeds in its goal of becoming an effective instrument for the preservation and benefit of society.

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<sup>12</sup>U. S., Emergency Conservation Work, Summary Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work on the Operation of Emergency Conservation Work for the Period Extending from April, 1933 to June 30, 1935, App. D; U. S., Civilian Conservation Corps, Annual Report of the Director, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1941, App. D; "Liquidation of the Civilian Conservation Corps," Colorado Department of Public Welfare Quarterly Bulletin 6 (April-May-June 1942), p. 4; and Colorado, State Board of Immigration, Yearbook of the State of Colorado, 1943-1944 (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1944), p. 489.

## CHAPTER II

### FEDERAL-STATE ADMINISTRATION

The sight of hundreds of thousands of young men working to protect, develop, and conserve the nation's natural resources was not only a manifestation of the trying times of the Great Depression but an expression of the reemergence of some of America's fundamental beliefs about man and nature. Such a sight was possible because people were desperate enough to try anything to alleviate the worst effects of the Depression. The men of "Roosevelt's Tree Army" were regarded as an expression of the resurgence of some of America's beliefs because they brought back visions of a lost frontier, the perfectibility and promise of youth, and the therapeutic powers of the wilderness. Despite its shortcomings, the Civilian Conservation Corps was successful in providing a specific solution for the problems of youth and in revitalizing American beliefs that were being sorely tested in the Depression. No matter how great the desire or need, though, only the cooperation of federal and state agencies made the Corps one of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's most popular and successful New Deal experiments instead of an embarrassment.

Administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps

involved the organization itself, comprised of a director's office and an advisory council; the Department of War; the Department of Labor; the Department of the Interior; and the Department of Agriculture. The work of a number of other executive departments, namely, the Commerce, Treasury, and Navy Departments, was limited to merely supplying information at the request of the administrative agencies or cooperating by furnishing advisory and conjunctional services. Each of the four cooperating departments were assigned distinctive roles which contributed to the success of the CCC.<sup>1</sup> The Department of War was responsible for feeding, clothing, and sheltering the men, primarily youths, who joined the Corps. The Department of Labor was directed to supervise the selection and certification of all recruits except those chosen by the Veterans' Administration and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The work of the Veterans' Administration was restricted to the selection of war veterans for the conservation camps. The Departments of Agriculture and Interior, through their various bureaus, were given the task of planning conservation projects for the camps and supervising the completion

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<sup>1</sup>John A. Salmond, The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967), p. 30.

of the work.<sup>2</sup>

The Office of the Director represented the apex of the CCC's administrative framework. The Director's Office was limited in size and function. Its task was to simply execute presidential policy functions by issuing regulations on such matters as the welfare, discipline, and pay of the enrollees. Robert Fechner served as CCC director until his death on January 1, 1940. The assistant CCC director, James T. McEntee, succeeded Fechner as director and ran the Corps until the agency was abolished in June 1942. Director Fechner also controlled two other assistant directors in addition to McEntee. One was Charles H. Taylor, who as legal and administrative advisor, directed the preparation of reports and correspondence. The other was Guy D. McKinney, Fechner's personal assistant and director of publicity, who was responsible for press relations and general publicity work. Other special assistants advised the Director on procurement and specific legal matters.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Director was primarily concerned with decision-making and other administrative duties at the

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<sup>2</sup>U. S., Department of Labor, Handbook for Agencies Selecting Men for Emergency Conservation Work, Emergency Conservation Work Bulletin No. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936), pp. 3-5; and Charles P. Harper, The Administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps (Clarksburg, W. Va.: Clarksburg Publishing Co., 1939), pp. 29, 53.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 30; and Salmond, The CCC: A New Deal Case Study, p. 71.

national level, he did become involved on the state level in at least three key areas. As the final authority on camp site locations, the Director decided which counties would receive CCC camps. In the site selection process, the Director worked closely with a representative of one of the technical services (i.e., the Departments of Agriculture and Interior). Usually, technical service field personnel inspected the proposed site and prepared a report listing the exact survey location, the altitude, and noted whether the camp was suitable for summer or yearly occupancy. The availability of transportation, water facilities, communications (telephone, telegraph, and post office), and the proximity of the proposed site were also included in the report.<sup>4</sup> The site was recommended for occupancy if personnel in the technical services' regional office agreed it met their established guidelines and conformed with the work plan. Final approval of the camp site hinged on the recommendation of the camp inspectors.<sup>5</sup> Besides camp site selection,<sup>5</sup> the Director's special inspectors inspected the camps at least once every six months and investigated complaints submitted by enrollees, state citizens, and state or local government

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<sup>4</sup>James A. Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wyoming, 1973), pp. 54-56.

<sup>5</sup>Charles W. Johnson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps: The Role of the Army" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1968), p. 94.

officials. The Director also approved enrollment quotas for each state.<sup>6</sup>

The Advisory Council consisted of the Director of the CCC and a representative from each of the departments directly involved, namely, the Agriculture, Interior, Labor, and War Departments. The Council met regularly to coordinate Corps activities for the entire CCC program and to reconcile differences as they occurred. The Advisory Council, as its name implied, was purely advisory and had no authority over the Director.<sup>7</sup>

Within the central organization there were four separate divisions, each having a clearly distinctive role. These were the Statistical, Information, Investigation and Correspondence, and Safety Divisions. The Statistical Division was responsible for editing and supervising the Director's reports to the President. The preparation and distribution of information on all Corps activities and the coordination of the work of the technical agencies was handled by the Information Division. The Investigation and Correspondence Division prepared

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 35-38; Camp Inspection Report, Camp BR-59-C, Palisade, Colo., 10 May 1941, in "Selected Documents Relating to the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado," 1933-1942 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1980), Reel 1, Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, Illinois; and U. S., Civilian Conservation Corps, The Civilian Conservation Corps: What It Is and What It Does (Washington, D.C.: Civilian Conservation Corps, 1940), p. 2.

<sup>7</sup>Salmond, The CCC: A New Deal Case Study, pp. 71-73.

camp inspection plans, evaluated inspectors' reports, and managed the general office correspondence. The Division's ten field or special investigators inspected the camps and work projects, conducted investigations, and held conferences in each of the Army's nine Corps areas. The CCC national office used the special investigators as the primary means for monitoring the activities of its enrollees, and to keep track of the various agencies at all levels of government involved in CCC work.<sup>8</sup> The Safety Division directed the safety program, which was conducted through committees in each of the camps.<sup>9</sup> Including secretaries, clerks, and messengers, there were about fifty employees in the Washington office of the CCC.

While the Director's Office coordinated and supervised the work of the departments and agencies, the War Department used existing Army branches to carry out the immense task of camp administration. All orders emanating from the Director were implemented by the Army. The duties of the Army in the CCC embraced eighteen categories, including transportation, supply, sanitation, record keeping, finance, medical care, discipline, education, welfare,

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<sup>8</sup>Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains," pp. 4-5.

<sup>9</sup>U. S., Civilian Conservation Corps, Safety Regulations (Washington, D.C.: Civilian Conservation Corps, 1938), pp. 1-2.

and camp maintenance and construction.<sup>10</sup>

In order to perform its CCC obligations, the Army utilized a highly centralized administrative framework in Washington, D.C. and a decentralized Corps area system, with various subdivisions, in the field. The Army's policy of decentralization was the key element in its successful mobilization and operation of the CCC. Conditions in the Corps areas were so different that decentralization was essential. The problems of establishing work camps in the deserts of New Mexico, the Florida swamps, the Kentucky hills, and along the Continental Divide of the Rocky Mountains were so varied that any rigid control from the top would have created more difficulties than it would have solved.<sup>11</sup>

The Army's overhead organization at Washington, D.C. included the Office of the Secretary of War, which operated through the Office of the Chief of Staff. All CCC matters were handled by the G-3 (Operations and Training) and G-4 (Supply) sections of the General Staff at the highest levels.<sup>12</sup> The chain of command stretched from President Roosevelt and the Secretaries of War,

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<sup>10</sup>U. S., War Department, Civilian Conservation Corps Regulations (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 2.

<sup>11</sup>Johnson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps: The Role of the Army," p. 12.

<sup>12</sup>By 1940, all CCC activities were consolidated in a division of the Adjutant General's Office. Ibid., p. 23.

Labor, Agriculture, and Interior, to CCC Director Fechner. From Fechner it went to the nine Corps area commanders, the military district commanders, down to the sub-district commanders, and then to each of the camp commanders.

The General Staff delegated the execution of all the details of camp administration to the nine Corps area commands, and their subdivisions. These Corps areas were regionally divided and were usually commanded by a major-general or a brigadier-general. Eighth Corps, administered from Fort Sam Houston, Texas, included the states of Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Wyoming.

The staff of the Eighth Corps included a chief of staff, and adjutant, an inspector, a judge advocate, a quartermaster, a surgeon, a finance officer, an engineer, an ordinance officer, a signal officer, a chemical warfare officer, and an air officer. Liaison officers, assigned by the technical services, and an educational advisor, selected by the U.S. Office of Education, assisted the Corps area commanders in camp administration within their areas. Liaison officers were under the authority of the Director. The educational advisor was directly responsible to the Corps area commander. Compared to its Army-related work, Corps area involvement in CCC work was generally incidental, and usually centered around company movements at the beginning and end

of each enrollment period, and around such routine but necessary functions as transportation, supply, and medical service the rest of the time.<sup>13</sup>

Each Corps area was divided into districts which consisted of one or more states. Colorado originally formed its own district, the "Colorado District, CCC," which existed from April 18, 1933 to August 1, 1935. Afterward, Corps' operations in Colorado were split into two separate districts, combined again into one state-wide district in June 1937, and then merged with those in Wyoming in December 1937 to form the Colorado-Wyoming District, CCC. The Army frequently reorganized its CCC districts in Colorado to reduce administrative costs or to more effectively handle travel, supply, and communications problems in the camps.

Colorado District Headquarters were established at the home of the Second Engineers, Fort Logan, an army post located ten miles southwest of Denver. In 1933 Fort Logan was occupied by a garrison of approximately five hundred and seventy-five officers and men of the Second Engineers. The post was also used as a training center for units of the Army Reserve, the Reserve Office Training Corps, Citizens' Military Training Corps and, briefly,

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<sup>13</sup>U. S., Civil Service Commission, Official Register of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), p. 44; and Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains," pp. 23-24.

for the state's CCC enrollees. District Headquarters were crowded into several of the post's one hundred and thirty-six buildings.<sup>14</sup>

The Colorado District Headquarters represented the hub of CCC camp administration in the state. From Fort Logan, the District Commander and his staff managed the state's CCC work camps in addition to performing their Army-related work. A major function of the District staff was to interpret the voluminous messages from the Eighth Corps Area Headquarters to the individual camps within their jurisdiction.<sup>15</sup>

The district commander acted as the principal administrative officer below the national level for the CCC. Although ultimate authority, of course, rested with the Corps Area Commander, he was too distant from the camps and involved in regular army duties to take a

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<sup>14</sup>"Fort Logan Is One of Best Known U.S. Army Posts in West," Denver Post, 6 June 1933, p. 13; and "Improvements Are Being Made at Fort Logan," Denver Post, 31 December 1933, sec. 7, p. 8.

<sup>15</sup>Salmond, in The CCC: A New Deal Case Study, p. 84, supports the conclusion that the "chief function" of the CCC Army districts was to interpret messages from Corps area headquarters to the camps. Due to the major problems encountered in CCC operations in Colorado such as isolation, inadequate administrative staff, and extremely bad weather, the Colorado District performed various supply and command functions which were greater in scope than those in other states. L. A. Gleyre and C. N. Alleger, comps., History of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado, Littleton District-Grand Junction District: That the Work of Young America May Be Recorded (Denver: Press of the Western Newspaper Union, 1936), pp. 10-11.

very active role in the management of the camps.<sup>16</sup> The district commander had "complete command responsibility including the supply of subsistence and clothing to the same extent as is given to a commanding officer of a post in the Army."<sup>17</sup> In Colorado, the district commander was in charge of camp administration and acted as post commander of Fort Logan. The Colorado CCC District had three commanders during its existence: Colonel Sherwood A. Cheney (April 18-July 3, 1933), Colonel Wildurr Willing (July 3, 1933-July 11, 1935), and Colonel Jarvis J. Bain (July 11-31, 1935).<sup>18</sup>

Assisting the Colorado District Commander was a district executive officer, assistant executive officer, adjutant officer, assistant adjutant officer, quartermaster, surgeon, chaplain, and an educational advisor. Officers specializing in finance, budgets, supplies, procurement, transportation, and the branches of medicine and religion handled administrative details. A civilian educational advisor coordinated and supervised educational programs in the camps. A district executive officer, a major or captain, helped the district commander to orga-

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<sup>16</sup>Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains," p. 28.

<sup>17</sup>U. S., War Dept., Civilian Conservation Corps Regulations, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup>Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, p. 9; and "Col. Cheney of Fort Logan Made General," Denver Post, 18 May 1933, pp. 1-2.

nize and then administer the camps. Sudden or unexpected changes in Corps' operations, such as the establishment of the Bureau of Reclamation's "drought relief" camps in Colorado during 1935 or the nationwide expansion of the CCC the same year, were dealt with by the executive officer.<sup>19</sup>

Responsible for the administration of all CCC camps in the district, Colorado District Headquarters reflected the high degree of administrative centralization practiced by the Army below the Corps area level. All communication to and from the camp commanders was channeled through Fort Logan. The district finance department issued paychecks to members of the CCC, their allottees, and to contractors who sold merchandise to the district. The district quartermaster directed all supply functions, such as food, clothing, and shelter, to thirty to thirty-five camps and over seven thousand enrollees scattered in all parts of the state. Enrollees were hospitalized at the Station Hospital, Fort Logan, under the care of the district surgeon.

The state or states within each district were in turn divided into subdistricts.<sup>20</sup> Because of a shortage of competently trained officers to act as commanders of

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<sup>19</sup>Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, pp. 11-14.

<sup>20</sup>Harper, The Administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps, p. 41.

groups of CCC companies, the Colorado District was not split into subdistricts during 1933-1934. Instead, the company commander for each of the state's camps reported directly to the district commander at Fort Logan. During this period, two army inspectors from Fort Logan kept the district commander informed of conditions which existed in the camps. Each inspector was assigned to a group of camps. These inspectors acted as "the eyes" of the District Commander in the field, and served as instructors, guides, and advisors to the camp commanders in their group.

Subdistricts were organized in the northeastern, southeastern, and western segments of Colorado on March 2, 1935. Each subdistrict consisted of six or seven CCC camps. A reserve army captain who had been trained as a camp commander and an inspector, performed the duties of subdistrict commander. Subdistrict commanders spent most of their time in the camps under their command, and supervised all phases of CCC activity under the Army's jurisdiction.<sup>21</sup>

On August 1, 1935, the Colorado District ceased to exist. Colorado was split into two new districts, basically along geographic lines in response to the greater number of camps and because of travel, supply, and communications problems. One district, the Fort Logan

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<sup>21</sup>Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado, p. 11.

District (later renamed the Littleton District) controlled twenty-four camps east of the Continental Divide. The portion of the state west of the Continental Divide, with twenty camps, was placed under the control of the Grand Junction District.<sup>22</sup> Each of the districts was usually administered by a major or colonel, thus theoretically providing an officer of sufficient rank and experience to insure good administration.

The Fort Logan District (renamed the Littleton District effective October 14, 1935) maintained its headquarters one half mile north of Littleton, Colorado, on U.S. Highway No. 85. Buildings formerly used as a manufacturing plant by the Ingersoll-Rand Manufacturing Company were leased for use as administrative offices, a warehouse, a supply depot, a garage, and as a shop for the repair of motor vehicles. The Fort Logan District was divided into five subdistricts of approximately five camps each to aid the district headquarters in administration. The Littleton District had four subdistricts.<sup>23</sup>

Reflecting the growth of the number of CCC camps in Colorado in 1935, the Fort Logan District Headquarters staff consisted of almost one hundred officers and men. Except for the district commander and his executive officer,

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>23</sup>L. A. Chapin, "Large Plant Near Littleton Leased for CCC Headquarters," Denver Post, 5 September 1935, p. 5; and Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, pp. 17, 20, and 22.

all other staff and camp officers' positions were filled by army reservists. The Fort Logan District was commanded by Colonel Jarvis J. Bain, who also was in charge of Fort Logan and the Second Engineers. Staff personnel consisted of an adjutant, assistant adjutant, quartermaster, assistant quartermaster, supply officer, assistant supply officer, subsistence officer, budget officer, construction officer, finance officer, assistant finance officer, motor transport officer, welfare officer, chaplain, two assistant chaplains, surgeon, four assistant surgeons, medical supply officer, dental surgeon, veterinarian, assistant veterinarian, five subdistrict commanders, and a district educational advisor. During the existence of the Littleton District, August 14, 1935-June 1937, it had several commanders: Colonel Jarvis J. Bain (August 1-October 13, 1935), Captain C. C. Hough (October 14, 1935-February 24, 1936), and Major Albert B. Helsley (February 27, 1936-June 1937).<sup>24</sup>

The Grand Junction District, with headquarters at Grand Junction, Colorado, was established on August 1, 1935. In line with Eighth Corps Area policy on the formation of administrative units, Grand Junction was chosen as a district headquarters for several reasons. The city had an adequate number of buildings for a headquarters, it was centrally located to the camps, had excellent

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<sup>24</sup>Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, pp. 20-22.

transportation facilities and housing, and a temperate climate. Headquarters consisted of an administration building, commissary, clothing warehouse, property warehouse, and a garage. Both perishable supplies and dry goods were distributed by the commissary by truck or rail to all camps in the district. The Grand Junction District was divided into three subdistricts which covered the northern, southern, and western portions of western Colorado.

Following the parent Littleton District, the Grand Junction District was commanded by a regular army commander and an executive assistant. Army reservists filled the positions of adjutant, assistant adjutant, budget officer, quartermaster, property officer, subsistence officer, motor transport officer, surgeon, assistant surgeon, veterinarian, medical supply officer, welfare officer, chaplain, and assistant chaplain on the District staff. A civilian educational advisory directed the educational programs in the camps. In addition, sixty-one civilian employees worked at District Headquarters. Commanders of the Grand Junction District were Captain Albert B. Helsley (August 1, 1935-February 25, 1936) and Captain Thomas J. Sheehan (February 25, 1936-June 1937).

In June 1937 the two Colorado districts were combined into one large one designated, appropriately, as the Colorado District. Headquarters remained at Littleton,

Colorado. As in the past, the reorganization was undertaken to reduce administrative costs so that additional funds could be made available for the work projects.<sup>25</sup>

Due to the sparse population of Wyoming, the Army merged all of its operations in that state, except for Yellowstone National Park, with those in Colorado in December 1937 to form the Colorado-Wyoming District of the CCC. The new district, the largest in the United States, included approximately 8,200 youths and fifty camps, thirty-seven of which were located in Colorado. According to CCC officials, the unification was made in the interest of economy and administrative efficiency, Grand Junction remained a supply depot and motor repair shop, and Littleton served as district headquarters. The Colorado-Wyoming District operated until June 1942, when the CCC was terminated in Colorado. The District had several commanders: Captain Thomas J. Sheehan (December 1937-May 3, 1938), Major John R. Hermann (May 3, 1938-1940), and Colonel Pearson Menoher (1940-1942).<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>"CCC To Combine Colorado's Two Areas into One," Denver Post, 23 February 1937, p. 4; and "Colorado and Wyoming Districts To Be Consolidated," The Cliff Dweller (Mesa Verde, Colo.), Camps NP-6-C and NP-5-C, Co. 861 and Co. 1843, 17 November 1937, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup>Colorado, State Planning Commission, Year Book of the State of Colorado, 1937-1938 (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1938), p. 348 (hereafter cited as Colorado Yearbook); "The War Department's Participation in the Civilian Conservation Corps Program," Colorado Department of Public Welfare Quarterly Bulletin 1 (October-November-December 1937):39 (hereafter cited as Colorado Welfare Bulletin); "CCC of Wyoming and Colorado To Be

The Army received a number of major benefits from its work in the CCC. Many reserve officers received training in administration and leadership in the camps, which proved to be of inestimable value later when the United States entered the Second World War. Because of the limited funds available to the Army in the 1930s, the reserves could not be trained in the usual military schools or in summer training programs. The Corps gave work to thousands of reservists who otherwise probably would have lost their ties with the Army, and it kept alive a nucleus of trained personnel who would be needed in the war. There was a growing recognition that the CCC acted as a kind of proving ground for junior officers. If these officers could successfully command young boys without relying upon the strict forms of military discipline, they probably would do well with army enlistees in wartime. As American military preparedness was strengthened in the late 1930s, the most qualified and experienced CCC camp commanders were selected for duty with the Regular Army. The Chief of Staff, in his report to the Secretary of War in 1933, noted the favorable at-

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Consolidated," Denver Post, 26 October 1937, p. 8; James F. Wickens, Colorado in the Great Depression (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), p. 146; "New District Com. Off. for Littleton Dist.," Rock-et Echoes (Castle Rock, Colo.), Camp SCS-7-C, Co. 1845, 14 May 1938, p. 1; and "CCC Will Leave its Mark in Colorado," Denver Post, 1 July 1942, p. 1.

tention the public had been giving the Army for its participation in the CCC.<sup>27</sup>

The Army performed its job well in Colorado. Despite the geographic isolation, an inadequate administrative staff, and extremely poor weather at times, the officers at all levels generally did their work in a conscientious manner. Although some camp commanders probably refused to seriously accept their job of caring for civilian youths, and others were too strict and overbearing, the high levels of accomplishment in redeeming young boys and completing the work projects on schedule attest to the success of the CCC in Colorado. Once army administration of the CCC on the district level stabilized during 1935-1936, the supply, medical, and other programs functioned adequately. Few, if any, serious complaints were made on the local level concerning the Army's involvement in CCC operations.

The job of supplying the Army with enrollees was given to another agency, namely the Department of Labor. Within the Department, enrollee selection was handled by the U.S. Employment Service. Rather than having large regional, district, or local offices, the Employment Service assigned the duty of making selections at the state level to the state relief agencies, usually emergency

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<sup>27</sup>Johnson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps: The Role of the Army," pp. 16-19; and Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains," p. 30.

relief administration or state departments of public welfare. The Department of Labor limited itself to determining general policy guidelines, uniform standards of eligibility for the enrollees, and publishing enrollee quotas.<sup>28</sup>

The Department of Labor, then, established recruitment regulations and acted as the coordinator for all CCC selection activities, but did not participate actively in the actual recruitment process. The CCC's Selection Division supervised regulations governing the eligibility for enrollment and set the basic enrollment quota for each state. The Labor Department's standards of eligibility varied slightly from year to year, but generally men wanting to enter the Corps had to be between the ages of seventeen and twenty-eight, unmarried, reasonably physically fit, U.S. citizens, and willing to allot a substantial portion of their pay to their dependents.<sup>29</sup> The \$30 per month salary as well as the room and board attracted many young men to the CCC during the depths of the Depression. After 1937, as economic conditions improved and the onset of World War II approached,

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<sup>28</sup>Salmond, The CCC: A New Deal Case History, p. 27; Harper, The Administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps, p. 32.

<sup>29</sup>U. S., Dept. of Labor, Handbook for Agencies Selecting Men for the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1936 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936), pp. 5-7; and Salmond, The CCC: A New Deal Case Study, pp. 30-31.

the Corps lost more men to industry or military service than it could replace in the ranks.

The Veterans' Administration used a state quota system, as did the Department of Labor, to recruit men. The veterans' quota was usually ten percent of a state's quota for junior (or regular) enrollees. Selection of veterans for CCC enrollment was carried on by each of the regional office managers of the Veterans' Administration. In Colorado, this process was conducted at the Veterans' Administration Regional Office, located in the Old Custom's House in Denver. Veterans who served in the Corps deserve some mention because one or two veterans' camps operated in Colorado between 1933 and 1942. Generally, the veterans were in their forties, many were physically impaired, and some suffered from mental instability arising from their war experiences. These men did regular conservation work, although it was modified to suit their age and physical condition.<sup>30</sup>

The Office of Indian Affairs handled its own recruitment on Indian reservations. In Colorado, less than two hundred Indians enrolled in the CCC each year. The job of recruiting Indians and some non-Indians living on reservations was given, in effect, to the superintendent

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<sup>30</sup> Salmond, The CCC: A New Deal Case Study, pp. 36-37; U.S., Civilian Conservation Corps, Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1939, p. 109; and Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains," pp. 41-42.

of each of the approximately seventy reservations in the United States. The superintendent of the Southern Ute Indian Reservation, who maintained a headquarters near Ignacio, Colorado, chose Indians and other persons for work in the state's CCC Indian camp. Furthermore, the Indians did not live in regular CCC camps, but were allowed to work from their homes. The Indian workers were not subject to formal CCC regulations, like other members of the Corps. The tribal council participated in project and camp administration with the Office of Indian Affairs in an effort to give the Indians experience in managing their own affairs. The CCC did not perform camp inspections, nor did the Army supply any supervisory personnel. In essence, the Corps was connected with the Indian CCC only at the time of initial financing. Beyond that, the Indian CCC did not come within the scope of the CCC, as it was a separate program and a separate issue subject to the direction of the Office of Indian Affairs.<sup>31</sup>

In Colorado, three designated agencies were responsible for CCC recruitment between 1933 and 1942. These agencies were the Official Colorado State Relief Committee

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<sup>31</sup>Harper, The Administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps, pp. 32, 72-74; Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains," p. 42; U.S., Emergency Conservation Work, First Report of the Director, for the Period April 5, 1933 to September 30, 1933, p. 6; and "Emergency Conservation Program, District IV, Southern Ute, Camp No. 1," Container 44094, Record Group 75, Federal Archives and Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

(later renamed the Colorado State Relief Commission), the U.S. Works Progress Administration, and the Colorado Department of Public Welfare. These agencies agreed to be responsible for the coordination and administration of the selection process in Colorado. The administrator of each of the agencies was designated by the U.S. Employment Service as the state director of CCC selection. A state supervisor of selection actually attended to the details of recruitment, such as dividing Colorado's enrollment quota among the counties. The agencies worked closely with the county departments of public welfare, who actually recruited boys who wished to join the Corps.

Between April 1933 and early 1936, the Official Colorado State Relief Committee was responsible for making all CCC enrollee selections. The State Relief Committee was created on August 1, 1932 to administer emergency Reconstruction Finance Corporation funds and direct unemployment relief by coordinating the efforts of the county relief agencies. The State Relief Committee consisted of seven members who were appointed for three-year terms, a secretary, and an executive director. Working through county unemployment relief committees, the executive director of the State Relief Committee selected unmarried young men, called junior enrollees, from families registered on the county relief rolls. Jessie I. Lummis served as executive director and as the state's CCC

selection officer until she was forced to resign by Governor Edwin C. Johnson in September 1933.<sup>32</sup> Lummis' replacement, Alice E. Van Diest, handled CCC selection until it became the duty of the U.S. Works Progress Administration in early 1936. Under the Works Progress Administration, Genevieve Affolter Griffith handled the details of selection.<sup>33</sup>

In December 1936, the Colorado State Department of Public Welfare formally assumed the duties of its two predecessors in managing the selection of recruits. Under the Welfare Organization Law of 1936, the State Department of Public Welfare replaced the State Relief Committee in administering the supervising all welfare activities in Colorado. A CCC Selection Division, headed by Genevieve Affolter Griffith, was created to supervise the recruitment process and to interpret the rules and

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<sup>32</sup>Jessie I. Lummis's resignation was the result of an immense power struggle between Governor Johnson and Harry L. Hopkins, the administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, over federal administration of relief programs in Colorado. Lummis, a Hopkins ally on the State Relief Committee, was induced to resign her position by the Governor in retaliation for the removal of the Committee's chairman (a Johnson supporter) by Hopkins. Wickens, Colorado in the Great Depression, pp. 110-111.

<sup>33</sup>Colorado Statutes Annotated (1935), ch. 141, art. 2; Minutes of Meetings, Official Colorado State Relief Committee, 25 September 1933, p. 1, File 179, Container 10385, 1933 Correspondence, Edwin C. Johnson Papers, 1933-1937, Colorado State Archives, Denver; U.S. Dept. of Labor, Handbook for Agencies Sselecting Men for Emergency Conservation Work, 1933-1936, App. I; and "Introducing: The Director and Department Heads of the Colorado Department of Public Welfare," Colorado Welfare Bulletin 2 (April-May-June 1938):25-29.

regulations of the U.S. Department of Labor to the directors of the county departments of public welfare. CCC selection on the local level was under the control of the director of the county department of public welfare. The State Department of Public Welfare also selected local experienced men, dubbed LEMS, who acted as technical foremen on the work projects. The Departments of Agriculture and the Interior recommended all LEMS and there were no age or marriage restrictions on the group.<sup>34</sup>

In the selection of enrollees during each enrollment period, the state and county departments of public welfare assumed the heaviest workload of all the agencies involved in CCC selection. Though there were only four enrollment periods each year, January 1-20, April 1-20, July 1-20, and October 1-20, the job was a full-time enterprise. Young men, wanting to join the CCC, began the selection process by filing a "Preliminary Application for CCC Selection" at county welfare departments. The form provided the selection agent with general information about the applicant's physical characteristics, work experience, and family background. The selection

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<sup>34</sup>LEMS were the foresters, engineers, landscape men, history and wildlife technicians, and soil conservation experts who provided the technical expertise and supervision for all work projects undertaken by the CCC. The number of foremen varied according to the needs of each camp. Salmond, The CCC: A New Deal Case Study, p. 87; "The CCC Selection Program in Colorado: Administrative Organization," Colorado Welfare Bulletin 2 (January-February-March 1938):31-32; and Harper, The Administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps, pp. 32, 71-72.

agent used the application to determine whether the boy met the financial eligibility requirements for entering the CCC. The boy's parents were requested to sign the application to indicate that he had their permission to enter the Corps. After completing the application, the boy was interviewed by a selection agent to determine if he was amenable to CCC vocational and work training. A boy was not selected merely because his family needed the financial assistance or because he had "sufficient muscular development to perform a day's work." The interview was usually followed by a brief investigation of the boy's family, determining economic need and work record.

The boy then waited until he was notified by the county selection agent to report to a designated enrolling station, usually the CCC camp in his county. The boy was given a thorough physical examination and, if he passed, was accepted into the Corps. After an oath of enrollment was taken, the boy became a member of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Generally, a boy joined for a six-month enrollment period, but he could re-enlist for up to a maximum of two years after a six-month waiting period. The new enrollee designated a recipient for the mandatory twenty-two dollar deduction from his monthly check. The county selection agent was responsible for insuring that the monthly allotment

went to a relative or dependent actually in need of it.<sup>35</sup>

As the Civilian Conservation Corps expanded, it became increasingly obvious that the judicious selection of enrollees was extremely important to the success of the program. Since any enrollee, or "junior," could leave the camp at any time, penalized by nothing more than the loss of his paycheck, desertion was a potentially significant problem.<sup>36</sup> Good selection agents made an effort to gain first-hand knowledge of CCC life by visiting the camps in their locality, enabling them to present a realistic view of the CCC to prospective enrollees. Other agents were inclined to recruit boys by doing just the opposite, exaggerating the quality of the educational programs and the training facilities.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>"The Public Welfare Department's Participation in the Civilian Conservation Corps Program," Colorado Welfare Bulletin 1 (July-August-September 1937):13; U.S., Civilian Conservation Corps, Standards for Eligibility and Selection for Junior Enrollees (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939), pp. 4-5; and Colorado, State Dept. of Public Welfare, Manual for Selecting Enrollees for Civilian Conservation Corps (Denver: State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1939), pp. 1, 22, 28-29, 39-41.

<sup>36</sup>A modification of CCC regulations in 1938 permitted a considerable minority of Colorado juniors to terminate their service with an administrative discharge. For example, during the first quarter of 1938, 273 men received discharges, of which 60 percent were honorable, 35 percent were administrative (i.e., for desertion, misconduct, not following regulations, etc.) in nature, and slightly over 5 percent were dishonorable discharges. "The CCC Selection Program in Colorado," Colorado Welfare Bulletin 2 (January-February-March 1938):32.

<sup>37</sup>Kenneth Holland and Frank E. Hill, Youth in the CCC (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942), pp. 53-54.

The State Department of Public Welfare attempted to reduce the number of desertions and, at the same time enhance the vocational and educational opportunities available to prospective enrollees, at the potentially weak point of selection. There was a growing recognition by county and state selection officials that they needed to prepare boys better for camp life. Beginning in 1940, a series of precamp orientation programs were sponsored by the Department in an effort to overcome homesickness, the greatest obstacle to a boy's successful completion of a term in the CCC. The sessions were also used to stimulate interest in the camp programs. Invited to the meetings with their parents, the boys were shown slides or a movie which illustrated the physical layout of a camp and the types of conservation work accomplished. The Denver Department of Public Welfare gave an unusual program at which a group of enrollees from a Soil Conservation Service camp at Hugo dramatized a typical day in the CCC. Generally, a camp commander, educational advisor, or an outstanding enrollee showed up at the meetings to answer questions. The program proved so successful that it was continued on a regular basis for the duration of the CCC.<sup>38</sup>

Not satisfied with merely an orientation program to combat desertions, the state and county welfare de-

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<sup>38</sup>"Division of CCC Selection," Colorado Welfare Bulletin 4 (October-November-December 1940):44.

partments used other methods as well. For instance, a camp preference plan was offered to prospective enrollees by county selection agents in an effort to match the applicant's skills with the types of work and educational training available in the camps. A list showing work projects and educational opportunities in all the camps in the Colorado-Wyoming District was provided to the agents so they could advise young men during the recruitment interview. The boys would select a number of camps that offered the appropriate training, and the agents would try to assign them to the camps of their choice. One county welfare director followed up on his selections by sending letters to new recruits and their parents within three days after enrollment. The director stressed to the boys the importance of staying in the Corps for the period of their enrollments, and tried to alleviate the concerns of the parents about their welfare.<sup>39</sup>

The enrollment quota for Colorado was small when compared to national figures. Each year an average of a quarter million men entered the CCC. The Labor Department determined state selection quotas by using a formula that was based on the proportion of the state's population to the rest of the country. Using the 1930 census to calculate the national quota, it then assigned individual quotas to each state on the basis of one enrollee for

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<sup>39</sup>Colorado, State Dept. of Public Welfare, Manual for Selecting CCC Enrollees, 1939, pp. 2, 34-35.

each four hundred residents. Colorado, with a population of slightly over one million in 1930, had a quota of approximately 2,000 to 3,000 per year. These raw figures did not include LEMS, veterans, or Indians, which could increase the total quota by as much as 500 men. Although enrollments in Colorado fluctuated in accordance with national economic conditions, the state's relatively small population combined with the abundance of conservation work tended to bring in an influx of out-of-state enrollees, allowing Colorado residents to reap the economic benefits of the program. Of all the CCC workers, over seventy-five percent were either natives or long-time residents. Those who were not often came from neighboring states, particularly Kansas and New Mexico.<sup>40</sup>

The administrative responsibilities of the Army, the Department of Labor, and the State Department of Public Welfare were relatively straightforward and visible. The Army was responsible for feeding, clothing, and housing the men, and supervising their education. The Department of Labor and the state agency supervised the

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<sup>40</sup>Wickens, Colorado in the Great Depression, p. 132; Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains," pp. 45-46. A high percentage of Colorado residents who worked in CCC camps in the state were of Hispanic background. For example, a 1938 State CCC Selection Division report confirmed that forty percent of Colorado's 2,000 enrollees belonged to this minority group. Genevieve K. Affolter to Van D. Roughton, Otero County Welfare Dept., La Junta, Colo., 9 June 1938, "Surveys-Reports for Counties," 1938-1941, Container 30254, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

recruitment and certification of all enrollees except those chosen by the Veterans' Administration and the Office of Indian Affairs. Similar administrative relationships between the state and federal agencies which performed conservation work on the technical side of the CCC were not so obvious.

The technical services were those government agencies which planned and directed conservation projects in the camps. They carried out the most important function of the Civilian Conservation Corps, to employ men to conserve the nation's resources. Some of the technical services which operated in Colorado—the Forest Service, Soil Conservation Service, National Park Service, Bureau of Reclamation, and the Division of Grazing—established separate offices at the national level for CCC work project planning and coordination. Corps' activities at the district or regional office level were usually handled by one man who was designated as supervisor of CCC work for his agency. Technical personnel who devoted all their time to CCC work were paid from CCC funds.<sup>41</sup>

The Department of Agriculture was in charge of roughly three-fourths of all the CCC camps, and of these, more than half were engaged on national, state, and private forest lands, under the direction of the Forest

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<sup>41</sup>Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains," pp. 39-40.

Service. Next to the Forest Service, the Soil Conservation Service was the Department of Agriculture agency which operated the most camps. By 1939, the Soil Conservation Service had developed more than five hundred conservation project areas in forty-four states, employing about 62,000 enrollees annually. The remaining number of CCC camps were distributed to the Department of the Interior, with the National Park Service supervising most of the work in its camps. By far, the largest number of camps in Colorado were connected with the Forest Service. A fairly large number of camps were assigned to the four remaining federal agencies operating in the state, with the Soil Conservation Service and the Division of Grazing carrying out the majority of the work.<sup>42</sup>

In 1938, the United States maintained 158 national forests, which the Forest Service administered from its ten regional offices scattered across the country. The Rocky Mountain Region, or Region Two, supervised operations of twenty-one national forests in Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and the portion of Wyoming east of the Continental Divide. Headquarters for the Rocky Mountain Region were located in the Post Office Building at Denver, Colorado. National forest lands within the

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<sup>42</sup>Salmond, The CCC: A New Deal Case Study, pp. 121, 124; U.S., Civilian Conservation Corps, Hands to Save the Soil (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 1; and Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, pp. 148-153.

region were placed under the management of a regional forester. An associate regional forester supervised activities throughout the region and on the individual forests. Assistant regional foresters were in charge of the various branches of operation, including fire protection, forest management, state and private forestry, wildlife and range management, recreation and lands, personnel management, and engineering. A fiscal control officer, regional law officers, and an information and education officer completed the organization immediately under the regional forester. The regional office staff planned and directed all CCC projects on national, state, and private forest lands in Colorado and in other states in the area. Forest Service inspectors regularly visited all forest conservation projects in the Colorado-Wyoming District and all project technicians were paid by the Army from CCC funds. There were approximately 225 forest officers in Colorado, including those stationed at the regional office in Denver.<sup>43</sup>

Each region in turn was divided into national forests. National forests did not necessarily border one another and varied greatly in size. In Colorado, there were fourteen national forests wholly within the state and one other, the La Sal, which was principally in

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<sup>43</sup>U.S., Forest Service, Report of the Chief of the Forest Service, 1938, pp. 29-30; Salmond, The CCC: A New Deal Case Study, p. 121; and Dorothy D. Bromley, "The Forest Army That Lives by Work," New York Times, 23 July 1933, sec. 8, p. 2.

Utah. Most of the state's national forest lands were located along the rugged slopes of the Continental Divide, and extended irregularly into the spurs east and west of the Divide. The boundaries of each of the national forests were established according to the prevailing topographic and watershed features in the area for ease of administration. Each of the national forests in Colorado averaged almost one million acres in size, or 13,552,021 acres for the state. San Isabel National Forest, with 614,773 acres, was the smallest in the state, while the Gunnison, with 1,282,704 acres was the largest.<sup>44</sup>

Each national forest was under the authority of a forest supervisor. A supervisor's headquarters was generally located in a town near the forest. Both now and during the period of the CCC, the basic management unit was the district. Each forest was divided into two to ten districts, with a district ranger in charge of each. A district unit varied according to the topography, workload, and other conditions, but averaged between 300,000 and 500,000 acres in area. Along with routine maintenance and protection duties, the district ranger supervised such activities as grazing, timber sales, and the construction of roads, trails, bridges, telephone

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<sup>44</sup>Colorado, State Planning Commission, Colorado Yearbook, 1937-1938 (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1938), pp. 68-74.

lines, and other improvements within his district. The district ranger was responsible for all CCC work inside the boundaries of his district. Assisting each district ranger in the administration of his duties was an assistant ranger, a clerk, project superintendents for the CCC camps, and maintenance crews. The personnel of the technical services, however, were generally hired and fired by the national forest supervisors, but usually upon the recommendation of the district ranger responsible.<sup>45</sup>

CCC projects on state and private forest lands in Colorado proceeded without major difficulties despite the lack of a state forestry agency capable of assuming responsibility for directing the work. Although the office of the State Forester was created in 1911, the state legislature failed to provide for a staff to assist the forester in managing the state forest reserves. From this period and throughout the 1930s, the U.S. Forest Service endeavored to maintain forests in Colorado. In 1933, the position of State Forester, which had been held by the professor of forestry at Colorado State Agricultural College, was abolished by the legislature. During the mid-1930s, however, increased federal conservation activities in behalf of state and private

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<sup>45</sup>Harper, The Administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps, pp. 56-57; and Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains," pp. 32-33.

forestry aroused sufficient public support for the creation of an appropriate state agency through which federal cooperation could be effectively channeled. In 1937, the General Assembly assigned this task to the State Board of Land Commissioners by conferring upon it the duties and authority of a state board of forestry.<sup>46</sup>

The State Board of Land Commissioners, the ex-officio state board of forestry, was composed of three members: a president, a register, and an engineer. The personnel in the office departments of the State Land Board included a deputy register, a chief clerk and assistant engineer, a mineral superintendent, and a farm loan superintendent. Through the assistance of Professor W. J. Morrill of the State Agricultural College, the State Land Board signed an agreement with the U.S. Forest Service on December 2, 1938, which led to the creation of the Colorado State Forest. According to the terms of the agreement, isolated sections of state lands near the national forests were exchanged for a compact tract of land located in North Park in eastern Jackson County, Colorado. The State Forest embraced nearly 71,000 acres of mountain timber which was next to Roosevelt National Forest. In 1938, a full-time state forester was hired

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<sup>46</sup>Colorado, Joint Committee of the Society of American Foresters and the Charles Lathrop Pack Forestry Foundation, A Survey of State Forestry Administration in Colorado (Denver: State Multigraphing Dept., 1948), p. 3.

by the State Land Board to manage the forest.

Despite the beginning of an active state forestry program, participation of the Civilian Conservation Corps in work projects on state forestry lands was limited. The State Land Board, through the cooperation of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service, did obtain a CCC camp for the State Forest in 1939-1940. Effective management of almost all forestry land in Colorado continued to be under the control of the U.S. Forest Service.<sup>47</sup>

In 1935, the Soil Erosion Service entered the field of CCC work as a technical agency. Due to a long-standing interdepartmental rivalry between the Interior and Agricultural Departments which had been transferred to the context of the CCC, the Soil Erosion Service was moved to the Department of Agriculture in 1936 and re-named the Soil Conservation Service. The shift from one department to another was occasioned by repeated disputes between the Forest Service and the Soil Erosion Service over which had the authority to do soil erosion work in

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<sup>47</sup>Ralph R. Widner, ed., Forests and Forestry in the American States: A Reference Anthology (Missoula, Mont.: National Association of State Foresters, 1968), pp. 389-392; "History of Forestry in Colorado and of the Forestry Division at Colorado State," Colorado Forester (1938):10-11, 43; Colorado, State Board of Land Commissioners, Biennial Report, July 1, 1938 to June 30, 1940 (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1940), pp. 3-4; Colorado Statutes Annotated (1935), ch. 134, subdivision 2, art. 132. Colorado did not create a separate agency, the Colorado State Forest Service, to supervise state forestry lands until 1955. Colorado, State Planning Commission, Colorado Year Book, 1962-1964 (Denver: State Planning Commission, 1964), p. 153.

the camps.<sup>48</sup> The Forest Service was given control of erosion work in the national forests and the Soil Conservation Service directed the same kind of work on private lands.

When the Soil Conservation Service was established in the 1930s, its field operating structure was organized into regions rather than by states as it is today. In 1936, the Soil Conservation Service, because of a tremendous increase in the scope of its activities the previous year, decentralized its administrative and technical service functions so that they could effectively operate on the project level. Eleven administrative regions, each of which conformed as closely as possible with an area's soil conservation and land use problems, were established throughout the United States. Two of these were involved in CCC operations in Colorado. The Southern Great Plains Region, headquartered in Amarillo, Texas, supervised operations of all projects in Colorado east of the Continental Divide, and those in the Texas and Oklahoma Panhandles, western Kansas, and eastern New Mexico. The Southwest Regional Office, located at Albuquerque, New Mexico, directed projects in Arizona, Utah, western New Mexico, and those west of the Continental Divide in Colorado. Both field operations projects and CCC work were under the administrative supervision of a

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<sup>48</sup>Salmond, The CCC: A New Deal Case Study, pp. 83-84.

regional conservator. The regions were reshuffled in 1939, Colorado being put in Region Eight, with Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah.<sup>49</sup>

There were no real district administrative offices until the fall of 1938, when area offices—which were actually state offices—were established. Colorado's area office was located at Colorado Springs, in several buildings that had formerly been the offices of the Colorado Springs and Interurban Railway. A state coordinator in the area office was directly responsible for seeing that SCS-CCC cooperative plans for erosion control were properly executed in Colorado's Soil Conservation Service camps. The area office was comprised of seven technical departments: soils, engineering, range, agronomy, soil conservation, forestry, the erosion control practices division, and the information section. Technical personnel in the area office correlated and coordinated CCC work plans with other federal and state agencies, and then submitted

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<sup>49</sup>U.S., Soil Conservation Service, Report of the Chief of the Soil Conservation Service, 1936, p. 4; and U.S., Soil Conservation Service, Report of the Chief of the Soil Conservation Service, 1939, p. 22.

them to the soil erosion project managers.<sup>50</sup>

The demonstration work project was the administrative unit most concerned with the CCC. Using CCC-supplied labor and funds, the Soil Conservation Service conducted demonstrations of approved erosion control practices for farmers who had been unaware of the implications of improper land use. This type of effort involved establishing demonstration projects on privately owned farms or ranches. A farmer would sign an agreement with the Soil Conservation Service under which he promised to follow certain conservation measures and permit the agency to carry out others.

At first, demonstrations which involved CCC manpower were largely restricted to gully control and terrace-outlet construction, but were later widened to include almost every type of erosion control method. Usually one or several CCC camps, working as a mobile unit, performed demonstration work in an area of approximately 25,000 acres. After a satisfactory demonstration project was established, the camps moved onto another

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<sup>50</sup>"The Soil Conservation Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps Program in Colorado," Colorado Welfare Bulletin 2 (July-August-September 1938):28-29; Gleyre and Allegre, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, pp. 149-150; "State Soil Erosion Service to Have New Quarters at Springs," Denver Post, 6 March 1935, p. 11; and "Directory of Federal Agencies and Departments in Colorado," 1 October 1936, pp. 7-8, Container 30254, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

area. Each major project was directed by a project manager. The project manager had property clerks, equipment, and a pool of young men from several CCC camps to do the required work. The CCC materially advanced the nation's soil conservation program by extending demonstrations to thousands of farmers who had been unable to participate in previous programs.<sup>51</sup>

Ultimately, the work demonstration project proved to be too expensive and impractical because of the relatively small number of farmers who were directly involved in the program. Looking for a different approach, officials of the Soil Conservation Service developed a "standard act" in May 1936, which authorized the formation of soil conservation districts in each of the states. The standard act permitted each district to conduct demonstration projects, carry out actual soil conservation measures and programs, sign contracts with farmers and to furnish them with financial and other assistance for conservation programs, make gifts or loans to farmers, build and maintain structures, develop land-use plans, carry on soil conservation research, and carry out related programs. These districts were a mechanism with which the federal agencies, including the Civilian Conservation Corps, used to assist farmers on problems

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<sup>51</sup>U.S., Soil Conservation Service, Report of the Chief of the Soil Conservation Service, 1936, pp. 15-16; and Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains," p. 39.

of mutual concern.<sup>52</sup>

State authorities passed a modified version of the standard act, the Colorado Soil Conservation Act, in May 1937. A State Soil Conservation Board was formed, consisting of two members of the State Planning Commission, the Director of Extension of the State College of Agriculture, and the Director of the Agricultural Experiment Station at Fort Collins. According to the provisions of the act, any five resident landowners could form a soil conservation district by filing a petition with the State Soil Conservation Board. If the petition was approved, an election was held within sixty days on whether the proposed district should be formed. The district would be governed by a board of five supervisors, three elected by the voters in the district, and two appointed by the State Soil Conservation Board.<sup>53</sup>

The National Park Service did extensive work with CCC labor and funds to protect, develop, and conserve park and recreational areas throughout the United States. Officials at the Washington, D.C. office did all of the general administrative work for each of the national parks and monuments including the formulation of policy,

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<sup>52</sup>R. Burnell Held and Marion Clawson, Soil Conservation in Perspective (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press for Resources for the Future, Inc., 1965), pp. 46-49.

<sup>53</sup>Colorado, "Colorado Soil Conservation Act," Session Laws of Colorado (1937), sections 3-7, pp. 1170-1178.

planning, field appointments, public relations, and the preparation and distribution of educational materials and park literature.<sup>54</sup>

Each of the national parks was administered by a superintendent who resided in the park and was responsible to headquarters in Washington, D.C. for all activities within the area under his control. The more important of the national monuments had custodians. In Colorado, the work of the CCC was aimed at protecting and conserving Rocky Mountain and Mesa Verde National Parks and a similar group of national monuments: Black Canyon of the Gunnison, Great Sand Dunes, Colorado, Holy Cross, Hovenweep, Wheeler, and Yucca House. Most of the NPS-CCC work was done at the national parks and monuments, but the National Park Service also directed the projects in the state's municipally-owned mountain parks, such as those in the Denver Mountain Parks, and in Greeley, Fort Collins, Boulder, Loveland, Rifle, Trinidad, Durango, Glenwood Springs, and Pueblo.<sup>55</sup>

Rocky Mountain National Park, situated in north central Colorado, and Mesa Verde National Park, in southwest Colorado, were each administered by a superintendent

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<sup>54</sup>U.S., National Park Service, The National Parks and Emergency Conservation (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933), pp. 10-12.

<sup>55</sup>"CCC Protects and Develops Recreational Areas in National Parks," Colorado Welfare Bulletin 3 (July-August-September 1939):19; and Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, p. 151.

and a force of protective, clerical, educational, and engineering assistants. For example, in 1934 the permanent staff of Rocky Mountain National Park consisted of fourteen persons—the superintendent, an assistant superintendent, a chief ranger, the United States Commissioner, a naturalist, four rangers, a warehouse keeper, two clerks, and two mechanics. During the working season, this force was augmented by an engineer and a landscape architect. During the park season, additional temporary employees such as rangers, naturalists, and clerical personnel were hired.<sup>56</sup>

The basic administrative units used by the National Park Service to coordinate its CCC work were the national parks and the national monuments. There were no regional offices within the National Park Service organization until 1940. In that year, four regional offices were formed as liaison agencies between the park areas and the Washington, D.C. office. The regional offices were located in Richmond, Omaha, Santa Fe, and San Francisco, each with a regional director and branch chiefs.<sup>57</sup> Rocky Mountain National Park was supervised from the

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<sup>56</sup>U.S., National Park Service, Rocky Mountain National Park, "Annual Report for 1934," p. 1, in Rocky Mountain National Park Library, Estes Park, Colorado.

<sup>57</sup>U.S., Dept. of the Interior, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1940, p. 168; and John Ise, Our National Park Policy: A Critical History (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press for Resources for the Future, Inc., 1961), p. 441.

Omaha regional office and Mesa Verde National Park from Santa Fe.

The Bureau of Reclamation was another of the Department of the Interior's agencies that was involved in CCC work. Formed in 1902, the work of the Bureau of Reclamation was comprised of constructing and maintaining irrigation systems for the storage, diversion, and use of water in the arid and semi-arid states of the West. Ignoring political boundaries, the Bureau of Reclamation organized regional units on the basis of river drainage systems. The general field headquarters in Denver directed the Bureau's projects in the area south of the Platte River, and those in the remaining states were managed from the Billings regional office. A chief engineer in the Denver office, however, supervised all engineering and construction activities of the Bureau in both of the regions. A staff of approximately eight hundred persons were employed in the Denver office. These regions were subdivided into districts, to supervise individual reclamation projects as they were approved by Congress. Each major project was supervised by a superintendent or construction engineer, who was assisted by a chief clerk and a fiscal agent.

When the CCC was expanded in 1935, some fifty additional camps were assigned to the Bureau of Reclamation to assist in the construction or rehabilitation of irrigation projects in the West. For Colorado the en-

larged program principally involved maintenance work on two huge irrigation projects vital to western Colorado's water supply. Of the three CCC camps attached to Colorado in 1935-1936, two carried out rehabilitation and erosion control work on the Grand Valley project. A third camp conducted major repair work on an irrigation system which was part of the massive Uncompahgre irrigation project. Although a great deal of the work on these two projects was done by contract, the CCC assisted the Bureau of Reclamation with small but labor-intensive operations such as the building of access roads, lining concrete canals, digging irrigation ditches, cleaning channels, and setting riprap (wedging rocks into canal banks).<sup>58</sup>

The Division of Grazing, like the Bureau of Reclamation, operated only in the West. The Division of Grazing, another technical service of the Department of the Interior, was formed in 1934 following the passage of the Taylor Grazing Act. As the agency responsible for managing the public domain, the Division of Grazing operated in areas where local ranchers elected to form districts under the provisions of the Taylor Grazing Act. The Division of Grazing, because almost all of its work

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<sup>58</sup>Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains," pp. 37-38; Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, p. 152; and "Operations of the Bureau of Reclamation in Colorado," Reclamation Era 26 (May 1936):129-130.

was done in the twelve western states, established a field headquarters in Salt Lake City, Utah in 1936 to carry out most of the administrative duties, even though the division maintained a headquarters in Washington, D.C. A series of regional offices—actually state offices—were established in nine of the twelve western states to cooperate with state and local authorities, ranchers, and livestock associations. The Grand Junction office directed Division of Grazing operations in Colorado. Each regional office was in charge of a regional grazier. Each state was split into districts of from one-half to two million acres with a district grazier responsible for each one. In Colorado seven grazing districts were formed, all on the western slope.<sup>59</sup>

Prior to the passage of the Taylor Grazing Act, practically no range improvements were constructed under federal supervision on the western range. In 1935, this situation changed when over fifty CCC camps were assigned to the Division of Grazing to implement an improvement

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<sup>59</sup> Organization Chart, Grazing Service, 1 July 1940, Container 126, Record Group 49, Federal Archives and Records Center, Denver, Colorado; "Reorganization," Grazing Bulletin 2 (June 28, 1939):35; "Directory of District Advisors, March 15, 1941," Grazing Bulletin 4 (April 1941):24-25. In 1939, the Division of Grazing was renamed the Grazing Service. The Grazing Service was combined with the General Land Office (which had handled almost all non-grazing administrative duties regarding unreserved and unappropriated public lands) in 1946 to form a new agency, the Bureau of Land Management. Wesley Calef, Private Grazing and Public Lands: Studies of Local Management of the Taylor Grazing Act (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 76-77.

program which was directed toward better utilization as well as the conservation and rehabilitation of the western range. The first Division of Grazing CCC camp in Colorado was established at Elk Springs on June 3, 1935. In the state's Division of Grazing camps, CCC crews completed numerous range improvement tasks including erosion control, water conservation, dam construction, rodent and poisonous weed eradication, well digging, and flood control. Other work involved the construction of fences, truck trails, driveways, range corrals, and stock reservoirs.<sup>60</sup>

On the surface, the number of federal agencies involved (the Departments of War, Labor, Agriculture, Interior, and the Veterans' Administration), acting under the general supervision of the CCC director and the Advisory Council, gave the Corps an appearance of a chaotic organization. Considering the day-to-day contact which took place in every CCC camp and the intensive planning activities among all the agencies involved, it appeared that frequent conflicts and disagreements over which agency would have operational control might eventually disable the Corps.

There were a number of reasons for the administrative success of the CCC. The delegation of particular

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<sup>60</sup>"Range Rehabilitation on the Public Domain," Colorado Welfare Bulletin 3 (January-February-March 1939): 23; and "Range Improvements," Grazing Bulletin 2 (June 28, 1939):28.

roles to the Army, the Department of Labor, and the technical agencies allowed the Corps to operate smoothly with a minimum of disagreement. Rather than overlapping each other in administrative functions, each of the agencies usually had defined areas of exclusive jurisdiction. The Army used its experience in handling large numbers of men to rapidly mobilize young men for the CCC, and then provide them with food, clothing, and shelter. The ability of the various agencies in the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior to plan and supervise the work projects enabled the organization to carry out its dual purpose of providing youths with jobs and conserving the nation's natural resources. The Labor Department's competent selection organization supplied the CCC with an adequate number of men during the depths of the Depression. Furthermore, the willingness of Robert Fechner, the Director from 1933-1939, to allow the technical services to operate without the restraint of strict controls from his office contributed to the overall success of the CCC.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>An excellent discussion concerning the reasons for the administrative effectiveness of the CCC on the national and regional levels are found in Chapter IV: "The Army and the Technical Services," of Charles W. Johnson's dissertation on "The Civilian Conservation Corps: The Role of the Army"; and in James A. Hanson's chapter on "The CCC's Middle Management" in Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming in his dissertation on "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains."

Administrative success was insured by the lack of rigidity on the formulation of policy for the CCC. The search by the interested agencies for support on a particular position created an administrative checks-and-balances system which practically guaranteed that one group of agencies would not be permanently frozen in opposition to the others. Frequently, on some issues the Director's Office and the Army were aligned against the technical agencies while on others the technical agencies and the Army opposed the Director. Furthermore, the number of agencies that participated, and the diverse nature of the problems which arose, created an atmosphere of flexible cooperation among the parties.

Below the national level, the CCC and the technical agencies followed what may best be termed a policy of decentralization in their approach to administration. With a minimum of supervision from the national headquarters at Washington, D.C., the regional or state offices could more effectively handle their own problems according to local conditions. The spirit of cooperation, plus a give and take attitude, among the personnel involved in the CCC also contributed to administrative effectiveness.

## CHAPTER III

### CCC WORK PROJECTS IN COLORADO

The Civilian Conservation Corps was at the forefront of the New Deal relief agencies that came to the assistance of Colorado during the depression. Essentially, the CCC was designed as a mechanism by which the federal government could pump large sums of money into the nation's weak economy. In Colorado, the Corps provided tactical or short-range answers to the economic misery that affected thousands of citizens. Long-term or strategic answers were found for the malaise which had compounded a large portion of the state's economic problems, the deterioration of its natural resources.

It was on the tactical level that the success of the CCC was measured on human rather than physical terms. Dignified work instead of an outright dole was given to a large segment of Colorado's young men, providing them with an opportunity to immediately relieve the economic distress confronting their families. At the same time, the CCC provided the state with a strategic answer to the conservation and development of its natural resources. In 1933, for example, Colorado was faced with alarming soil erosion problems, mountain pine beetle epidemics, and the loss of some of its poorly protected forest areas

and range lands due to fire and drought. When the CCC left in 1942, Colorado retained an impressive soil conservation program, a forest protection system, and a large number of campgrounds and other recreational improvements.

In Colorado, the principal work of the Civilian Conservation Corps was directed by two bureaus of the Department of Agriculture, the Forest Service and the Soil Conservation Service. Next were the camps and men of the National Park Service, the agency that directed the construction and maintenance of recreational facilities in both the national parks and monuments as well as in metropolitan areas. There were also many Grazing Service camps, which were concentrated on the Western Slope. Their work involved the rehabilitation and improvement of range lands in the public domain. Beyond that, the Bureau of Reclamation supervised CCC maintenance work on the thousands of irrigation and water control structures located on projects in western Colorado.

Forest conservation work was particularly valuable to Colorado because it enhanced the value of the state's immense forest areas. More than one-third, or thirty-four percent, of the state's total land area of 103,658 square miles, was classified as forest land. The state's wooded areas fell into three distinct zones: the plains, woodland, and timber zones. In the plains region of Colorado, a narrow fringe of hardwoods (mostly

cottonwoods and willows) grew along the lower water courses. A woodland zone, which included extensive stands of pinyon, juniper, and scrub oak, covered the lower elevations of light precipitation in the foothills. The timber zone, extending from an elevation of about 5,000 feet to around 10,000 feet, was marked by irregular belts of ponderosa pine, Douglas fir, lodgepole pine, and Englemann spruce. Associated with these major species were forest stands and scattered trees of aspen, white and alpine fir, blue spruce, bristlecone pine, and lumber pine, with a few other types interspersed along the entire range.<sup>1</sup>

During the 1930s, Colorado's forest challenge was to extend good forest management to the millions of acres of forest lands within this long-standing forest empire. Originally, the state had been comprised of around eleven million acres of prime timberlands. By 1933, this entire area had been reduced by millions of acres through destruction by fire, by misuse through such harmful logging practices as cross-cutting, and by conversion of forests into agricultural lands. Despite these losses, Colorado was one of the few states that was stor-

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<sup>1</sup>W.J. Morrill, "Forestry," in History of Colorado, v. 2, ed. by James H. Baker and LeRoy R. Hafen (Denver: Linderman Co., Inc., 1927), pp. 757-758; and Ralph R. Widner, ed., Forests and Forestry in the American States: A Reference Anthology (Missoula, Mont.: National Association of State Foresters, 1968), pp. 389-390.

ing up wood faster than it could be cut. In 1937, for instance, the fourteen national forests of Colorado were capable of producing an estimated annual growth of approximately five hundred million board feet of commercial timber, or several times the amount of timber cut annually. A substantial portion of the unharvested timber was lost to insects, fire, diseases, wind throw, overcrowding, and other natural causes.<sup>2</sup>

The establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps in 1933 enabled Colorado to meet its forest challenge. The CCC provided the Forest Service as well as the other technical services with manpower in quantities that for the first time were adequate to handle certain tasks. Large-scale projects such as road and trail building, campground construction, and fire suppression all demanded large numbers of workers, as did timber-stand improvement, reforestation, insect control, and the eradication of poisonous and noxious plants.<sup>3</sup> The range of the work was almost endless. Even in the one state under consideration, Colorado, there were at least

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<sup>2</sup>Colorado, State Planning Commission, Yearbook of the State of Colorado, 1933-1934 (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1934), p. 51; and Colorado, State Planning Commission, Yearbook of the State of Colorado, 1937-1938 (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1938), pp. 68-69 (hereafter cited as Colorado Yearbook).

<sup>3</sup>Harold K. Steen, The U.S. Forest Service: A History (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), p. 216.

122 major types of work done by the CCC. Some camps had only one project, such as tree planting. Others had as many as twenty different projects in progress at the same time.<sup>4</sup>

The Department of Agriculture administered approximately half of all CCC camps in Colorado and, of these, one-fourth were assigned to work in the national forests under the supervision of the Forest Service. The remaining number of camps were employed by the Soil Conservation Service on soil and water erosion control projects in the eastern part of the state. The number of Forest Service CCC camps varied considerably over the course of the agency's operations in Colorado. For instance, twenty-three camps were employed in forestry work during the first enrollment period in 1933, but this figure dropped to an average of ten camps between 1936 and 1941.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>U.S., Civilian Conservation Corps, Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1939, App. N; "Project Notes," Burn't Mill Bull's Eye (Beulah, Colo.), Co. 2804, Camp SCS-2-C, 16 April 1937, p. 1, CCC Newspaper Collection, 1933-1942, Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, Illinois; and U.S., National Park Service, Rocky Mountain National Park, "Superintendent's Monthly Report," August 1935, p. 14, in Rocky Mountain National Park Library (hereafter cited as RMNP Library).

<sup>5</sup>Colorado, State Planning Commission, Colorado Yearbook, 1941-1942 (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1942), p. 464.

The work of the Civilian Conservation Corps in the national forests of Colorado can be divided into two broad categories: forest protection and forest improvement. Forest protection work principally involved the construction of access roads and trails, fire control, and disease control by the removal of dead and infected timber. Much of the Corp's time was also spent in forest improvement work. The boys built roads and trails of the multi-purpose type, which opened up large stands of previously inaccessible timber to greater utilization by forest users and visitors. Structural additions in the forms of warehouses, garages, ranger and guard stations, overnight cabins, shelters, toolhouses, and equipment boxes contributed to greater efficiency in forest administration. New campgrounds were developed in forest areas, which in turn led to the construction of picnic table-and-bench combinations, outdoor stores, toilets and sanitary facilities, and adequate water-supply systems. Many miles of stream improvements, such as deflectors, small dams, and riffles, were completed for the benefit of sport fishermen and to upgrade the habitat of fish life. Hundreds of thousands of fish were stocked in streams and lakes by the CCC each year. CCC dams, ranging from small stone, earth, or brush "gully-stoppers" used to combat soil erosion, to large earth and concrete water storage dams, formed a large part of the Forest Service's

watershed protection and flood control work.<sup>6</sup>

By far, the largest number of CCC camps in Colorado were assigned to the Forest Service. The principal work carried on by the CCC in the forested regions of Colorado was timber stand protection and maintenance. Principally the work involved the building of access roads for logging and fire protection, the thinning of overcrowded timberstands, reforestation by the planting of millions of seedlings and transplants, disease control through the removal of dead and infected wood, and fire control. The development of recreational facilities within the national forests was also an important part of the CCC's work.

The most massive problem confronting the Forest Service in Colorado was the control of destructive forest insects. While many types of insects damage trees, the greatest harm to Colorado's forests and parks was done by the mountain pine beetle (Dendroctonus ponderosae Hopkins). As a forest destroyer, the mountain pine beetle and several other species of bark beetles have caused "a greater total of drain of commercial pine timber than has been

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<sup>6</sup>U.S., Civilian Conservation Corps, Forests Protected by the CCC (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939), pp. 6-9; U.S., Civilian Conservation Corps, Forest Improvements by the CCC (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939), pp. 3-8.

sustained from any other destructive agency."<sup>7</sup>

The mountain pine beetle attacked ponderosa and lodgepole pine and other pine trees in the southern and central Rocky Mountain regions and in the Black Hills of South Dakota. Working from the outer bark, adult beetles bore through the outer bark and constructed long, almost straight, vertical egg galleries or tunnels in the soft inner bark of a tree. The larvae or grubs produced inside the egg galleries also mined the inner bark but extended their feeding tunnels more or less horizontally at right angles to the egg gallery. Eventually, numerous galleries were constructed throughout the cambium region and the tree was girdled and killed. Attacks were usually the heaviest along the main trunk of the tree near the ground, with a thousand or more adults capable of attacking a large tree at one time.<sup>8</sup>

Pine beetle outbreaks of varying intensity and destructiveness have been recorded throughout the pine-

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<sup>7</sup>U.S., Dept. of Agriculture, Trees: The Yearbook of Agriculture, ed. by Alfred Stefferud (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 428.

<sup>8</sup>J.A. Beal, "The Black Hills Beetle," in Camp Inspection Report, Camp SP-14-C, Golden, Colo., 7 February 1939, "Selected Documents Relating to the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado," 1933-1942 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1980), Reel 4, Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, Illinois (hereafter cited by reel number and abbreviation CRL for Center for Research Libraries); and U.S., Soil Conservation Service, "Methods of Controlling Mountain Pine Beetle" (Portland, Ore.: Soil Conservation Service, 1973). (Mimeographed).

forested regions of the central and southern Rockies since the 1890s. Historic among bark beetle epidemics was the Black Hills beetle epidemic of 1895-1908, which killed more than a billion board feet of pine timber in the Black Hills of South Dakota. In 1898, bark beetles caused serious damage to the white pine stands of Montana. Again, this time in the Kaibab National Forest in northern Arizona, the beetles struck with great intensity during the years 1917-1925, destroying in excess of 300,000,000 board feet of timber. It was not until 1933 that pine beetle attacks of epidemic proportions occurred in Colorado. With the advent of the CCC, fortunately, a prompt and effective bark beetle control program was undertaken in 1933 and it continued under the auspices of the Corps until 1942.<sup>9</sup>

Several methods were used by the Forest Service, with CCC labor, to kill the beetles. The most direct method was simply to squash them with the pole of an axe. The most effective way to prevent attacks on nearby trees was to cut down infested trees and completely burn the bark to insure the destruction of all insects. When cutting and burning was not feasible, naphthalene or paradichloro-benzene dissolved in fuel oil and sprayed from hand sprayers or trucks, was fairly effective. In the

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<sup>9</sup>Beal, "The Black Hills Beetle," p. 428; Colorado, State Planning Commission, Colorado Yearbook, 1939-1940 (Denver: Bradford Robinson Printing Co., 1940), p. 51.

early stages of bark beetle attacks, CCC crews peeled the bark and left it on the ground to expose the grubs. This control method limited further damage to infected trees.

Between 1933 and 1939, the CCC treated 145,552 beetle-infested trees on or near national forest lands in Colorado. However, this work was spread over thousands of acres, with the largest infestations occurring on the Roosevelt and Pike National Forests. Smaller outbreaks were fought on the Uncompahgre, Arapaho, Cochetopa, Gunnison, Routt, Montezuma, and San Isabel National Forests. For instance, during a two-year period enrollees at Camp F-27-C, located near Delta, cut 8,600 trees on 125,000 acres in the Uncompahgre National Forest.<sup>10</sup>

The most spectacular protective function was undoubtedly fire prevention and suppression. The CCC performed this work in a variety of ways. Most important for fire prevention was the construction of an effective forest-fire protection system in many of the state's forests. The fire protection system built by the CCC consisted of roads, trails, telephone lines, and lookout towers. These protective improvements speeded communications between firefighting units and enabled the Forest

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<sup>10</sup>Colorado, State Planning Commission, Colorado Yearbook, 1939-1940, p. 51; and L.A. Gleyre and C.N. Alleger, comps., History of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado, Littleton District-Grand Junction District: That the Work of Young America May Be Recorded (Denver: Press of the Western Newspaper Union, 1936), pp. 121, 130.

Service and the CCC to transport men, equipment, and supplies to the scene of a major blaze at a much faster rate. Between 1933 and 1936 alone, the fire protection system in Colorado's national forests was boosted by the CCC's construction of 358 miles of forest roads and 110 miles of trails, 130 miles of telephone lines, and 27 ranger and lookout stations and other dwellings.<sup>11</sup>

Once the fire protection system was in place, men in strategically located lookout towers kept close watch over high risk areas of the forest. When smoke was sighted, the towerman determined the direction of the fire, using a geometric chart known as an alidade. The towerman then called a Forest Service dispatcher or a ranger, who in turn telephoned another towerman in the same area to obtain an exact location on the blaze. In fire control districts throughout Colorado, prearrangements were made with local residents and county agencies to have them watch for and report fires.<sup>12</sup>

An efficient firefighting force of CCC boys, assigned to national forests throughout Colorado, were frequently sent to put out fires. In 1938, for instance,

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<sup>11</sup>U.S., Civilian Conservation Corps, Forests Protected by the CCC, p. 6; and Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, pp. 148-149.

<sup>12</sup>U.S., Emergency Conservation Work, CCC Forestry (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), pp. 66-69; "Huge Forest Fire Near Tolland Covers 100 Acres in Two Hours; Smoke Seems Close to Boulder," Boulder Daily Camera, 19 August 1938, pp. 1, 10.

425 enrollees from the Peaceful Valley, Estes Park, Red Feather Lakes, and Idaho Springs CCC camps were dispatched to help fight a major fire in the historic Jenny Lind Gulch district of Roosevelt National Forest. Sweeping eastward from Rollinsville and Tolland, the flames laid bare over 6,000 acres of majestic lodgepole and cutting spruce on the slopes of Jumbo, Tip Top, and Colorado mountains, across a six-mile front along the Moffat Tunnel right-of-way. Eleven hundred firefighters including scores of residents from nearby towns and from as far away as Denver, joined the enrollees and forest rangers in a three-day pitched battle against the raging inferno. Using every type of tool they could get their hands on—shovels, axes, and even garden hoes—firefighters hastily built firebreaks, dug trenches, and cut big trees in an effort to curb the spread of the blaze. Once the major fires were extinguished, over one hundred spot fires were put out. After the fire was brought under control, a CCC camp was established on the edge of the fire zone to prevent new outbreaks.<sup>13</sup>

As suggested by the fire prevention and suppression work described above, the Civilian Conservation Corps made a major contribution toward protecting Colorado's

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<sup>13</sup>"800-Acre Forest Fire Is Believed Fully Controlled," Boulder Daily Camera, 20 August 1938, pp. 1, 8; and "Forest Flames Move on Hamlet," Denver Post, 21 August 1938, pp. 1, 10.

national forests. The Corps, by merely supplying an extra reserve of manpower, provided immediate relief to the regular firefighting forces of the Forest Service. This reserve of manpower was crucial, as the very presence of the CCC camps reduced by nearly half the number of incendiary fires in national forests throughout the country. In addition, patrol crews often prevented big blazes starting from campfires built by picnickers and other forest users.<sup>14</sup> CCC personnel devoted thousands of man-days to firefighting and fire prevention throughout the year. Between 1933 and 1936, for example, CCC boys in Colorado spent 8,775 man-days fighting 660 fires, 7,435 man-days doing fire prevention work, and an additional 622 man-days working with forest visitors and other users in preventing forest fires. Although the boys were not as efficient as veteran firefighters in fighting long drawn-out battles, they did aid immensely by catching small fires and speeding up the suppression of larger blazes.<sup>15</sup>

The Civilian Conservation Corps also engaged in forest improvement work on the national forests. Working

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<sup>14</sup>Len Shoemaker, Saga of a Forest Ranger (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1958), pp. 210-211; and U.S., Civilian Conservation Corps, Forests Protected by the CCC, p. 6.

<sup>15</sup>Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, p. 148; and U.S., Forest Service, Report of the Chief of the Forest Service, 1935, pp. 22-23.

on one type of forest improvement project, timberstand improvement, CCC crews thinned out timberstands by removing weed trees, dead and infected wood, and overgrown stands of timber. Under the supervision of trained Forest Service personnel, enrollees used improvement cutting to remove undesirable trees so as to improve the quality of the timber yield from forest lands. In Colorado's national forests, more than 175,000 acres of overcrowded stands of young timber were improved by thinning operations conducted by the CCC between 1933 and 1936.<sup>16</sup>

The Corps gave a substantial boost to the reforestation work of the Forest Service, which involved the replanting of trees on forest lands destroyed by fire. By 1933, approximately four million acres of national forests in Colorado had been denuded of their forest cover as a result of repeated fires. In 1906, the Forest Service began a reforestation program, which was concentrated in the Pike's Peak area and later on the South Platte River drainage within the Pike National Forest.<sup>17</sup>

In 1934, the Forest Service enlisted CCC aid to increase the number of acres planted annually from

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<sup>16</sup>U.S., Emergency Conservation Work, CCC Forestry, pp. 133-135; and Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, pp. 148-149.

<sup>17</sup>U.S., Forest Service, Rocky Mountain Forest and Range Experiment Station, Thirty-Five Years of Planting on the National Forests of Colorado, by Rudolph Stahelin (Fort Collins: Rocky Mountain Forest and Range Experiment Station, 1941), pp. 1, 4, and 13.

1,000-2,000 acres to approximately 4,000 acres. Subsequently, two Forest Service CCC camps were assigned to the Pike National Forest, where almost eighty percent of the entire reforestation work was undertaken in Colorado. In 1939, the enrollees planted slightly over two million seedlings on 3,190 acres in the Pike National Forest—the largest single planting of trees in the forest's history. The CCC also planted trees, although on a much smaller scale, on the Trout Creek and Marshall Pass areas of the Cochetopa National Forest, on the Fruita Division of the Grand Mesa National Forest, and on the Transfer Mesa area of the Uncompahgre National Forest. CCC reforestation work on the other national forests covered less than forty acres and was principally of an experimental nature. Most of the CCC's reforestation work was located upon burned-over watersheds which furnished water for municipalities such as Denver, Colorado, Trinidad, Salida, Boulder, Fort Collins, and Fruita, as well as many other cities and towns.<sup>18</sup>

The CCC also aided the Forest Service in its reforestation program by contributing to the development of the Monument Nursery, near Colorado Springs. The Monument Nursery was established by the Forest Service in

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<sup>18</sup>Colorado, State Planning Commission, Colorado Yearbook, 1939-1940, pp. 50-51; "Newspaper Articles and Radio Talks, 1938-1942," Container 30252, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

1906 to supply all planting stock for the national forests of Colorado. In 1933, a side camp from F-14-C, Woodland Park, was assigned to the Monument Nursery to do routine nursery work. In May 1937, an entire CCC camp, F-60-C, was stationed at the nursery to care for the approximately fifteen million seedlings and transplants, to ship trees to national forests throughout Colorado and to neighboring states, and to develop new nursery areas. The boys also built a seed extractor, an equipment shed, and installed an irrigation system for the nursery. In 1938, for instance, the enrollees from Camp F-60-C distributed 2,885,000 evergreen trees and sowed enough seed to provide for the production of an additional five million trees each year.<sup>19</sup> This work, while less dramatic than other CCC projects, was extremely valuable to the Forest Service in that it provided the groundwork for the expansion of the reforestation program outside of the Pike National Forest and onto other national, state, and private forestry lands in Colorado.

Surprisingly, perhaps, the CCC also completed a large number of soil erosion and flood control projects

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<sup>19</sup>Camp Inspection Report, Camp F-60-C, Monument, Colo., 14 March 1939, Reel 2, CRL; "Forest Service CCC Camps in Colorado," File: "Technical Services—Pictures," Container 30251, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives; and Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, pp. 25, 27, and 148.

for the Forest Service. In its first three years the CCC built fifty-five large dams and 63,962 check dams, placed 2,692 cubic yards of material in cribbing dykes and jetties, and did routine terracing and resodding work.

Two of the largest, most important, and well publicized of the watershed protection projects carried out under the guidance of the Forest Service were the flood control schemes on the St. Charles River southwest of Pueblo and on Ute Pass west of Manitou Springs. The Ute Pass project was aimed at reducing the flow of flood waters from tributary streams in the Pike National Forest west of Manitou Springs. It involved the construction of a series of eight flood control dams and thousands of check dams, all of which were completed by the Corps in January 1936.<sup>20</sup>

The St. Charles River project involved the construction of an earthfill dam at San Isabel City on the St. Charles River in the San Isabel National Forest. This dam, with two concrete core walls and a culvert, rose to a height of 104 feet, with a 36 foot highway across its crest to accommodate traffic from State Highway No. 165. The St. Charles Dam measured 700 feet across its longest point and 510 feet through the base. Rip-

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<sup>20</sup>Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, pp. 26-27; and "Over 600 CCC Boys Are Working in the Pike's Peak Region," Colorado Springs Gazette, 10 June 1934, p. 11.

rapping was done on the upstream or waterface of the dam.

The multipurpose St. Charles Dam created a lake of more than thirty-five acres, which became the nucleus of the St. Charles Recreational Area for Pueblo. Excavation and construction work on the St. Charles Dam began on December 15, 1935 and took more than three and a half years to complete at a cost of around \$379,000. The CCC completely developed the St. Charles Recreation Area (320 acres) which surrounded Lake San Isabel, the artificial lake created by the dam. Recreational improvements built by the CCC at the recreational area included a bathhouse, boat dock, diving tower, community house, several parking areas, water supply and waste disposal systems, trails, foot bridges, overnight cabins, and picnic tables. The dam project was the largest of its type in Colorado and one of the biggest jobs undertaken by the CCC in the entire Eighth Corps Area.<sup>21</sup>

The development of winter sports areas was greatly accelerated by the use of CCC and other relief workers. Some of the larger winter sports developments which featured CCC work were the Wolf Creek Pass ski area on the Rio Grande National Forest, the Berthoud Pass ski area

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<sup>21</sup>Camp Inspection File, Camp F-59-C, San Isabel, Colo., 1935-1940, Reel 2, CRL; and Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, p. 36.

on the Arapaho National Forest, the Mesa Lake ski area on the Grand Mesa National Forest, and the Glen Cove ski area on the Pike National Forest. The CCC cooperated with the Forest Service in building access roads, shelter houses, sanitation facilities, water supply systems, as well as ski runs and jumps, in an effort to accommodate the ever-increasing number of winter sports enthusiasts using these recreational areas.<sup>22</sup>

CCC aid to the Forest Service was not restricted to forest protection and forest improvement projects. In 1934, for instance, enrollees at Camp F-33-C, working in the Pike National Forest, began making model relief maps of national forests in the Rocky Mountain Region. The camp's model map division was directed by enrollee Will H. Lubken, a former scenic artist for Warner Brothers and Universal Studios in Hollywood. The ultimate aim of the project was to provide the Forest Service with its first accurate relief maps of national forests in the region. The Forest Service, enthusiastic with the project, displayed the maps before the public in Denver and Colorado Springs. A model relief map of the Harney and

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<sup>22</sup>Colorado, State Planning Commission, Colorado Yearbook, 1937-1938, p. 71; "Forest Service CCC Camps in Colorado" and "Work History, Company F-64-C, Woodland Park, Colo.," File: "Technical Services—Pictures," Container 30251, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

Black Hills National Forests was displayed at the Century of Progress in Chicago in 1934.<sup>23</sup>

The Civilian Conservation Corps provided labor for work projects in parks as well as on national forest lands. The difference between a park and a national forest lay in each unit's primary function. Although a forest area was developed for recreational purposes, its primary functions were to produce timber and protect watersheds which supplied communities and irrigation enterprises with water. The primary function of a park was to preserve a particularly beautiful area for its scenic value, historical significance, and natural phenomena, developing it for public recreational use.<sup>24</sup>

In Colorado, the National Park Service bore the responsibility for protecting and conserving many of the state's magnificent scenic, archaeological, and geologic areas. Falling within the administrative scope of the National Park Service were two national parks and six national monuments which lay within the state and two national monuments situated on the Colorado-Utah border. The two national parks in Colorado were Rocky Mountain National Park and Mesa Verde National Park. A cluster of

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<sup>23</sup>"Old Miners Tickled by Relief Map," Happy Days, 10 March 1934, p. 3; and "Map Makers to Display Job at World's Fair," Happy Days, 12 May 1934, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup>U.S., Emergency Conservation Work, CCC Forestry, pp. 41-43; and Colorado, State Planning Commission, Colorado Yearbook, 1939-1940, p. 49.

six national monuments—Black Canyon of the Gunnison, Holy Cross, Great Sand Dunes, Colorado, Yucca House, and Wheeler—in Colorado came under the authority of the Park Service, as did Hovenweep and Dinosaur National Monuments on the Colorado-Utah border.

Below the federal level, recreational facilities in the form of parks was provided by the City of Denver through the Denver Mountain Parks System and by a number of other municipally-owned city parks scattered across the state. A state park system was not begun until the General Assembly established the State Park and Recreation Board in 1957.

Rocky Mountain National Park was one of the most popular and accessible of all the national parks. In 1915, the federal government created the park after Enos A. Mills, acclaimed by many as "the father of Rocky Mountain National Park," and a group of Denver civic leaders had mounted a seven-year campaign for its establishment. Located near Estes Park, Rocky Mountain National Park lay in the heart of the Rockies and included some of the most scenic portions of the range. Inside the park boundaries were fourteen peaks that rose more than 13,000 feet above sea level, of which Long's Peak was the highest at 14,255 feet. Utilized extensively, the park became a major tourist asset for Colorado. In 1932, some of the most spectacular sections of the park were opened to automobile traffic with the completion of the Trail

Ridge Road.<sup>25</sup>

During the course of the CCC program up to six camps were assigned to Rocky Mountain National Park alone. In April 1938, the Estes Park Sentinel dutifully reported the five-year record of accomplishment of the CCC in the park. Enrollees constructed nearly twenty-one miles of new trails, seventeen miles of telephone lines, eight travel-checking stations, and made 302 large rustic informational and directional signs. CCC crews placed 1,500,000 trout in the park's lakes and streams and built four fish-rearing ponds. The boys undertook control measures against the mountain pine beetle by treating more than 37,000 acres of ponderosa and lodgepole pine stands inside and adjacent to the park's boundaries. Less publicized accomplishments included the erection of the Fall River Pass and Moraine Park Museums. Other projects included landscaping, bank sloping, seed collecting, reforestation, improvement of the park's water and sewage system, guide and public contact work, road maintenance, old road obliteration, the installation of

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<sup>25</sup>Colorado, State Planning Commission, Colorado Yearbook, 1939-1940, p. 61; and Carl Abbott, "The Active Force: Enos A. Mills and the National Park Movement," Colorado Magazine 56 (Winter/Spring 1979):63-64.

museum exhibits, firefighting, and emergency rescue.<sup>26</sup>

The CCC was also involved in developing and improving camping and picnic facilities at Rocky Mountain National Park. The Aspenglen and Glacier Basin campgrounds were improved by the construction of 158 fireplaces and 125 rustic table and bench combinations. A major accomplishment was the construction of three amphitheaters, one each at Moraine Park, Aspenglen, and Glacier Basin. A new campground at Timber Creek (20 acres) on the western slope of the park was completed as a CCC project in 1941. Like the other five campgrounds in the park, the Timber Creek campground included table and bench combinations, stoves, fireplaces, water and sanitation facilities, and spurs for trailers.<sup>27</sup>

The second national park in Colorado was located at Mesa Verde, adjacent to the Southern Ute Indian Reservation. Mesa Verde embraced the most extensive concentration of prehistoric cliff dwellings in the

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<sup>26</sup>U.S., National Park Service, Office of History and Historic Architecture, Rocky Mountain National Park: Administrative History, 1915-1965, by Lloyd K. Musselman (Washington, D.C.: Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, National Park Service, 1971), pp. 104-108; and U.S., National Park Service, Rocky Mountain National Park, "Superintendent's Annual Reports," 1933-1938, RMNP Library.

<sup>27</sup>U.S., National Park Service, Rocky Mountain National Park, "Superintendent's Annual Reports," 1939-1941; and U.S., National Park Service, Rocky Mountain National Park, "Superintendent's Monthly Report," June 1938," RMNP Library.

United States. In 1906 the ruins and relics of the ancient Cliff Dwellers of Mesa Verde were saved from further wholesale commercial looting when Congress set the area apart as a public reservation known as Mesa Verde National Park. Although there were hundreds of ruins in all the canyons of the park, the largest and most remarkable were distributed around two large mesas—Chapin, on the southeastern part of park, and Wetherill on the southwest.<sup>28</sup>

In Mesa Verde National Park, the CCC was involved in the type of work projects generally common to national park areas, including the extension of roads, trails, and paths, old road obliteration, construction and maintenance of water and sewage systems, campground development, museum work, insect control, firefighting, the stringing of telephone lines, and the construction of buildings. The diversified CCC work program enabled park officials to implement a six-year development program aimed at enlarging many of their facilities, most notably in the overcrowded Spruce Tree Camp or headquarters area. Between 1933 and 1937, for example, the two CCC companies

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<sup>28</sup>U.S., National Park Service, Office of History and Historic Architecture, Mesa Verde National Park: An Administrative History, 1906-1970, by Ricardo Torres-Reyes (Washington, D.C.: Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, National Park Service, 1970), pp. 1-4.

in the park worked on more than fifty different projects. The most attention was given to erecting or improving more than sixty buildings for park personnel and tourists, as well as trail building, road construction and maintenance, insect control, the laying of walks and flagstone, building guard rails, bank sloping, developing a campground, and landscaping.<sup>29</sup>

Perhaps one of the most ambitious projects ever undertaken by the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado was done at Camps NM-2-C, Grand Junction, and NM-3-C, Fruita. The two camps worked on building the spectacular Rimrock Highway, a twenty-five mile stretch of road which ran along the rim of the deep canyons of the Colorado National Monument near Grand Junction. This road, which opened up the interior of the Monument to tourists, began at the top of the Trail of the Serpent and ran along the canyon walls until it finally reached the valley of the Colorado River, 1,500 feet below. Often this work was extremely difficult and hazardous, as CCC road building crews had to blast their way through sections of solid red sandstone. Along one part of the road two highway tunnels, totaling 520 feet in length, were constructed through two enormous cliffs of solid rock. Enrollees from the Fruita CCC camp placed a seven-mile

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 223-253; and Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, pp. 138-143, and 151.

steel fence around the edge of the Monument to contain its wild buffalo and built a five-foot trail on both sides of the enclosure. Other projects included the construction of a custodian's residence, a campground, and trails, as well as landscaping, roadside cleanup, and insect control. Together, the two camps made a particularly beautiful part of western Colorado accessible to visitors, thereby aiding nearby communities where tourism was especially important to the local economy.<sup>30</sup>

The Civilian Conservation Corps also employed its enrollees at the Mount of the Holy Cross National Monument. At the Mount of the Holy Cross northwest of Leadville, the men of Camp F-15-C built an ascending seven-mile road from Minturn toward the peak. A three-mile trail from the end of the road to the top of Notch Mountain, directly opposite Holy Cross, was also built by the boys. Other projects consisted of the building of the Tigiwan community house, near the base of the peak; a lookout; and a shelter house stocked with food on the crest of Notch Mountain.<sup>31</sup>

Other than national park and monument projects, the National Park Service supervised CCC work in many

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<sup>30</sup>Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, pp. 132-137 and 150-151.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 125; and Ferenc M. Szasz, "Wheeler and Holy Cross: Colorado's 'Lost' National Monuments," Journal of Forest History 21 (July 1977):143.

of Colorado's municipally-owned mountain parks. In each of these parks, substantially the same development program was carried out by the Corps. Typically, the work projects included the building of roads, parking areas, horse and foot trails, water and sanitary facilities, campgrounds, and fences. Landscaping and wildlife preservation were also popular projects. One CCC camp, SCS-2-C, Beulah, worked for seventeen months in the Pueblo Mountain Parks System, and planted over 325,000 trees and shrubs, treated over 8,000 acres against soil erosion, built 29 permanent gully and water conservation dams, and converted 198 acres to woodlands. Company V-1860, a veteran's group, developed the 80-acre "Greeley Island Park" from wasteland in the middle of the Poudre River before moving on to the Fort Collins Mountain Park (700 acres). Other CCC companies beautified mountain parks at Loveland (700 acres), Rifle (640 acres), Durango (700 acres), and Trinidad (700 acres). In Glenwood Springs, the CCC made extensive improvements to beautiful Hanging Lake, still a major tourist attraction in the city. Another CCC unit worked almost exclusively on municipal parks near Colorado Springs. After improving Palmer Park (700 acres), the same unit worked on the spectacular Garden of the Gods, building the beautiful Highline Drive and connecting it with the city. Along with Colorado Springs, the two cities which benefited the most from the CCC's "state

park" camps were Boulder and Denver.<sup>32</sup>

Boulder had one of the more popular of the mountain park systems. The Boulder City Council purchased the first eighty acres of land for park purposes in 1898. This was the beginning of an extensive parks acquisitions program which eventually included sixty-two acres of parks within the city and more than six thousand acres of mountain parks. By the late 1920s, Boulder could rightfully claim to have the largest acreage of municipally-owned mountain parks of any city of its size in the world and only two larger cities, Denver and Phoenix, owned more park land.

Political shortsightedness of Denver officials, coupled with some fine civic work by Colonel L.C. Paddock of the Boulder Daily Camera, led to the abrupt transfer of two state park camps to Boulder County in 1933. Within two years both camps, SP-2-C and SP-5-C, were rated among the best in the entire Eighth Corps Area (including 130 camps across a six-state region). Eventually, Boulder County had seven CCC camps. CCC activities in the Boulder Mountain Parks included the building of roads, horse and foot trails, fences, comfort stations, picnic tables,

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<sup>32</sup>Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, pp. 52, 54, 85-86, and 151; and Michael McCarthy, "History of the CCC in Colorado," in 1930 Employment 1980: Humanistic Perspectives on the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado, ed. Thomas Lyons (Boulder: Colorado Humanities Program, 1980), pp. 10-11.

fireplaces, stone guard rails, parking areas, and shelters. Camps SP-2-C and SP-5-C were involved in the construction of a circular highway over Flagstaff Mountain and into Boulder Canyon, realizing a dream held by many of Boulder's citizens. Besides developing a scenic drive over Flagstaff Mountain, the CCC built the Sunrise Circle Amphitheater on top of Flagstaff, Green Mountain Lodge, American Legion Park near Valmont, and a shelter house in Panarama Park. All projects were designed to preserve the natural beauty and ruggedness of the surrounding area as much as possible.<sup>33</sup>

Municipal parks in the Denver Mountain Parks System on which the Corps employed its men were Red Rocks, Little, Corwina, Dedissee, Bergen, Fillius, Genessee, and Lookout Mountain. The CCC developed these eight mountain parks with an eye specifically toward making them more accessible and enjoyable to the public. Within the Denver Mountain Parks, an emphasis was placed on building picnic areas, roads, parking facilities, guard rails, and comfort stations. An extensive amount of landscaping was done in Little, Corwina, and Bergen Parks, all of which had been stripped of much of their ground cover by visitors. Two of the parks in the system, Fillius and Dedissee,

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<sup>33</sup>"Civilian Conservation Corps" File, Container 3, A.A. Paddock Collection, 1858-1981, Boulder Historical Society, Boulder, Colo.; and Lynn I. Perrigo, A Municipal History of Boulder: 1871-1946 (Boulder: By the Author, 1946), pp. 223-227.

were developed from almost nothing by the CCC.<sup>34</sup>

The most ambitious and well publicized project undertaken by the state park camps was the construction of Red Rocks Amphitheater near Morrison. Located in Red Rocks Park, the amphitheater was built inside a huge natural bowl of red sandstone. One CCC unit, Company 1848, stationed at Camp SP-13-C on Bear Creek near Morrison, did the construction work on the entire project. Over a period of five years (1936-1941), the men built an amphitheater including an 80 by 170 foot stage, an orchestra pit large enough to hold an entire symphony, dressing and control rooms, a lighting system, a magnificent tiered seating area for more than 10,000 persons, and a huge parking lot. The enrollees working on the project removed an incredible 25,000 cubic yards of rock and dirt, and used 90,000 square feet of flagstone, ten carloads of cement, 800 tons of quarried stone, and 30,000 pounds of reinforced steel. The Red Rocks Amphitheater was one of the largest projects ever to be undertaken in the entire history of the Civilian Conservation Corps. For over forty years,

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<sup>34</sup>"The Denver Mountain Parks," enclosure, F.T. Priester, Inspector, National Park Service, Denver, Colo., to Genevieve Affolter, Supervisor of CCC Selections, State Dept. of Public Welfare, Denver, Colo., 4 October 1939, File: "National Park Service—General," Container 30251, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

the amphitheater has stood as an enduring monument to the CCC itself.<sup>35</sup>

For the drought-stricken eastern Colorado plains, the Civilian Conservation Corps had a program. The state's forests and parks needed protection and maintenance, and had received some attention since about 1900. In eastern Colorado, as in the rest of the Great Plains, the CCC worked with the Soil Conservation Service to attack the combined problems of erosion and overgrazing. The impetus for the participation of the CCC and several other federal agencies in Great Plains relief came in the early 1930s when severe drought struck the region.

The soil erosion problems that confronted Colorado as well as the other Great Plains states throughout the 1930s vividly emphasized the failure of farmers, government officials, and scientists to adopt agricultural methods along lines suitable to the region. The trouble began after 1900 when farmers adopted "scientific" dry-land farming methods and implements which were geared toward the conservation of moisture in the soil rather than the prevention of wind erosion. By using such techniques as soil mulching, summer fallowing, and dragging, farmers thought that they were adapting agriculture to

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<sup>35</sup>Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, p. 80; and "The Denver Mountain Parks," File: "National Park Service—General," Container 30251, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

the new land. These weaknesses in the farming system were compounded by the introduction of the Angell one-way plow in the 1920s, which further broke down the soil structure and burned organic matter. However, it was the failure to understand how to control wind erosion in the pre-depression period which caused the greatest harm.

When the very wet weather cycle which the area had experienced since the turn of the century ended in 1930, the avalanching effects of soil erosion gathered force and then moved across the Great Plains and beyond. The ensuing drought which gripped the land led to repeated crop failures, the abandonment of farms, and the deterioration of millions of acres into gullies and wasteland.<sup>36</sup>

In 1935, the Civilian Conservation Corps began its soil conservation work in Colorado. By that time, overgrazing and prolonged drought had combined to reduce vegetation on thousands of acres of pasture lands to sparse stands of grass and stunted Russian thistle. Soil conservation techniques were particularly needed in the southeastern counties, where much of the land had become depleted by overgrazing and subsequent wind and water erosion. In an attempt to save the precious topsoil, the Corps collaborated with the Soil Conservation Service to establish nine camps in the area. There the two agencies

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<sup>36</sup>Paul Bonnifield, The Dust Bowl: Men, Dirt, and Depression (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), pp. 39-60.

provided the manpower and technical expertise needed to educate farmers in soil conservation methods, perform erosion-control work, and make the public aware of the necessity for soil conservation.<sup>37</sup>

The CCC introduced soil conservation practices into the state. Beginning with the relatively informal soil conservation associations, the Corps was able to promote a state-wide soil conservation program that was eventually institutionalized into soil conservation districts supervised by the state government. The focal point of each of the newly formed districts was the CCC camp, which provided the labor and technical supervision for work projects on cooperative farms. Enrollees could work only as demonstrators in soil erosion areas. In 1940, however, the Corps entered into agreements with Colorado soil conservation districts which allowed the CCC to use its manpower on actual soil conservation projects. As part of a balanced soil and water conservation program, the boys built check dams, contour ditches, and gully outlets to protect both agricultural and grazing lands from soil erosion; filled in gullies; reseeded pasture land; strip-cropped, contoured, and terraced land

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<sup>37</sup>J.G. Lindley, "Protecting Colorado's Range Lands," Soil Conservation 1 (April 1936):12; and J.G. Lindley, "Soil Conservation and the C.C.C.," Soil Conservation 2 (June 1937):285.

to control water erosion; and planted trees and shrubs.<sup>38</sup>

The CCC worked closely with the Soil Conservation Service to develop the demonstration phase of its work. Near Colorado Springs, Camp SCS-6-C worked on several projects which give an idea of the variety of soil conservation projects and flood control work undertaken in one demonstration area. First, six townships were surveyed for base maps. Then the men quarried and hauled thousands of loads of rock for the construction of hundreds of rock and log check dams, masonry drops, concrete-lined diversion dykes, and 262 permanent earth dams on the Fountain Creek drainage. Thousands of man-hours were spent laying over 10,000 yards of concrete masonry and riprap on these water control structures. On soil conservation projects, the boys built contour furrows, pasture terraces, and contour listings on thousands of acres of land belonging to farmers or "cooperators." Other crews followed them, sowing grass seed that would eventually spread by its roots and cover the structures. Some enrollees from the camp planted over one million trees for

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<sup>38</sup>"The Soil Conservation Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps Program in Colorado," Colorado Department of Public Welfare Quarterly Bulletin 2 (July-August-September 1938):28-29 (hereafter cited as Colorado Welfare Bulletin); and James F. Wickens, Colorado in the Great Depression (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), pp. 137-138.

woodlots, windbreaks, and gullies.<sup>39</sup>

Not satisfied with merely carrying out demonstration work, the CCC contributed to the soil conservation program by developing inventive improvements for dryland farming. For instance, in 1935 A.E. McClymonds, the CCC regional director at Springfield, developed a new two-disc contour furrowing plow. The basic concept behind the device was to conserve moisture to raise a crop, which in turn would provide a vegetative cover, a principle behind all Soil Conservation Service programs. The contour furrowing plow was designed to form a contour ditch at regular intervals. CCC enrollees installed cross-checks every fifty feet along the contours. Each plow could dig a contour furrow eight inches deep, ten inches wide on the bottom, and twenty inches wide at the surface. The furrows were spaced at two-foot vertical intervals, the soil from each furrow being used to form a dike on the lower side. As a labor-saving device, the contour furrowing plow was admirably suited for CCC work. An enrollee could turn out six to eight miles of contour furrows per day using the machine, a marked advantage over using a one-disc plow and hand labor to do the work.

The contour furrowing plow was useful in controlling sheet erosion, gully cutting, and reestablishing a

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<sup>39</sup>Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, p. 65; and "Camp Work Project," Yawns & Gaps (Colorado Springs, Colo.), Co. 1846, Camp SCS-6-C, 26 March 1937, pp. 2-3.

vegetative cover, but had a major shortcoming. It took several weeks, sometimes even months, from the time a crop was planted until an adequate cover crop was established. During that period, the forces of wind erosion were at work, and could kill a cover crop even though there was sufficient moisture in the soil to maintain plant life.<sup>40</sup>

The Civilian Conservation Corps also helped Colorado's farmers and ranchers combat the invasion of grasshoppers which descended upon their lands in 1937 and 1938. Bands of the winged pests migrated from Colorado to Oklahoma during the summer months and, in the process, severely damaged rangeland counties. The grasshoppers were capable of flying a distance of at least 175 miles in any direction, devouring nearly every piece of vegetation in sight. In 1937 alone, waves upon waves of grasshoppers destroyed almost one-fifth of Colorado's agricultural rangeland. The two infestations were so serious that Congress provided one million dollars in federal emergency relief funds in 1937, and an additional two million dollars the following year. In Lincoln County grasshoppers flew onto the L.H. Fields ranch and in three days destroyed 25,000 acres of valuable grassland. The insects attacked with a greater fury in 1938 in what the Colorado Agricultural Extension Service considered the

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<sup>40</sup>Lindley, "Protecting Colorado's Range Lands," pp. 12-13; and Bonnifield, The Dust Bowl, pp. 154-155.

worst outbreak on record. The infestation centered in twelve southern counties—Elbert, El Paso, Pueblo, Huerfano, Las Animas, Lincoln, Kiowa, Crowley, Custer, Otero, Fremont, and Bent. Poisoning operations were carried out by CCC enrollees, WPA workers, and individual farmers and ranchers in the effected areas.<sup>41</sup>

In the fight against grasshoppers, Governor Teller Ammons declared an emergency and ordered the state highway department and the national guard to transport grasshopper poison to eastern Colorado counties. The State Grasshopper Control Committee used trucks supplied by the national guard, Soil Conservation Service CCC camps, and other state and federal agencies to distribute grasshopper poison from poison mixing plants to the fields. W.E. Doner, CCC regional administrator for the Soil Conservation Service, arranged to have CCC truck crews work double shifts seven days a week in order to double the field force of trucks.

The mixing plants used a combination of arsenic, sawdust, molasses, and banana oil as bait. Bran and arsenite also was an effective bait. Usually, the poison was sprayed on egg beds with mechanical bait spreaders. In Baca County, the poison was shipped in by the boxcar-

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<sup>41</sup>"Face Again Threat of Grasshopper Outbreak," Eastern Colorado Plainsmen (Hugo, Colo.), 4 February 1938, p. 3; and Wickens, Colorado in the Great Depression, p. 257.

load to five mixing plants. The poison was then hauled around the clock by seventy-eight highway department trucks and numerous private trucks in an effort to stop the grasshoppers.

In 1937, the state grasshopper campaign was not a success. Eradication attempts were more successful in 1938 due to the additional federal aid, better organization and planning on the state level, and more effective control measures.<sup>42</sup>

While most CCC camps were assigned to forests, parks, and soil conservation districts, a number of camps were given to the Bureau of Reclamation to further its water conservation activities in the semi-arid West. CCC involvement with the Bureau of Reclamation signaled the beginning of a joint effort between the two agencies to rehabilitate and improve nearly all of the federal government's reclamation projects in need of urgent repair. By August 1935, forty-one camps in fourteen western states had been placed under the control of the Bureau of Reclamation as part of the emergency work program. Between 1935 and 1942, seven camps were attached to the Uncompahgre, Grand Valley, Pine River, and Mancos Projects in

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<sup>42</sup>Bonnifield, The Dust Bowl, pp. 84-85; "Weekly Grasshopper Campaign Report for Colorado," June-August 1937 and June-August 1938, File 179G: "Grasshopper Control," Container 10053, Teller Ammons Papers, 1937-1939, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

western Colorado.<sup>43</sup>

The lush and beautiful lands which now comprise the Uncompahgre Project were opened up to white settlement when the Uncompahgre Ute Indians were removed to a reservation in Utah in 1881. The Uncompahgre Valley, which receives its irrigation water from the project, includes much of the present-day Montrose and Ouray counties, the eastern half of San Miguel County, and the town of Montrose. When the region was first settled, it was thought that the Uncompahgre River and its tributaries could provide enough water to irrigate all the valley's arable 175,000 acres. Instead, there was only enough water for 25,000 of the acres. The mighty Gunnison River, a mere twenty miles away, could supply the needs of the farmers in the Uncompahgre Valley. This source of water, though, was blocked by Vernal Mesa, which separated the Uncompahgre Valley from the Gunnison River as it flowed through the Black Canyon. In 1901, the state of Colorado "dipped deep into the muddy waters of reservoir and canal building" and ran out of money after completing State Canal No. 3 in the Uncompahgre Valley.

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<sup>43</sup>"C.C.C. Camp on Reclamation Projects," Reclamation Era 25 (September 1935):188; and U.S., Army, Eighth Corps Area, "Civilian Conservation Corps, Eighth Corps Area, Status Record of CCC Camps Authorized Since Inception of the Program Up To and Including December 31, 1941," Compiled by Office of the Liaison Officer, CCC, Eighth Corps Area, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, Container 111, Record Group 49, Federal Archives and Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

In 1902, the newly formed United States Reclamation Service (later called the Bureau of Reclamation) resurrected the "Uncompahgre Project." Following several surveys, the Reclamation Service began drilling a six-mile water diversion tunnel from each side of Vernal Mesa in 1905. A vast network of six hundred miles of canals was built in the Uncompahgre Valley. The "Gunnison River Diversion," as the tunnel was called, was one of the first projects undertaken by the Reclamation Service. The Gunnison Tunnel was completed in 1909.

Although the tunnel and canal system were constructed to deliver enough water for 146,000 acres, only half of that acreage was available to valley farmers. When the Taylor Park Dam was completed in 1938, it fulfilled the irrigation needs of the valley by providing sufficient upstream storage so that water would still be available in the late summer. For the people of the Uncompahgre Valley, the irrigation project enabled agriculture to flourish in what became one of the largest and most important agricultural valleys in the West.<sup>44</sup>

Another federal reclamation project which was vital to the growth and development of western Colorado was the Grand Valley Project. Beginning in the early 1880s, after settlers arrived in the Grand Valley, a series

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<sup>44</sup>Duane Vandebusch and Duane Smith, A Land Alone: Colorado's Western Slope (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Co., 1981), pp. 185-187.

of water diversion ditches were built to carry water to lands adjacent to the north side of the Colorado River. The biggest water diversion, the Grand Valley Ditch, was designed to irrigate 50,000 acres of land in the Grand Valley.

In 1917, the Bureau of Reclamation finished the Grand Valley Diversion Dam and the Highline Canal, now known as the Grand Valley Project. The dam, built across the Colorado River above Palisade, raised the water level twenty feet so that it could be diverted into the Highline Canal. After a siphon and a pumping station were completed a few years later, irrigation water could be supplied to fertile, but dry, Orchard Mesa south of Palisade and southeast of Grand Junction. Many other ditches were built in the Grand Valley. The Grand Valley Project, the most sophisticated irrigation system on the Western Slope, made possible the raising of bumper fruit crops in what was once a desert area.<sup>45</sup>

Under the guidance of the Bureau of Reclamation, the CCC extensively rehabilitated both the Uncompahgre and the Grand Valley Projects. The work on the two projects was fairly uniform. The enrollees replaced thousands of old wooden and metal water control structures with concrete ones. Canals and laterals were lined with concrete whenever possible, thus conserving water and sealing

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., pp. 189-190.

the water table below. Gravel, rock, and brush riprapping was done on all waterways. Other work included the construction of access roads, the building of drainage ditches, rodent control, and weed eradication.<sup>46</sup>

An example of this rehabilitation work may be found in a glance at CCC camp BR-59-C near Palisade. The camp worked on the Main Canal of the Grand Valley Project, clearing underbrush and lining the canal banks with concrete. On the concrete lining project, the enrollees first cleared the dry canal banks of junk and other debris, and then fine graded the banks and floor by removing huge amounts of soil. Reinforcing steel was placed on all slopes and cement was poured in alternating fifteen foot sections to allow for finishing work on each side. The concrete lining of canals was probably the most effective and valuable work done by the CCC on the Grand Valley Project. The work not only halted the destruction of agricultural land due to water seepage from the canals, but permitted water to be more efficiently distributed to farms.

Sometimes, the concrete lining work was set during midwinter, leading to unusual work methods. One winter, three devices were used to aid in the rapid setting of the concrete and prevent damage from frost: warm water

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<sup>46</sup>Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, p. 152.

and heated gravel were prepared for the mix; lumber frames were built to fit across sections of the ditch, and these were covered with sheeting; and oil heaters were placed under these frames to prevent the green concrete from freezing. This method of work was carried on until the spring, when it became necessary to fill the canal again with water for irrigation.

Riprapping (wedging rocks against soil banks) was a standard construction technique used by the CCC on both the Uncompahgre and Grand Valley Projects. The riprap was of two types, brush and rock. Brush riprap was effectively used along canal banks where the soil structure was light and the water flow not too swift. This type of riprap was prepared by driving boiler flues close together, lining the flues with wire, and then back-filling the flues with well tamped brush. A similar procedure was followed to make heavy riprap, except that reinforced steel and wire were used to hold the crushed rock against the canal banks. Dirt was used as a back-fill. Rock riprapping was frequently used along river channels and canal banks where the water flow was particularly swift. Other concrete structures, such as masonry drops and rock checks, were rebuilt to drop the water to lower levels without erosion.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp. 101, 152; and "The Service of the Civilian Conservation Corps: Federal Reclamation Projects," Colorado Welfare Bulletin 4 (April through September 1940): 23.

Another construction method used on the two projects was concrete tiling. For instance, on the Uncompahgre Project a tile operation was set up to make tiles in three and six foot sections for use in replacing old wooden flumes. Each section of concrete tile was laced with steel and reinforced as well as held together at the joints by a one foot wide and four inch thick concrete collar. Once the sections were interlocked with each other, a dragline was used to place the tiles under the ground. On the CQ Canal, the enrollees replaced an old wooden structure with more than two hundred feet of concrete siphon tiles. After the siphon was covered, any flood water from the surrounding hills flowed over the top of the siphon while the siphon itself carried the water through the canal system.<sup>48</sup>

The Bureau of Reclamation also used CCC crews on side projects. In 1935, for example, a twenty-five man side camp was established at the Black Canyon of the Gunnison near the East Portal of the Gunnison Tunnel. Their job was to convert a twisting, dangerous twelve-mile wagon road, which ran from the top of the hill down to the river, into a good mountain truck trail. Using jack hammers, a compressor, and a bulldozer, as well as

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<sup>48</sup>"Extensive Rehabilitation Work on Valley Project Inspected by Montrose, Olathe Men," Montrose Daily Press, 6 April 1940, pp. 1, 6; and Camp Inspection Report, Camps BR-23-C and BR-71-C, Montrose, Colo., 25 July 1939, Reel 1, CRL.

dynamite, the enrollees finished the job in October 1936. Afterward, the Bureau of Reclamation was left with an emergency, but permanent, service road on which equipment could be moved to the East Portal in case of trouble in the tunnel.<sup>49</sup>

CCC labor was also used by the Bureau of Reclamation on the Pine River and Mancos Projects in southwestern Colorado. The Pine River Project was begun by the Bureau of Reclamation in 1938. The Vallecito Dam, a large earth-fill dam located north of Bayfield, was the centerpiece of the project. The dam, which had a capacity of 126,000 acre feet, supplied sufficient water to irrigate 67,000 acres of land in the Pine River Valley. During 1940 and 1941, enrollees from Camp BR-81-C, Vallecito, cleared 1,140 acres on the reservoir site of trees and shrubs. The boys also relocated eight miles of minor roads around the reservoir.<sup>50</sup>

The Mancos Project was designed to provide a badly needed water supply to the Mancos Valley, one of the oldest irrigated areas in western Colorado, and to Mesa Verde National Park. Two CCC camps were assigned to this

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<sup>49</sup>Gleyre and Alleger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, p. 98; and Louis S. Davis, "E.C.W. Activities on Reclamation Projects," Reclamation Era 26 (December 1936): 299.

<sup>50</sup>U.S., Bureau of Reclamation, "General Information Concerning the Pine River Project, Colorado," May 1941 (Mimeographed); and Camp Inspection Report, Camp BR-81-C, Vallecito, Colo., 24 September 1940, Reel 1, CRL.

project in 1940-1941, but the work was suspended due to the war.<sup>51</sup>

The Civilian Conservation Corps gave both federal officials and local ranchers invaluable assistance in rehabilitating and stabilizing public rangelands throughout the western states. For years the federal government had not restricted grazing on the public domain. Overgrazing, a natural consequence, had led not only to the exhaustion of what forage was available, but was the precursor for heavy soil erosion. In the 1930s, drought combined with these two factors to weaken the grass on the western range to such a degree that it could not maintain itself and spread into eroded areas. Then, in 1934, in an attempt to improve rangeland conditions, Congress passed the Taylor Grazing Act. Under the provisions of this law, the president was authorized to withdraw all unappropriated and unreserved federal lands from sale and place them under the protection of the Secretary of the Interior. A new federal agency, the Division of Grazing, was established within the Department of the Interior to administer the provisions of the Taylor Grazing Act.<sup>52</sup>

For its part, the Civilian Conservation Corps in

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<sup>51</sup>"Mancos Project, Colorado, Approved for Construction," Reclamation Era 30 (December 1940):353, 356.

<sup>52</sup>Wickens, Colorado in the Great Depression, p. 139.

Colorado assisted the Division of Grazing by providing the labor force needed to implement a program of range-land conservation. Five to eight camps, located in such places as Redvale, Massadona, Paradox, Grand Junction, and Kline, worked each year to revitalize overused grazing lands and open up new areas to livestock. The work projects were similar at all these camps. The enrollees were assigned to such tasks as erosion control, water development and conservation, flood control, and rodent and weed eradication.<sup>53</sup>

Camp DG-11-C, located near Redvale, was a typical Division of Grazing camp. Stockmen and prominent businessmen in the vicinity of Norwood, Nucla, and Naturita secured the camp in June 1935. Men from DG-11-C worked on a number of range conservation and development projects in San Miguel County and adjoining sections of Montrose County. During the sixth enrollment period in 1936, a crew of thirty men from the camp labored for one month through dense stands of pinon and cedar timber to build the four and one-half mile "Robinson Road." This trail was constructed to benefit 3,500 sheep and 1,050 cattle. The "Nelson Truck Trail" was the next project tackled by the enrollees. This trail was built to benefit fifty stockmen, and their 5,000 sheep and 2,000 cattle, directly,

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<sup>53</sup>"Range Rehabilitation on the Public Domain," Colorado Welfare Bulletin 3 (January-February-March 1939): 23; and Colorado, State Planning Commission, Colorado Yearbook, 1941-1942, p. 464.

and a link between the winter range country of San Miguel and Montrose counties. The project also greatly aided cattlemen and sheepmen by shortening the distance between the Western San Miguel Range and the railhead at Placerville. In the fall a total of six springs, each within a radius of six to eight miles, were developed to water winter range lands in the Gypsum and Disappointment Valleys. The average flow of each of them was about thirty-five gallons per hour. Other projects included the installation of check dams to combat gully and sheet erosion, a consequence of overgrazing, and work on a stock watering reservoir.<sup>54</sup>

The Civilian Conservation Corps left indelible marks on Colorado. One cannot travel through the state without coming into contact with the CCC's work. Backpackers and seasoned climbers trod in the footpaths laid out by them. Campers cook their meals over fireplaces built by the CCC. Tourists and other visitors drive over their roads. The national forests and parks, as well as other scenic areas, are well marked with rustic informational and directional signs because of the thousands of youths who put them there. In practically every way the CCC was successful in saving, at least for a time, the

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<sup>54</sup>Sixth Period Illustrated Narrative Report, Camp DG-11-C, Redvale, Colo., 1936, Container 98, Record Group 49, Federal Archives and Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

state's forests, parks, and grasslands. CCC assistance in conserving water resources revitalized thousands of acres of crop land. By arresting the gradual destruction of the state's natural resources, caused by years of neglect, the Corps earned the respect and admiration of Colorado's citizens throughout its existence and for years afterward.

## CHAPTER IV

### POLITICS AND THE CCC

From its beginnings in April 1933, both supporters and critics of the Civilian Conservation Corps assumed that politics would enter the program. The formation of the Corps offered congressmen, especially Democrats, the prospect of a source of political gain. Despite assurances by federal officials that CCC appointments would be placed in the hands of agencies most likely to be free of political control, no one really believed them. It was widely believed that positions in several classifications, namely enrollment clerks, technical service foremen, and even enrollees, would be available to congressmen through the traditional patronage.

Politics, paradoxically, almost always and almost never affected national CCC activities. On one hand, the Corps was completely dependent upon Congress and ultimately, the electorate, for its existence and the continuance of its operations on a yearly basis. At the same time, the Corps was so popular that few politicians subjected it to criticism. The agency itself seldom yielded to the ever-present political pressure for the establishment of superfluous camps or the maintenance of existing ones, a ploy used by many congressmen to bolster their record

among the voters.<sup>1</sup>

In the West, the bulk of the political attention given to the CCC program was concentrated on the building of political machines. Establishment of the Corps provided an opportunity for politicians on the state level to build personal factions by manipulating CCC appointments, dismissals, and transfers to the political advantage of the party in power. Robert Fechner, the director of the CCC, had a deep aversion to politics and insisted that appointments were to be made without regard to political affiliation. However, it was characteristic of Fechner, as in other federal administrators, to insist that cases deviating from official policy were exceptions and not the rule in appointments.<sup>2</sup>

In two western states, Idaho and Colorado, political abuse of appointments appeared to be so blatant that it threatened to destroy public approval of the camp program. Colorado had been a Democratic stronghold before 1930, but the party's control over the state increased when Edwin C. Johnson became governor in 1933. Johnson looked upon all federal unemployment relief programs as financially and politically vital to his state and his party.

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<sup>1</sup>James A. Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wyoming, 1973), p. 287.

<sup>2</sup>Elmo R. Richardson, "Was There Politics in the Civilian Conservation Corps?," Forest History 16 (July 1972):13-14.

The Civilian Conservation Corps was no exception. However, with the CCC Johnson was able to expand his own control over state patronage and further his political ambitions. Although Johnson was loyal to Roosevelt and the New Deal when it suited his purposes, he was determined to destroy the political influence of his two Democratic rivals, Senator Edward Costigan and Congressman Edward Taylor, both potential challengers to the Governor for the U.S. Senate in 1936.<sup>3</sup> The Corps was simply another tool in which appointments were to be used to dispense political favors while building political fences.<sup>4</sup>

When the Civilian Conservation Corps was formed in 1933, both its supporters and critics assumed that a substantial number of the array of jobs created by the agency would become available to incompetent political appointees through political largesse. Even though the technical services fought to keep the CCC free of politi-

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 14, 16; and James F. Wickens, Colorado in the Great Depression (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), pp. 111-112.

<sup>4</sup>Examples of the dispensing of political patronage by Governor Edwin C. Johnson and Colorado congressmen are frequently found in the Edwin C. Johnson Papers. Typical are the cases of Charles T. Moore of Carr, Colorado, and George Naples of Salida, both of whom applied for positions as technical service foremen with the CCC. See Moore to Johnson, 12 April 1933, File 201, Container 1002, 1933 Correspondence, and Edward T. Taylor to Naples, 28 March 1935, File 201, Container 10030, 1935 Correspondence, Edwin C. Johnson Papers, 1933-1937, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

cal influence, Democratic congressmen generated enough pressure to gain a foothold to appoint their favorites to a number of technical positions. Although the original intention to keep the Corps out of the political arena was soon subverted, the encroachment of politics did not seriously weaken the agency. An investigation made in 1936 of charges that the Civilian Conservation Corps was riddled with politics revealed that out of 18,000 employees potentially owing their jobs to political patronage, only 3,600 had actually been selected from congressional lists. Those employees holding political appointments were generally found to be well qualified for their jobs. Perhaps the major reason for such a high degree of competency resulted from a modification in the selection procedure made by the Department of Agriculture in 1934. Within the Department of Agriculture, the Forest Service compiled lists of men judged qualified to work as technical advisors in the CCC. Making selections from these lists, the so-called "Friant lists," congressmen or local party leaders could repay political debts and provide the Corps with competent technicians at the same time.<sup>5</sup>

In Colorado, though, politics appeared to be so intertwined with CCC appointments that it threatened to

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<sup>5</sup>John A. Salmond, The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967), pp. 104-105; and Richardson, "Was There Politics in the CCC?", pp. 16-17.

destroy public acceptance of the camps. The most widespread episode of the use of patronage by Democratic politicians occurred in Denver in June 1933. According to members of the Denver City Council and officials in the administration of Mayor George D. Begole, supervisory positions in the camps located in the Denver mountain parks were being used to pay off political debts. The city's conservative Republican newspaper, the Denver Post, charged with customary hyperbole that park jobs were going to "wardheelers," feeble, broken-down politicians, and even drunks. Fearing that the scenic beauty of the city's mountain parks would be permanently damaged if incompetent supervisors were allowed to direct the work, the city manager of parks and improvements ordered his staff not to permit the enrollees "to chop a single tree or turn a shovelful of earth" until further notice.<sup>6</sup>

An investigation of the charges by regional officials of the Forest Service to Robert Y. Stuart, their chief forester, revealed that some of the appointees were inept. However, their report appeared to reflect the traditional enmity toward the National Park Service, the agency having jurisdiction over Denver's park camps. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes complained that

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<sup>6</sup>Richardson, "Was There Politics in the CCC?", p. 16; "Political Scandal Is Threatened in Feud over Forest Camp Bosses," Denver Post, 21 June 1933, pp. 1, 3; and "Lowry Forbids Forest Army To Start Work," Denver Post, 23 June 1933, pp. 1, 3.

the scandal was an alarming example of the basic disagreement between the Forest Service (Department of Agriculture) and the National Park Service (Department of the Interior) over the use of political patronage in CCC appointments. Indeed, it was the policy of Ickes's National Park Service to refuse to approve any political appointees nominated for its camps. At the urging of President Roosevelt, Agricultural Secretary Henry A. Wallace was persuaded to "live up very strictly to the rule" that CCC appointments must not be used "for the building of political fences." The controversy subsided when Ickes, an important member of the CCC Advisory Council, secured the removal of the two camps from the Denver parks to Boulder on June 29, 1933.<sup>7</sup>

Criticism over the appointment of supervisors flared up again when John W. Spencer, the assistant forester in the Rocky Mountain regional office, made public charges linking waste, drunkenness, and even crime in Colorado's CCC camps to politically selected supervisors. Although Spencer failed to offer evidence, the Denver Post printed his statements as proof of another embarrassing episode of CCC politics in Colorado. Spencer's statements were interpreted by the Denver newspaper to be directed against the administration of the state park camps by

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<sup>7</sup>Richardson, "Was There Politics in the CCC?", p.16; and "'Bad Boy from East' Blamed for Removal of Forest Camps," Denver Post, 29 June 1933, p. 1.

the National Park Service. The assistant forester quickly assured his superiors that he had not meant to criticize the CCC program or the enrollees themselves. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes was alarmed to the point of reminding Director Fechner of the need to enforce official regulations against the use of political preference in appointments and enrollments. Fred Morrell, the latter's assistant, was "very much perturbed and apologetic over the situation," and promised to convey the admonition to officials of both the Forest Service and the National Park Service. However, it was another year before the Post ended its unfavorable reports about the CCC. Afterward, the climate of local public opinion regarding the camp program—even among Republicans—improved tremendously.<sup>8</sup>

The political cat-fight over the establishment of new camps and the retention of existing ones also sparked controversy. The effort to attract camps led communities to pressure state officials as well as congressmen to use their influence with the CCC Director's Office. The establishment of one or more camps in a locality not only acted as an economic stimulant to the local economy, but usually redounded to the office holder's political

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<sup>8</sup>Richardson, "Was There Politics in the CCC?", p.16; and Bert Hanna, "Drinking and Crime Rampant in Some Colorado CCC Camps Says Forester," Denver Post, 4 December 1935, pp. 1, 3.

benefit.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, federal and state politicians representing Colorado spent much time flooding the Director's Office with requests for camps. Usually they wrote to Director Fechner, but frequently some officials sought favors from influential New Deal administrators, such as Assistant Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman of Colorado. In other instances, state officials directly approached the President, much to Fechner's annoyance.

Appeals from state officials usually took the form of a straight request, usually accompanied by a petition supported by a number of telegrams, emphasizing the desire for a camp and the economic need for one. Thus, when Governor Johnson sought a CCC camp for Elbert County, he wrote to Fechner urging that such a camp be established for ninety days to clear debris resulting from a flood on May 31, 1935. A petition, which was signed by eighteen prominent citizens of Elbert County, was forwarded by the Governor to Congressman Fred Cummings of the Second Congressional District. Other members of the Colorado Congressional Delegation were sent telegrams requesting their assistance in pushing for the camp. The Governor, an adroit politician, also sent telegrams to a state senator and to the mayors of five towns in

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<sup>9</sup>Salmond, The CCC: A New Deal Case Study, pp. 102-103.

the affected area.<sup>10</sup>

Long, often bitter, political battles between state and federal officials erupted when efforts were made to retain camps. On December 1, 1933, CCC Director Robert Fechner removed the two Cherry Creek flood control camps located at Sullivan and Parker because he believed they had completed their emergency work projects. Furthermore, congressmen from Texas were pressing Fechner for an end to the Corps's four month stay on Cherry Creek, as portions of their state were in dire need of flood relief camps. Mild protests over any proposed extension had also come from officials in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, areas where floods did extensive damage in the late summer of 1933. During the fall of 1933, the Director's Office received approximately two thousand requests for approval of additional camps from across the country, and thus was confronted with the prospect of abandoning six hundred existing camps in the second enrollment period.

On the other hand, Governor Johnson feared that unfinished CCC work in the Welby District of Adams County, below Denver, might result in heavy damage from

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<sup>10</sup>Edwin C. Johnson to Robert Fechner, 14 June 1935; Johnson to Fred Cummings, 13 June 1935; Johnson to Alva B. Adams and Fred Cummings, 14 June 1935; in File 201, Container 10030, 1935 Correspondence, Edwin C. Johnson Paper, 1933-1937, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

spring floods. Taking advantage of an opportunity to benefit the state and to increase his prestige among constituents, the Governor asked for a continuation of the two camps through the winter enrollment period in order to inaugurate a program of permanent channel-changing and riprapping improvements to prevent future floods in the district. Governor Johnson went so far as to appeal to President Roosevelt, as well as Oscar Chapman, to act positively on his request. Fechner's steadfast refusal to grant an extension won out, and the two camps were removed from Cherry Creek by the Director's deadline.<sup>11</sup>

Obviously, the acquisition of CCC camps or any struggle for their retention enhanced the prestige of many politicians. In fact, the political value of the Corps became so great that congressmen joined in a bipartisan revolt against the President in 1936 after he had ignored earlier warnings against the implementation of a plan to reduce the CCC from a high point of 2,514 camps and 502,000 men in September 1935 to 1,456 camps and 300,000 men by June 1, 1936. Roosevelt, influenced by the desire to cut the budget in an election year, was

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<sup>11</sup>Fechner to Edwin C. Johnson, 25 August 1933; Edwin C. Johnson to Oscar L. Chapman, 28 August 1933; Edwin C. Johnson to Chapman, 23 October 1933; Fechner to Chapman, 29 October 1933; Fechner to Lee F. Johnson, Secretary to Edward P. Costigan, 20 November 1933; and Fechner to Edwin C. Johnson, 23 November 1933, in File 201, 1933 Correspondence, *Ibid.*

sure that the political benefits of a budget reduction would far outweigh any protests coming from the grass roots. Backed by tons of protest mail from communities fearing the loss of camps, over two hundred congressmen formed a bloc in March 1936 to force the continuation of the CCC at its present strength of 2,158 camps and 400,000 enrollees. Roosevelt tactfully retreated in the face of such strong pressures and closed only those camps completing their work projects.<sup>12</sup>

Federal efforts to close camps in attempts to balance the budget provoked outcries from Colorado politicians on at least two other occasions. In 1937, Governor Teller Ammons protested the closing of a Soil Conservation Service CCC camp near Cheyenne Wells.<sup>13</sup> One year later, a more significant threat appeared when the President ordered the termination of all Bureau of Reclamation CCC camps completing their current work projects. Using provisions in the Reclamation Act of 1902 and the Civilian Conservation Corps Act of 1937, the Roosevelt Administration changed the basis upon which CCC camps assigned to the Bureau of Reclamation could perform their work.

Officials in the Roosevelt Administration believed that CCC camps attached to the Reclamation Bureau

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<sup>12</sup>Salmond, The CCC: A New Deal Case Study, pp. 65-67.

<sup>13</sup>James J. McEntee to Teller Ammons, 2 September 1937, File 201, Container 10053, Teller Ammons Papers, 1937-1939, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

should be limited to making improvements or developing recreational facilities on federally-owned lands for the benefit of the public, not a small group of landowners. CCC work on private lands, usually performed in cooperation with a water users association, would now be restricted to those projects where through adversity or other causes the local organization was unable to finance the proposed projects. In an effort to comply with one of the purposes of the Corps, it had to be demonstrated that the project would advance the training and experience of the enrollees.

Governor Ammons followed the traditional western viewpoint toward reclamation projects. He believed that the water users associations and the Bureau of Reclamation could not financially undertake the construction and rehabilitation of large irrigation and water control systems without an infusion of adequate federal funds and CCC assistance. Furthermore, the work projects completed by the CCC under the sponsorship of the Reclamation Bureau benefited not only the interests of local communities throughout the West, but the nation as a whole. Ammons suggested that the camp reduction program be carried out proportionally among all the technical agencies rather than just one type. The appeal was rejected, and a number of camps assigned to the Bureau of

Reclamation in the western states were closed.<sup>14</sup>

Politics entered the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado principally over the issues of the establishment and retention of camps and over political patronage. Of course, local chambers of commerce, the governor, and congressmen urged the Corps to do this or that concerning the maintenance or increase or work camps. However, political overtones were particularly visible in only two cases. One case involved the removal of the two Cherry Creek CCC camps in 1933. The second case occurred when federal officials threatened to discontinue the work of all Bureau of Reclamation camps located in the West. Due to the importance of the issues involved and their timeliness, both cases set the course of state-federal relations in this area of camp administration. The placement of camps was minor in comparison to the threat which confronted the Corps when politicians tried to convert many of its technical positions into mere patronage jobs. However, there were remarkably few situations where state, not federal, political leaders assumed that patronage should be placed in their hands. Even in those extreme instances, that is, in Idaho and Colorado, the most flagrant abuses were confined in the first few years

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<sup>14</sup>Ammons to Fechner, 29 January 1938; and James Roosevelt, Secretary to the President, 21 February 1938, File 201, Container 10053, Ibid.

of Corps history. Thereafter, the so-called Friant list method limited the number of embarrassing episodes of political discrimination over CCC appointments.

## CHAPTER V

### COMMUNITY RELATIONS

One of the significant features of the Civilian Conservation Corps, in contrast to other New Deal relief agencies, was the very favorable image it enjoyed in the popular press and among the majority of the people. However, the CCC was criticized in some quarters, especially during its early years. In the sensitive climate of opinion of the Thirties, some critics saw it as a potential or actual medium for instilling fascism, communism, and militarism into the nation's youth. For example, some charged that the CCC was fascist in nature, that is, comparable to the forced labor camps for youths in Nazi Germany. On the other side of the political spectrum, others felt that the collection of jobless and presumedly resentful men into camps could spur on a socialistic revolution. The role of the Army in the administration of the camps was questioned by a number of sincere though perhaps misguided persons.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>James A. Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wyoming, 1973), p. 312; and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Roosevelt, vol. 2: The Coming of the New Deal (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958), p. 337.

More substantial opposition came from organized labor, which feared that the \$30 wage rate would inevitably depress general wage standards. Less important, labor complained that the huge influx of men into the countryside could deprive needy local workingmen of their livelihood.<sup>2</sup> Some questioned the value of CCC work. Nevertheless, the Corps took on a bipartisan flavor, with both Republicans and Democrats strongly endorsing it with equal enthusiasm.

In Colorado, very few people were concerned with the wage scale, Army involvement, the alleged political radicalism in the camps, or the value of CCC work. The CCC was subjected to only generalized and sporadic criticism in the state, especially in 1933 and 1934. As Corps operations took shape and its benefits became more widespread, criticism generally disappeared.

There was considerable public support throughout Colorado from the outset of the creation of the CCC in 1933. The tripartite division of the state into plains, mountains, and urban centers such as Denver and Pueblo formed a popular rural-urban consensus of support for the Corps. Farmers across the state, especially those in the

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<sup>2</sup>In 1933, CCC officials precluded potential community hostility and insured continued support by enrolling 35,000 Local Experienced Men and continued the practice throughout the existence of the program. Dorothy D. Bromley, "The Forest Army That Lives by Work," New York Times, 23 July 1933, sec. 8, p. 2.

southeastern counties, who suffered from the prolonged effects of drought, overgrazing, and the absence of minimal conservation measures, looked upon the CCC as a means of restoring the natural resources basic to their economic life. Beyond the farmlands, in the forests that covered one-third of the state, there were numerous opportunities to develop and refine work projects in conservation and reclamation. The abundance of conservation work offered the urban centers a means of providing unemployment relief for their young men.<sup>3</sup>

Leaving aside the advantages which the Civilian Conservation Corps offered to different segments of the state's population, the very presence of a CCC camp in a community provided an opportunity for each to benefit both economically and socially from the program. Nearly every community clamored for a camp in its locality. Small towns, especially isolated ones, found themselves in the midst of a spectacular boom in sales and employment once a camp was established in its area. Camp construction provided work for local labor and an economic stimulant to building supply dealers and other local merchants. Once a camp was established, there were still other economic advantages, for the camps purchased huge quantities of

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<sup>3</sup>James T. Patterson, "The New Deal in the West," Pacific Historical Review 38 (August 1969):325; and James F. Wickens, "The New Deal in Colorado," Pacific Historical Review 38 (August 1969):275.

food and other supplies, the enrollees visited the towns for recreation, and local men were often hired as LEM's and foremen. Even after the camp was relocated or abandoned, the community continued to enjoy the aesthetic and economic improvements that were left behind—the recreational facilities, the lower fire hazard, dams, and roads.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, most camps and communities soon developed major economic and social ties, forming a mutually beneficial rapport. However, such a relationship was not without friction and the CCC could not rely upon its favorable image for continued success. The Corps had to constantly strive to maintain a friendly, harmonious, and cooperative relationship with local communities if it was to have the popular support of the people.

The newspapers of Colorado seldom offered editorial comment on the CCC at the beginning of the program. They dutifully published national wire service stories about the unfolding of the Corps, or reported news which had been published in the Denver Post or the Rocky Mountain News. Two exceptions to local press analysis of the creation of the Corps were the Grand Junction Daily Sentinel and the Gunnison News-Champion. The Daily Sentinel was particularly vocal in its support. Its editor chastised

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<sup>4</sup>Hanson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northern Rocky Mountains," pp. 312-313; and John A. Salmond, The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967), pp. 110-111.

organized labor's criticism of the "dollar-a-day wage" as economic enslavement of the unemployed. William Green, the president of the American Federation of Labor and the most outspoken critic of the wage scale, was cast as the instigator of a movement to impress the power of his union upon the government. Conservative charges that the camps would become militaristic or fascist were dismissed as no more dangerous "than the gathering of men in construction camps under private supervision." Appealing to the attachment many on the Western Slope had to the land, the editor noted that "surely a little work" by the boys would "demonstrate the much-mooted spirit of Americanism." At Gunnison, the editor of the News-Champion favored the establishment of CCC camps in Colorado. Despite the potential for mismanagement by "the bureaucrats at Washington," the camps provided young men with "an outing . . . at . . . really useful labor, [by] building trails, erecting drift fences and at forest improvement work which will have some immediate bearing on the good of the nation and the state in particular."<sup>5</sup>

The immediate response of CCC units to natural and man-made disasters especially bolstered the Corps's favorable image among the people of Colorado. In 1934 Boulder's two crack CCC companies joined the Longmont,

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<sup>5</sup>Editorial, Grand Junction Daily Sentinel, 28 March 1933, p. 4; and Editorial, Gunnison News-Champion, 1 June 1933, p. 3.

Lafayette, and Erie fire departments in a three-hour fight against a severe coal mine fire at the National Fuel Company's Puritan Mine, located twenty-two miles northeast of Boulder. Working to control the spread of the fire and to remove flaming debris away from the firefighters, the two CCC companies quickly demonstrated the practical value of the camps.<sup>6</sup>

A more spectacular demonstration of emergency relief work came with the great Memorial Day flood of 1935, which swept through Colorado Springs and more than fifty other communities in eastern Colorado. In Colorado Springs, which sustained the heaviest damage, the nearby Manitou and Templeton Gap CCC camps assisted the city's fire and police departments, the Red Cross, and several volunteer organizations. The enrollees cared for flood refugees, protected private property, searched for missing persons, and regulated the movement of traffic in the flood stricken areas of the city. The city manager of Colorado Springs, Earl Mosley, and Army Major Stanley G. Sauinier, formed a temporary committee to coordinate relief activities from headquarters established at city hall. Working from this location, they dispatched the Templeton Gap boys to patrol an area from the Bijou Street Bridge to further down Bijou Creek. Three shifts were organized to provide round-the-

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<sup>6</sup>"Fire Sweeps Mine West of Frederick with \$75,000 Loss," Boulder Daily Camera, 10 January 1934, pp. 1, 3; and "Civies Battle \$100,000 Fire," Happy Days, 17 February 1934, p. 3.

clock guard service, which continued for one month. Special sheriff's deputies and several enrollees from the Manitou camp risked their lives to enter an animal hospital to rescue nearly forty valuable dogs. During the emergency, many of the flood victims were housed and fed at the Manitou camp. The meritorious relief work by the Templeton Gap camp established a friendly and respected relationship with the residents of Colorado Springs and brought a Presidential letter of commendation. The actions of the Templeton Gap boys in patrolling the streets of Colorado Springs may have been a little too conscientious, as indicated by the following amusing incident: Edwin C. Johnson, the Governor of Colorado, was denied entry into the flood area in which the enrollees were guarding until he could obtain a pass from local police officers.<sup>7</sup>

Company 829, encamped at Hosea Lodge near Golden, responded to the needs of flood victims in Elbert County by moving within eight hours to Elbert and Kiowa, which

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<sup>7</sup>"Flood Takes Heavy Toll," Colorado Springs Gazette, 31 May 1935, pp. 1, 8; "Rehabilitation of Flood Area Planned at Parley among Region's Officials," Colorado Springs Gazette, 1 June 1935, pp. 1, 9; "Templeton Gap CCC Men on Duty," Colorado Springs Gazette, 2 June 1935, p. 8; "Chaos and Confusion Left in Flood's Wake," Pueblo Chieftain, 31 May 1935, pp. 1, 16; and L.A. Gleyre and C.N. Alleger, comps., History of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado, Littleton District-Grand Junction District: That the Work of Young America May be Recorded (Denver: Press of the Western Newspaper Union, 1936), pp. 26,65.

had been totally inundated by the devastating flood on May 31, 1935. The enrollees not only helped flood victims but made reoccupation possible by digging both towns out of the mud. Immediately afterward, the boys spent one week searching for missing persons, cleaning up local businesses, and hauling off silt with trucks.<sup>8</sup>

On a much smaller scale, individual acts of heroism not only enhanced the image of the CCC but also gave communities local heroes. In 1937, for instance, Roy O. Vance, a member of Veterans Company V-1860, Morrison, Colorado, made an impressive midnight rescue when he climbed to a dangerous ledge to save a young woman who had fallen from one of the high rocks in Red Rocks Park. His efforts earned him a letter of commendation from Director Fechner. In 1940, Harold A. Lambeth, a senior leader from Company 3884, Camp NP-4-C, Estes Park, entered a dynamite and gasoline charged burning building and dragged the occupant, who had attempted suicide, to the open air. In the presence of four hundred enrollees, Rocky Mountain National Park officials, and townspeople from Estes Park, the commanding officer of the Colorado-Wyoming District awarded Lambeth a certificate of valor. The award, the highest honor given in the

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<sup>8</sup>"CCC Boys Cleaning Up Flood Debris," The Divide Review (Kiowa, Colo.), 7 June 1935, p. 1; and Gleyre and Allegger, comps., History of the CCC in Colorado, p. 40.

Civilian Conservation Corps, was the first of its kind presented in Colorado. A personal commendation from James J. McEntee, the CCC Director, was also given to Lambeth.<sup>9</sup>

Communities undoubtedly appreciated the CCC in times of disaster or danger. But a more significant element in harmonious camp-community relations developed from the national and local economic ramifications of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Indeed, the Corps became one of the most effective mechanisms for pumping large sums of money into the nation's depressed economy. By the end of the first year of operation, the federal government had appropriated a total of \$296,127,000 for CCC work. Its importance to the private sector may be seen in the manner in which expenditures and obligations were used to aid in the nation's economic recovery. These funds were placed into four major groups: wages and salaries, food and supply expenditures for the camps, transportation, and work equipment. The portion represented by wages and salaries, \$125,451,000, was spent to buy consumer goods from many types of retailers. Retailers in

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<sup>9</sup>"CCC Enrollee Rescues Girl from Ledge on Red Rocks," Bear Creek News (Morrison, Colo.), Camp SP-13-C, Co. V-1860, 19 August 1937, p. 1; "Roy O. Vance Commended by Director Fechner," Bear Creek News, 17 March 1938, pp. 1-2; and "Local CCC Enrollee Cited for Heroism," Estes Park Trail, 20 September 1940, pp. 1, 8.

turn bought from manufacturers who, as a result, were able to employ more labor. Although the cycle was more complicated than this simple illustration, it points out that practically all CCC expenditures quickly found their way into the economy.<sup>10</sup>

In Colorado, the Civilian Conservation Corps expended a total of \$56,145,170 in federal funds from 1933 through mid-1941. Of this total, Colorado's 32,501 enrollees sent approximately \$750,000 annually to their dependents. In more mundane terms, it cost \$500 to feed, clothe, and house an enrollee in camp for a single six-month enrollment period. Out of that sum, \$368 was used to pay for administrative costs with the remainder going to the enrollee and his dependents.<sup>11</sup>

For a community, the very presence of a CCC camp acted as a stimulant to local businesses. The most important community organization which actively sought to establish a friendly and cooperative rapport with the

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<sup>10</sup>U.S., Emergency Conservation Work, Second Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work, for the Periods April 5, 1933 to September 30, 1933, and October 1, 1933 to March 31, 1934, pp. 11-13.

<sup>11</sup>Colorado, State Planning Commission, Colorado Year Book, 1943-1944 (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1944), p. 489 (hereafter cited as Colorado Yearbook); James F. Wickens, Colorado in the Great Depression (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), p. 150; and U.S., Civilian Conservation Corps, The Civilian Conservation Corps: What It Is and What It Does (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 10.

camp was probably the local chamber of commerce. Merchants advertised frequently in their local newspaper in an attempt to attract enrollee customers. Businessmen from Estes Park even purchased advertising space in The Four and One Times, the newspaper serving Rocky Mountain National Park's two CCC camps, to increase their patronage. Local businessmen had good reason for soliciting trade from the camps. It was estimated that between \$3,000 and \$5,000 was spent monthly for goods and services by each camp. Into the cash drawers of Boulder merchants, for instance, went slightly over one thousand dollars per month for food purchases alone by one of its two camps. By the close of the first year of operation, almost \$31,000 had been spent by one of the camps with local merchants for food, supplies, work equipment, ice, electric power, and athletic equipment. The supervisory personnel of the camp spent an additional \$17,194.75.<sup>12</sup>

In another area of business, building contractors submitted competitive bids on the lucrative construction projects offered by the CCC. After \$15,000 had been appropriated for camp construction for Boulder's new

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<sup>12</sup>The Four and One Times (Estes Park, Colo.), Camps NP-1-C and NP-4-C, Companies 864 and 865, 24 July 1934, pp. 3-4; Charles P. Harper, The Administration of the Civilian Conservation Corps (Clarksburg, W. Va.: Clarksburg Publishing Co., 1939), p. 104; "In Case You Didn't Know," Ballyhoo from 802 (Boulder, Colo.), Camp SP-5-C, Co. 802, 11 June 1935, p. 9; and "Camp SP2C Has Done Fine Work in Boulder District," Boulder Daily Camera, 18 October 1935, p. 5.

permanent camp near Chautauqua Park, C.O. Van Note was hired as the general contractor. The plumbing contract was awarded to City Plumbing Company, while the Terry Electrical Company was the low bidder for installation of an electrical wiring. At Hugo, the construction of a new \$20,000 camp provided a substantial boost for the town's economy by generating work for almost sixty local laborers. One enterprising Hugo businessman, Charles LaBorde, received the contract for hauling twelve cars of lumber and other building materials from the railhead to the camp construction site.<sup>13</sup>

While the economic benefits derived from CCC camps aided communities which had camps, it also prompted active competition among towns over the procurement of supplies. In 1935, for example, friction developed between the merchants of Grand Junction and Delta as a result of a change in the Army's method of purchasing supplies for the camps. Under the new Army rules and regulations, Grand Junction was selected as the central distributing point for all supplies for the twenty-one camps in the Grand Junction CCC District. Although the new procurement policy demonstrated economic efficiency, Delta merchants feared it would mean the end of the town's

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<sup>13</sup>"Fifteen Thousand Dollars for New C.C.C. Camp Here," Boulder Daily Camera, 20 October 1933, p. 1; and "New Buildings at C.C.C. Camp Are Rising Rapidly," Eastern Colorado Plainsman (Hugo, Colo.), 12 July 1935, p. 1.

supplementary market for local products for its two camps. Previously, food and other commodities had been purchased, if the prices were reasonable, from merchants in towns located at the nearest point to the camps. Echoing the feeling of every small community in Colorado, the Chairman of the Delta County Democratic Central Committee wrote on behalf of the town's businessmen to Governor Edwin C. "Big Ed" Johnson asking for a stop to the policy. The Delta merchants were concerned that the bread contract, for example, would be given to "some big baking corporation" in Grand Junction instead of to a local bakery. Despite Governor Johnson's efforts, the new procurement policy took effect on September 3, 1935. Henceforth, all merchants had to obtain proposals from Grand Junction District Headquarters to bid on their supplies. In turn, the merchants were sent invitations to bid on contracts as well as commodities.<sup>14</sup>

The economic aid offered by the CCC reached far wider than the camp locality. In 1937, for example, the Corps expended a total of \$6,879,761 in Colorado of which \$872,867 went directly to enrollee dependents. The files of Norma V. Queen, the Assistant Director of Relief for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in Denver,

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<sup>14</sup>W. Guy Merritt to Edwin C. Johnson, 28 August 1935; and Johnson to Merritt, 17 September 1935, File 201, 1935 Correspondence, Container 10030, Edwin C. Johnson Papers, 1933-1937, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

adequately testified to its effect on family income. One father wrote to explain the vital difference his son's allotment had made to the family. W.C. Burnett, of Fort Collins, told the Larimer County FERA administrator that the monthly \$25 CCC relief check had prevented foreclosure on the family's home. A representative of the National Reemployment Service in Trinidad reported that the allotments were vital in maintaining relief loads and, in two cases, had helped families close to actual starvation.<sup>15</sup>

Although the citizens of Colorado were grateful for the economic benefits the CCC bestowed upon their communities, they were not as appreciative toward Hispanics and Blacks in the camps. Reflecting the attitudes toward minority groups throughout the nation, some of the state's residents probably resented the prospect of any presence of Hispanics, Blacks, or even boys having different re-

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<sup>15</sup>Colorado, State Planning Commission, Colorado Yearbook, 1941-1942 (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1942), p. 473; Colorado's Income from CCC during 1937, "Colorado Department of Public Welfare Quarterly Bulletin 1 (October-November-December 1937):43; W.E. Runge, County Administrator, FERA, Fort Collins, Colo., to Norma Y. Queen, Denver, Colo., 6 June 1934, and "What Civilian Conservation Corps Have Meant to Las Animas County, Colorado," n.d., File: CCC—Social Value—1934," Container 30253, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

gional accents in camps near their towns.<sup>16</sup> Another early apprehension which arose from a specific element of the population in every community, mothers of nubile daughters, came from the reality of having so many young men at their doorstep. Some of this anxiety gradually diminished and gave way to open admiration for the discipline instilled into the enrollees by the Corps. However, in the case of racial prejudice, attitudes did not subside over such a short period of time.

Out of the 32,501 Colorado-selected enrollees who passed through the Civilian Conservation Corps during its ten years of existence, a large percentage of Hispanics participated in the enterprise. In the depression years, no one knew exactly how many enrollees of Latin American descent worked in the state's CCC camps. However, a 1938 State CCC Selection Division report confirmed that forty percent of the approximately 5,000 juniors enrolled that year in Colorado's thirty-five CCC camps were of Hispanic origin. The percentage of Colorado-enrolled Hispanic youths was even higher. Nearly half of the 2,000 Colorado juniors who had enlisted in

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<sup>16</sup>The prevalent attitude in America toward enrollees of Hispanic, Black, and Oriental ancestry varied from state to state. Elmo R. Richardson in "Was There Politics in the Civilian Conservation Corps?" Forest History 16 (July 1972):13, briefly mentions that community hostility against these three minority groups provided a substantial source of opposition to the Corps throughout its existence.

the Corps by the middle of the year were from the state's largest minority group. In some cases, Hispanic enrollees comprised almost the entire contingent of a 200-man company. For instance, in 1940 nearly ninety percent of the enrollees of Company 861, Camp NP-5-C, stationed at Mesa Verde National Park, were Hispanic.<sup>17</sup>

Charges of discrimination against Hispanic enrollees working in Colorado's CCC camps surfaced in 1934 and again in 1939. In 1934, Francis B. Peters, the Director of the Rio Grande County office of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, reported to Assistant State Relief Director Norma Y. Queen that most of the county's residents objected to the "large majority of Mexicans" living at the Conejos-Alamosa Forest Service camp near Monte Vista. Eventually the complaints subsided when the camp's Hispanic enrollees were segregated into separate sleeping quarters, etc.<sup>18</sup>

In 1939, a limited survey made by Genevieve Affolter Griffith, Colorado's Supervisor of CCC Selection,

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<sup>17</sup>Genevieve K. Affolter to Van D. Roughton, 9 June 1938, File: "Surveys—Reports for Counties," 1938-1941, Container 30254; and Paul R. Franke, Superintendent, Mesa Verde National Park, Colo., to Affolter, 19 March 1940, File: "National Park Service—General," Container 30251, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

<sup>18</sup>Francis B. Peters to Norma Y. Queen, 6 June 1934, File: "CCC—Social Value—1934, Container 30253, Ibid.

uncovered not strong, but subtle forms of discrimination. The director of the Baca County Department of Public Welfare noted that many of the citizens of Springfield were opposed to having many Spanish-speaking boys placed in the local Soil Conservation Service camp. In Hugo, an isolated incident illustrative of local prejudice was reported by the county welfare director and a social worker. When dance rehearsals were held for the annual Lincoln County Fair in September 1939, many of the Spanish-speaking enrollees from nearby SCS-3-C were invited into town. After some of the Hispanic enrollees tried to escort a few of the local girls home, their mothers became "up in arms." Their daughters were not allowed to participate in the Spanish dances in the pageant, forcing cancellation of this part of the program. No voices, though, were raised against another group of Hispanic enrollees. They not only danced with the local girls, but were enthusiastically applauded by the audience.<sup>19</sup>

Army officials at the Littleton headquarters of the Colorado-Wyoming CCC District apparently did little to prevent discrimination outside the camps against Hispanic enrollees until December 1939. In a draft

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<sup>19</sup>Memorandum to Genevieve Affolter from Wayne Vasey, 7 December 1939; and Memorandum to Affolter from Clara C. Perley, 18 December, 1939, File: "Spanish-American Enrollees," Ibid.

memorandum for Colorado Department of Public Welfare district supervisors, Genevieve A. Griffith wrote that CCC District Headquarters "at last . . . has recognized the 'Spanish-American' problem." Griffith was referring to the Army's belated effort to assign Hispanic enrollees to camps near communities which would accept them. In January 1941, a joint plan of assignment was worked out between Griffith and CCC District Commander Pearson Menoher for the placement of Hispanic enrollees from the San Luis Valley, south-central and southeastern Colorado, and the Grand Junction area. The new distribution plan was given a trial during the February and April 1941 enrollment periods. Enrollees recruited from the south-central counties of Saguache, Alamosa, Rio Grande, Archuleta, Conejos, and Costilla were transported to six CCC camps in or nearby this six-county area. Mesa County's Spanish-speaking enrollees were sent to a Soil Conservation Service camp located at Grand Junction. The Beulah and Rye camps received the boys from the southeastern counties and the San Luis Valley with the overflow going elsewhere.<sup>20</sup>

Racial problems for Blacks embraced a much greater degree of complexity than those of other minorities. During the existence of the Civilian Conservation Corps,

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<sup>20</sup>Interoffice Memorandum, Affolter to District Supervisors, 1 December 1939, File: "Spanish-American Enrollees;" and Pearson Menoher to Griffith, 28 January 1941, File: "Camp Placement Program," Ibid.

almost two and a half million men passed through its camps, though only two hundred thousand of these were Blacks. The major reason for such a poor selection record was the widespread hostility of residents of towns across the country to the establishment of all-Black camps in their areas. Fearing an assault on the social values of their communities, residents were generally unwilling to permit such a large body of Blacks in their midst. From the beginning of the Corps in 1933, the mixing of the races was permitted only in those states where Black enrollment was so small that no black company could be formed. The racial issue boiled over in 1935 when white communities in California, Arkansas, and Texas strongly protested the creation of additional black camps in their states. Yielding to pressure, Director Fechner limited the selection of Blacks to vacancies only as they became available in existing Black camps. The order applied not only to the three states but to the entire country.<sup>21</sup>

In Colorado, the placement of Black enrollees in camps did not pose as difficult a problem as in other parts of the country. Since Blacks comprised slightly over one percent of Colorado's population in the

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<sup>21</sup>John A. Salmond, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro," in The Negro in Depression and War: Prelude to Revolution, 1930-1945, ed. Bernard Sternsher (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), pp. 82-83, 87, and 90.

1930s,<sup>22</sup> state CCC officials skirted the political and racial pitfalls over Black selection and placement with relatively little trouble. By following a dual policy of attaching a few Blacks to white companies operating within the state and placing the rest in "colored" companies in other districts in the Army Eighth Corps Area, potential racial problems were usually avoided.<sup>23</sup> CCC camps, for instance, at Gardiner, South Fork, and Rocky Mountain National Park had Black enrollees assigned to them in 1934 and 1935. In 1939, four of the seventeen Blacks selected during the July enrollment period were sent to white companies in the Colorado-Wyoming District. The other thirteen Blacks were transported to all-Black

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<sup>22</sup>Out of a total population of 1,035,791 for Colorado in 1930, 1.2 percent, or 11,804 were Blacks. Although the state's population had increased to 1,123,296 by 1940, the number of Blacks remained almost constant at 12,154 persons or 1.1 percent of the population. U.S., Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, vol. 2; Characteristics of the Population, pt. 1: Colorado, p. 702.

<sup>23</sup>No all-Black CCC companies were formed in Colorado from 1933-1942. When Colorado-selected Blacks were placed outside of the state, they were distributed among all-Black companies operating in New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas. Sixth-Nineteenth Period Station Lists, Eighth Corps Area, 15 November 1935 to 30 September 1942, Files 9-10; "Eighth Corps Area Headquarters, Station Lists," Container 30249, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

companies operating in New Mexico and Oklahoma.<sup>24</sup>

Often, the Blacks who were assigned to predominately white camps in Colorado were among the most popular enrollees there. The eight Black enrollees, for example, stationed at Camp NP-4-C, located outside of Estes Park, were celebrities among the 200-man company. Using their talents as musicians, actors, and comedians, the young Blacks performed in a minstrel and novelty show before two CCC companies at the Y.M.C.A. campground. More than fifty other enrollees entertained their comrades with light opera; popular music skits; and novelty numbers featuring two guitarists, two violinists, two mouth organists, a mandolinist, and a yodeler.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Camp Inspection Report, Camp DF-46-C, Gardner, Colo., 15 December 1934, Reel 4, Camp Inspection Report, Camp F-49-C, South Fork, Colo., 27 June 1935, Reel 2, "Selected Documents Relating to the Civilian Conservation Corps in Colorado," 1933-1942 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1980), in Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, Illinois; "NP-4-C Colored Boys Working Overtime Preparing Minstrel," The Four and One Times (Estes Park, Colo.), Camps NP-1-C and NP-4-C, Companies 864 and 865, 4 August 1934, p. 1; and Major Joseph C. Addington, Enrollment Officer, Headquarters, Eighth Corps Area, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, to Affolter, 31 July 1939, File: "Headquarters, Eighth Corps Area, Distribution of Junior Enrollees, P.A.'s," Container 30249, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

<sup>25</sup>The Four and One Times, 4 August 1934, p. 1; and "Both Camps Give Talent to Insure Evening of Glamorous Entertainment at Y.M.C.A.," The Four and One Times, 18 August 1934, p. 1.

The attachment of small numbers of Blacks to camps in Colorado probably prevented most racial problems although it may not have guaranteed complete harmony. In contrast to reports which were uncovered by the State CCC Selection Division documenting community discrimination against Hispanic enrollees, none were found regarding Black enrollees.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps the few Blacks selected for CCC service during each enrollment period in the Colorado-Wyoming District, combined with the friendship and camaraderie which developed among the enrollees in the camps, limited the number of incidents in communities near the camps.

The most noticeable incidents of racial discrimination against Colorado Black enrollees assigned to camps outside the state materialized in Texas. In 1941, the State CCC Selection Division received a number of complaints from Black enrollees placed in Company 3872(c), Camp BR-4-T, an all-Black unit located at Ysleta, Texas, outside of El Paso. Because the Colorado Blacks were classified as "Northern Negroes," they were subject to hazing and ill treatment by the other enrollees and, in some cases, by the camp's administrative personnel. The poor treatment accorded to the Colorado Blacks was based upon southern prejudices against the physical abilities

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<sup>26</sup>File: "Colorado Enrollees," Container 30253, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

of "northern Negroes" in comparison with those of the "southern colored boy." The differences in regional outlook and racial attitude by the majority of members of the camp resulted in the southern Blacks being selected for work projects before their northern counterparts. According to a number of former Colorado enrollees stationed at the camp, southern Black boys were preferred due to their assumed physical prowess and ability to do heavy manual labor.

Another incident, this time in El Paso, was typical of the customary treatment all Blacks received in the South in the 1930s. One Colorado Black informed the State CCC Selection Division that in several restaurants at the El Paso railway station, Black enrollees were required to sit on the floor to eat their meals. The white customers, of course, were escorted to tables.<sup>27</sup>

An investigation of the incidents at the Ysleta, Texas, CCC camp by Genevieve A. Griffith, Colorado's Supervisor of CCC Selection, found that the reports were true. Griffith wrote to Signey Knowles, the commander of Camp BR-4-T, on June 6, 1941, to inquire about racial conditions at the camp. Three days later Knowles replied to Griffith's letter, stating that the complaints she had

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<sup>27</sup>Griffith to Enrollment Officer, Headquarters, Eighth Corps Area, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, 14 January 1942, Ibid.

received were "not based on facts." In an attempt to cover up rumors circulating about racial incidents at the camp, Knowles sent Griffith certificates signed by two Denver enrollees, Henderson Dunn and Robert R. Bullock. Copies of the certificates were also sent to the mothers of the two boys. Griffith asked the CCC enrollment officer attached to Eighth Corps Area headquarters at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, to place the Colorado Blacks in a camp in another state. In particular, Griffith suggested that the boys be assigned to an all-Black camp nearest to Colorado, where their treatment would be almost the same as in their home state. Beginning with the February 1942 enrollment period, the points addressed in Griffith's request were implemented for Blacks registering for CCC duty in the Colorado-Wyoming District. Subsequently, all Blacks in the District were shipped to Company 4823(c), Camp FWS (A)-1-0, located at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.<sup>28</sup>

Considering the potential dangers inherent in the political and racial facets of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Colorado-Wyoming District was fortunate to escape with relatively few reported incidents of discrimination against enrollees from the two minority groups. The real challenge to community-camp relations came in the opening days of the CCC program when people did not

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<sup>28</sup> Knowles to Griffith, 9 June 1941; and W.C. Wiest, CCC Enrollment Officer, Headquarters, Eighth Corps Area, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, to Griffith, 23 January 1942, *Ibid.*

understand the purpose of the Corps or formed erroneous opinions about the men enlisting in it. In some communities rumors were circulated by citizens who considered the camps rife with political favoritism, bad food, and the enrollees nothing more than loafers.<sup>29</sup> Colorado CCC officials made special efforts to overcome this public ignorance.

State CCC officials sought to promote a better understanding of the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps by giving radio broadcasts and making field visits to the camps. Radio listeners from Colorado, Wyoming, and the surrounding states frequently heard orchestrated round table broadcasts about the work of the Corps over KOA radio in Denver. Genevieve Griffith and the District Commander and his aides sought to promote a favorable community image and enhance CCC recruitment in their broadcasts. Usually these officials explained the purpose of the CCC, the nature of the work projects, and enrollment procedures for the program.<sup>30</sup> Public awareness of the CCC program was also promoted by Earl M. Kouns, the director of the Colorado Department of Public Welfare,

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<sup>29</sup>Clifford Guest, "Life at Camp Lowell Belies Claims Against Forest Army," Pueblo Chieftain, 25 June 1933, p. 5.

<sup>30</sup>Dean Snyder, Administrative Assistant to W. Frank Persons, Dept. of Labor, Washington, D.C., to Affolter, 5 October 1938, File: "Publicizing CCC," Container 30252, CCC Enrollments, Records of the State Dept. of Public Welfare, 1933-1942, Colorado State Archives, Denver.

and Griffith by their regular attendance at open house sessions at the camps.

CCC camps in the Colorado-Wyoming District developed some rather interesting public relations programs. Some companies held dedication ceremonies at their camps, seeking to establish friendly relations and acquaint towns with the improvements developed by the Corps for their area. Company 801, which occupied the South Hardscrabble Creek camp in the heart of the San Isabel National Forest, conducted one such ceremony in 1933 in honor of James J. Lowell, perhaps the best known forest ranger who ever served in that part of the state. The entire personnel of the camp hosted more than one hundred members of the Pueblo Chamber of Commerce and their wives in an elaborate dedication service, which was followed by a dinner and a brief entertainment program. In a dedication speech to the camp personnel and the visitors, George M. Kirk of the chamber of commerce expressed a strong regard for the value of the camp, pointing out how his organization was working to obtain additional ones for the area. The crowd was entertained by two boxing matches presented by the enrollees. One two-round match pitted "Kid" Griego of La Junta against Mickey Moran of Walsenburg. Two boys from Pueblo, Inkey Pachek and "Kid" Hennigaman, fought a four-round bout. Both fights ended in a draw. After dinner the enrollees conducted hiking tours, which afforded the visitors an inspection of the

entire camp from the boys' tents to the rugged slopes where timber was being cut for the permanent buildings. In the evening, the Charles Quaranta band of Pueblo provided the music for a dance held at Wetmore. Although the camp had been organized only twenty-three days, the visitors left with a favorable impression.<sup>31</sup> Quite often businessmen from nearby communities held regular luncheons in the camps to become better informed about their work. The Bureau of Reclamation CCC camp near Montrose was very proficient at promoting community relations. Arrangements were made with the Montrose Rotary Club for an outstanding enrollee to attend its club dinners once each week. In turn, a Rotarian went to the camp to see the enrollee's work project.<sup>32</sup>

CCC camps not only reached out to community leaders but also invited the public into the camps. Many camps held open house sessions on weekends. However, the highlight of local participation in camp affairs was the annual CCC anniversary celebration, usually held on April 5th of each year. The anniversary celebrations served a very useful purpose, giving the public an opportunity to become acquainted with the work, activities, and accomplish-

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<sup>31</sup>"C. of C. Members Help Dedicate Forest Camp," Pueblo Chieftain, 14 June 1933, pp. 1, 10.

<sup>32</sup>"Service Club Meets at Camp," Yawns & Gaps (Colorado Springs, Colo.), Camp SCS-6-C, Co. 1846, 9 April 1940, p. 4; and "Burro Bits," The Torch (Montrose, Colo.), Camp BR-23-C, Co. 3841, June 1936, p. 6.

ments of the Corps. In 1937, four hundred and fifty citizens from Norwood, Nucia, Naturita, Redvale, Paradox, and Telluride braved a spring snow storm to attend the celebration given by Camp DG-11-C, Redvale, Colorado. Specially chosen enrollees guided the visitors around the camp. Midday a free dinner consisting of barbecued beef and mutton, potato salad, gravy, bread, butter, cake, pie, and coffee was served to everyone. The afternoon's entertainment featured a demonstration of trick stunts by a Norwood stockman and his pony. A donkey polo game between the camp's army and technical service personnel rounded out the afternoon. A movie, floor show, and dance followed in the evening. The celebration finally ended at 3 a.m. the following morning, with the celebrants "profusely bestowing compliments" upon an exhausted camp commander for the event's success.<sup>33</sup>

Many towns promoted friendly relations by inviting the CCC camps to join in their community affairs. Hugo was especially adept at making the enrollees feel wanted. Soon after the camp opened in 1935, the town honored the boys with a public reception at the Methodist Church. The local high school band and harmonica quartet entertained at the camp. During the Christmas season, the townspeople presented a holiday program and turkey dinner

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<sup>33</sup>"Basin City Celebrates 4th Anniversary of CCC," The Skipper (Redvale, Colo.), Camp DG-11-C, Co. 3844, 15 April 1937, p. 5.

at the camp for those unable to go home for the holidays. In one event, the Hugo Lions Club and the officers of the camp staged a rabbit drive where CCC officers from the Littleton headquarters and local farmers joined in a hunt southwest of Hugo. A Denver fur company paid five cents for each rabbit pelt, with the proceeds going for a big steak dinner for the hunters at the CCC camp mess hall.<sup>34</sup>

On the other side of the coin, the Hugo CCC camp also furthered good community relations. In 1936, the entire contingent of CCC boys joined in the town's annual cleanup drive by removing forty to fifty truckloads of ashes, bottles, and other debris to the city dump. Under the supervision of the Hugo recreation department, the boys built a municipal baseball field. The field opened for the 1937 season amid a roaring, jeering crowd of 600 spectators, who witnessed the local team nose out the CCC No. 1 squad in a close contest.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>"Public Reception Is Tendered CCC Boys at Church," Eastern Colorado Plainsman (Hugo, Colo.), 23 August 1935, p. 1; "Hugo School Band Plays for Co. 3825," The Dam-An-Furrow (Hugo, Colo.), Camp SCS-3-C, Co. 3825, 22 February 1938, p. 1; "Entertain at CCC Camp with a Pre-Christmas Program," Eastern Colorado Plainsman, 25 December 1936, p. 8; and "Free Banquet Will Follow Big Rabbit Drive Sunday," Eastern Colorado Plainsman, 4 December 1936, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup>"CCC Boys Join in Cleanup Drive," Eastern Colorado Plainsman (Hugo, Colo.), 15 May 1936, p. 1; and "Recreational Activities Creating Much Interest," Eastern Colorado Plainsman, 18 June 1937, p. 1.

Despite its shortcomings, the Civilian Conservation Corps was quite simply a good program, having a lasting effect on the individual as well as the community. Most citizens of Colorado recognized not only the Corps's economic and social value, but the vital contribution the agency made to the conservation of the state's natural resources. Early apprehensions over the wage scale, Army involvement in the administration of the camps, political radicalism, and the prospect of having so many young men near communities gradually gave way to open admiration for the work of the CCC. Although Colorado was on the sidelines over the racial issue in comparison with other states, its record of treatment of minority enrollees was most likely a poor one. CCC officials actively worked to enhance the Corps's image in the eye of the public by accentuating its innate benefits. Their efforts made the CCC the New Deal's most popular program.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

The success of the Civilian Conservation Corps can be measured in three significant ways. As a relief agency, it provided work and incomes for the unemployed and pumped millions of dollars into Colorado's weak economy. In the field of conservation, the Corps arrested the gradual destruction of the state's natural resources, particularly in the forests, parks, and grasslands. Despite a makeshift administrative framework, the CCC effectively demonstrated the validity of utilizing existing government agencies and personnel to handle the complex problems of high unemployment among youth and the deterioration of America's natural resources. This impressive record on both the national and state level was the direct result of certain inherent characteristics in the CCC.

Operating within a framework which appeared to be chaotic, the Civilian Conservation Corps was actually a remarkably effective and flexible organization. The delegation of particular roles to each of the four cooperating executive departments allowed the Corps to operate smoothly with a minimum of disagreement. Major policy issues were decided in an advisory council where

departmental representatives worked within an administrative checks-and-balances system. This arrangement insured that none of the parties could form permanent alliances or even afford to antagonize one another to a great degree. Within the Corps's administrative framework, a department's opponent on one issue could easily be a valuable supporter in future debates. The willingness of the Director's Office to allow the technical services to work without the restraint of strict controls from his organization also helped contribute to the overall success of the program. Below the national level, the Corps and the technical services followed a policy of decentralization in their approach to handling local disputes. This policy prevented the growth of debilitating inefficiency within the camps and served to promote a favorable public image.

The permanent nature of the conservation work of the CCC was very important in its ultimate success. While in the Corps, the enrollees felt that they were working on projects which would be of enduring value to their society. A brief listing of some project statistics which are available for the first three years of Corps activities within the national forests of Colorado demonstrates the immense value of their work. Between 1933 and 1936, the CCC built 358 miles of roads and 110 miles of trails. In reforestation work, enrollees planted millions of seedlings and transplants. The Corps contributed 130

miles of telephone line, 27 dwellings, and 161 bridges to the state's forest protection system. Besides working on construction projects, the boys performed insect control work on some 450,773 acres of forest land.

A third major element in the success of the CCC was the rehabilitating effect the entire program had on the enrollees themselves. In the Corps aimless and despondent young men learned how to live with others and accept responsibilities. Life in the camps brought tangible benefits to the health, education level, and employment prospects of almost three million young Americans. In many cases, the Corps gave enrollees a measure of self-respect and dignity as well as faith in the future of their country. The Civilian Conservation Corps was simply a practical idea that worked.

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APPENDIX

## APPENDIX A

## CAMP PREFIX DESIGNATIONS

CAMP DESIGNATION	LAND OWNERSHIP	SUPERVISING AGENCY
BR	Federal Reclamation Projects	Bureau of Reclamation
DG (G)	Public Domain	Division of Grazing
"Drought Relief Camps"		
DF	National Forest	U.S. Forest Service
DNP	National Park	National Park Service
DPE	Private Land	U.S. Forest Service
DSP	Municipal Park	National Park Service
F	National Forest	U.S. Forest Service
MA	Municipal Park	National Park Service
NM	National Monument	National Park Service
NP	National Park	National Park Service
P	Private Forest	Unknown
PE	Unknown	National Park Service
SCS	Private Land	Soil Conservation Service
SP	Municipal Park	National Park Service

APPENDIX B  
CCC CAMPS IN COLORADO<sup>1</sup>

CAMP DESIGNATION	CAMP NAME	POST OFFICE
BR-22	Grand Valley	Grand Junction
BR-23	Montrose	Montrose
BR-55	Palisade	Palisade
BR-59	Mesa	Palisade
BR-71	Uncompahgre	Montrose
BR-81	Vallecito (Pine River)	Bayfield
BR-93	Mancos	Mancos
BR-94	Mancos	Mancos
DG-1	Massadona	Massadona
DG-2	Grand Junction	Grand Junction
DG-8	Meeker	Meeker
DG-9	Kline or Mad Mesa	Durango
DG-10	Montrose	Montrose
DG-11	Redvale	Redvale
DG-65	Massadona	Skull Creek

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<sup>1</sup>U.S., Army, Eighth Corps Area, "Civilian Conservation Corps, Eighth Corps Area, Status Record of CCC Camps Authorized Since Inception of the Program Up To and Including December 31, 1941," Compiled by Office of Liaison Officer, CCC, Eighth Corps Area, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, Container 111, Record Group 49, Federal Archives and Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

CAMP DESIGNATION	CAMP NAME	POST OFFICE
DG-79	Gunnison	Gunnison
DG-80	Walden	Walden
DG-81	Two Bar Ranch	Sunbeam
DG-107	Piceance Creek	Meeker
DG-125	Paradox	Paradox
DG-139	Saguache	Saguache
DG-140	Green	Baggs, Wyoming
G-2	Grand Junction	Grand Junction
G-11	Redvale	Redvale
G-65	Massadona	Skull Creek
G-79	Gunnison	Gunnison
G-80	Walden	Walden
G-81	Two Bar Ranch	Sunbeam
G-107	Piceance Creek	Meeker
G-125	Paradox	Paradox
G-139	Saguache	Saguache
G-140	Green	Baggs, Wyoming
G-181	Parkdale	Parkdale
DF-46	San Isabel	Gardner
DF-48	Norwood	Norwood
DNP-5	Mesa Verde #1	Mesa Verde
DPE-201	Fountain	Colorado Springs
DPE-203	Franktown	Castle Rock
DSP-1	Greeley Park	Greeley
DSP-2	Durango	Durango

CAMP DESIGNATION	CAMP NAME	POST OFFICE
DSP-3	Palmer Park	Colorado Springs
F-1	Peaceful Valley	Peaceful Valley
F-2	Little South	Eggers
F-4 (old site)	Michigan	Walden
F-4 (new site)	Parkview	Granby
F-5	Elk River	Steamboat
F-6	Marvine	Marvine
F-7	Blue River	Dillon
F-8	Tabernash	Tabernash
F-10	Bailey	Bailey
F-11	Chicago Creek	Idaho Springs
F-13	Lake George	Lake George
F-14	Saylor Park	Woodland Park
F-15	Tigiwon	Minturn
F-16 (old site)	Mesa	Skyway
F-16 (new site)	Trickle Park	Cedaredge
F-17	Lands End	Whitewater
F-19	Waunita	Pitkin
F-20	Pitkin	Pitkin
F-23	Tomichi	Sargents
F-24	Trout Creek	Buena Vista
F-26	Hardscrabble	Florence
F-27	Divide	Delta
F-28	Glade	Dolores
F-29	Blanco	Pagosa Springs

CAMP DESIGNATION	CAMP NAME	POST OFFICE
F-30	Conejos-Alamosa	Alamosa
F-31	Buffalo	Buffalo
F-32	Cascade	Cascade
F-33	Manitou	Manitou
F-35	Lenado	Woody Creek
F-38	Bear River	Yampa
F-40	Stunner	Alamosa
F-46	Huerfano	Huerfano
F-48	Norwood	Norwood
F-49	South Fork	South Fork
F-50	Red Feather	Red Feather Lakes
F-51	Norrie	Meredith
F-52	Canadian	Fort Collins
F-53	Lone Doma	Dolores
F-54	Eagle	Eagle
F-55	St. Charles	Pueblo
F-56	Bayfield	Bayfield
F-57	Millwood	Mancos
F-58	Bear Creek	Golden
F-59	Isabel	Rye
F-60	Jackson	Monument
F-61	Poudre	Fort Collins
F-62	Boulder	Boulder
F-63	Idaho Springs	Idaho Springs
F-64	Woodland	Woodland Park
F-65	Glenwood	Glenwood Springs

CAMP DESIGNATION	CAMP NAME	POST OFFICE
F-66	Chambers Lake	Fort Collins
F-67	Coon Creek	Mesa
F-68	Yeoman Park	Eagle
F-69	Taylor Park	Almont
F-71	Gunnison	Gunnison
MA-1	Red Rocks Metro Park	Mt. Morrison
MA-2	Gennessee Metro Park #1	Golden
NM-1-C-#1	Glade Park	Grand Junction
NM-1-C-#2	Grand Junction	Grand Junction
NM-2	Colorado National Monument or Headquarters	Grand Junction
NM-3-C-#1	Grand Junction	Grand Junction
NM-3-C-#2	Fruita	Grand Junction
NP-1	Horseshoe Park	Estes Park
NP-2	Maintenance	Mancos
NP-3	Grand Lake	Grand Lake
NP-4	Mill Creek	Estes Park
NP-5	Mesa Verde #1	Mesa Verde
NP-6	Mesa Verde #2	Mesa Verde
NP-7	Grand Lake	Grand Lake
NP-8	Colorado National Monument #1	Grand Junction
NP-9	Colorado National Monument #2	Grand Junction

CAMP DESIGNATION	CAMP NAME	POST OFFICE
NP-11	Rocky Mountain National Park (Mill Creek #1)	Estes Park
NP-12-#2	Grand Lake	Grand Lake
NP-13	Mancos	Mancos
P-204	Bear Creek	Golden
PE-204	Bear Creek	Golden
SCS-1	Trinidad	Trinidad
SCS-2	Burn't Mill	Pueblo
SCS-3	Hugo	Hugo
SCS-4	Cheyenne Wells	Cheyenne Wells
SCS-5	Springfield	Springfield
SCS-6	Templeton Gap or Fountain	Colorado Springs
SCS-7	Franktown	Castle Rock
SCS-8	Wellington or Buckeye	Wellington
SCS-9	Elbert	Elbert
SCS-10	Durango	Durango
SCS-11	Grand Junction	Grand Junction
SCS-12	Fruita	Grand Junction
SCS-13	Capulin or Monte Vista	La Jara
SCS-14	Cortez	Cortez
SCS-15	Sterling	Sterling
SCS-16	Horse Creek	Kutch

CAMP DESIGNATION	CAMP NAME	POST OFFICE
SCS-17	Colorado State Forest	Gould
SCS-18	Huerfano	Gardner
SCS-19	Elkhead Creek	Craig
SP-1	Boulder Mountain Metro. Park #1	Nederland
SP-2	Boulder Mountain Metro. Park #2	Boulder
SP-3	Denver Mountain Metro. Park #1	Fort Logan
SP-4	Denver Mountain Metro. Park #2	Fort Logan
SP-5	Boulder Mountain Metro. Park #3	Boulder
SP-6	Pueblo Mountain Metro. Park	Beulah
SP-7	Rifle Mountain Metro. Park	Rifle
SP-8	American Legion County Park	Trinidad
SP-9	Loveland Mountain Metro. Park	Loveland
SP-10	Lookout Mountain Metro. Park	Glenwood Springs
SP-11	Monument Lake Metro. Park	Trinidad
SP-12	Palmer Metro. Park	Colorado Springs
SP-13	Denver Mountain Metro. Park #3	Mt. Morrison
SP-14	Denver Mountain Metro. Park #4	Golden

<u>CAMP DESIGNATION</u>	<u>CAMP NAME</u>	<u>POST OFFICE</u>
SP-15	Fort Collins Mtn. Metro. Park	Fort Collins
SP-16	Durango Metro. Park	Durango
SP-17	Cub Creek Metro. Park	Evergreen
SP-18	Genessee Metro. Park #2	Genessee





