

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: CONSERVING MEMORY: THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS IN WESTERN MARYLAND

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The New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) is often heralded as a perfect cohesion for solving two of the nation's most neglected resources: unemployed young men and a decimated natural landscape. While this study does not debate this conclusion, it adds to this interpretation by focusing on a specific region, Garrett and Allegany Counties in Maryland, to explore the impact of the Corps at a local level. The examination includes the exploration of the history of the region, the changes to the landscape and surrounding environment, the effect of an influx of young men upon the nearby farming and mountain communities, and the economic impact for both the enrollees and for the local population. A variety of sources were employed, including local archives and museums, photographs, official government publications, health statistics, crime statistics, marriage records, census records, newspaper articles, and artifacts in private collections. The research process demonstrates the lack of material available to the public. To that end, this project also involved processing documents for the Maryland State Archives and resulted in an exhibition proposal that incorporates all of the research with personal holdings, memoirs, and photographs. Such an exhibit serves to reinsert the Civilian Conservation Corps into the local public memory, providing a tangible connection to the forests and parks that enhance the local community.

CONSERVING MEMORY: THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS IN
WESTERN MARYLAND

By

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Introduction

Parallels between the Great Depression and the current economic crisis are undeniable. Based in the same root cause, borrowing money on margin, stocks sold in a speculating frenzy until the bubble unceremoniously burst. In the 1930s, the solution was to vastly expand the control and thus funding of the federal government. In 1933 newly elected President Franklin D. Roosevelt, true to his campaign promises, enacted many social and economic programs aimed specifically at providing “jobs for the jobless.”¹ The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was one of the first of those programs, created during Roosevelt’s first one hundred days in office. On March 31, 1933 both houses of government approved Senate Bill S.598, the Emergency Conservation Work Act. President Roosevelt signed the bill into law as Executive Order 6101 five days later on April 5, 1933. With unprecedented expediency, the Office of Emergency Conservation Work opened the same day. In the years to come, the many contributions of the CCC to the infrastructure of the United States included the construction of Camp David, Skyline Drive, the Triborough/ Robert F. Kennedy Bridge in New York City, the Trans Island Causeway linking Florida to Key West, the Grand Coulee Dam and the Boulder (Hoover) Dam; as well as the inception of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) that supplies electricity to nine million people in seven different states while simultaneously providing flood control, navigation, and land management for the Tennessee River system.²

¹ Used repeatedly by a variety of sources, this phrase was the stated aim of the Civilian Conservation Corps in ads and promotion of the program. Daniel J Leab et al., eds., “The Great Depression and the New Deal: A Thematic Encyclopedia” (Santa Barbara, Calif: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 272.

² “About TVA.” <http://www.tva.com/abouttva/index.htm> (October 14, 2010).

For evidence of the TVA administered CCC camps, see Perry H Merrill, *Roosevelt’s Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942* (Montpelier, VT: Perry H. Merrill, 1981), 9, 32, 41. and Michael Sherraden, “The Civilian Conservation Corps: Effectiveness of the Camps” (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1979), 4.

Successes aside, the sheer volume of public works agencies that constituted the so-called alphabet soup of federal programs created during the New Deal has engendered much scrutiny and analysis by historians and other scholars. Generally falling into one of three camps, these examinations either view the New Deal as the much needed remedy for the Great Depression, as a tool for preserving only the worst of capitalism and failing to assist those who needed it most, or as a total failure that grossly misappropriated government funds and authority. Contemporary charges of fascism and communism were unavoidable. Socialists and Communists condemned the program as Fascist in nature.³ Communist literature was present at the CCC camps, however it was considered by the administration to be a product of the times and best handled by ignoring or disregarding disseminators of such materials. Voices of scholarly dissent include Paul Conkin and Howard Zinn, who asserted that the New Deal, while certainly of great assistance to the middle class, gave only enough to the lowest social strata to “create an aura of goodwill.”⁴ However, these voices make little clamor in the cacophony of praise made by many New Deal examinations.

The Civilian Conservation Corps

The common name of the Emergency Conservation Work Act, the Civilian Conservation Corps, stemmed from the president-elect’s address to Congress on March 21, 1933. Roosevelt eloquently endeavored “to create a civilian conservation corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with normal employment, and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control and similar projects.” Furthermore, he determined that such work “is of definite practical value, not only through the prevention of great present financial loss but also as

³ Olen Cole, *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), 3.

⁴ Howard Zinn, ed., *New Deal Thought* (Indianapolis, IN: The Bobbs-Merrill Co, 1966), xvi.; Paul Keith Conkin, *The New Deal*, 2nd ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co, 1975).

a means of creating future national wealth.”⁵ Such a statement reflects the desire to create meaningful work that would benefit not only the immediate need but also future growth. The term resonated with the American people, and the name stuck. The legislature did not formalize the name until the passing of the Civilian Conservation Corps Act of June 28, 1937. This act was simply a congressional renewal of the temporary program originally formed as the Emergency Conservation Work Act.⁶

Arguably the most popular of the early New Deal programs, the CCC was a precursor for the extensive Works Progress Administration that followed in 1935. The Corps fulfilled two immediate needs: putting able bodied young men to work and righting the destruction wrought upon the landscape in the preceding years. The economy at local and national levels received direct benefit from the work of this temporary agency. The surrounding landscape also benefited from the influx of a dedicated labor pool. In Maryland, the primary function of the Corps was management of the forests and recreational facilities.⁷ Nowhere is this work more apparent today than in the western part of the state. Garrett and Allegany Counties combined contained more than half of all camps in the state. For this reason alone, the activities of the CCC in that region demand further investigation.

The legacy of the CCC has generated surprisingly less scholarship than may be expected. The earliest works, including those by Ovid Butler and Albert Jernberg, are compilations of stories told by the enrollees. John Salmond’s *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A*

⁵ U.S. Congress, *An Act for the Relief of Unemployment Through the Performance of Useful Public Work and for Other Purposes*, Public Law 5, 73rd Congress, 1st Session, 1933, 1.

⁶ Cohen, *The Tree Army*, 6-7; Cole, *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 4; William Edward Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1963), 52-54; Merrill, *Roosevelt’s Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*, 2; Eugene Phillip Parker, “When Forests Trumped Parks: The Maryland Experience, 1906-1950,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* Volume 101, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 216.

⁷ Stan Cohen, *The Tree Army: A Pictorial History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942* (Missoula, Mont: Pictorial Histories Pub. Co, 1980), 150.

New Deal Case Study, published in 1967, is still a landmark work regarding the Civilian Conservation Corps. It was not until the 1970s that scholarly analyses of the efficacy of the CCC began to emerge. *The Soil Soldiers* by Leslie Alexander Lacy in 1976 was one of these early efforts. Perry H. Merrill's Roosevelt's Forest Army published in 1981 remains one of the hallmark examinations of the Corps and one of the few that examines the nation as a whole rather than a specific region. The state forester of Vermont and thus responsible for CCC work projects in his home state, Merrill endeavored to account for the total work accomplished by the CCC in every state. It remains to this day an invaluable source regarding the accomplishments of the Corps. Given the success and popularity of the CCC it is perhaps unsurprising that these works and others provide a rosy glow to the bulk of their discussion, drawn strictly from an administrative viewpoint. They also celebrate the CCC as a model that helped young male Americans to survive the Great Depression without any costs to themselves, while also providing great benefit to society and the surrounding natural environment. Recent scholarship, such as Neil Maher's 2008 publication, *Nature's New Deal*, somewhat refutes these earlier analyses as skewed by introducing the much needed perspective of environmental history into the dialogue. Maher offers new ideas and insights while maintaining the clarion call of the Civilian Conservation Corps as the most conservation-minded of the many agencies in the sphere of environmental policy.⁸

By the turn of the century, the impact of social history upon the method of historical inquiry is undeniable, and the evaluations of the Corps benefited from new perspectives. In

⁸ Ovid Butler, *Youth Rebuilds; Stories from the C. C. C* (Washington, DC: The American Forestry Association, 1934); Albert W Jernberg, *My Brush Monkeys; a Narrative of the CCC*, ed. Marya Tze Caraman (New York, NY: Robert R. Smith, 1941); Leslie Alexander Lacy, *The Soil Soldiers: The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Great Depression*, 1st ed. (Radnor, PA: Chilton Book Company, 1976); Neil M. Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2009); Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*; John A Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967).

1999, Olen Cole explored the experience of the African American enrollees in California and the effect of the CCC in their lives. It remains the only complete work pertaining specifically to those men who made up ten percent of the total enrollees.⁹ More recently, two works specifically regarding the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps in western Maryland remain the only until this time that directly address the experience of the enrollees in that region. Naturalists rather than historians by trade, Francis “Champ” Zumbrun and John Mash both contributed admirably to the understanding of the Corps and its effect on a local level. Although these efforts are commendable, an exploration of the scholarship reveals a lack of thoroughly researched works specifically pertaining to the CCC in Maryland or to the effect of the Corps’ presence upon the local populations with whom they interacted on a weekly or even daily basis.¹⁰ This study seeks to right this gap in knowledge by utilizing a broad range of sources specifically pertaining to the camps in Allegany and Garrett counties in order to reconstruct as complete a picture as possible of that time and place, and of the people who lived there.

Local Histories of Garrett and Allegany Counties

Garrett and Allegany Counties are the two westernmost in the state of Maryland. The mountainous terrain in the region sits squarely in Appalachia. Garrett County is the farthest west as well as one of the largest counties in the region at 668 square miles. It is bordered by Pennsylvania to the north, West Virginia to the west, and to the south and east by both Allegany County and West Virginia again. Allegany County is in the middle of the mountainous region of western Maryland bordered by Pennsylvania to the north; by Sideling Hill Creek to the east, separating it from Washington County; to the south and southeast by the Potomac River, forming

⁹ Judith Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child: Governing America’s Young in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 160.

¹⁰ Cole, *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps*; John Mash, *The Land of the Living: The Story of Maryland’s Green Ridge State Forest* (Cumberland, MD: Commercial Press, 2006); Champ Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2010).

the boundary with West Virginia; and to the west by Garrett County.¹¹ This hilly terrain, however, did not discourage settlement.¹²

Western Maryland is rife with history. Beginning with the establishment of a trading post at the junction of Wills Creek and the Potomac River, then the construction of the National Road, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, each ensured that Garrett and Allegany counties would play an important part in the nation's history. The National Road stretched from Baltimore to Garrett County, and the extensive use of the road by travelers generated the growth of towns in its path. In the state of Maryland, Cumberland is historically one of the most highly populated urban areas.¹³ People inhabited the area continuously from first settlement until the modern day. This was America's first western frontier. The land is a historically rich environment that was decimated by the over mining of its coal and timber resources. However, even the advancement of technology could not squelch the overwhelming natural beauty of its mountain vistas. This was an important part of the American landscape Franklin D. Roosevelt sought to restore through reforestation, fire control, and soil conservation.

Environmental History

The concept of environmentalism is a modern one. However, it has deep roots in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Crystallized during the Progressive Era, the ideals of three men; President Theodore Roosevelt, John Muir, and Gifford Pinchot; guided the movement. The concept of maintaining the natural environment for use by the next generation was unfortunately revolutionary. Until this time, the American landscape witnessed nothing but

¹¹ See Figure 1 for a map of the region.

¹² Maryland State Planning Commission, *Recreation in Maryland: A Major Economic Assessment*, Publications 73 (Baltimore, MD: Maryland State Planning Commission, 1951), 1.

¹³ Gardner, Todd K. and Michael R. Haines, "Urbanized areas – population: 1800–1990 [Part 2]." Table Aa1664-1883 in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/ISBN-9780511132971.Aa684-1895>.

destruction by the influx of settlers since the 1700s. In Maryland, the over harvesting of timber, over mining of coal, and improper agricultural practices resulted in decimation that was familiar across the nation. Those three men recognized the need to preserve the landscape before development irreparably altered it forever. The debate, that outlasted their lifetimes, concerned how best to maintain the environment in perpetuity. Would it be better to leave the space pristine, or to moderate the use of the resources contained therein? Today the manifestations of the ideals of preservation are visible in the Parks Department and in the ideals of planned-use conservation in the Forest Service and in Wildlife Management Areas.

Scholarship in the field has moved away from its original focus upon the conflicting ideologies of Pinchot and Muir and the repercussions of that conflict in the use of land.¹⁴ Over time, the examinations came to vary in their analysis of other factors at play aside from the ideals of these much esteemed men. Social, political, and scientific factors all were at play during the Progressive Era. Samuel Hays was among the first scholars to explore the effect of these other factors upon environmental legislation. In *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, Hays identifies two conflicting political agendas: the desire for controlled development of policy by elite scientists and the demand for a less rigid system that would allow grassroots efforts to trickle upwards.¹⁵ Almost forty years later, William Cronon compiled a collection of essays in 1996 “intended to encourage greater reflection about the complicated and contradictory ways in which modern human beings conceive of their place in the environment.”¹⁶ Such scholarship moved the historical discussion away from the deification of individuals and towards an incorporation of the many perspectives and factors at play in environmental legislation. Among

¹⁴ Sherraden, “The Civilian Conservation Corps: Effectiveness of the Camps,” 14.

¹⁵ Samuel P Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (New York, NY: Atheneum, 1969).

¹⁶ William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton and Co, 1996), 20.

recent scholarship, the aforementioned work by Maher is one of few to inject a discussion of the Corps onto the face of environmental history. For all the work that came before, such works demonstrate the need to push further yet into unexplored veins of inquiry.

Memory Studies and Public History

This examination contends that a retrospective review of the impact of the Civilian Conservation Corps will not only reveal the immediate impact of the Corps upon local populations, but also how those populations today remember the Corps. Although most people never recognize this association, many modern Corps' utilize the structure and intent originally laid down by the CCC.¹⁷ The field of public history provides a unique lens through which to interpret memory studies. A locally based exhibit featuring the activities of the CCC would simultaneously inform the audience of the history that surrounds them, simultaneously addressing this issue of public memory. Dolores Hayden's *The Power of Place* discusses the reinterpretation of landscape through public history, seeking to unify what the scholarship previously fragmented by combining aesthetics and politics with ethnic and women's history.¹⁸ So too would a CCC study benefit from the defragmentation of scholarship. Furthermore, David Glassberg echoes the idea of a place having power in his work *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life*. To him, places have power because of an individual's association of a given place with his or her own past.¹⁹ In this light, the public memory of the local populations can be vastly different than that of the enrollees. An exhibit would also serve

¹⁷ Such Corps' include, but are not limited to the Peace Corps, the Americorps, the Chesapeake Conservation Corps, the Maryland Conservation Corps, and the Youth Corps. See the Conclusion for a full discussion of these successor corps.

¹⁸ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1999), xii.

¹⁹ David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

to meld these two perspectives in order to draw together a more complete picture of the CCC experience in western Maryland.

Intent of this Study

The CCC's legacy is significant in many ways. The men who worked for the Civilian Conservation Corps formed a civilian corps organized under military style training, ready to fight in World War II. Their environmental conservation efforts established inexpensive recreational opportunities for a nation. Serving its ultimate purpose, the Corps helped to lift the country out of the Great Depression and brought conservation to the attention of the entire nation. However, the place of the Civilian Conservation Corps in national memory is practically nil. This lack of recognition only serves to strengthen the necessity of reincorporating this vital aspect of United States history into the national consciousness through the development of a locally based exhibit. Contextualizing the CCC in western Maryland with the history of the region establishes a historical basis for the entrance of the Corps. Understanding the geography and appearance of the landscape both before and after the CCC is also necessary to understand its impact upon the environment. The enrollees' interactions with each other and with local townspeople changed how they viewed one another, and themselves. The process of research and project development reveals the resonant impact of the CCC in western Maryland. This is a thematic project, focusing upon the history of the place itself as well as the surrounding environment, of the people associated, and of the interactions of those peoples. The program also facilitated future environmental policy changes. Reaching far beyond the enrollees and camp staff, the Civilian Conservation Corps touched the lives of all who came into contact with the program by formalizing the development of the environmental conscience of the nation and by affecting social change in the region.

Chapter One- The Historic Landscape and Development of Western Maryland from the Early National Period to the 1930s

The development of western Maryland and its history is integral to understanding why and in what ways the region required the attention of the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930s. The geography of the terrain encouraged human interaction prior even to European colonization. Although not widely settled, neither was the region an uninhabited wilderness. An analysis of historical sources regarding native flora and fauna species reveals an early picture of the region and also a view of its ecological change over time. To understand the direct effect of the CCC's work in western Maryland the historical landscape itself must be established as a basis of comparison for what exists today. By the eighteenth century, the western part of the Maryland witnessed new settlement, but by comparison experienced limited population and economic growth to that of the eastern portion. Economic struggles characterize the region in the nineteenth century. The economic gain of one decade became a downfall in the next. Industrialization was the order of the day by the late nineteenth century, accessing the area first with the National Road, then the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and finally with the railroads. Still, western Maryland remained sparsely populated with the majority of its population centered in two major cities, Cumberland and Frostburg. Attracting dignitaries and noted businessmen with its rich beauty and natural resources, the region remained a hidden gem in Maryland until well into the twentieth century. The Great Depression took its toll but did not defeat the region. Western Maryland's reinvigoration and discovery by the world at large was in no small part due to the efforts of the CCC. To begin to understand the impact of the Corps, a picture of the region

must be clear in one's mind. Historical descriptions and early photographs provide this perspective.²⁰

Western Maryland's Historical Landscape

Western Maryland is a boreal forest, defined as a forest in the northern hemisphere with trees that continue to grow in cold temperatures. The region exists at a high elevation; Cumberland at a low 623 feet above sea level and Backbone Mountain peaking at 3,400 feet above sea level. With a climate characterized by heavy snowfall in the winter and mild summers, western Maryland forests contain a wide variety of conifers, deciduous trees, and animal life. Scholar Harry Stegmaier Jr., State Forester Fred Besley, local historian John Mash and local folklore hero Meshach Browning all contribute to the understanding of the historical landscape. Browning lived from 1781-1859 and his epic tales of hunting wild game provide a vivid first hand description of the region at the turn of the nineteenth century. He boasts of killing a wide variety of native animals including deer, black and brown bears, panthers, timber wolves, and wildcats. To this list the scientists add eastern elk, caribou, moose, woodland bison, beavers, woodchucks, red and gray squirrels, grey foxes, cottontails, snowshoe rabbits, white perch, trout, salmon, warblers, nuthatches, hermit thrush, and passenger pigeons. A government survey conducted in 1951 regarding the economic opportunity of recreational development in western Maryland provides a glimpse of the region directly after the time of the CCC, recounting these species killed for sport in 1950: large and small mouth bass, crappie, sunfish, three kinds of trout, suckers, and catfish; deer, black bear, bobcats, squirrels, rabbits, raccoons, opossums, woodchucks, red and grey foxes, pheasant, ruffed grouse, quail, doves, ducks, geese, wild turkeys, muskrat, mink, timber rattlers, copperheads. This recounting makes plain that many of

²⁰ For general Maryland history, see Joseph L Arnold, *Maryland: Old Line to New Prosperity* (Sun Valley, CA: American Historical Press, 2003); Robert J Brugger, *Maryland, a Middle Temperament, 1634-1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Maryland Historical Society, 1988).

the historical species simply disappeared from the region. The CCC replantation efforts encouraged the habitation of native animal populations as well. Unfortunately, the simple revision of land use practices will not rejuvenate animal populations decimated by overhunting either for game, sport, fur, or fear.²¹

The flora has proved more perseverant over time. Many of the historical breeds are not only extant, but flourishing. In his 1916 landmark publication, *The Forests of Maryland*, State Forester Fred Besley recounts the indigenous species as including: white oak, red oak, pitch pine, table mountain pine, tulip poplar, hickory, maple, black gum, white ash, red ash, black ash, yellow and black birch, beech, basswood, cucumber, elms, hemlock, black locust, cherries, sassafras, red mulberry, spruce, white willow, butternut, dogwood, holly, blue beech, hornbeam, redbud, tamarack, poplar, and hackberry.²² To this list, Stegmaier adds hard pine, chestnut oak, blackberries, blueberries, elderberries, dewberries, wild grapes, witch hazel, greenbrier, hydrangea, rhododendron, azalea, and everyone's favorite, poison ivy.²³ According to Mash, introduced flora species include Scotch pine, red pine, Norway spruce, European larch, apple tree, hybrid poplar, hazelnut, and hackberry.²⁴ Comparing this list of species to what exists today suggests that the tree species planted by the Civilian Conservation Corps' reforestation efforts primarily included native species. This analysis of the descriptions of the landscape extant in the historical record provides a point of comparison both to the landscape for the CCC enrollees encountered and also for the modern visitor.

²¹ Meshach Browning, *Forty-Four Years of the Life of a Hunter: Being Reminiscences of Meshach Browning, a Maryland Hunter*, ed. E. Stabler (Oakland, MD: Appalachian Background Inc, 1994); Maryland State Planning Commission, *Recreation in Maryland: A Major Economic Assessment*, 2, 11-12; Mash, *The Land of the Living*, 51; Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegheny County*, 6, 9; Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 151.

²² Besley, *The Forests of Maryland*, 21-23.

²³ Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegheny County*, 9.

²⁴ See Mash, *The Land of the Living*, 141-143 for a detailed listing of native and introduced flora species.

A Pictorial View of the Landscape in Western Maryland

Photographs provide a unique historical perspective of the region. The earliest pictures from the 1850s depict a wooded and mountainous terrain surrounding farmland, valleys, and lakes. Settlement was limited to sporadic pockets and for the most part the region remained uninhabited. Lush and verdant, it is easy to see how the region lured early settlers with the tenacity to survive on the frontier. Conifer and deciduous trees dominate the landscape. Waterfalls streamed down the hillside, filling rivers on their way to the coast. Inevitably the coal mining, lumber, and farming industries each made their mark upon the terrain. In later years, the earth posed trouble for farmers in the form of fields strewn with rocks and a preference for hardy crops, as evidenced by many Farm Security Administration photographs.²⁵ Those three industries felled great swaths of timber throughout the region in pursuit of domination and capital gain. Black rock and rubble replaced giant stands of trees on the face of the mountainsides. The cut-over forest stood in stark contrast to those that remained in the distance. Tree stumps populated the landscape. Soil, once held in place by the deep roots of virgin forest instead cascaded uselessly down the hillside. Gullies formed deep channels in its wake. Steam from railroad engines filled the air. Soot from burning coal poured out of smokestacks. Steel bridges spanned rivers; railroad tracks and roads wove through the countryside, connecting one town after the other. Lumber mills and coal mines decimated the surrounding land, leaving only fallen trees and muddy fields in their wake. Large factories producing glass wares, paper products, rubber, and other chemicals dominated the landscape once established. Even so, these pictures of destruction number few compared to other pictures of the same time. The land along the National Road appeared much as it does today. Although the view for the tourist may be the same now as it was then, it is in the more remote and less populated areas that belie the change

²⁵ To view a selection of these photographs, see the Appendix.

over time.²⁶ These early descriptions and photographs serve to frame and contextualize the historical events of the region.

Western Maryland in the Eighteenth Century

Native Americans lived in western Maryland for thousands of years without greatly altering the environment. The junction of the Potomac River and Wills Creek combined with a natural break in the Appalachian Mountains known as the Narrows and thus encouraged travel and human interaction that continued after European colonization. The upper reaches of the Potomac were desirable for its run of trout and salmon each spring. Members of the Shawnee, or Shawanese, established seasonal hunting camps in the area along Will's Creek long before the Europeans arrived.²⁷ They were a subset of the nomadic Algonquins who lived in the region from the Hudson Bay to Virginia along the east coast, and westward to the Mississippi River. It appears the Shawnee tribe fled ahead of the approaching white settlers. The first accounts of the region written by white trappers and traders report in finding only abandoned Native American campsites, date unreported.²⁸

By the early eighteenth century, Euro-Americans sought natural resources and farmland in the Maryland colony's western region. Despite the increasing settlement, the region's mountainous terrain remained untouched for the most part, standing in stark contrast to the fertile valleys below. Indeed, the region west of the fall line leading to the Atlantic Ocean, beyond the

²⁶ Farm Security Administration Photograph Collection, American Memory Project. Library of Congress: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/fsahtml/fahome.html>, accessed March 4, 2011; Albert L. Feldstein, *Garrett County*, Postcard History Series (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006); Albert L. Feldstein, *Allegany County*, Postcard History Series (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2006); The Garrett County Historical Society, *Glimpses of the Past*, vol. 1, unknown vols. (Oakland, MD: The Garrett County Historical Society, undated); Zumbun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*.

²⁷ The present day location is at the foot of Green Street in Cumberland. In 1750 the Ohio Company established the first permanent European settlement in the region at this location.

²⁸ James W Thomas and Thomas J. C Williams, *History of Allegany County, Maryland*, vol. 1 (Baltimore, MD: Regional Publishing Co, 1969), 9; Joseph H Weaver, *Cumberland, 1787-1987: A Bicentennial History* (Cumberland, MD: The City of Cumberland and the Cumberland Bicentennial Committee, 1987), 1.

Piedmont Plateau and into the mountainous terrain of the Blue Ridge and Appalachians, was at the edges of British North America's western frontier. Life was difficult for those who chose to settle there, but an individual with sufficient knowledge of how to survive could succeed and prosper by utilizing the region's abundant natural resources. Arable land was plentiful and fertile. An early map of the area, dated 1751, identifies the region as simply "Abandoned Shawnee Lands." Contact as far west as Will's Creek was first reported in 1728, though the earliest confirmed report was in 1736 by an expedition sent by Lord Fairfax to the headwaters of the Potomac. Only roving bands or individuals separate from the indigenous ethnic groups that inhabited the area earlier remained there by the mid-eighteenth century.²⁹

Capitalizing on the land granted to his father in 1632, the second Lord Baltimore, Cecil Calvert, sought policies encouraging European settlement of the Maryland colony's western frontier. In 1740, as the Calvert family representative, Thomas Cresap established a permanent settlement in the Calvert name. He called it Oldtown, located just a few miles downstream from the mouth of Will's Creek. By the mid 1740s, a large influx of German settlers from southern Pennsylvania began to move into the region. Working as a land agent for Daniel Dulaney, Cresap sold fertile farmland to the incoming immigrants.³⁰ In doing so, Cresap generated the first large-scale migration into western Maryland. Following that success, Cresap blazed many roads through the wilderness, truly opening a pathway to the West. Allegany County native, Francis "Champ" Zumbrun, who is also a regional historian and former forest manager of Green Ridge State Forest, nicely sums up Cresap's role in the original western frontier.

²⁹ Despite this limited presence, several of their campsites were used by the white settlers and are still the site of towns today- including Cumberland, Braddock's Run, and Oldtown; Harry Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegany County: A History* (Parsons, WV: McClain Printing Co, 1976), 9-10; Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegany County, Maryland*, 1:9-10.

³⁰ Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegany County*, 12-13.

Like Daniel Boone in Kentucky, Thomas Cresap was Maryland's great pioneer, pathfinder and patriot. In addition to helping blaze what was later the National Road in 1753, Cresap forged the Oldtown Road through Green Ridge in 1758, connecting Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland during the French and Indian War.³¹

Through his role in forging the Nemaquin Path, Cresap opened an important route to the West for white settlers. Later generations traced the same route by boat, train, and eventually automobile. Cresap used one of the most important Indian paths in the New World to trace his route. Originally extending from Will's Creek in modern Cumberland, Maryland to the Monongahela River that joins the Allegheny River to form the Ohio River at Pittsburgh, the Ohio Company hired Cresap to extend the path further west, from Cumberland going west, blazing the road over Haystack Mountain through what is today Frostburg, the Savage River Forest, and Grantsville, Maryland to Uniontown and Brownsville in Pennsylvania. Working with the Delaware Indian leader, Nemaquin, and a scout named Christopher Gist, Cresap's efforts established the first road west of the eastern continental divide and the Allegheny Mountains extending into the Ohio River Valley.³²

Later called the Braddock Road, then the Cumberland Road, and even later the National Road, this pathway took on historic national significance. In 1755, during the French and Indian War, General Edward Braddock used the road to approach Fort Duquesne from Fort Cumberland. Braddock sought to evict the French from the fertile Ohio River Valley. He exploited the region's natural defenses by coming through the Narrows and camping at Will's Creek before departing for Pennsylvania on June 10, 1755. It was this attack that led to General Braddock's death when he was mortally wounded in the Battle of the Wilderness near Fort

³¹ Zumbun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 24.

³² Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegheny County*, 19-20; Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegheny County, Maryland*, 1:12; Weaver, *Cumberland, 1787-1987*, 2-3; Zumbun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 33.

Duquesne in July 1755. Notably, the young officer George Washington followed Braddock on this journey and returned to the region several times throughout his life.³³

Western Maryland and the National Road

After the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the new state government established Washington County in western Maryland, and in 1789 the region was subdivided with the creation of Allegany County. As part of his commitment to continue westward expansion, President Thomas Jefferson formalized the young nation's intent by signing the Cumberland-Ohio Road Bill into law on March 29, 1806. A route from Cumberland to the Ohio River across from Steubenville, Ohio was selected as the "most practical and least expensive route...[It was also the route] laid out by Nemaquin and Gist, used by Braddock, and in 1805, still in use as a narrow, unreliable, and deeply rutted track."³⁴ This law dictated a route that assured Cumberland the designation "Gateway to the West." This action formalized Cumberland's importance to the new nation's economic development.³⁵

However, funds were not available for the road project until 1809, and work did not commence until 1811. Construction on the road plodded along, and its condition was troublesome almost from the outset. In addition, there was a two-year lapse in construction due to political turmoil surrounding the War of 1812. It took over ten years for the first section of the road to open for public use. At that point, the pace of the project increased. In December of 1813 the first ten miles were opened, with the next eleven miles near completion. The Casselman River Bridge, that stands today as a famous landmark in Garrett County, was built

³³ Also known as the Battle of the Monongahela, see Winthrop Sargent, *A History of an Expedition Against Fort Duquesne in 1755 Under Major-General Edward Braddock* (New York, NY: Arno Press, 1971); Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegany County*, 40-45; Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegany County, Maryland*, 1:40; Weaver, *Cumberland, 1787-1987*, 4; Zumbun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 33-34.

³⁴ Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegany County*, 101.

³⁵ Stephen Schlosnagle, *Garrett County: A History of Maryland's Tableland*, ed. Garrett County Bicentennial Committee, 1st ed. (Parsons, WV: McClain Printing Co, 1978), 133-134; Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegany County*, 100; Weaver, *Cumberland, 1787-1987*, 9.

during the first phase of the National Road's construction. The western portion connecting Cumberland with modern Wheeling, West Virginia was completed in 1818. The construction of the western Maryland section, consisting of a thirty-three mile stretch of road from Cumberland to the border, was done manually and primarily by inexperienced farmers and wage laborers. This sometimes faulty construction contributed to the road's deterioration from frequent use as a popular trade route.³⁶ Private funds enabled the construction of the last leg, traveling east and connecting Cumberland with Baltimore, completed in 1823. Inflation soon drove real estate prices along the road sky high. Town of Cumberland floundered as inflation and neglect characterized the National Road's existence. The unending and expensive need for maintenance, as well as the high cost of management that the road required proved too much for the federal government. The road crumbled, even after a complete resurfacing in the mid 1820s. After repairing the road in 1834, the federal government handed over control and management of the roads over to the states. Following the installment of toll booths, the new turnpike attracted travelers with its ability to handle high volume traffic at speeds topping ten miles per hour. This led to a rise in the population of Cumberland that doubled from 1830 to 1840. This is clear evidence of the local boon provided by the new and improved National Road. The population of Cumberland was 1,162 in 1830 and 2,384 in 1840.³⁷ Reaching the height of its use in the period that directly followed until approximately 1855, the National Road heralded the new transportation revolution that changed the region's landscape over the nineteenth century.³⁸

³⁶ Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegheny County*, 102.

³⁷ Weaver, *Cumberland*, (Cumberland, MD: Cumberland Bicentennial Committee, 1987), 9.

³⁸ Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegheny County*, 104-105; Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegheny County, Maryland*, 1:106-108, 114; Weaver, *Cumberland, 1787-1987*, 9.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal

The building of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was the next step in the region's development. Beginning in 1785, the Potomac Navigation Company led the efforts to access the bountiful raw materials in western Maryland such as coal, iron, and timber by deepening the Potomac River and cutting channels to navigate around the falls and rapids of the river. Transportation and distribution of the region's rich resources thus relied upon seasonal flooding to raise the river level enough for barges to float through those channels. Laborers constructed flatboats during the winter, floated them downstream to transport goods in the spring and summer, and finally broke down the flatboats as firewood or building supplies. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal represents the final attempt to connect the Chesapeake Bay to the Ohio Territory by water. Inaugurated by John Quincy Adams on the Fourth of July, 1828, the states of Maryland and Virginia primarily financed the project. The canal was intended to connect Georgetown with Wheeling, West Virginia and the Ohio River. Due to almost constant competition with the simultaneous construction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the work on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal dawdled before ultimately terminating in Cumberland in 1850 at total length of 184 miles. Although the project never met its intended goal, its termination did provide a boon to the region because basins, loading boats, boatyards, and dry docks required construction. Cumberland became a focal point of activity, serving as a transfer location for goods and people from cars, coaches, wagons, barges, and later railroads to continue on their journey westward. For many years thereafter the canal served as a convenient and dependable way to transport goods to the markets in Washington, DC and Baltimore. Nonetheless, except in the areas directly touching the canal, the region remained sparsely populated.³⁹

³⁹ Schlosnagle, *Garrett County*, 133-136; Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegheny County*, 120-121; Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegheny County, Maryland*, 1:215; Weaver, *Cumberland, 1787-1987*, 13.

Western Maryland and the Railroads

At the same time that John Quincy Adams inaugurated the last great attempt to reach the Ohio River Valley by water, the last living signer of the Declaration of Independence, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, broke ground in Baltimore, Maryland for the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. This coincidental timing was perhaps a sign of the impending years of constant competition between those two forms of transport: canals and railroads. Both sought to achieve the largest distribution of goods to the furthest markets possible. It was a race the iron horse inevitably won. This competition touched Western Maryland's development, although the region's population continued to remain small relative to that of the East. Beginning in Baltimore in July of 1828, the railroad reached Harpers Ferry by the fall of 1834.⁴⁰ At the time, the railroad had considerably small holdings totaling only five locomotives for the whole company. Arduously crossing the Potomac River, the tracks reached Hancock by June 1, 1842.⁴¹ Pressing onward, the first Baltimore and Ohio train reached Cumberland on November 1, 1842. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad beat the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal to Cumberland by eight years, and then stretched far beyond the canal all the way to the intended terminus of both canal and railroad at the Ohio River.⁴²

Cumberland remained the terminus of the railroad line for the next ten years. As such, the city prospered under the grand title of Queen City. The presence of the railroad encouraged small settlements to develop along its route, bringing more commerce and prosperity to region. The railroad also made it possible for the region to become part of the new tourism trade. Traveling for pleasure was a new phenomenon in American culture in the 1800s. The railroad

⁴⁰ Now located in West Virginia, Harper's Ferry was at the time in Virginia.

⁴¹ Now located in Maryland, Hancock was at the time in Virginia.

⁴² Schlosnagle, *Garrett County*, 192, 196; Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegheny County*, 109, 127; Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegheny County, Maryland*, 1:263.

stood as the pinnacle of modern invention and ingenuity. Resort hotels populated the land along the tracks, vying for the privileged customers in a time before dining cars or sleeper trains. The inspirational wild beauty of the landscape fueled a quest for speed and convenience. On Christmas Eve, 1852 the railroad track was completed, and the railway reached beyond Cumberland for the first time with a train departing Baltimore on January 1, 1853 with an arrival eighteen hours later at the new terminus in Wheeling. Even the limited population growth in the area spurred by the railroad led Maryland to form Garrett County by splitting off the western portion of Allegany County in 1872. It was the last county created in the state. Despite a lack of any expansion during the years of the Civil War, the railroad reached all the way to Lake Erie by 1869 and to Philadelphia and New York City by the 1880s. In this way, the railroad connected Maryland with the larger world through western Maryland. The region primarily served as a transportation thoroughway and source of natural resources for industrial development in the East and beyond. Western Maryland's population expanded and new industries entered the economic landscape, but other regions of the country and the state also grew at a more rapid pace.⁴³

The arrival of the steam engine into Western Maryland heralded another important trend in the development of the region. Establishing an extensive rail system throughout the countryside, a variety of railroad, mining, and timber companies were thus intricately connected and perfectly poised to exploit the mineral riches of the mountainside. An array of railroad companies quickly followed the first wave pushed through by the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. The Western Maryland Railroad expanded to one of the largest in the region. Several were located at or near the future location of Civilian Conservation Corps campsites. The Skipnish Railroad passed right by Herrington Manor and the Red Run Railroad passed through Swallow

⁴³ Schlosnagle, *Garrett County*, 205, 253; Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegany County, Maryland*, 1:264; Weaver, *Cumberland, 1787-1987*, 14-16.

Falls.⁴⁴ Coal companies ran or utilized the transport of the Cumberland Railroad, Mount Savage Locomotive Works, Cumberland and Pennsylvania Railroad (C and P), Potomac and Piedmont, the West Virginia Central Railroad, and the Casselman River Railroad Company. The Cumberland and Pennsylvania alone moved two million tons of coal from Allegany County in 1873. Additionally, the Confluence and Oakland Railroad, the Jennings' Brothers Railroad, and the Mertens Railroad, all of which ran to local lumber towns, serviced the timber industry. These rails crisscrossed the mountainside, connecting all the mines to each other as well as to the open market beyond. Combined with the shipping capacity of the canal, this confluence of raw material and transportation provided a lifetime of riches to many. It was these mines, lumberyards, canals, and railroads that enabled prominent families such as the Carrolls, the Mertenses, and the Garretts to either continue or create their family dynasties.⁴⁵

The Industry Magnates of Western Maryland

All three families had extensive land holdings throughout Allegany and, eventually, Garrett counties. The Maryland Department of Natural Resources now maintains some sections of land owned by each family for public recreation. Charles Carroll of Carrollton once owned a large portion of the land now preserved as Green Ridge State Forest. Carroll owned much of the western Maryland mountainside. The increased accessibility to the region engendered financial opportunity that was undeniably alluring. It did not take the Carroll family long to begin shipping out iron ore and timber. Carroll's son-in-law, Richard Caton oversaw the business operations there.⁴⁶ In 1836 Carroll's Steam Saw Mill opened for business. Originally including

⁴⁴ Benjamin F. G Kline, *Tall Pines and Winding Rivers: The Logging Railroads of Maryland* (Oakland, MD: The Potomac River Valley, 1976), 84.

⁴⁵ Schlosnagle, *Garrett County*, 270-276; Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegany County*, 142; Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegany County, Maryland*, 1:452; Weaver, *Cumberland, 1787-1987*, 24-25.

⁴⁶ Incidentally, Richard Caton is also the namesake for Catonsville, Maryland. Caton settled it under his father-in-law's authority. He and his bride, Mary [Polly] Carroll, lived in Catonsville at Castle Thunder, at the present site of

a gristmill, blacksmith shop, stables, and worker's quarters; only the Carroll Chimney survives today. The Carroll's also sought coal, identifying two seams in the land they held on top of Town Hill. Unfortunately, both were void of coal and resulted only in wasted time and money. The story of the Carrolls in Garrett County peters out with little further remark.⁴⁷

In 1852 the Frederick Mertens purchased one track of land comprising over thirty thousand acres in eastern Allegany County previously owned by Charles Carroll. This is the same land that later became Green Ridge State Forest. Like the Carrolls and the Garretts, the Mertenses intended to exploit the natural advantages of the land by whatever means practicable. A German shipbuilding family, their fortune was built on lumber. Frederick Mertens, along with Peter Hein and Monroe H. Culp, were primarily responsible for the deforestation of 1872-1888. The canal's dependence upon wood for construction of boats and levees demanded constant activity quayside, each lumberyard employing forty to fifty men at a time. By the 1870's, Mertens' business extended from shipbuilding to lumber, coal, and management of the Queen City Glassworks. His land holdings increased to match his timber needs. The lumber business included its own camps and private railroad lines. In the late 1800's the Mertens family cleared and burned off the majority of virgin forest that still remained. Following the patriarch's death in 1886, the family began to consider a unique experiment in mountainous cultivation, the apple orchard. Brothers John and Fred Mertens managed the family business interests from that time on. From 1895-1910 the family conducted a study of the potential for a commercial apple orchard industry in the region. Their intent was to construct a town in the valley, centralized around production of the orchard, as demonstrated by the division of the land into three thousand

the Catonsville branch of the Baltimore County Public Library. This location served the Carrolls and Catons as a convenient site along the National Road that facilitated the shipment of goods in and out of Baltimore.

⁴⁷ Mash, *The Land of the Living*, 27; Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegany County, Maryland*, 1:249; Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 38.

ten acre plots called “villa sites.” They sought to encourage settlement of the Green Ridge Mountains and valleys by divvying up land the preceding generations held as a whole. Since the land was purchased at only one dollar per acre, the Mertenses stood to make a killing with resale prices as high as \$2,500 for a ten acre plot. Unfortunately, the plan soured quickly. Glowing reports in 1913 became more infrequent until by early 1917 the Mertenses declared bankruptcy. Landholders were infuriated by confusion over land deeds and filed legal claims. Once they settled their legal troubles, both Fred and John Mertens left Cumberland to establish a tourism-based steamboat business on the Potomac.⁴⁸

Concurrent to the Carroll activities at Green Ridge, John Work Garrett was investing in the region as well. There he purchased land further west of Green Ridge, land later called the Swallow State Forest Reserve and later still split into two parks now named Garrett State Forest and Swallow Falls State Park. The family’s success in western Maryland lay not in direct exploitation of the natural resources, but in facilitating the transportation of those goods to the wider market on their railroad. This generated such significant wealth for John W. Garrett that he was able to contribute generously to his community. In May of 1833 he personally paid to resurrect the local Cumberland newspaper, *The Maryland Advocate*, following a devastating fire. Garrett also built the Garrett Memorial Stone Church at Oakland in 1868 as a memorial to his brother Henry. Garrett passed away at his Deer Park, Maryland home on September 26, 1884. These three significant details reveal the high regard with which Garrett held the region as well as demonstrating how such esteem persisted over fifty years. As the ultimate testament to the Garrett family impulse of environmental philanthropy, in 1906 brothers John W. and Robert Garrett donated 1,917 acres of land to the state for use by the public. In a marked contrast to the environmental detriment wrought by his company specifically as well as the railroad in general

⁴⁸Mash, *The Land of the Living*, 83-84; Zumbun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 47, 50, 54-58, 65-66.

upon the face of America, the philanthropic works of John W. Garrett sought to preserve outdoor recreational opportunity as a whole and the natural beauty of western Maryland in particular.⁴⁹

The state of the Green Ridge Mountains by the early twentieth century is representative of the region as a whole. Abused by greed and unabated desire, the exacerbated use of coal and iron ore, logging, and as farmland stressed the environment to such a point that it began to crack. Seasonal flooding wrought immense destruction without root systems to preserve soil. Precious topsoil ran down the mountainside, creating gullies. Consecutive owners mismanaged the land, obliterating the natural resources therein. The boom was bound to bust. Just as the National Road faded from importance in the nineteenth century, America deemed the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal obsolete with a distinct preference for the railroad by the twentieth century. A natural disaster precipitated the ultimate demise of the C and O. Experiencing a slow decline in demand from 1909 onward, it was a flood in 1924 that finally destroyed the canal. The National Park Service purchased the canal and all of its property in 1938. After reconstruction efforts by the Civilian Conservation Corps on the first twenty-two miles of the canal it opened to the public as a national historical park.⁵⁰

The Decline of the Industrial Revolution and its Effects

The increased frequency of spring flooding in the early to middle twentieth century was a direct result of rampant deforestation. Indeed, forests still covered ninety-five per cent of Maryland until the nineteenth century.⁵¹ By the end of that same century, however, the landscape was denuded. Timber companies with purely economic interests consumed much of the forests previously untouched by farming settlements. Disregard for re-plantation practices

⁴⁹ Schlosnagle, *Garrett County*, 253-254; Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegheny County*, 150; Thomas and Williams, *History of Allegheny County, Maryland*, 1:409; Champ Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 77.

⁵⁰ "Civilian Conservation Corps," <http://www.nps.gov/choh/historyculture/civilianconservationcorpsccc.htm> (accessed June 26, 2011); Schlosnagle, *Garrett County*, 192.

⁵¹ Robert F Bailey, *Maryland's Forests and Parks: A Century of Progress* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub, 2006), 9.

reinforced the destruction caused. Rampant forest fires ravaged the virgin forests of the region. Doing in twenty-odd years what was impossible in the previous millennia, industrialization provided such an awful picture of destruction to the general public that the work of these companies arguably served as the impetus for the conservation and preservation movements born in the Progressive Era. Both groups were genuine lovers of nature and often had money and property at their disposal; preservationists argued for the reverent respect of nature, with humans having as little impact as possible and planned-use conservationists argued that nature was rich in resources that could be harvested if they were managed responsibly.⁵² Despite this ideological disparity, the renewed sense of connection to the surrounding landscape undoubtedly contributed to the increased amount of leisure time spent outside by the growing urban middle class. The advent of an expanding urban middle class contributed to a growing interest in leisure time with a modicum of dispensable income. As people settled into a modern lifestyle they were also more inclined to reconnect with nature, as they had ultimately and successfully escaped the perils of living therein. Exploring the years that followed, from the formalized practice of forestry in Maryland to the initial establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Maryland, establishes the basis for comparison of the impact of the Corps in the region.⁵³

Forestry in Maryland

Founded in March 1906 with the passage of the Forestry Conservation Act, Maryland's state forest system is one of this nation's oldest. The Garrett brothers' donation of 1,917 acres to the state stipulated that the state hire a forester to manage the land.⁵⁴ "On April 5, 1906 the Maryland General Assembly created the Board of Forestry to manage the Garrett land, to

⁵² For further discussion of the environmental effects of timber and coal mining, as well as the development of the environmental conscience in the United States, see Chapter 3.

⁵³ Bailey, *Maryland's Forests and Parks*, 39.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 7, 9; Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 76.

provide for the protection of the woodlands and to advance forestry in Maryland.”⁵⁵ Garrett State Forest today encompasses these gifted acres that formed the backbone of the Maryland state forest system. With this gift and the passage of state legislation, a new age of forest management in Maryland was born. Known locally as the Custodial Period (1906-1942), it is not a mistake that this time-frame overlaps directly with the career of Maryland’s first state forester, Fred W. Besley.⁵⁶

Besley was a protégé of Gifford Pinchot, the father of the planned-use conservation movement and first Chief Forester of the United States Forest Service. Besley’s intention when he graduated from the Maryland Agricultural School (now University of Maryland, College Park) in 1892 was to be an engineer. Unable to find work in the field and unsatisfied with the work he did find as a principal in the Fairfax County school system, Besley visited the Department of Agriculture to inquire about a career in the dairy business. That visit would change the course of his life. While there, he met Pinchot who was then Chief of U.S. Division of Forestry, the precursor to the United States Forest Service. Pinchot’s enthusiasm for conservation so moved Besley, that he later said it was “then and there [that] I adopted forestry as my career.”⁵⁷ Besley soon served as Pinchot’s student assistant, from 1900 until January 1903 when he began coursework at Yale School of Forestry. Graduating with honors in the spring of 1905, Pinchot immediately recommended Besley to head the newly formed Maryland State Board of Forestry. Initially hesitant to accept the position in Maryland until assured it had no political underpinnings; Besley believed his mission as state forester should be the reversal of destructive agencies that operated in the forests over the previous 150 years.

⁵⁵ Merrill, *Roosevelt’s Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*, 136.

⁵⁶ Bailey, *Maryland’s Forests and Parks*, 19; Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 11-12, 76-77.

⁵⁷ “Maryland’s First State Forester,” *American Forests* (October 1956), 38.

Besley's task was enormous. Aside from the day to day maintenance of forest lands, he endeavored upon and in 1916 completed his comprehensive publication, *The Forests of Maryland*. This statewide forest inventory included detailed maps by county of any stand of trees greater than ten acres in all of Maryland. Besley accomplished this with a limited budget and even more limited pool of manpower. These restrictions are the reason it took until the summer of 1914 to complete a survey begun in 1907. It served as a guide to forest management, fire control, and as a catalog of local resources for the land owners, timber purchasers, and wood manufacturers across the state of Maryland.⁵⁸ The inclination for conservation found solid footing in the mind of F.W. Besley. His landmark publication reflects his respect for the environment and stresses the need to use natural resources in a considerate manner. It would take the action of a like-minded president to provide the influx of federal money and labor necessary to develop and maintain the state forest and parks system known today.⁵⁹

In 1923, Department of Forestry under the direction of the University of Maryland superseded the smaller Maryland State Board of Forestry.⁶⁰ Despite this flux in oversight, Maryland had considerable forest holdings by the end of 1932, when Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the legislation that allowed for the formation of the Civilian Conservation Corps. They included a total of 49,073 acres divided as follows: Green Ridge 16,177 acres; Swallow Falls 4,596 acres; Potomac 6,073 acres; Savage River 16,329 acres; Fort Frederick 189 acres; Patapsco 1,116 acres; Cedarville 2,631 acres; Doncaster 1,157 acres; Seth 65 acres; and Pocomoke (Milburn Landing) 740 acres.⁶¹ In spite of these vast land holdings, there existed only a small

⁵⁸ Fred W. Besley, *The Forests of Maryland* (Baltimore, MD: Press of the Advertiser-Republican, 1916), 9.

⁵⁹ Robert F Bailey and Francis Zumbrun, "Biographical Portrait: Fred Besley- The Pioneer of Forestry in Maryland (1872-1960)," *Forest History Today* (Spring/ Fall 2005): 62; Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 79, 88.

⁶⁰ Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*, 136.

⁶¹ Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 98.

number of people responsible for its management. Indeed, many of those early workers were volunteers.⁶² And a single man was responsible for a great many tasks. As an example of the breadth of such endeavors, retired Green Ridge State Forest Manager, Champ Zumbrun recounts the work done by Ernest Sipes, Green Ridge State Forest's first resident forest warden, in late 1932 and early 1933- just before the Civilian Conservation Corps was formed:

...staffing and overseeing operations of the Town Hill fire tower; laying out growth study plots on thirty acres involving releasing young white pine trees established in the understory by thinning and removing dead overstory trees; establishing the first forest plantation in the spring of 1933 by planting fifty-four thousand red pine trees and, at another site, for experimental purposes, planting two hundred loblolly pines; implementing the first forest product sale involving the sale of pine pulpwood severely attacked by the southern pine bark beetle; and conducting the first environmental education program at Green Ridge with a forest conservation talk at the Bell Grove campsite, which 'aroused much favorable comment.'⁶³

Here is the work done by a sole man. It is simple to extrapolate these tasks for a single landholding and thus calculate the great amount of man hours required to not only salvage but ultimately rejuvenate the landscape. This demonstrates the need for manpower that the men of the Civilian Conservation Corps readily filled. Undeniably, the remarkable success and contemporary popularity of the Civilian Conservation Corps is due to Franklin D. Roosevelt's foresight in combining two of the nation's most wasted resources- its youth and its beauty- in a way that ultimately reinvigorated and revitalized them both. Greedy industrialists could not taint the sweeping grandeur of the Appalachian foothills. Fred Besley and his colleagues laid the groundwork for work projects based in the wilderness on a vast scale. Maryland possessed the land, the willingness to preserve it, and the knowledge to carry that out. What Maryland lacked was the financing and labor force to accomplish these tasks. The Civilian Conservation Corps and its federal backing filled these final two necessities.

⁶² Bailey, *Maryland's Forests and Parks*, 39.

⁶³ Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 99.

The Onset of the Great Depression in Western Maryland

The demise of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was an early sign of the oncoming Great Depression in western Maryland. The federal government narrowly avoided a near disastrous crash in March of 1929 through the donation of private monies. This did not solve the underlying issues such as the of purchase of stocks on margin and gross speculation that contributed to the fact that stock prices reached an all time high on September 3, 1929 but fluctuated wildly thereafter. The problem came to a head on Thursday, October 24, Black Thursday, and plummeted, spurring panic. This resulted in the full and final crash of the stock market on Tuesday, October 29, 1929.⁶⁴

In the months before the crash, Americans elected Herbert Hoover as president. Hoover promised to end poverty and “put a chicken in every pot.” Governing on a wave of optimism, Hoover eschewed any perceived extension of the federal government into the lives of private citizens. When the crash occurred at the end of October 1929, Hoover responded slowly and by January of 1932 had taken only took a few steps at the federal level to alleviate suffering and stimulate economic development. He encountered an unreceptive Congress in proposing relief programs. What he was able to do was increase federal spending for public works projects to an all-time high. Without the guidance of the federal government, state and local governments could do little. Most people refused to accept handouts as a matter of pride anyhow. Hoover’s assured confidence in the resilience of the open market was unfortunately misplaced, and as the years of his presidency stretched on with little relief, people grew disillusioned. By his 1932 re-

⁶⁴ *The Crash of 1929*, American Experience (Public Broadcasting System, 2009), <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/crash/player/>. Viewed on February 16, 2011.

election campaign Hoover's conservative stance stood in direct opposition to the needs and desires of the majority of the American people.⁶⁵

Franklin Delano Roosevelt proved to be the progressive panacea many Americans sought. Throughout his campaign and immediately following his inauguration in March 1933, Roosevelt promised public works programs that would employ people doing work necessary for the nation. This circumvented the generally negative public perception of receiving government assistance without giving anything in return, the epitome of being on the relief role. By this time, Congress recognized the dire nature of the economic crisis and was willing to work with the President to relieve the nation. This turn towards collaboration was the key in enabling Roosevelt to generate the immense number of relief programs in the first one hundred days of his administration. These acts notably included the Agricultural Act, the Farm Credit Act, the National Recovery Act, the Public Work Administration, and the Emergency Conservation Work Act, among many others. It was the Emergency Conservation Work Act (ECW) that formed the backbone of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Senate Bill S.598 stipulated its purpose as "relieving the acute condition of widespread distress and unemployment now existing in the United States, and in order to provide for the restoration of the country's depleted natural resources and the advancement of an orderly program of useful public works..."⁶⁶ This bill clearly stated the core focus of the program- relieving the worst of the effects of the Depression and simultaneously restoring the natural landscape for the benefit of the public. With its passage, a new era of widespread public awareness regarding the environment was born out of

⁶⁵ Herbert Hoover, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover*, vol. 2- 1920-1933: The Cabinet and the Presidency (New York, NY: MacMillan Co, 1951), 197-223; Robert S McElvaine, *The Great Depression: America, 1929-1941* (New York, NY: Times Books, 1993), 65-66; Robert Sobel, *Herbert Hoover at the Onset of the Great Depression, 1929-1930* (Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott, 1975); *Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Documentary History* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1998).

⁶⁶ Conrad Lewis Wirth, *Civilian Conservation Corps Program of the United States Department of the Interior: March 1933-June 30, 1943: A Report to Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, DC: CCC Advisory Council, January 1944), 15, MSA SC 1178-15, Maryland State Archives.

the depths of the Great Depression. Thus the stage is set in western Maryland for the arrival of the Corps. Always a focal point of human interaction, the region contained established pockets of settlement throughout. The new enrollees did not enter into an unsettled terrain. Instead, they encountered a network of railroad lines and waterways connecting long established towns and cities. The landscape of the region reflected the industrialization of the age and conversely the environmental impulse of landowners who gifted acres to the state for preservation. The Corps also had a profound effect upon the nearby communities. By infusing money into the economy and through their public works projects including dams, lakes, bridges, roads, and telephone lines, the Civilian Conservation Corps forever altered the future of Garrett and Allegany counties. Their work determined that the land would be preserved for public use and maintained, but not abused for its still plentiful resources.

Chapter Two: The Start of the CCC in Western Maryland

When the Civilian Conservation Corps arrived in western Maryland, they encountered a landscape denuded by industries that removed many native plant and animal species from the region. Tasked with restoring vitality to the natural environment, those enrollees quickly got to work on the job at hand. The history of the recruits and their work in western Maryland is simultaneously a history of the people and their interactions and also of the place and the environment. The presence of the Corps inherently influenced the interaction of peoples and altered the natural landscape for generations to come.

The Civilian Conservation Corps Comes to Western Maryland

Subsequent to the passing of the Emergency Conservation Work Act in April 1933, Garrett and Allegany counties quickly became one focal point of federal activity.⁶⁷ Within the first three months, seven of the thirteen total camps in the region were established.⁶⁸ In those early days the enrollees were primarily from Baltimore. Later, they came from all of Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia.⁶⁹ Requirements stipulated each recruit be between the ages of 18 to 25, unemployed, unmarried, and already eligible for government relief.⁷⁰ The establishment of a camp necessitated a flurry of activity. Ultimately, “each camp was a city in itself. It had food, health, educational, religious, and entertainment

⁶⁷ Fred E. Leake and Ray S. Carter, “Roosevelt’s Tree Army: A Brief History of the Civilian Conservation Corps” (National Association of Civilian Conservation Corps Alumni, 1983), 1, MSA SC 1178-15-74, Maryland State Archives; Offutt Johnson, “The Civilian Conservation Corps In Garrett County,” *The Glades Star* 10, no. 7, The Garrett County Historical Society (September 2004): 215.

⁶⁸ See Table 1; A full listing of all camps in the United States, sorted by state, is available at http://www.ccclegacy.org/camp_lists.htm (accessed Jan 18, 2011). However, after reviewing the Maryland list with long time Department of Natural Resources employees Offutt Johnson and Francis (Champ) Zumbun, then comparing the data therein to the information in the historical record, I assert that the description of camps in Garrett and Allegany counties included in Table 1 is the most accurate and up to date available.

⁶⁹ Recruits from Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee formed Company 5461 at Meadow Mountain Camp S-68 in 1937; Swallow Falls Camp S-59 Co 304 also had members from Tennessee in 1937.

⁷⁰ Note that all WWI veterans were also eligible and in June 1937 an act of Congress decreased the minimum age requirement to 17 years old and dropped the requirement that enrollees’ families already receive government aid.

facilities along with facilities for blacksmithing, plumbing, and automotive repair.”⁷¹ But those initial youths did not arrive to find a fully functioning camp ready for occupancy. The recruits camped in canvas tents on upraised platforms all through that first summer, fall, and in some cases through the first winter while they built their barracks, recreation hall, mess hall, showers, maintenance buildings, and garages.⁷²

To be successful in the Corps, each enrollee needed ability, energy, and patience.⁷³ The challenges that faced those young men were simply preliminary to the real task at hand. The enrollees arrived to camps equipped to varying degrees. Certain camps required complete construction. Others had a reliable local source for most necessities. The camps in Garrett and Allegany counties each presented unique challenges to the new recruits. The historical record is rife with accounts of those early days. For instance, Zumbrun’s in depth exploration of the history of Green Ridge State Forest provides a detailed view of the work undertaken by those boys in the initial days of the establishment of Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53, by the 324th Company.

Some of the first work done by the CCC enrollees included the following: clearing a large tract of land to make it suitable for campsites; constructing and grading a 900- foot road to the CCC camp from the National Pike; clearing and grading roads through the forest to improve access to fight forest fires and provide a way to public recreation areas; cutting brush and constructing fire-lines...; constructing a 112-foot long bridge over White Sulphur Run on Fifteen Mile Creek Road using local timber; and opening up stone quarries, using the shale to build roads and improve the CCC campgrounds.⁷⁴

The historical record consistently reflects the fact that the corpsmen labored to construct their own accommodations concurrent to the undertaking of their work. In this example, the enrollees

⁷¹ Cohen, *The Tree Army*, 7, 25.

⁷² For reference of the continued use of army issued tents on up-raised platforms through the winter, see William J. Martin, “New Germany and Civilian Conservation Corps- History of New Germany,” *Journal of the Alleghenies* XXVI (1990): 31-51.

⁷³ Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 112.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

put that multitasking to extra effect, using the output like timber and shale from work projects in the construction of the camp. Such work was expected, but any number of troubles posed by the site itself could exacerbate the workload. Ten miles away at Little Orleans Camp S-61, the 377th Company lacked even running water at the outset. Such was the challenge of their environment.⁷⁵

When the new enrollees arrived to a partial clearing in the forest, one of the first activities they observed at camp was digging a well. They finally hit water at a depth of about four hundred feet. Even though they were lacking some camp luxuries at the start, the enrollees worked on conservation-related projects involving constructing firebreaks, building roads and clearing and planting an eighteen-acre red pine plantation.⁷⁶

Two years later, the 377th Company transferred and established a new camp, Piney Mountain Camp S-67. This time, the infrastructure for living was already in place, built by the members of the 304th Company from Swallow Falls Camp S-59. However, even existing accommodations did little to ease the challenges of establishing a successful camp. By their own account, the men of Piney Mountain camp struggled to get from one barrack to another. “The approach into camp was non-passable, deep-rutted, and unsightly. The well failed to supply sufficient water for the camp needs.”⁷⁷ It seems no matter where they settled, the volunteers of the 377th Company were plagued by trouble reliably accessing water.

The enrollees of the 304th Company fared no better in terms of securing an ideal or even permanent camp location. Organized in April 1933 at established Camp Holabird in Baltimore they immediately transferred to Fort Humphries in Virginia for six weeks. On May 17, 1933 the company again transferred, this time to Potomac Camp S-51 in Potomac State Forest. According

⁷⁵ See Figure 6.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 115-116.

⁷⁷ “Educational,” *The Piney Echo*, camp newsletter of Piney Mountain Camp- Swallow Falls State Forest, MD (July 1936): 11. Located at the Garrett County Historical Society in Oakland, MD.

to the official camp inspection report dated January 4, 1939; this camp remained a tent camp until July of 1935. Their job was to construct the camp, and they stayed there for only five months. After construction, they again moved to Camp Albert Ritchie. That camp was quite large and well equipped, it certainly would have been a vast difference to the isolation and primitive living conditions they were accustomed to at Potomac Camp S-51. They stayed at this comfortable camp for about seven months, before moving one final time back to Garrett County, this time to Swallow Falls Camp S-59 in Swallow Falls State Forest. At this location they again had to construct the camp. The enrollees encountered nothing but a field of brush that they ultimately built into one of the longest running camps in the area. Records for this company at this camp run all the way through January of 1942.⁷⁸

Regardless of the condition of the campsite itself, in some cases it was the roads leading to the camps that were the most difficult part of the journey. Special Investigator Charles Kenlan noted the ruinous state of the roads leading to the Swallow Falls Camp S-59 in February 1935, and to Backbone Mountain Camp S-65 and again at Meadow Mountain Camp S-68 in March 1936. Indeed, the condition of the roads and the ruinous effect upon the state vehicles so concerned Kenlan in March of 1936 that he wasted no time in sending a personal note written on the stationery of the Algonquin Hotel in Cumberland to J.J. McEntee, the executive assistant director of the Corps at the time, in addition to the official addendum submitted by Kenlan to McEntee in his camp inspection report. The state of the roads reflects the remote and rural location these camps occupied. Subsequent to his reports, action was taken to significantly improve access to the camps. By the following year, McEntee remarked over the much

⁷⁸ NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations - Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland S-52 to SCS-4 E115, Box 95; *District No. 2 Third Corps Area Civilian Conservation Corps: Official Annual 1936*, Yearbook (Direct Advertising Company, November 1936), 171, MSA SC 1178-15, Maryland State Archives.

improved condition of the camps as well as the enrollees' outlook. The consideration of what the recruits' home life may have been like tempers images of ruinous roads, camping in thick brush, and no direct access to running water. Surely their lives in the Corps, however uncomfortable, were an improvement upon their previous circumstances. Simply having a bed and three meals a day was more than what many of the enrollees had known for years. Recall that the CCC volunteers could not qualify for enrollment unless they were already eligible for relief. Thus, the entirety of the enrollees consisted of those most deeply affected by the Great Depression.⁷⁹

Of course, not all campsites provided such a formidable welcome. Camp S-52 with the 326th Company in Savage River State Forest and New Germany Forest Recreation Area (hereafter referred to as the New Germany Camp) was established within an existing German farming settlement that provided a reliable and ready source of supplies and local experienced men (LEM). With an existing dam and grist mill operated by the local McAndrews family about five hundred yards from the selected campsite, the location was ideal. The family also ran the local "Jot Em Down" store that sold dried goods and fuel and contained an ice business. These amenities guarded against the isolation experienced by many enrollees in those early primitive camping days. The eyewitness account from Bill Martin (son of Matthew Martin, first District Forest Warden of the Savage River State Forest) of the arrival of the CCC at New Germany indicates that recruits were well equipped by the Army. "One bright sunny morning [May 21, 1933] a convoy of covered stake-body and dump trucks appeared at the area of the lake. The trucks were loaded with tents, field kitchen, water purification equipment, clothing, and tools."⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Charles Kenlan, "Camp Report Co No 2365 Camp No S-68 (March 26, 1936). NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations- Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland S-52 to SCS-4 E115, Box 95, Folder Title "MD S-68, Swanton Co# ___".

⁸⁰ Martin, "New Germany and the Civilian Conservation Corps."

Although the campsite was simply a “field full of stumps and rocks,” within three days the enrollees established the camp to such a degree that they were able to commence work on Forestry Department projects as well.⁸¹ By the new year, the essential buildings were constructed; a water storage tank in place; and electricity was running at the camp. These youths accomplished much that first summer and winter. The focus was on the lake, and two teams of men concentrated their efforts on draining the lake to clear all stumps, logs, and debris and on rebuilding the Swauger Dam. The corpsmen constructed a telephone line from New Germany to Grantsville and along Meadow Mountain Road, for a total of about seventeen miles of line. They cleared roads and forged bridges over woodland streams. Come winter, they worked almost entirely at clearing the woods for improvement cutting, clearing fire lines and areas for public use, and cutting those logs for use in future projects. It was through sheer manpower and determination of will that those men accomplished such a volume of work in such a short time frame.⁸²

For many of the recruits, life in the C.C.C. must have been superior to the lives they led prior to their enrollment in the Corps. Although hard, each man had his own bed and a reliable source of food and income. There existed an expectation that in return the boys would work industriously. The early recruits had the double challenge of building their own accommodations while immediately beginning their official work projects as well. Although the challenges posed by the landscape could vary, they were inherent to the work undertaken by the Forest Service camps. Each of these passages demonstrates that the enrollees did not simply form work crews for the federal government. Rather, they created settlement pockets throughout the region, and

⁸¹ 2nd Lieut, 343rd Engineers, G.A.W. Bell Jr., “Company 326 New Germany, Maryland: Dedication” (March 29, 1934), History, MSA 1178-15-89, Maryland State Archives; Sergeant Applefeld, *Nu Wud Nus* V1 No 2: 326 Co. C.C.C. New Germany, MD (June 14, 1935), 1, MSA SC 1178-15, Maryland State Archives.

⁸² Bell Jr., “Company 326 New Germany, Maryland: Dedication,” History section, Forest Work section; Johnson, “The Civilian Conservation Corps In Garrett County,” 232.

through their own labors established camps that would serve thousands of enrollees for many years to come.

Accomplishments of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Maryland

Prior to 1905 Maryland had zero acres of state public land. By 2006 Maryland had nearly a half a million acres of land set aside for public use.⁸³ Much of the infrastructure that enables visitors to enjoy the land and contributes to its maintenance is the result of the work of the Corps. The federal government spent a total of \$39,784,090.00 in Maryland. This money in many cases went directly into the market in the form of pay to the workers and with the purchase of supplies and necessities from local retailers. Over six million dollars of that federal spending was the sum total of the \$25 per month paid to each enrollee's dependents. Much of the benefit of that spending was visibly and immediately apparent for all to see. In Maryland, the corpsmen built 274 dams; planted 4,378,000 trees; cut back 23,281 acres of forest in fire reduction efforts; added 60,326 acres to existing forest stands; and moved a total of 969,255 trees and shrubs.⁸⁴ Furthermore, Besley himself asserted that the men of Maryland built one hundred fifty miles of fire breaks, sixty-two miles of secondary roads, constructed and maintained seventy five miles of additional road, and strung eighty miles of telephone lines. Enrollees in Maryland planted fifty thousand seedlings throughout the state.⁸⁵ Under the direction of the Forest Service, the Civilian Conservation Corps created Elk Neck State Park, Gambrill State Park, New Germany State Park, Big Run State Park, Pocomoke State Park, and Patapsco State Park. Created as recreation areas, some were pockets of land carved out of an overarching state forest reserve, as in the case of the parks at New Germany and Pocomoke. The CCC also contributed to the development of Savage

⁸³ Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 82.

⁸⁴ The preceding is a summary of the information contained in the appendix- The Value to the States: Maryland. Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*, 135-137.

⁸⁵ John L. Krueger, "C. C. C: An Experiment That Worked" (1978), 12, MSA SC 1178 15 100, Maryland State Archives.

River State Forest, Swallow Falls State Forest, Potomac State Forest, Garrett State Forest, and Green Ridge State Forest in western Maryland. Today Maryland has sixty-six state parks and nine state forests.⁸⁶ The state was able to parlay the boon from new legislation into the restoration and preservation of historic landmarks as well. The efforts of the CCC resulted in the partial restoration of Fort Frederick, the full restoration of the Maryland Washington Monument and the creation of the Wye Oak State Park in order to preserve the celebrated largest oak tree in Maryland.⁸⁷

Though a variety of organizations directed the work projects in Maryland, the State Board of Forestry commanded the bulk of the labor. Various agencies involved in mosquito control, animal industry, agricultural engineering, the Soil Conservation Service, the state parks, military reservations, and naval reservations directed the work at the remaining camps. Merrill attests to a total of thirty camps in Maryland in his exhaustive examination *Roosevelt's Forest Army*.⁸⁸ In Garrett and Allegany counties there were a total of thirteen confirmed camps, two of that never opened, as well as a fourteenth unconfirmed camp.⁸⁹ All of the work in these counties was under the auspices of the State Board of Forestry. The work consisted primarily of fighting soil erosion, planting new forests, and to re-invigorating pre-existing forests.⁹⁰ A company was assigned to each camp, and these companies rotated between camps. The government segregated companies based on age and race. Although initially integrated, the CCC ultimately

⁸⁶ Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 77.

⁸⁷ Bailey, *Maryland's Forests and Parks*, 53.

⁸⁸ Here, Merrill and Bailey *Maryland's Forests and Parks* (2006) are difficult to ally. Merrill does not state a total number of camps, but rather an "average" number, of twenty-one at any given time (135). Zumbrun echoes this claim, but also states that the State Board of Forestry directed a total of fifteen camps in Maryland (109-110). Johnson repeats the statistic of fifteen State Board of Forestry directed camps in the state (232). Bailey asserts that there were over 60 camps total in Maryland, employing over 30,000 men across the state (53).

⁸⁹ A list of camps in western Maryland was initially received from Offutt Johnson, added to in the course of research my research, and confirmed by the 1936 CCC yearbook as well as the data contained in the annual camp inspection reports on file at the National Archives in College Park, Record Group 35 Entry 115 Boxes 94 and 95.

⁹⁰ Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 108.

segregated the men in response to negative public outcry and the personal feelings of some men in the administration in July 1935. The majority of companies nationwide as well as in this study were designated “WJ” for white, junior enrollees. Other racial indicators were “X” for companies of mixed race, generally permissible only when the colored strength in an area was too low; and “C” for companies with strictly African American enrollees.⁹¹ Furthermore, veteran companies were indicated with a “V” and Native American camps with the letters “ID,” presumably for Indian Department; of which there were none in the region under study.⁹²

The Civilian Conservation Corps Camps of Garrett and Allegany Counties

Extensive research regarding the camps in western Maryland revealed the following information about their location and dates established. Camp S-48 with Company 326 is evidenced solely through the CCC Legacy website listing.⁹³ This camp’s existence is otherwise unconfirmed by all primary and secondary sources reviewed. It is said to be located near Oakland, MD in Garrett County, occupied by October 9, 1937. Given this date and the overall frequent inaccuracy of this list, it is unlikely that this information is correct. The earliest camps in the region begin with the number fifty and increase sequentially. Thus it is anticipated that any camp opened in 1937 would be numbered higher than fifty. Also, no file exists for this camp in all official camp inspection reports and it is never listed in the camp directories. The historical record confirms the existence of all other camps identified. Swallow Falls Camp S-50 with the 2301st company was located in Swallow Falls State Forest near Oakland in Garrett County and was occupied on June 8, 1933. Potomac Camp S-51 included the 304th, 1318th, and 2309th

⁹¹ Cole, *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps*, 26.

⁹² In this study, only two companies were not designated “WJ.” Company 335-C at Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53 and Company 1359 at Town Hill/ Paw Paw Camp S-58 switched from a “WJ” to “X” designation during 1937. Strikingly, all enrollees pictured with Company 1359 X are African American- the company itself was not of mixed race.

⁹³ www.ccclegacy.org (accessed May 2010).

companies and was located in Potomac State Forest, near Deer Park, Maryland. The 304th company established the camp and was on site from May 17 to October 24, 1933. The camp closed on July 1, 1941 when Company 2309 was stationed there. New Germany Camp S-52 with the 326th company was located in New Germany Forest Recreation Area near Grantsville in Garrett County and was occupied on May 22, 1933. Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53 included both the 324th and 335th C companies. This camp is located in Green Ridge State Forest nearest to Flintstone, Maryland in Allegany County. The 324th Company established the camp on May 22, 1933, and the 335th C arrived on June 8, 1936. Town Hill/ Paw Paw Camp S-58 with the 1359th company was located in Green Ridge State Forest near Cumberland, Maryland and Paw Paw, West Virginia and was opened on June 14, 1933. Swallow Falls Camp S-59 with the 304th Company was located in Swallow Falls State Forest near Oakland in Garrett County and was opened on May 15, 1934.⁹⁴ Bond Camp S-60 with the 1320th Company was located in Big Run Forest Recreation Area of Savage River State Forest near Westernport, Maryland in Garrett County and was occupied on June 8, 1933. Little Orleans Camp S-61 with the 377th Company was located in Green Ridge State Forest near Little Orleans, Maryland in Allegany County and was occupied on August 28, 1933. Backbone Mountain Camp S-65 included both the 2366st and the 5482nd Companies. The camp was located in Potomac State Forest near Swanton, Maryland in Garrett County and was occupied by Company 2366 on August 2, 1935. Sometime after March 1936 Company 5482 was transferred to Backbone Mountain Camp S-65 and stayed there until it closed in May of 1937. Blue Lick Camp S-66 located near Lonaconing, Maryland in Garrett County was ninety percent completed as of March 1936 but was never opened. Piney Mountain/ Sang Run Camp S-67 with the 377th Company (moved from S-61) was located in

⁹⁴ Note that S-50 and S-59 were both located in Swallow Falls State Forest and research revealed no alternative camp name for either.

Swallow Falls State Forest near Oakland in Garrett County and opened on October 31, 1935. Meadow Mountain Camp S-68 with the 2365th, 5461st, and 326th Companies were located in Savage River State Forest near Oakland in Garrett County. Company 2365 arrived there on July 23, 1935; Company 5461 was in place by February 1937; and Company 326 was there by October of 1937. Camp S-70 was located in Savage River State Forest near Lonaconing, Maryland in Garrett County. Never opened and thus never named, the enrollees of Company 2309 from Potomac Camp S-51 built this camp as a work project beginning in July of 1940. Due to the enrollees' isolation and the need for their manpower at their home camp, they were sent back in February 1941 and camp construction discontinued in the face of oncoming war.

These camps represent a large concentration of federal activity in a region of small farming and industrial communities. Their appearance on the landscape forever changed how people viewed the natural resources in western Maryland. Planned-use conservation quickly became the wave of the future. The role of the camps in shaping modern outdoor recreation is undeniable. Such recreation now forms the backbone of the commercial industry in the region. Yet, the history of the region and its present state are intertwined. Natural features and attributes of the landscape determined where local communities developed. How those communities functioned, what industry drove their development, and why such locations remained significant throughout time are all part of the history of the region. Understanding such intricacies is integral to comprehending the social, economic, and environmental effect of the influx of 150 men per camp as well as the work performed at the camps. The reforestation and conservation efforts of the CCC shaped the landscape of the region for many years to come. The presence of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Garrett and Allegany counties represents a turn in the timeline of the region. It is one instance when the law dictates respect and consideration as the

guiding principles of a federal program. Here is where mankind turns from destruction and mastery to compliance and consideration. It is a shift in the mindset of the nation as a whole, represented in the microcosm of western Maryland.

Chapter Three- The United States' Conservation Movement in the Twentieth Century and the Environmental Efficacy of the CCC

To determine precisely what affect upon the environment the Civilian Conservation Corps had, a comprehensive review of the state of the environment as well as the ideology at work in its restoration is necessary. To do so, a comprehensive review of the impact of the timber and mining industries upon the environment in the years preceding the Corps is necessary. Additionally, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's life experiences influenced his approach to governing in the early years of his presidency, when he formed the CCC. A conservationist at heart, Roosevelt brought those ideals into almost every American home that resulted in the awakening of the American conscience of modern environmentalism. By bringing the cause of conservation to the national forefront, the CCC enabled the success of future environmental policies. A review of these aspects of the landscape and environmental policy reveals the lasting impact of the Corps on the landscape in western Maryland.

The Awakening of the Environmental Conscience of America

Inarguably it was the recognition of the harm to the environment that inspired the genesis of a national conservation movement during the Progressive Era of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Aided by the deep respect and love of nature embodied by President Theodore Roosevelt, the environmentalist cause rose to national attention. The American people believed it would be foolish to not protect a small portion of the country's vast land holdings from destruction and development. The question was how to effectively preserve the landscape while at the same time not adversely affecting the economy or the sensitivities of those in power. Two schools of thought soon formed, each with its own champion. John Muir crystallized the concept of preservation as the embodiment of reverence for nature with the firm belief that the

natural landscape must remain pristine and untouched. Alternately, Gifford Pinchot believed in conservation as the most effective way to manage the land. Conservation inherently implies a managed use of the land's natural resources. Once friends, these men found themselves at opposite ends of a national argument. Today the different aims of state and national parks and forests reflect this inherent divide. Parks follow the tenets of preservation, and forests follow those of conservation.

The nation's first well-organized attempt to influence public sentiment led to the creation of the American Forestry Association in 1875. This signaled a growing interest in forestry nationwide, and generated the establishment of the National Forest System in 1891. Locally, Maryland founded its own Board of Forestry in 1906. The Board's initial aims extended to fire control and suppression, lectures, public demonstrations about forest management practices, and making a state map of county forest resources. It was this last requirement that Fred Besley filled with his 1911-1916 survey of the forests of Maryland. In the next year, 1911, the federal government passed the Weeks Act, a new national policy enabling the federal government to purchase privately held forest lands in order to protect the flow of navigable streams. In 1927, Maryland was one of the only states to rescind the authority of the government to purchase land under this act. To accomplish this, State Forester Fred Besley garnered public support for legislation providing the state primacy over the jurisdiction of the federal government in management of its public lands. That is why Maryland has no designated federal forest lands to this day.⁹⁵

Serving as a vanguard of the Conservation Movement, Pinchot published his environmental treatise in 1910, *The Fight for Conservation*. Rather than denying access to the

⁹⁵ A. L. Riesch Owen, *Conservation Under F.D.R* (New York, N.Y: Praeger Publishers, 1983), 42-46; Parker, "When Forests Trumped Parks: The Maryland Experience, 1906-1950," 203, 207; Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 83.

raw materials, Pinchot desired to facilitate the “intelligent, rational, and efficient distribution” of those materials for the benefit of many people rather than for the profit of a few. He advocated the elimination of waste wherever possible. A strong valuation of efficiency and rationality drove Pinchot’s beliefs. Though now considered common sense, at the time such statements were a revolution. Disregard for the needs of future generations was commonplace. Conservation demanded provisions be made for the future, and this was a truly unique perspective at the time. Pinchot warned that the earth is not as solid and eternal as it may seem; that even the very soil was in danger of imminent depletion. Forcing people to reflect, Pinchot posed a set of what-if scenarios to the reader, if indeed the forests did fail. Through his honest and thought provoking writing, Pinchot challenged America to rethink the careless environmental practices of the previous centuries. Pinchot’s eloquently expressed ideals reflect the synthesis of years of scholarly discussion regarding the state of the environment at the time. Pinchot was perhaps the movement’s most effective salesman, but he was by far its only voice. This history of legislation contextualizes the environmental mindset of the nation in the years leading to the New Deal and the founding of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Tempered by the recognition that unchecked environmental destruction would lead to the ruin of the nation on a massive scale, the Corps signals a growing national support for conservation.⁹⁶

Industry and the Environment: An Antagonistic Relationship

It was an immense and insatiable appetite for abundant raw materials that drove the careless ruin of pockets of land across the western Maryland region. As of 1915, Allegany County’s land was sixty two percent forested and Garrett County’s was sixty three percent forested. As an unfortunate reflection of the distribution of wealth in the area, coal or lumber

⁹⁶ Gifford Pinchot, *The Fight for Conservation* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1967), xxi, 5, 9, 42, 46.

companies owned most of the woods in Garrett County. In Allegany County less than one percent was virgin forestland. Three of the four state reserved land areas were located in Garrett County, that include the Skipnish Reserve, Swallow Falls Reserve, and the Kindness Reserve. All of these were part of the 1906 donation by John W. and Robert Garrett. Only one other reserve existed at the time, at Patapsco in Baltimore County. Management was poor at best, due almost entirely to lack of manpower. The forest wardens in the early twentieth century were able to minimally patrol the land for forest fires and begin some improvement work. Early forestry work in western Maryland inevitably overlapped with the ongoing destruction to the landscape by lumber and coal interests, as well as ceaseless farming. The extent of the rail and coal system in place in 1915 highlights this inexorable overlap. At that time, there were forty-five sawmill and timber operators with an annual production exceeding three million cubic feet in Allegany County. Additionally there were sixty-two mills in Garrett County, most portable. Add to this a total of one hundred miles of rails run through both counties to transport the raw materials, thus increasing production, and the substantial impact upon the environment is unavoidable.⁹⁷

Mining and timber industries are by their very nature destructive. Emerging industrialization required the strength of both. However, different methods of accessing those resources result in different kinds of damage to the environment. In western Maryland miners sought coal, iron, fireclay, and firebrick. The total annihilation of a mountainside caused by strip mining is an unfortunate invention of the later twentieth century that did not reach the region until the late 1960's. In the industry's infancy, underground mining was the preferred method, which caused much less damage to the earth's surface. Men and even children performed all work by hand with a pick and shovel and the raw materials transported to local markets by horses and mules. Environmental impact is unavoidable regardless of the method. Mine acid

⁹⁷ Besley, *The Forests of Maryland*, 37, 44, 83.

collects in underground mines where hidden waterways transport it to the nation's rivers. Underground mines cut into the earth at access points called tipples. Surrounding these tipples is a frenzy of above ground activity, eating away at the nearby forests and dumping coal upon the earth. Unchecked greed moved literally billions of tons of coal out of the mountains over time. By as early as 1893 industrialists shipped out nearly sixty-eight million tons of coal from the region. Four and a half million tons of coal mined broke the annual record in 1901. Coal production peaked six years later in 1907- the industry mined five million tons of coal that year.⁹⁸ What makes these figures most astounding is that they do not represent the total output of coal from the region over the span of the industry's lifetime, nor do they represent the sum total of peak years. Rather, they reference the first decade of production and a glimpse at a peak year. It is all too easy to envision the continued destruction wrought through the subsequent decades.⁹⁹

The devastation to the environment by the lumber industry is perhaps most poignant simply because it is immediately apparent. First arriving in the area in the 1790's, water powered the early mills that primarily ground grain. The mill then served as a meeting place and trading post. It was in 1837 that steam powered mills entered the region, at a location on Red Run Road only two miles north of the National Road.¹⁰⁰ Within fifty years, portable mills were the most common in Garrett County. Able to be quickly constructed and deconstructed and thus access remote locations deep in the forest, the portable mills facilitated the increased production of lumber at the turn of the twentieth century. The removal of vast swathes of timber stands immediately increased sediment runoff that clouded streams and rivers, killing fish populations.

⁹⁸ Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegheny County*, 207.

⁹⁹ Chris J Magoc, *So Glorious a Landscape: Nature and the Environment in American History and Culture* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 2002), 181; Schlosnagle, *Garrett County*, 277.

¹⁰⁰ Schlosnagle, *Garrett County*, 85-86.

Dangerous consequences of the sediment runoff continued with the backing up of mill dams and drainage tunnels. Furthermore, the denuded mountainside failed to adequately absorb rain, increasing the frequency of both flooding in the rainy season and the duration of the dry season. The devastating effect of unchecked timber harvesting upon the environment has ramifications throughout the ecosystem.¹⁰¹

Farming had much the same effect upon the landscape as the timber interests. Both were primarily concerned with the removal of forests, to be sure. By 1912, land cleared for farms reduced the wooded tracts in the region to less than two-thirds of the total area. Most striking, ninety-nine percent of the virgin forest was gone by that time. The removal of these forests directly and immediately caused the erosion of soil. Ironically, the farmers needed those trees they worked so hard to remove in order to keep the soil in place.¹⁰² One happy exception to the practice of indiscriminant clearing of the land is the example of Henry Krug. Swallow Falls State Forest was the original 1,917 acre donation by the Garrett Brothers, and Krug owned the adjacent six hundred acre tract at what is now the entrance to the camping area. This would later be the site of Camp S-59 at Swallow Falls. On this land was a forty acre stand of old growth hemlock and white pine that he could not bear to cut down. In fact, he so deeply cared to protect those woods that his will bequeathed the land to the Grand Lodge of Masons of Pennsylvania and to West Virginia for protection as a retreat center. Those trees still stand today and are more than three hundred sixty years old.¹⁰³ The reverence for nature reflected in the actions of Krug is indicative of the tie to the land felt by many of the locals who live in the region.

The domination of the market by these industries makes their demise for environmental considerations both impractical and illogical. Thus, conservation is a compromise, ensuring

¹⁰¹ Bailey, *Maryland's Forests and Parks*, 7.

¹⁰² Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegheny County*, 233.

¹⁰³ Johnson, "The Civilian Conservation Corps In Garrett County," 233.

continued economic benefit upon the backdrop of considerate usage. By the time the Civilian Conservation Corps arrived in 1932, both the timber and coal industries were past their peak. Neither industry withstood the unionization movement of the 1920's with particular success. The coal industry decline began in the 1920's, in part due to the United Mine Workers union strike of 1922 and 1923. Miners at the George's Creek in Allegany County began the strike on April 1, 1922. It lasted for over a year, ending without resolution in November of 1923 only after many lost their jobs permanently. The industry refused to recognize the union. The expanding local economy facilitated the employment of those who did lose their jobs with places like the Celanese Corporation and the newly arrived Kelly-Springfield Tire Company. Furthermore, decades of careless exploitation of the resources depleted the most convenient and accessible of the coal seams in the region. With the onset of the Great Depression the riches of the coal industry vanished from the hillside. In the wake of this decline, ghost towns and a ravished landscape were all that remained for many years to come. Yet, when faced with these hard statistics, local politicians did little to address the decline of what was once the most powerful industry in the region. As demand for coal fluctuated and the price of mining hard to reach seams increased, miners in Allegany County turned to strip mining in the 1960's. This action stands in stark contrast to the environmental work performed in the region just two short decades before. If not for the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps and with land already protected by the Board of Forestry in Maryland, the extent of that wreckage may have been far worse. After the initial years of unchecked environmental desecration, environmental regulations and conscientious miners worked to repair that damage. Laws now require land restoration following strip mining. Today both the coal and timber industries persist as a valuable economic asset in western Maryland.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Jeanette Keith, *Rich Man's War, Poor Man's Fight: Race, Class, and Power in the Rural South During the First*

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Conservation, and the Roots of the CCC

The environmental aim of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was the restoration and continued conservation of the American landscape. This goal was rooted in President Roosevelt's experience at his family farm, named Springwood, in Hyde Park, New York. As a young man Roosevelt observed firsthand the immense harm done to the soil by exploitive farming and the overharvesting of timber. Upon taking over the family business from his mother in 1910 at the age of twenty-eight, Roosevelt immediately recognized the impact of the past two centuries of almost constant farming on his family's property. Regardless of Roosevelt's best efforts, the land refused to yield more than half of what it produced seventy years prior. Deep gullies formed and fertile topsoil rushed off the hillside unabated. Perhaps this experience stood in stark contrast to Roosevelt's memory of his time in Bad Hauheim, Germany when he was nine years old. There he encountered a forested track mindfully managed by the local population for the preceding two hundred years. What struck him, even as a young boy, was that this management was so efficient the town had virtually no taxes and was entirely self-supported. Finally, Franklin Roosevelt's deep abiding devotion to the cause of conservation is no doubt rooted in his respect and admiration for his fifth cousin and the twenty-sixth president of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. The earlier Roosevelt counted Gifford Pinchot and John Muir as his friends, camping with them many times over the years. The influence of Theodore Roosevelt's conservation policies upon the later policies of his young cousin is undeniable. There is no doubt that each of these experiences greatly contributed to FDR's approach to the

World War (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Schlosnagle, *Garrett County*, 274; Stegmaier Jr et al., *Allegheny County*, 320-322.

management of his family's land and later the legislation he introduced as president. By 1912 he instituted an annual planting regimen for Springwood that continued until his death in 1945.¹⁰⁵

As governor of New York from 1929-1932, FDR instituted a program that looked much like the later CCC. This state level program put unemployed young men to work planting trees, blazing fire roads, and employing soil conservation practices. It served as a successful experiment that proved the government could run such a program practically and efficiently. Roosevelt also did much conservation work in Hyde Park, New York near his family's home that included reconstructing historically significant buildings. Roosevelt's hometown embodied what he foresaw for the nation- a community founded on democracy and mutual respect. These two endeavors demonstrate Roosevelt's long abiding and deep appreciation for his home state and by extension the land itself. His boyhood was rich with the escapism provided only by the verdant field. Thus the term landscape, when interpreted as a flat representation of the true richness of the world, is indeed a poor way to describe what Roosevelt witnessed. Rather than being a passive observer of nature, he was an active participant in its daily growth and renewal. He observed firsthand how the land links one generation to the next. This understanding requires a sense of consideration for others; a respect that is evident in Roosevelt's political philosophy. Furthermore, this conception implies an economic connection to the land, that ties each generation's survival to the land for subsistence. In recognizing this, Roosevelt identified the underlying and driving function of the land as primarily economic. "FDR saw the restoration of the land... as intimately bound up with restoring the livelihoods of the people living on the land."¹⁰⁶ In other words, he viewed conservation as a fundamental part of the nation's future and

¹⁰⁵ Neil M. Maher, "A Conflux of Desire and Need": Trees, Boy Scouts, and the Roots of Franklin Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps," in David B Woolner and Henry L Henderson, eds., *FDR and the Environment*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 53-54.

¹⁰⁶ John F. Sears, "FDR and the Land" in Woolner and Henderson, eds., *FDR and the Environment*.

its economic recovery. Use of the land for economic gain need not necessarily be destructive. Many people missed this point as the United States grew into the world's major industrial power, but Roosevelt understood that conservation would play an integral role in the nation's future.¹⁰⁷

This perspective greatly influenced the aims and practices of the Civilian Conservation Corps. As an example of this business oriented mindset, the government gave little mind to replanting flora native to a specific region. Instead economic interests drove replantation decisions, rather than a focus on scientific conservation. CCC documents focus on generic and overarching descriptions like "standard improvement," "blister rust control work," "tree and plant disease control," and "reforestation," to encompass all of their reforestation efforts. The only clue in the primary source documentation regarding tree species that the CCC replanted is a mention of blister rust that affects white pines, an indigenous species to the region. This base re-telling of the work performed reflects the monotonous nature of the job of a camp inspector and the military regimentation of the program, including the standardization of language used in the camp inspection reports. It also demonstrates the most basic intent of the early conservation movement that focused on ensuring the mindful utilization and management of the land, not preservation or the latest preservation science. The result, however, benefited the region despite the lack of attention to environmental science that drives modern environmental efforts.

The Environmental Impact of the Civilian Conservation Corps

The Civilian Conservation Corps in Garrett and Allegany Counties operated exclusively under the direction of the State Board of Forestry. By 1930, the region was in an environmental and economic crisis. Farming families were mostly poor with little arable land. The demand for coal was low and the tourist industry that catered to rail travelers competed with trains complete with sleeper and dining cars. The local economy was depressed, along with the rest of the

¹⁰⁷ Owen, *Conservation Under F.D.R.*, 5-6; Woolner and Henderson, *FDR and the Environment*, 7-15.

nation. In the beginning, the work of the Corps focused exclusively on construction of the camps and the most urgent of the forestry work including clearing timber stands, replantation, and soil erosion work. Although recreational development was always an intended aim, the State Board of Forestry tried to pass off necessary forestry work as fulfilling both aims by stating that fire trails and roads were actually recreational improvements for access to the area for hunters. It is clear the initial focus was on conservation and not recreation. After some prodding by the bureaucracy, by the mid 1930's the work projects recounted by the camps focus evenly on both endeavors.¹⁰⁸

In order to understand precisely what work the Civilian Conservation Corps performed in the region, data from the camp inspection reports is informative. These annual reports included a recounting of the work performed in the previous season, though the level of detail fluctuates. As mentioned earlier, the language of the document reflects a degree of standardization and repetition. This facilitates the compilation of a strict listing of the work performed by all of the camps in Garrett and Allegany Counties. The reports date from a few months after the camps opened, in the fall of 1933, until January 1942. However, their order is not consistent and it appears that some reports are either missing or were not filed. Certain files contain all reports for a given camp; some inexplicably had none, even when the camps existence at that specific time is alternately confirmed. However, there was only one camp without any reports, Piney Mountain/ Sang Run Camp S-67. The conclusion is that the data compiled from these reports when combined with other scholarly research is the most accurate depiction of the work performed by those camps available to date. The work projects included road construction and maintenance; fire work included cutting fire breaks and trails, building fire towers, and fighting

¹⁰⁸ Parker, "When Forests Trumped Parks: The Maryland Experience, 1906-1950," 221.; NARA II RG Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland NP-1 to SCS-4 E115, Boxes 94, 95.

fires; construction of telephone lines; boundary surveying and marking; standard forest improvement- reforestation and clearing timber stands; tree and plant disease control (including blister rust control as well as canker elimination); timber surveying and estimation; stream improvement; terrace sodding; bridge construction; dam and reservoir construction- creation of lakes; and recreational development including construction of foot trails, cabins, campgrounds, bath houses, gazebos, pavilions, picnic grounds and shelters, drinking fountains, latrines, and parking lots. This work directly combated the devastation experienced in the most isolated parts of the countryside. It also created infrastructure necessary for regional development as well as to support a tourist- based economy.¹⁰⁹

Occasionally a company would undertake more unusual or extensive work projects. Two of the camps built dams and created lakes of considerable size; while two others assisted with relief efforts during the disastrous St. Patrick's Day Flood of 1936. The very first project of Company 326 at Camp S-52 New Germany Camp in the Savage River State Forest was to drain the existing lake and deconstruct the hundred year old log Swauger Dam, clean the bottom of stumps and muck, and then rebuild it as the New Germany Dam with a clay core, a concrete spillway, and a gate for water regulation. The lake is now a total of thirteen acres. Likewise, the enrollees of Company 304 at Swallow Falls Camp S-59 built a dam in 1938, though the lake was ultimately four times as large as the one at New Germany. The Herrington Manor Dam generated a fifty-three acre lake that the recruits further developed in 1942 with ten cabins, a bathhouse, a reservoir, and picnic grounds. Other work projects involved the construction of another camp for an incoming company. That was a side project by the recruits of Company 326 from New Germany Camp S-52 that was ultimately abandoned; the construction of Blue Lick

¹⁰⁹ NARA II Group 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Entry 115 Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942, Boxes 94 and 95.

Camp S-66. By March of 1936, when administration called off the project, the camp was ninety per cent constructed. Company 2309 from Camp S-51, Camp Active, had a similar experience of abandoning a near complete project. They worked on the construction of Camp S-70 (unnamed) from July 14, 1940 until January 27, 1941, when administration terminated the project and directed the men to return to their home camp. Finally, a unique work project by the enrollees of Company 326 New Germany Camp S-52 was the construction of ski trails, slopes, and lifts that provided an immense boon to the local economy. Indeed, businessmen soon advertised Western Maryland as “Little Switzerland,” and skiing groups from Baltimore and Washington, DC soon took the weekend trek frequently. In these ways, and by building roads, bridges, and telephone lines among many others, the Corps had a tangible and lasting impact upon the infrastructure of the forests and parks and their environs.¹¹⁰

In times of crisis, the local population came to rely on the efforts of the Corps. Not only did the CCC enrollees form an elite and ever present fire brigade; the local towns occasionally called upon the enrollees to help with more domestic affairs. Company 324 Camp S-53 reported answering the call for help from the State Roads Commission in Cumberland several times. Perhaps the most remarkable was in the spring of 1936. Flooding was a predictable and ceaseless nuisance to the region. Countless times in the last two centuries the local people literally waded through the days of early spring. That spring was no different. Heavy snows and a quick increase in temperature combined with rains led to perhaps one of the most devastating floods in Cumberland’s history. On March 17, 1936, the flood stricken towns of Cumberland and Hancock called on all available crews for relief. The enrollees of Company 324 Fifteen Mile

¹¹⁰ *District No. 2 Third Corps Area Civilian Conservation Corps: Official Annual 1936*, 173, 176, 188.; William Shulman, 1978. Interview by Ross Kimmel and John Kruger, September 13 in Baltimore, MD. Maryland State Archives MSA SC 1178-15, Annapolis, MD, Transcript, 23; See Conclusion for more detail on the skiing industry in Western Maryland

Creek Camp S-53 and Company 1359 WJ Town Hill Camp/ Paw Paw Camp S-58 both answered that call.¹¹¹ Those corpsmen “shoveled mud from houses and streets, hauled away articles of furniture, spread lime in places where disease may spread, and in general performed a most humanitarian service.”¹¹² They rescued more than fifty people stranded at the Fort Cumberland Hotel and in stores. Even after the flood waters receded Company 1359 WJ continued to send one hundred men daily back to Cumberland to assist with the clean up. Likewise, Frank Trovinger, an enrollee of Company 2309 from Camp Potomac S-51 recalls assisting the town of Kitzmiller during the flood of 1936 by sandbagging and rescuing those stranded by the floodwaters. The enrollees stayed in the towns for several days, fed and housed by the locals. This shows that the enrollees interacted with the townspeople during their work as well as their leisure time. During the flood, their efforts helped lessen the impact of the flood. Most importantly, the Corps provided a vital and necessary emergency response unit in a time before the National 911 Program formed.¹¹³

The work performed by the Civilian Conservation Corps in Garrett and Allegany counties undoubtedly altered the landscape. They planted a total of 4,378,000 trees, improved 60,326 acres of forestland, and worked 3,431 acres of land for soil conservation purposes.¹¹⁴ Certain work necessary to prevent the imminent spread of forest fire and to encourage new growth required immediate attention. The import of the soil conservation work resonated with farming families. Scholar Neil Maher successfully argues that the Corps occupied a strategic placement in the public eye, one that would garner support for the program and gain FDR re-election in

¹¹¹ Company 1359 X of mixed race did not arrive at Camp S-58 until June 8, 1936 and thus did not assist with flood relief.

¹¹² *District No. 2 Third Corps Area Civilian Conservation Corps: Official Annual 1936*, 175.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 179, 188; Mash, *The Land of the Living*, 709; Weaver, *Cumberland, 1787-1987*, 59.

¹¹⁴ Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*, Value to the States: Maryland.

1936. From this vantage, the Corps was uniquely poised to lead by example and in doing so fundamentally remade what became American environmentalism. Some conservationists eventually opposed the Corps, on the grounds that its aims were too singular, focused almost entirely on resource reproduction and did not address the needs of more complex ecosystems. Maher contends this debate within the movement rendered it more complex and with a renewed sense of purpose.¹¹⁵ To be certain, Maryland did not have a state parks system before the advent of the Civilian Conservation Corps, and now a vibrant one exists in no small part due to their efforts. In 1941 the Department of Forest and Parks replaced the State Board of Forestry. In 1969 The General Assembly created the Department of Natural Resources. Formed to combine all conservation and environmental agencies as one, the Department of Natural Resources today heads both the Maryland Park Service and the Department of Forests that function as independent units of one whole. Most people take advantage of some aspect of a Civilian Conservation Corps project every day and have no recognition of the massive national program that generated public works based in environmental conservation on a scale never known before or since.

¹¹⁵ Maher, *Nature's New Deal*.

Chapter Four- An Analysis of the Direct Effects of the CCC in the Lives of the Enrollees and the Local Communities in Western Maryland

Overall Social Impact

From the outset, the federal government recognized that the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) presented the opportunity not only to provide work relief through environmental conservation efforts, but also the chance to transfer middle class values and life skills to enrollees. A review of the files of the Records of Special Projects and Programs regarding CCC Camp Education evidence these early intentions.

It is apparent that the creation of a CCC represents a new social institution... which probably will be neither school nor camp, offers a unique opportunity for experimentation in human engineering. It is possible to set up an institution whose most valuable outcome would not be the establishing of a forest or the prevention of a river flood, but the building of better citizens in the communities to which workers ultimately go and making possible happier lives for those who take part in the new venture.¹¹⁶

Although the intent here is as clear as it is admirable, it is nonetheless difficult to track such social impact of the program over a lifetime. In this way, this is as much a history of the people and their interactions as it is a history of the place and program specifically. The effect of the Civilian Conservation Corps in the lives of the enrollees, as well as upon the local population, cannot be strictly tabulated or calculated. Social change is innately slippery, difficult to neatly pin down with facts and figures. Instead it is an impression, a feeling, a general understanding that something is profoundly different than it was before. To be sure, certain aspects of social change facilitate statistical comparison like population, birth rates, public health data, and crime rates. Others prove much more difficult to uncover including the frequency of marriage between enrollees and local women, the impact of expanded educational opportunities, and any

¹¹⁶ "An Educational Program for the Civilian Conservation Corps," *Materials Relating to Educational Program in Work Camps*. NARA II RG 12 Records of Special Projects and Programs- CCC Camp Education- Records Relating to the Origin of CCC Camp Education, 1933-34, E120, Box 1.

information regarding the impressions or feelings of the recruits and members of the local communities. Research revealed that in certain cases, necessary data simply does not exist because it was never compiled. Leake and Carter address this dearth in the historical record and the overall impression of the sociological impact of life in the Corps for the young recruits.

Few records were kept of the sociological impact of the 1930's on the nation's young men. Many had never been beyond the borders of their state, and others had not even left home. Yet, many would never return. They would choose to remain in towns and villages near their camps. They married, reared families and put down new roots, much as had other young men in migratory movements of years past. Those who did return, many with brides, came back as successful products of an experiment in living that had renewed and restored their confidence in themselves and in their country.¹¹⁷

This examination endeavors to track social change in the western Maryland region influenced by the presence of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Of course, time constraints and the availability of data restricted the resulting work. Utilizing as much available data as is feasible, this study is not a debate regarding the benefit of the CCC to western Maryland and to the United States as a whole. It simply delves further, beyond the generic positive valuation of the Corps to uncover the varied ways in which it seems to have affected the lives of the enrollees and of the people who interacted with them.

The overall benefit of joining the Civilian Conservation Corps for the average recruit is indisputable. These youths, by virtue of being from families on relief generally lived in the barest of conditions if they were fortunate enough to have a home at all. Although a home address was necessary for enrollment, in reality many enrollees had already left home and rode the rails, hitchhiked on highways, or walked; traveling from one town to the next in search of work, adventure, or simply food.¹¹⁸ Equally from the countryside, towns, or cities, most recruits

¹¹⁷ Leake and Carter, "Roosevelt's Tree Army," 5.

¹¹⁸For more background on the transient youth of America during the Great Depression see Kriste Lindenmeyer, *The Greatest Generation Grows up: American Childhood in the 1930s* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2005), Chapter 3

were ignorant about the skills needed for working and living in the woods. Malnourished and some with little or no education, enrollees recount a view of life so distorted that “life and law were all wrong to me, and there seemed to be no such thing as justice.”¹¹⁹ Entrance into the “3 C’s,” as the enrollees called the Corps, provided volunteers with many firsts. For many, it was their first toothbrush, their first new set of clothes, their first daily shower, or their first vaccination, to name a few. For the vast majority, the CCC was a blessing, providing necessary employment, health and dental care, a place to live, and three meals a day. The benefit of proper diet and exercise was quickly apparent. Many of the enrollees gained twenty pounds or more over the course of their enrollment. For those used to manual labor on the farm, even the work day was a blessing, shortened from twelve or fourteen hours in the fields to only six in the woods. The enrollees from cities benefitted from the exposure to country life and the wilderness. The CCC required a daily schedule and routine previously foreign to them. The enrollees learned to be responsible for their actions and considerate in action. Mayor David Sowers of Hancock, a former superintendent at Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-61 until 1941, summed up the general sentiment about the Civilian Conservation Corps voiced by most former enrollees.

I think it was a very worthwhile program, not just because I was in it, but the boys responded very well and ... I know a number of the other people in the supervisory positions learned a lot about handling men and organizing jobs, writing programs, and following them. I feel sure it was a help to the reserve officers in their handling of men, many of whom went right into the Army... so I

"Transient Youth: On the Road to Nowhere?;" Kriste Lindenmeyer, *The Greatest Generation Grows Up: American Childhood in the 1930s* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2005), Chapter 3 "Transient Youth: On the Road to Nowhere?"; Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child*, 156.; Note that transients were not eligible for enrollment unless they had a permanent address. However, anecdotal evidence strongly implies that many of the initial enrollees did not have homes and traveled the country in search of work. In this case, perhaps a recruit would use a friend or family member's address, although how he would have obtained the \$25 per month sent home is unclear. The practice of lying to ensure enrollment is documented by Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child*, 160.

¹¹⁹ Butler, *Youth Rebuilds; Stories from the C. C. C.*, 33.

think it was a well conceived and well carried out program. I think everybody benefitted by it.¹²⁰

Here Sowers indicates that not only did the enrollees benefit from the Corps, but so did their instructors. Enrollment in the CCC instilled middleclass manners, a sense of responsibility, and the ability to work together in its young recruits. Scholarly research validates the benefit of these skills over a lifetime. A study cited by scholar Judith Sealander demonstrates that twenty years post-enrollment, the CCC veterans consistently worked in higher income fields than their counterparts in the general population. The Corps gave the enrollees a sense of purpose and worth, which are integral to the enjoyment of and success in life. In doing so the CCC socialized these youths, providing direction and an invaluable set of life skills.¹²¹

The Camp Education Program

Education was one of the most apparent and direct benefits the enrollees gained from the CCC, though it was never a major goal. Coming from a wide variety of backgrounds, many of the recruits abandoned their studies in pursuit of a day's wages. Sealander describes the educational background of a typical recruit as through the eighth grade with the ability to read at the sixth grade level, and failing to find full time work.¹²² In western Maryland specifically it appears the educational background of enrollees was somewhat higher than the national average. This resulted in recruits of various educational backgrounds in camp, at least in the initial years of the program. At first, the federal government did not foresee the need to educate the youths, but it quickly became apparent that basic instruction was necessary to facilitate the

¹²⁰ David Sowers, 1980. Interview by John Eichacker, July 22 in Hancock, MD. Maryland Forest and Parks Collection, Maryland Park Service Oral History Project, MSA SC 1178-14, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD, 20.

¹²¹ Butler, *Youth Rebuilds; Stories from the C. C. C.*, 14; Alfred C Oliver and Harold M Dudley, *This New America; the Spirit of the Civilian Conservation Corps* (London: Longmans, Green and co, 1937); Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child*, 164; Robert Stone, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, American Experience (Public Broadcasting System, 2010), <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/ccc/>; "Work Starts in Camps," *Cumberland Evening Times*, May 25, 1933, 10.

¹²² Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child*, 160.

accomplishment of the work project. Once the administration recognized that some enrollees could not even read the manuals for the machines they were to operate, the necessity of even the most basic of education programs was undeniable.¹²³ President Franklin D. Roosevelt approved the Camp Education Program officially on December 7, 1933. Even with presidential approval, however, some authorities persisted in devaluing the program. CCC Director Robert Fechner stated in 1937 that “an enrollee’s preparation for the future was an incidental objective.”¹²⁴ Lacking strict oversight, the efficacy of the program and its prevalence varied between camps. In western Maryland, the enrollees had mixed reactions to the Education Program. The official recounting of participation is somewhat contradictory. While several camps report ninety to one hundred per cent participation, at least one reports just fifty per cent. Overall, the Third Corps area, that included Maryland, reported a ninety-two percent voluntary participation rate by the enrollees in that district.¹²⁵ Some dissenting enrollees lamented that they joined the CCC to be out of doors, not inside attending classes. The 1934 Fiscal Year report of the Camp Education Program addressed the difficulty in tracking participation rates. “It is difficult to state how many enrollees are participating in the education program because of the large migration of camps in the late spring and the large turnover of enrollees both in April and July made class attendance statistics useless.”¹²⁶ Due to the inconsistency of the record as well as the stated difficulty in tracking participation it is near impossible to determine how many enrollees benefitted from the program in its early years, when the camps in western Maryland were most prevalent. However,

¹²³ Offutt Johnson, e-mail correspondence with author, March 6, 2011.

¹²⁴ Sherraden, “The Civilian Conservation Corps: Effectiveness of the Camps,” 7.

¹²⁵ “Pictorial Review- Civilian Conservation Corps Northern District: Company 335-C Camp Green Ridge S-53 MD” (Army-Navy Publishers, Inc, 1938).; NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland NP-1 to SCS-4 E115, Box 94, 95; Camp S-53 Co 324 reported a 91.6% participation rate on March 3, 1936; Camp S-60 Co 1320 reported a 50% participation rate in January 1935; many reports simply state “Participation rate high” or “100% participation”

¹²⁶ *1934 Fiscal Year Report of the CCC Camp Education Program*, NARA II RG 12 Records of Special Projects and Programs- CCC Camp Education- Annual Reports, 1934-41, E142, Box 1.

oral histories and memoirs reveal the resonance of the Education Program in the lives of the enrollees long after they left the Corps. All of the men who participated in the program recall it with fondness and admittedly rosy overtones. The general impression from all sources is of the positive overall impact of the CCC Education Program in the lives of those it touched.¹²⁷

Vocational training was always integral part of the Education Program. In August of 1938 the Advisory Committee on CCC Education formed the Special Committee on Education in the CCC, requesting a study of the program of education and training at the CCC camps. This resulted in the formalization of the vocational aspect of the Educational Program. For the enrollees, it was a formalization of a practice inherent to their work. The Civilian Conservation Corps required the enrollees learn the skills necessary to complete their work projects, and they did so by working alongside local experienced men (LEM) employed by the state. Those in command would try to match a demonstrated ability or natural proclivity to a job involving a similar skill set. Such jobs included cook, medical orderly, large equipment driver (trucks and bulldozers primarily), carpenter, bricklayer, stonemason, surveyor, road builder/ engineer, landscaping, engineering, forestry and conservation work, and many more. Thus the process of vocational training began long before a committee formalized the practice. However, the formalization of the practice resulted in official ties with local teaching institutions whereby the enrollees were able to attend classes locally or have instructors, businessmen, and professionals sent to the camps. This resulted in enrollees earning high school diplomas and college credits, as well as receiving invaluable job training. The schools near western Maryland that participated in this were West Virginia University and Western Maryland College. These colleges are simply too far away for any enrollees from the camps in this study to attend. To remedy this sort of

¹²⁷ Cohen, *The Tree Army*, 132; Robert D Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment: The Forgotten Legacy of the New Deal* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 20.; NARA II RG 12 Records of Special Projects and Programs- CCC Camp Education- Annual Reports, 1934-41, E142, Box 1.

issue, the Corps permitted enrollees at very remote locations to take correspondence courses instead. Unfortunately, research could not confirm if enrollees from Garrett or Allegany Counties took advantage of such an opportunity. The files regarding the effort to ally with local colleges and universities in August 1936 are remarkably slim for Maryland, especially when compared to other states like Ohio and Florida that witnessed a flurry of educational activity. To take courses offered by outside institutions, the enrollees were required to pay for the classes out of their own monthly earnings. This requirement demonstrates that those who did participate were indeed eager to learn a skill that would benefit them in their lives post- camp. The only school identified in the primary source record that enrollees in either Garrett or Allegany Counties attended is the National Defense Training School in Cumberland. The *Pictorial Review* shows only enrollees of Company 335-C of Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53 attending the school in 1941.¹²⁸ There is also a reference to additional classes attended by enrollees of the Third Corps District in Oakland and Cumberland, but the source does not specify which schools. The camp inspection report for Potomac Camp S-51 Company 2309 states that by January 4, 1939 the emphasis of their educational program was on vocational training. This was the case at several of the camps. At that time the enrollees of Camp S-51 attended night classes in Oakland to learn typing, shorthand, and salesmanship under the direction of a high school teacher. Thus the Education Program inevitably overlapped with enrollees interactions with local people in many ways, not only by receiving outside instruction in camp, but also by leaving camp for a broader education.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Enrollees from other camps also took courses at the National Defense Training School, but none of the ones from Garrett or Allegany Counties, thus their exclusion in this study.

¹²⁹ Joseph Davis, 1980. Interview by John Eichacker, June 30 in Frederick, MD. Maryland Forest and Parks Collection, Maryland Park Service Oral History Project, MSA SC 1178-14, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD, 5; Mash, *The Land of the Living*, 701; "Pictorial Review- Civilian Conservation Corps Northern District: Company 335-C Camp Green Ridge S-53 MD"; NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Selection, Records relating to the CCC Educational Program, 1933-1942 E45, Box 2, 3; NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of

Although illiteracy was an issue in the Corps nationwide, it does not appear that was a major concern at the camps in western Maryland. Former Educational Advisor for several camps in western Maryland, Robert Mitchell, recalled the main intent of the program was to eliminate illiteracy. Federal records echo the desire at the national level to eliminate illiteracy through the Education Program as well. Mitchell believed the enrollees were motivated to learn to read and write in order to sign their payroll checks. He did not indicate how prevalent illiteracy was at the camps, however.¹³⁰ Overall, the camp inspection reports for the camps in this study reflect a very low rate of illiteracy, noting usually only one or two enrollees from each camp who were illiterate.¹³¹ Indeed, many of the reports make note of the unusually high aptitude or educational level of the enrollees at the camps in Garrett and Allegany Counties. It appears that the illiterate enrollees at the camps in western Maryland were mainly from the cities and the South. The combined analysis of these sources indicates that although illiteracy was present in western Maryland camps, it was not as much of an issue as it was in other regions.

Nonetheless, many courses of instruction included elementary education. Organized by subject matter, the courses are far too numerous to list individually.¹³² Academic courses spanned all grade levels from elementary to high school education, teaching for example reading, writing, arithmetic, science, and history; vocational subjects included forestry, explosives, livestock and farming, engineering, auto mechanics, or mechanical drawing to name a very few;

Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland NP-1 to SCS-4 E115, Box 94, 95; NARA II RG12 Records of Special Projects and Programs- CCC Camp Education- Central File, 1934-1942, E123, Box 18 "1934-40 Clipping and Photographs- Colleges and Universities."

¹³⁰ Robert Mitchell, 1980. Interview by John Eichacker, August 14 in Denton, MD. Maryland Forest and Parks Collection, Maryland Park Service Oral History Project, MSA SC 1178-14, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD, 2; "Official Plan for CCC," November 22, 1933. NARA II RG12 Records of Special Projects and Programs- CCC Camp Education- Central File, 1934-1942, E121, Box 1.

¹³¹ It must be noted at this juncture that the review of the camp inspection reports made it plain that each camp prepared in advance for the inspector's arrival, ensuring that they present the best possible perspective of the camp. Thus, a camp inspector's impression of the Education Program and interactions with locals reflected in his report is somewhat skewed from the reality of life at the camp. However, it does not seem that this perspective effected the recounting of work projects or the infrastructure present at the camps.

¹³² However, this list was compiled by the author and can be made available upon request.

avocational courses covered a vast array of interests including art, photography, drama, music, and the camp newsletter; and administrative subjects include first aid and hygiene or religious instruction. This small sampling demonstrates ultimately how varied the Educational Program was from year to year and from camp to camp. Tailored to the needs of the enrollees, the success of each camp's Education Program rested upon the capability and initiative of each Camp Educational Director. Responsible for the education and the morale of the camp, it was their responsibility to teach, counsel, and advise the men in education and in their lives. To this end, instruction outside the classroom further benefitted the enrollees. The camps frequently presented educational movies and occasionally arranged for lecturers to come to camp. The camp inspection report for S-59 Swallow Falls from January of 1939 cites the camp's use of the local lumber yard proprietor's shop and yard for educational purposes. Furthermore, the camp inspection report for S-53 Fifteen Mile Creek camp specifically mentions businessmen and other professionals who came from Cumberland to speak with the recruits in September of that same year. The use of extracurricular activities that encouraged education demonstrates the perceived value of the program by the administrators. Reaching beyond a strict education, the Education Program sought inculcate in the enrollees a sense of respect for their seniors, the intricacies of social relationships, leadership, and the ability to work with others.¹³³

The Enrollees of Western Maryland Go to Town: Evidence of Local Interaction and Reaction

To understand not only the ways in which the Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees interacted with the local people, but also to understand the reaction of the townspeople to the

¹³³ Marvin G. Callis, "Rumble of Swallow Falls: 304th Company Camp S-59 Oakland, MD", December 21, 1934; Mash, *The Land of the Living*, 701.; William Care, 1980. Interview by John Eichacker, August 12 in Brunswick, MD, Maryland Forest and Parks Collection, Maryland Park Service Oral History Project, MSA SC 1178-14, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD, 9 re illiteracy at Camp S-52; NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland S-52 to SCS-4 E115, Box 95.

enrollees and the relationship between the two groups requires the combination of an array of primary sources. The majority of scholarship on the Corps addresses the effect of the CCC in the lives of the enrollees, but rarely does it address interaction between the youths and those who lived near the camps or in the towns that the enrollees visited regularly. This is striking simply because any effect of an influx of 150 to 200 single men aged eighteen to twenty-five and from meager backgrounds into small mountain communities is necessarily expected, and yet no scholar has researched those repercussions in this region. This study seeks to right this deficiency by exploring the many ways in which the enrollees came into contact with private citizens.

To achieve this goal, informative sources including oral histories conducted with former enrollees, newspaper articles published at the time, camp newsletters, other official camp publications, census records, State Board of Health and the Department of Health records, Department of Justice records, and federal camp inspection reports were mined for any evidence of local interaction or effect thereof. This analysis revealed where the enrollees went to town, the reasons for interaction, and general impressions thereafter. Overall, the relations were honest and reflected mutual respect. Official camp publications as well as newspapers reflect glowing praise for the program and serve mainly to inform the public on the activities at camp. The oral histories by their very nature are warm recollections of a pleasant time spent in one's youth. There is a distinct bias at play in each of these sources that must be taken into consideration during analysis. However, an expressed bias does not inherently exclude the source as a valid account of contact between locals and enrollees. Rather, the bias makes it difficult to gain a full perspective of the relationship. In those instances, the sources gloss over or simply do not mention any conflict or trouble arising between the two groups of people. The sources that do

address the negative aspects of interaction are thus all the more valuable. In all, the opportunities for such interaction are limited to a few categories. Camp opening celebrations, working with LEMs, radio programs broadcast from the camps, the use of local school facilities for athletic recreation, trips to town for religious services, and dances in town or hosted at the camps encompass the majority of the ways in which the two groups connected in western Maryland. The perspective of the oral histories and camp inspection reports is of the camp looking out, and most repeat the sentiment that the locals are pleased both with the work performed by the enrollees, primarily pertaining to their fire and rescue work, and with the economic boon provided by the presence of the camp, revealing little of what the locals actually thought. The most readily available source of local reaction to the enrollees is the newspaper articles.

Official trips to town from the camps varied in frequency depending upon the year and the camp. The standard practice was a trip to the nearest town on Saturday evening for recreation and on Sunday for local services; unofficial trips were also common. The men arrived in the towns by camp truck, personal vehicle, and occasionally by hitchhiking. The towns and cities that the enrollees visited on a regular basis included Oakland, Bittering, Cumberland, Lonaconing, Frostburg, Hancock, Piedmont, Kitzmiller, and the small community at New Germany, all in Maryland; as well as Meyersdale, Pennsylvania and Paw Paw, West Virginia.¹³⁴ For most, only one CCC camp visited each town. The exceptions to this are Oakland and Cumberland. Evidence indicates that camps S-51 Potomac Camp Co 2309, S-53 Fifteen Mile Creek Camp Co 335 C, S-59 Swallow Falls, and S-68 Meadow Mountain Camp each went to Oakland.¹³⁵ Camps S-53 Fifteen Mile Creek Camp (both companies), S-58 Town

¹³⁴ The racial makeup and populations of these towns is unknown at this point in time.

¹³⁵ Most likely the enrollees of Swallow Falls Camp S-50 also went into Oakland, however the camp closed prior to a camp inspection report being generated or even included in the Camp Directories, and thus such a conclusion remains unsubstantiated.

Hill/ Paw Paw Camp (for flood relief only), and S-61 Little Orleans Camp each went to Cumberland. The historical record specifically indicates this data. Additional data may well exist to provide further evidence regarding what towns the enrollees visited. These visits were either recreational or religious in nature and as such the enrollees generally attended local churches, movies, shopped, and socialized with the townspeople. A *Cumberland Evening Times* article from May 28, 1933 discusses in detail a visit by the enrollees of Company 324 from Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53 to Cumberland. Over one hundred enrollees went sightseeing, to the movies, and to restaurants. They visited the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Salvation Army, and the Knights of Columbus. While in Cumberland, the enrollees spoke highly of the program to the locals, expressing appreciation at the opportunity to help not only themselves but their families. The article concludes by inviting people to visit the camp when it was open to visitors in the evenings and on Sundays.¹³⁶ Though the article itself is unique, the coverage it reflects is typical of the period, serving as popular propaganda for FDR's new federal program.

Opening celebrations and visitation days were both ways in which the Civilian Conservation Corps administration introduced the local communities to the program in general and to the individual enrollees. This was especially true in the early days of the program, when the general public knew relatively little about the CCC. Federal officials' intent was to facilitate positive and open relationships between the two groups. New Germany Camp S-52 Company 326 hosted an official opening celebration that their newsletter, *Nu Wud Nus*, recounted with high praise. "The official opening was an occasion for celebration and long to be remembered. A dance was held, both round and square dances, and the local folks added much zest to the party and showed the city boys how to sing their partners to the tune of that gold old mountain

¹³⁶ "Youths from Forest Camp Visitors to the City," *Cumberland Evening Times*, May 28, 1933, 23.

music."¹³⁷ This impression of such an auspicious start is tempered by the oral history of William Care, an enrollee from Camp S-52 Company 326 from June 1934 until the end of 1936. He recounts an entirely different impression on the part of the townspeople some time after the big opening celebration. When asked what the locals thought of the enrollees, he replied in a manner entirely different from the generic positive impression portrayed by other interviewees. Care states:

...they didn't think too much of us due to fights and everything and their young daughters sneaking out [to date the enrollees and attend dances]. Just like it was any other time. And quite a few of those mountain people were religious and all. Around camp anyway, they were right religious and for some reason, most of 'em had girls instead of boys."¹³⁸

Care's oral history is unusual in that he discusses issues and topics many others fail to address. His discussion is frank and forthright, touching on subjects including run-ins with moonshiners, "ladies of the night," and fighting between enrollees and with local boys, discussed in more detail later in this chapter. In addressing these less than savory aspects of camp life, William Care perhaps provides a reason for opening the camp to the public as discussed in the March 1937 edition of *Nu Wud Nus*. Part of the national celebration for the CCC's fourth anniversary on April 4 of that year included an invitation to the community to visit camps.

...inviting all who wish to come into the camp to see what is being done, both in work and in other activities, by the boys located near them. I fell [sic] sure that it would do much to bring the CCC to the attention to the public... and would tend to make the men in the camps better understand their relationship with those near whom they are living.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Sergeant Applefeld, "Nu Wud Nus 1935," 1. Maryland Forest and Parks Collection, New Germany State Park records, MSA SC 1178-15, Maryland State Archives.

¹³⁸ William Care, 1980, 22. Here Care is referencing the large Broadwater family at New Germany, whom he states had five girls and no boys.

¹³⁹ Journalism Class, *Nu Wud Nus* No 7 "Easter Greeting" (March 1937), 2, MSA SC 1178-15, Maryland State Archives.

This source conveys the desire of the CCC administration to open all camps to the towns for the anniversary. There was a recognized need four years into the program to facilitate relations and mutual respect between the enrollees and local townspeople.

The only other camp for which evidence was found of an opening ceremony is Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53. Scholar John Mash recounts the official opening on June 23, 1933 as a local event, sponsored by the Patriotic Order of Sons of America from Cumberland and whose band played at the festivities. Mayor Henderson of Cumberland gave a brief address, and Reverend J.T. Coburn gave a benediction.¹⁴⁰ The presence of a local fraternal order and the mayor indicate the pomp and circumstance that must have surrounded the event. It also demonstrates the local community's active participation in camp events. Camp opening ceremonies provided recreation and the opportunity to socialize for the enrollees and the townspeople.

The employment of local experienced men was integral to the Civilian Conservation Corps. It was also a great way to gain local support for establishing a camp near an existing community. These men trained and supervised the enrollees as employees of the State Board of Forestry. The camp inspection reports are useful in understanding how many local men the camps in Garrett and Allegany counties employed. They reveal an average of thirteen LEMs per camp, ranging from eleven at the lowest to sixteen at the highest. Residing locally, these men traveled to the camps each day for work. Many came from prevalent local families like the Ottos and the Broadwaters. They taught the enrollees such skills as road and bridge building [engineering], forestry work, tool maintenance, blacksmithing, mechanics, and dynamiting. Through these daily interactions, the LEMs came to know the camps and their enrollees perhaps better than any other local people. The relationship between enrollees and LEMs was usually of

¹⁴⁰ Mash, *The Land of the Living*, 707.

a business nature, and thus there is little record of the LEMs own impressions of working alongside the corpsmen.¹⁴¹

Another way in which the enrollees at camp reached the wider world was through radio shows. By the 1930s over half of the American population either had a radio or regular access to one. Amateur and professional radio was the most effective and expedient way to connect with others by the 1930s, so it is unsurprising that the historical record indicates two camps in the region that included radio programming as part of their Education Program. One had a radio station at camp while the other used a local radio station's facilities. Company 1359 from Town Hill/ Paw Paw Camp S-58 utilized the WTBO studio to broadcast a Saturday morning show in 1936. Two years prior, Company 324 at Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53 reportedly had its own amateur station under the call letters W2AZR run by Forestry Assistant David Black. Although this practice was not widespread by camps throughout the region, their limited presence nonetheless forged a bond between locals and enrollees. By listening to the enrollees' radio programs, local people essentially invited the enrollees into their homes and daily lives. CCC response to calls for help further strengthened this trust. Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53 answered the call for help from the State Roads Commission in Cumberland no less than three times, including rescue efforts after the flooding in the spring of 1936 discussed in Chapter Three. In January of that same year, the men responded to a distress call about a woman in labor and trapped in a remote area of the mountains by snow. It was imperative she get to the hospital. Forty men volunteered and twenty selected to assist, demonstrating the enrollees' willingness to

¹⁴¹ "Army Reserve Officers to Serve in Forest Camps, *Cumberland Evening Times*, April 16, 1933, 2; William Care, 1980, 5; Ernest Smith, 1980. Interview by John Eichacker, June 20 in Grasonville, MD. Maryland Forest and Parks Collection, Maryland Park Service Oral History Project, MSA SC 1178-14, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD, 5; NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland NP-1 to SCS-4 E115, Box 94, 95; David Sowers, 1980, 3; Frank Trovinger, 1980. Interview by John Eichacker. August 9 in Hagerstown, MD Maryland Forest and Parks Collection, Maryland Park Service Oral History Project, MSA SC 1178-14, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD, 9.

help. Those enrollees dug through three miles of snow until ten o'clock out night in order to successfully free the woman. Later in June of 1936 the enrollees of Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53 Company 324 again answered a distress call, this time in search of the wreckage of a downed plane flown by Colonel Wright of Fort Hayes. The success of this mission garnered local fondness for the enrollees of Company 324. Used as much for pleasure as for emergency purposes, the radio and telephone system established by the Civilian Conservation Corps connected isolated communities to one another and also to the camps. In doing so, the enrollees reached beyond the boundaries of camp into the surrounding region. This work engendered praise and respect from the local people regarding the nearby camps. In this way, radio programs were an effective propaganda tool for the Civilian Conservation Corps.¹⁴²

Local schools frequently opened their doors to the enrollees. In Paw Paw, West Virginia, the local high school permitted enrollees from Town Hill/ Paw Paw Camp S-58 Company 1359 to use both their gym and the ballpark in 1936 and 1937. This is especially striking because on June 8, 1936 the CCC administration switched the company from white to African American enrollees. In January 1937 the race designation of the company in the camp inspection report was updated from "WJ" for white, junior to "X" for mixed race. Thus the enrollees who used the town facilities in 1937 were definitely African American. Later, in 1941, enrollees from S-53 Fifteen Mile Creek Camp Company 335-C used the basketball court at Cumberland High School. In both instances it is somewhat surprising to discover that the majority of evidence available references interactions between local, primarily white citizens and African American enrollees.

¹⁴² *District No. 2 Third Corps Area Civilian Conservation Corps: Official Annual 1936*, 188; Jason Loviglio, *Radio's Intimate Public: Network Broadcasting and Mass-Mediated Democracy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Mash, *The Land of the Living*, 709.; NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland S-52 to SCS-4 E115, Box 95, Folder Title "MD S-53, Flintstone #2 Co.# 324;" "While Snow Birds are Hopping, CCC Youths Aid Stork in Flight." *The Sun* (1837-1985), Feb 01, 1936. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/537792397?accountid=10750> (accessed April 28, 2011).

Again, the historical record unfortunately stops short of reporting the reaction by either group to this contact. The state Normal School in Frostburg also permitted use of their gym by the enrollees of New Germany Camp S-52 Company 326. That same camp also traveled out of the New Germany Camp S-52 as a class and retold by Care. One year during his enrollment with that company from 1934-1936 the female teacher of the Education Program directed a stage show featuring the enrollees that they took to local high schools in Frostburg, Confluence, Grantsville, and Friendsville. The recollection ends at that point, short of any further elaboration. Likewise, the members of Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53 Company 335-C formed a glee club that performed locally. The camp inspection report for that camp dated January 31 and February 1, 1941 attributes “the splendid relation which is enjoyed with the nearby civilian population” to the Glee Club. At the time in question the general impression is of friendly and cooperative relations between the two groups at the majority of the camps. In these ways the townspeople and the enrollees came into frequent contact. Use of school facilities for entertainment by the enrollees and locals in sports, drama, and music was integral to fostering good relations.¹⁴³

Dating and marriage with local women are inevitable consequences of an influx of virile young men to small communities. There were many opportunities for enrollees to interact with the young ladies of the towns. The practice of community dances reinforced this interaction. Equally hosted by the towns or by the camps, these dances occurred with apparent frequency throughout the span of the CCC. The events hosted by camp may well have been a compromise with the local population to avoid the influx of a high number of enrollees coming to town all at once. Most enrollees recall these events with fondness and an appreciation of the local people.

¹⁴³ William Care, 1980, 16; *District No. 2 Third Corps Area Civilian Conservation Corps: Official Annual 1936*, 188.; NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland S-52 to SCS-4 E115, Box 95.

For instance, Frank Trovinger, an enrollee of Company 2309 at Potomac Camp S-51, specifically recalls the enrollees paying twenty-five cents from each paycheck to fund the band that played at the camp dances. His camp occasionally even sent trucks into town to pick up local women and deliver them for the dance.¹⁴⁴ This demonstrates how much the enrollees enjoyed the dances, that they were willing to pay for them and transport the women. William Care similarly recalls women trucked in to New Germany Camp S-52 for dances and open houses hosted by the camp. Evidencing the extent of trust and friendship between the people of Westernport and the enrollees of Bond Camp S-60, former enrollee Ernest Smith asserts “it was always a dance or something else and we just made friends with the local people. And sometimes you didn’t need to come back. You could stay in with some of the local people you know overnight [sic].”¹⁴⁵ The oral histories make it clear that the Corps’ control of an enrollee’s free time varied widely between camps. Some were quite strict while others lacked any disciplinary action. If the latter was the case at camp S-60, then it is feasible that the CCC permitted enrollees to stay away from camp for an evening. In stark contrast to these fond recollections are Care’s memories of trips to town with enrollees of New Germany Camp S-52. He recollects many trips to Meyersdale, Pennsylvania for dances where the enrollees of Camp S-52 frequently came to blows with enrollees from two other camps who attended the same dances in Meyersdale.¹⁴⁶ Although they tried to isolate themselves each to a section of the room, eventually he says they “did more fighting than dancing,” and refers to the place as a “Bucket of Blood.” He goes on to recall one night in particular when a fight started over a girl “and man we would break up furniture, throw

¹⁴⁴ Frank Trovinger, 1980, 12.

¹⁴⁵ Ernest Smith, 1980, 10.

¹⁴⁶ Note that Care does not identify those camps, nor did research reveal a reference to any other camps from Garrett or Allegany Counties going to Meyersdale. This indicates the other two camps were most likely from southwest Pennsylvania. Identifying these other two camps at this juncture is not possible without review of the camps in that region.

beer bottles and carried on! After we got back to camp, one of the boys, he was a transit from California, wanted to go back and burn the place down. We said no, we'd better not burn it down, we want some place to dance!"¹⁴⁷ Directly post-Prohibition and in an admittedly religious area such behavior did little to engender the respect of the town. This stands in stark contrast to the dances held at New Germany Camp S-52 during the period of Care's enrollment. The camp newsletter, *Nu Wud Nus*, reports on recent dances hosted by the camp stating there was "quite a good crowd and the music and dancing was enjoyed by everyone."¹⁴⁸ This disparity is perhaps because at camp the enrollees would expectedly be on much better behavior than when they traveled some distance away from their home area for carousing. Dances hosted by the towns and at the camps encouraged young people to connect, in some cases forging relationships that lasted a lifetime.¹⁴⁹

Further discussion of the relations between the people of New Germany and the enrollees at New German Camp S-52 by Bill Martin, son of Matthew Martin, the first forest manager of the Savage River complex, reveals initial impressions of enrollees by locals as well as how the relationships between the two groups extended over the course of a lifetime.

...when some of the local residents found out that their community was being 'invaded' by all these young men, they became quite perturbed. They feared that their property would be stolen by these outsiders and their women and daughters would be violated. Their fears were in vain. To my knowledge, there were never any incidents regarding misbehaviour by any of the camp boys towards the local residents. Many lasting friendships developed and many of the CCC boys married girls from the local community or surrounding towns of Grantsville and Frostburg. Many of the young men assisted the local farmers on their days off to perform jobs which had to be done. Many of these men still return yearly to renew old friendships.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ William Care, 1980, 13.

¹⁴⁸ Sergeant Applefeld, "Nu Wud Nus 1935," 7.

¹⁴⁹ NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland NP-1 to SCS-4 E115, Box 94, 95.

¹⁵⁰ Martin, "New Germany and the Civilian Conservation Corps," 38-39.

However, it must be recalled that Martin was only a young boy when the CCC camp was extant at New Germany. Thus, he would be exposed primarily to his father's mention of camp activities and his own interactions with the enrollees. A boy would not necessarily be privy to certain situations such as those discussed by William Care. Nonetheless, this memory contrasts with others to demonstrate that in some cases the relationship between enrollees and locals was warm or even overtly friendly. Others were more nuanced and complex, but never were they entirely negative.

Dating and subsequent marriage between the enrollees and local women is colloquially common, but much more difficult to pin down in the historical record. Marriage records for the counties are searchable only by year and groom's last name. In order to know definitively how many enrollees married local women virtually every enrollee name must be searched in the state's database. This is not feasible given the constraint of time. Maryland State Board of Health Annual reports do not record marriage statistics after 1935 in the time period under review, making long term comparison difficult. That said, both counties witnessed increases in the overall number of marriages from 1932 to 1934. Thus, anecdotal evidence becomes the best and most efficient way to identify relationships between enrollees and local women. Camp newsletters are an excellent resource as some contain a gossip column that references these relationships. Personal recollections of enrollees and their families also provide solid evidence of these relationships. Though the references to these relationships are few, they provide unique insight into the practice of enrollees and local women dating. Two separate sources reference a growing attraction between the local schoolteacher from the New Germany Fairfield School and a CCC mechanic from 1934-1935. Although she visited the mechanic shop every morning, the teacher, Kathleen Layman, opted not to renew her contract in 1936, citing the long days as too

strenuous. Thus any glimmer of romance soon faded. The camp newsletter indicates that many of the men were quite taken by this young schoolmarm.¹⁵¹ This is unsurprising given William Care's earlier reference to the scarcity of young females in the small New Germany community. That same edition of *Nu Wud Nus* in 1935 references the trouble caused by a lady visitor to camp when two enrollees competed for her affections. The source asserts that rumors of a duel between those two enrollees as being unfounded. The next issue of the newsletter for New Germany Camp S-52 located, dated March 1937 contains several references to romances between enrollees and local women in its *Rumors* column. The ones that pertain to a relationship between an enrollee and a local girl are as follows.

...Fyo is tickled pink since he think [sic] he has found romance in Cresaptown. He bought his first pair of trowers [sic] So maybe he has found romance....We wonder what the little bundle of Sweetness in Friendsville will do when her big handsome Hornberger [Harry Hornberger, Officers Orderly] goes back to the bright lights of Baltimore...¹⁵²

Both of these examples provide direct evidence of dating between enrollees of Garrett County and the local women. They also contain reference to the emotional impact of those relationships, both positive and negative. The first flush of romance and the despair of departing are both present.

Sometimes these relationships lasted a lifetime through the bond of marriage. Only four marriages between enrollees from Garrett or Allegany camps and local women were confirmed, yet they represent the colloquially common practice of enrollees marrying local women and either settling in the region or taking a new wife back to the groom's hometown. A *Baltimore Sun* article about a CCC reunion in September 1977 provided insight into what some enrollees from western Maryland did later in life. It includes a mention of enrollee Donald Lewis meeting

¹⁵¹ Sergeant Applefeld, "Nu Wud Nus 1935," 5; Tamarack, "The Fairview Angel," *Journal of the Alleghenies* XXVI (1990): 51-53.

¹⁵² Journalism Class, "Nu Wud News: Easter Greeting," 10.

the woman who later became his wife at the New Germany Camp S-52.¹⁵³ A similar article in *The Cumberland Times-News* regarding the promotion of William H. Johnson to Superintendent of State Parks in 1968 belies that Johnson was originally from Pennsylvania and moved to western Maryland subsequent to enrolling in the CCC. Sent by the Corps to Swallow Falls Camp S-59, it was then that he met his future wife Helen Humbird Offutt of Oakland, MD. His son, Offutt Johnson, relates that the enrollees placed a stone heart in the porch floor of Cabin 4 at Herrington Manor in honor of the newlyweds. Here is an instance of an enrollee choosing to stay and build a life in the area near his camp.¹⁵⁴ An alternate experience is that of the Kemmer family, where the enrollees took their brides back to their own hometowns. Two of the four boys in the family who enrolled married local women, validating the practice of intermarriage between enrollees and locals in a typical experience.¹⁵⁵ John, Joseph, Jacob, and Art all enrolled in the Corps. Historian and family source, Laura Kemmer Marshallsay, recounts that John, the eldest, worked at a camp in western Maryland and while there met his wife, Louise Smith from Ridgeley, West Virginia. Ridgeley sits across the Cumberland River from Cumberland and thus it is likely where the two met. The historical record verifies that the second eldest, Joseph N. (Joe), not only was an enrollee, but worked his way up the ranks to a position with the State Board of Forestry. In January 1935 he worked at Swallow Falls Camp S-59 Company 304 as a machine operator paid \$100 a month. Later, in March of 1936 he worked at Backbone Mountain Camp S-65 Company 2366 earning a larger sum of \$1440 per year. Marshallsay states that Joe

¹⁵³ Kevin Abell, "CCC Boys Recall Good Times Of 'Back Then,'" *The Evening Sun*, September 12, 1977, C1.

¹⁵⁴ "William Johnson Is New Superintend't of State Parks," *The Cumberland Times-News*, April 25, 1968; Offutt Johnson, private correspondence with author, July 2011.

¹⁵⁵ John was born in 1910 and probably at least 23 years old at the time of his enrollment. Joseph was born in 1912 and was 24-25 years old during his enrollment. His wife, Katherine Wagner Haines, was born November 27, 1916. Their exact marriage date is unknown; it is estimated to be in 1937. Katherine was most likely 20 years old and Joe about 25 years old at the time of their marriage. Jacob was born on November 29, 1914 and was no older than 24 years old while enrolled. Adam was born in 1919 and was no older than 17 years old when he enlisted. No data was found for Louise Smith, wife of John.

met and married Katherine Laura Wagner Haines from Deer Park while working for the CCC in western Maryland.¹⁵⁶ In both of these instances the enrollees took their young brides back to their home in the big city of Baltimore. The two other brothers who also enrolled in the CCC did not marry local women. Jacob was discharged by 1937 and primary source evidence confirms that Adam (Art) was an enrollee of Swallow Falls Camp S-59 Company 304 over a year after his older brother, sometime after June of 1936. For the Kemmer family, two boys married local women, the other two did not. Both of the former chose to take their young brides away from their hometowns and back to the larger cities. This exemplifies the migration of people rooted in the Civilian Conservation Corps. Whether young men chose to move into nearby towns or to take local women out of those towns, both required the movement of people and the disruption of an established population. Clearly the brides were willing to go. Yet the repercussions for the towns are undeniable. If they moved away, the brides would no longer be a resource for their own families. If the enrollees chose to stay, they became a part of the local population. By intertwining their lives, the enrollees and the locals generated an undeniable and deep impact that continued through the coming generations.¹⁵⁷

Given this confirmation of budding relationships between enrollees and local women, anticipated repercussions such as the increased incidence of childbirth and the spread of venereal disease compel further investigation. State Board of Health Annual reports tabulate total resident birthrates for each county from 1932-1940. Again, however, the statistics are too broad to directly link those births to incoming CCC enrollees. Furthermore, the birthrates in both Garrett and Allegany County fluctuate widely from one year to the next, evidencing no clear connection

¹⁵⁶ Laura Kemmer Marshallsay, May 4, 2011, e-mail message to author.

¹⁵⁷ *District No. 2 Third Corps Area Civilian Conservation Corps: Official Annual 1936*, 172.; NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland S-52 to SCS-4 E115, Box 95, Folder Title "MD S-59, Oakland Co# ___" report dated Jan 13, 1935 and Folder Title "MD S-65, Piedmont, W. Va. Co# ___" report dated March 26, 1936.

to an influx of young men to the region. For interpreting the spread of disease, the statistical data proves equally frustrating as it is at once too large and too small to connect with the enrollees' presence in the region. The state tabulated incidences of both syphilis and gonorrhea monthly by county from 1932 through 1940. Their rates in both counties vary little with only occasional spikes indicating an outbreak from one month cured in the next.¹⁵⁸ With no direct reference to an outbreak at any camp in the primary source record, it is impossible to draw such conclusions. However, the government's constant attention to venereal disease rates, both in the Maryland State Board of Health records and the camp inspection reports, indicates this was a concern at both a national and local level. Every camp inspection report queries the frequency of venereal disease testing at the camp. For most it was monthly, with an increased frequency for the kitchen staff. In the end it is only memory that perhaps affirms the spread of sexually transmitted diseases in the camps. William Care recounts how "ladies of the night come in prowling through camp [New Germany Camp S-52] with their cars once in a while, invite the boys out.... I could tell you a tale, but I don't think it would go good on the tape."¹⁵⁹ Declining to elaborate any further, this small reference tells a much larger tale that is otherwise absent from the historical record. In doing so, Care reveals a new perspective of the interactions between enrollees and locals.

Primary source analysis reveals a genuinely mixed feeling between these different groups of people. Suggestion of animosity on the part of local male youths towards the enrollees abounds. Territorial in nature, these conflicts occasionally required resolution by authorities. Several references to the relationship specifically between the men of the town and the enrollees were found in the primary record. Camp Inspector Patrick King notes on April 29, 1938 in his

¹⁵⁸ Maryland State Board of Health, *Annual Reports 1932-1940*, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD.

¹⁵⁹ William Care, 1980, 20.

supplement to the report for Potomac Camp S-51 Company 2309 the considerably improved community relations following the “peculiar condition [that] developed,” whereby a large number of men and boys on relief but not in the CCC, and therefore presumably local men, were wearing CCC clothing while “getting into trouble and...passing off as former enrollees...the result was that the CCC movement was bearing a very bad stigma.”¹⁶⁰ The reason why the men posed as enrollees is unstated, though various reasons could be surmised. The result was poor relations with the community until the issue was clarified and resolved. Later camp inspection reports do no remark upon such an issue again, suggesting its successful resolution. Frank Trovinger, an enrollee of that same Company 2309, specifically recalls the good relations enjoyed with the young men of Kitzmiller around 1935. He asserts that the local young men had their own girlfriends and that the presence of the CCC enrollees did not trouble them. He elaborates by saying that there existed a mutual respect between the two parties.¹⁶¹

Another aspect of the interaction between enrollees and locals that requires attention is their race relations. The precise nature of the relations between the African American enrollees of Companies 335 C and 1359 X and the inhabitants of the towns near their camps, Cumberland and Paw Paw respectively, is unknown. However, racial tension in Maryland in the 1930s is well documented. The lynching of African Americans for supposed crimes committed with little other evidence aside from hearsay continued until this time.¹⁶² Jim Crow was generally the law of the land, and a “separate but equal” mindset ruled the day. Even when officially integrated, the experience of the African American enrollee was substandard when compared to that of their

¹⁶⁰ NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations, Camp Inspection Reports 1933-1942 Maryland NP-1 to A-1 -- B-51 E115, Box 94, Folder Title “MD S-51, Deer Park Co# 1318” report supplement 2 dated April 29, 1938.

¹⁶¹ Frank Trovinger, 1980, 13.

¹⁶² Sherrilyn Ifill, *On the Courthouse Lawn: Confronting the Legacy of Lynching in the Twenty-First Century* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007); Joseph E Moore, *Murder on Maryland’s Eastern Shore: Race, Politics and the Case of Orphan Jones* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2006).

white counterparts.¹⁶³ Many of the administrators in the CCC were personally opposed to integrated camps, famously including its director, Robert Fechner. A Southerner and a racist, Fechner resisted efforts by the Roosevelt administration to correct some of the more obvious instances of bigotry in the CCC.¹⁶⁴ It was upon this backdrop with the African American enrollees entered the CCC. Initially integrated, Fechner officially segregated the Corps in September 1934.¹⁶⁵ In 1940, the African American population of Cumberland numbered seven hundred ninety four, a mere one point nine per cent of the total population of 40,835.¹⁶⁶ This percentage is significantly lower than the national percentage of African Americans making up ten per cent of the total population at that same time, a statistic that the CCC administration linked to African American enrollment quotas.¹⁶⁷ As such, the influx of the enrollees from the nearby African American company certainly would have garnered attention and remark by the local population. Mayor David Sowers recalls one time when the enrollees of Company 335-C visited Cumberland.

¹⁶³ For the experience of one African American enrollee, see the discussion of Luther Wandall in Lindenmeyer, *The Greatest Generation Grows Up*, 212-214.

¹⁶⁴ Fechner's racism is well documented, although its effect upon his administration is debatable. A southerner and former military man, Fechner was also a member of the International Order of Machinists and vice president of the American Federation of Labor when appointed Director of the CCC. This appointment was a clear attempt to appease the unions who feared that the low wages paid by the CCC would adversely affect their own reimbursement in the job market. For support of this, see Lindenmeyer, *The Greatest Generation Grows Up*, 212; Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child*, 58.

¹⁶⁵ Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment*, 16. Note that "African Americans in the Civilian Conservation Corps" <http://newdeal.feri.org/aacc/index.htm#resources> (accessed July 7, 2011) states Fechner issued the directive to segregate camps in July 1935. The two sources conflict, and primacy is given to the scholarly paper publication, as the reliability of data contained on the website cannot be confirmed.

¹⁶⁶ Maryland State Board of Health, *Annual Reports 1932-1940*, "Annual Report for the State Board of Health of Maryland for the Year Ending December 31, 1940," Table 1, 34, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD. Note that the annual report for 1941, the year in which Company 335- C is confirmed extant, does not contain population data for Cumberland or Frostburg, but only by county. The population of Paw Paw in 1940 is unknown.

¹⁶⁷ Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child*, 160; This of course did not address the gross disparity in wage distribution between the races. A significantly higher percentage of the African American population in America than the white population was destitute and enrollment quotas did not reflect this disparity.

So those black boys would go into Cumberland and there was a pretty good black population there, but when you turn loose 100 black boys in Cumberland and they take all the girls, then the local boys get upset, so there was some fight about that, but I think that the camp commander and the local police and so forth took care of that pretty well and I believe they fixed it so they didn't dump too many new boys off in town all at the same time. There would be some one night and some another... We would back them up and they'd back us up and they would treat the boys pretty well on the whole.¹⁶⁸

Undoubtedly the trouble recounted had almost as much to do with the sheer volume of enrollees arriving in town as it did with the color of their skin. This also reflects an anticipated reaction to the influx of CCC enrollees in the region. Here, Sowers demonstrates the tension was resolved simply by bringing in less enrollees at one time, instead breaking up their recreation time over a two day period. In doing so, the Corps fostered good public relations by working with the local law enforcement towards resolution and by following community standards of behavior concerning racial segregation and public access.

Disruption of the local communities by any criminal activity on the part of the enrollees proved difficult to uncover. As of yet, local records regarding crimes committed annually have not been found. The Bureau of Justice Statistics keeps only the records of the Universal Crime Reports (UCR) that tracks incidences by type of crime beginning in 1930. Unfortunately, the only cities included in the region under examination are Cumberland and Frostburg. These cities are so large there is no way to link significant change in crime statistics directly to the enrollees. Furthermore, the only crimes recounted in the reports are felonious homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and auto theft. For 1930, in Cumberland there were two burglaries, one larceny- theft over \$50, and seven larcenies- theft under \$50. In Frostburg there were three larcenies- theft under \$50 only. By 1943, Frostburg is not even included in the

¹⁶⁸ David Sowers, 1980, 18-19.

report.¹⁶⁹ These impossibly small instances compared to the large number of the total population do not serve as an effective basis for statistical comparison.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, the anticipated crimes committed by the enrollees pertain primarily to drinking, such as public intoxication or brawling, which are not serious offenses like those tallied by the state. Authorities dealt with crimes such as these at the local level and likely did not involve the larger municipalities, unless of course the crimes were committed in those cities. Such a remote and rural region as western Maryland in the 1930s would not have witnessed much crime in the first place. Despite the lack of direct evidence of conflict at the camps, rumors abound. One particularly intriguing letter written on October 25, 1936 by L. Stanley Altpeter directly references such rumors. “All that *jealousy, backbiting, and secret knifing* associated with the CCC seems a long way gone now.”¹⁷¹ As tantalizing as this line is, little more is known regarding what precisely Altpeter is referencing in the letter. There is a question of a change in a Lieutenant Williams’ status that served as the impetus for a change in atmosphere at the camp. Research reveals L. Stanley Altpeter was first at Potomac Camp S-51 Company 304 as part of the original technical personnel as project superintendent according to the company history recounted in the 1936 yearbook and later at New Germany Camp S-52 where the camp inspection report dated March 25, 1936 places L.S. Altpeter again as project superintendent.¹⁷² No additional information regarding Altpeter, Lieutenant Williams, or the addressee, Ellis, was found in the primary source record. Nonetheless, this letter provides solid evidence of rumors and speculation that existed in

¹⁶⁹ US Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports [United States], 1930-1959*, ICPSR 3666.

¹⁷⁰ In 1930 the population of Allegany County was 79,098 and Garrett County was 19,908. 1930 United States Census (2004). Historical Census Browser. University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html> (accessed June 26, 2011)

¹⁷¹ Maryland Forest and Parks Collection, New Germany State Park records, MSA SC 1178-15-100, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD.

¹⁷² *District No. 2 Third Corps Area Civilian Conservation Corps: Official Annual 1936*, 193.; NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland S-52 to SCS-4 E115, Box 95, Folder Title “MD S-52, Grantsville #2 Co.# 326.”

the camps. Other sources regarding crime on the part of the enrollees include the camp inspection reports that query the incidence of disruption or trouble at the camps. However, these reports rarely mention any incidence at all, perhaps due to their absence from the camps entirely. Sometimes a newspaper article references when an incident occurred. Oral histories further provide information about conflict and criminal activities. Though fairly limited, these instances do warrant mention.

An ambulance accident on August 31, 1934 caused a minor sensation when the authorities charged the driver, Frank O'Brien, with manslaughter. While on official business transporting two enrollee patients from New Germany Camp S-52 to the hospital, the ambulance crashed, resulting in the death of one of the patients and the crippling of the other. Private correspondence between camp inspector Charles Kenlan and CCC Director Fechner indicates that Captain Thomas Dabington, Infantry Reserve, framed O'Brien. A *Cumberland Evening Times* article dated September 18, 1934 confirms that the jury found O'Brien not guilty and authorities subsequently arrested three reserve officers in connection with the case. The trial was held in Oakland and surely would have caused quite a stir.¹⁷³

Although the enrollees worked primarily in remote locations in the woods, those woods were not uninhabited. Bootleggers ran stills deep in the woods, long after the end of Prohibition in December 1933. Clearly unfriendly, the interactions between enrollees and bootleggers frequently turned violent. William Care recalled many run-ins with local bootleggers back in the woods while fighting forest fires for New Germany Camp S-52 Company 326.¹⁷⁴ Additionally, a *Baltimore Sun* article features the wounding of CCC enrollee George Scott most likely of

¹⁷³ "CCC Worker Found Not Guilty of Charge of Manslaughter," *The Sun (1837-1985)* September 18, 1934. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/542527800?accountid=10750> (accessed April 28, 2011); NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland S-52 to SCS-4 E115, Box 95, Folder Title "MD S-52, Grantsville #2 Co# 326."

¹⁷⁴ William Care, 1980, 6.

Backbone Mountain Camp S-65 Company 2366. The article states that moonshiners “mysteriously” shot Scott, a native of Vale Summit in western Maryland, while walking through the woods near their still on his way home for a holiday. Fortunately for Scott, the wound was not life threatening.¹⁷⁵ These two instances verify that interactions between enrollees and locals in the backwoods also occurred with some frequency, and that those interactions were rarely amicable.

Camp opening celebrations, LEMs working in camp, radio programs broadcast from the camps, the use of local school facilities for athletic recreation, trips to town for religious services, and dances in town or hosted at the camps are the most frequent and common ways in which townspeople and CCC enrollees interacted. Through these interactions and others the local people came to know the youths. Overall these interactions were positive and productive for both parties. On occasion they culminated in animosity or tension. In either case, the presence of the CCC enrollees had a lasting impact upon the local populations, effecting their demographics, infrastructure, and economic development.

The Economic Impact of Corps’ Presence in Western Maryland

The Civilian Conservation Corps infused the economy in a wide variety of ways. Farmers witnessed the replenishment of their fields and thus their livelihoods through the soil erosion and forestry efforts of the CCC. Local businessmen generated new business by contracting with area camps. Created at the height of the Great Depression, the financial relief provided by the program extended to enrollees and the towns near the camps as well as to the state government. The most apparent to the public of the economic benefits of the program was the \$30 a month earned by the enrollees, \$25 of which the government sent each month home to

¹⁷⁵ Civilian Conservation Corps Worker Wounded,” *The Sun (1837-1985)* July 03, 1933. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/537310870?accountid=10750> (accessed April 28, 2011).

an enrollee's family. This money commonly made a world of difference for those families, minimally paying rent or mortgage payments, purchasing food, or paying the tuition for younger siblings to attend school. To capitalize on this benefit, many families sent multiple sons to join the CCC. If an enrollee had no dependent family, the Army Finance Officer held the \$25 in escrow by the Army Finance Officer who paid the enrollee the lump sum upon retirement. The federal government paid out over \$700 million to the families of enrollees over the course of the CCC. Also benefitting from the government expenditure were the local enrolled men.

Employed by the Maryland State Board of Forestry, these older men served as foremen and leaders at camp and thus earned significantly more than the enrollees. In 1934, camp inspection reports show LEMs minimally earned \$80 a month as foreman to upwards of \$200 a month as project superintendent. By 1936, the lowest LEM position reimbursed \$1320 annually (\$140 per month) and the project superintendent earned \$2600 per annum (\$217 per month). Of course, these rates varied between camps and years; however they effectively demonstrate the value placed by the administration on the skills of the LEMs.¹⁷⁶ Through their work, the LEMs provided the enrollees with knowledge and skills that undoubtedly benefitted the enrollees throughout their lives. Providing the young men with the opportunity to specialize in fields and obtain vocational training on the job and in the classroom, many enrollees went on to jobs in both the private and public sector. Obtaining such positions would have been impossible for the men without their work experience with the LEMs in the Corps.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Cohen, *The Tree Army*, 7, 19; Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*, 11; Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study*, v.; NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland S-52 to SCS-4 E115, Box 95.

¹⁷⁷ Offutt Johnson, "Legacy of the CCC," (Author's private collection) written and received September 26, 2010; David Sowers, 1980, 7-8.

The local communities further benefitted from the presence of the CCC camps through the purchasing of supplies for the camps locally. Camp inspection reports make plain that most camps contracted locally at minimum for the purchase of perishable foods. Farm products, fuel, lumber, hardware, and other camp items were also purchased locally on occasion. Local people provided tailoring, laundry, and shoe repair services to CCC employees. Enrollees spent the \$5 per month earned in local towns for food and entertainment purposes. Nationwide, local merchants provided the Corps with food, clothing, tools, machines, equipment, furniture, and office supplies. Each camp infused approximately \$5,000 to \$10,000 per month into the local economy, occasionally causing competition between local governments to secure the next camp location nearest them.¹⁷⁸ The total cost of the CCC is estimated at \$3 billion spent over the course of nine years. Through government expenditure, local contracts, and increased commerce the Civilian Conservation Corps provided undeniable economic assistance in western Maryland and the nation. Money paid to enrollees and LEMs, contracts with local businesses, and money spent in town by the enrollees each contributed to the economic benefit of the region.¹⁷⁹

The educational, social, and economic effects of the CCC in the lives the enrollees and those who lived near the camp become apparent through primary source research. The many memoirs of former enrollees reflect the profound effect the Corps had in their lives. Educational and vocational training provided young men with marketability post enrollment. America's war effort benefited from thousands of young, eligible men prepared for duty and for military life. The diverse backgrounds of enrollees and the frequent contact between them and the local

¹⁷⁸ Lindenmeyer, *The Greatest Generation Grows Up*, 214.; This was as much a strategy to benefit the local economy as it was to engender votes from thankful townspeople in those congressional districts.

¹⁷⁹ "CCC Lumber Contracts Awarded," *Cumberland Evening Times*, October 26, 1933, 11; Cohen, *The Tree Army*, 19.; Fechner, Robert. *Summary Report of Director, Fiscal Year 1936* (Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1936) 22; McElvaine, *The Great Depression*, 176.; NARA II RG 35 Records of CCC: Division of Investigations Camp Inspection Reports, 1933-1942 Maryland NP-1 to SCS-4 E115, Box 94, 95.

populations generated individuals with a deeper understanding of others unlike themselves and of their place in the world. The cooperative spirit of the CCC flew in the face of the every man for himself mentality that the deep effects of the Great Depression mandated. In doing so, it revitalized those wasted youths, providing a means to better oneself both economically and as citizens of the world.

Conclusion

The Civilian Conservation Corps reached its height with 2,652 camps operating in forty eight states in 1935. By the time the program ended in 1942, over three million Americans served in the CCC. Enrollment began its precipitous decline in 1939 with the resurgence of the economy. The agency's consolidation under the Federal Security Agency that same year signaled the beginning of the end. Headed by Director Robert Fechner since its inception, leadership of the CCC changed abruptly with Fechner's death on New Year's Eve 1939. James J. McEntee, Fechner's assistant, became the new director and Charles H. Taylor was then named as McEntee's assistant. The program faltered under the new leadership, undermined by political machinations. With the establishment of the Joint Committee on Non-Essential Federal Expenditures by Congress in 1941, all programs established to relieve the worst effects of the Depression were subject to immediate scrutiny. Charged with recommending the elimination of non-essential government bodies, the committee immediately suggested the drastic reduction of funding for, if not the complete cancellation of the CCC as well as the Office of Education, the Works Progress Administration, and the National Youth Administration. Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the CCC offered all camps to the Army for work on military projects. Aside from fire-fighting efforts, the federal government cancelled all conservation work effective January 1, 1942. After considerable debate, in June 1942 the House of Representatives and the Senate ultimately ceased funding the CCC and instead approved funding for its liquidation. However, it is worth noting that the federal government never

abolished the legislation that enacted the Civilian Conservation Corps. Indeed, it remains in effect to this day.¹⁸⁰

The camps in western Maryland began closing long before the end of the CCC. Strikingly, some of the earliest to open were also amongst the last to close. The exact closure dates of many camps are as of yet undetermined. Many are approximate and some are based only upon the last date the camp is confirmed extant in the historical record. The camp inspections were usually conducted at the very beginning of each year, never later than March. Camp directories span eighteen periods over the nine year course of the program, listing each camp extant in each period. Both of these documents thus provide an end date of range when absent from the historical record. In this way it is a lack of evidence that indicates an approximate closure timeframe. One of the very first of the western Maryland camps to open was also the first to close- Swallow Falls Camp S-50 on October 24, 1933.¹⁸¹ The next to go was Little Orleans Camp S-61 no later than October 31, 1935.¹⁸² Bond Camp S-60 closed some time after March 1936, but before 1937. Town Hill Camp S-58 closed after January 1937, but before 1938. Backbone Mountain Camp S-65 closed after May 19, 1937. Piney Mountain/ Sang Run Camp S-67 closed during the second half of 1937. New Germany Camp S-52 closed in early 1938. Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53 remained open through January 1941. Potomac

¹⁸⁰ Cohen, *The Tree Army*, 145; Lacy, *The Soil Soldiers*, 206; Leake and Carter, "Roosevelt's Tree Army," 8; Robert S McElvaine, ed., "Encyclopedia of the Great Depression" (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004), 176; Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*, 6; Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child*, 159.; U.S. Congress, Congressional Research Service, October 26, 2010, *History of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Non-Essential Federal Expenditures (1941-1974), with Observations on Oversight Today*, by Michael L. Koempel, Justin Murray, and Brian P.J. Tabit. Prepared for Members and Committees of Congress 7-5700 R41465 <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41465.pdf> (accessed July 5, 2011) 5.

¹⁸¹ The entire Company 2301 is officially at Camp A-1 in Beltsville by October 25, 1933. The last of those enrollees was discharged on July 10, 1934.

¹⁸² "Educational," *The Piney Echo* (July 1936). Camp newsletter on file at the Garrett County Historical Society, Oakland, MD. Indicates some enrollees from Little Orleans Company 377 arrived in Oakland on October 31, 1935. Furthermore, Camp S-61 is last listed in the fifth period directory for the middle of 1935.

Camp S-51 closed on July 1, 1941 to the protestations of State Forester Fred Besley.¹⁸³ Meadow Mountain Camp S-68 closed after the official end of the CCC in January 1942 and Swallow Falls Camp S-59 was the last to close in May 1942.¹⁸⁴ With that, the death knell of the CCC in western Maryland sounded, bringing to an end the program that heralded the grand beginnings of the New Deal for America.¹⁸⁵

That the end of the CCC coincided directly with the United States' active involvement in World War II is of course no accident. Indeed, many of the enrollees were amongst the first recruits to join the armed forces in war time. By as early as 1937 the War Department acknowledged the usefulness of CCC camps as soldier training grounds and thus began rotating reserve officers through the camps as commanders. Judith Sealander discusses the Corps preparations for war in depth in her book, *The Failed Century of the Child*.

By the time of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, over sixty thousand captains and first lieutenants had spent at least a year learning firsthand how to lead young men. After 1940, promising enrollees were excused from half a day's regular work to receive training in fields the Army deemed critical to war readiness... With the declaration of war, the vast majority of soil soldiers... who, by definition, were of draft age and unmarried, became real soldiers.¹⁸⁶

Thus prepared, the transition from civilian to military life was less traumatic. Life in the CCC accustomed every recruit to the expectations and standards of the Army and the War Department as well as to institutional living. For many, life in the Corps introduced the enrollees to country life for the first time. The recruits had to learn how to get along with other individuals from a variety of backgrounds and were encouraged to work as a team, flying in the face of the "every man for himself" mentality of the Great Depression. Through the imposition a reliable daily

¹⁸³ "Maryland to Lose 2 CCC Camps Today," *The Sun (1837-1985)*, July 08, 1941.

<http://search.proquest.com/docview/540389670?accountid=10750> (accessed April 28, 2011).

¹⁸⁴ "Lust [sic] of CCC Camps in Garrett to Close" *The Sun (1837-1985)*, May 17, 1942.

<http://search.proquest.com/docview/538322498?accountid=10750> (accessed April 28, 2011).

¹⁸⁵ See Table 1 for a listing of camp closure dates.

¹⁸⁶ Sealander, *The Failed Century of the Child*, 163.

routine and through their acculturation, the specter of the unknown life in the United States Armed Forces loomed less large in the minds of all enrollees.

Maryland in general and western Maryland specifically benefitted tremendously from the efforts of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Over 32,800 young men from Maryland joined the Corps, and over 35,800 young men worked in the state. By the end, the federal government spent more than \$39,700,000 in Maryland.¹⁸⁷ At the time of its inception, no state parks existed in all of Maryland. In western Maryland the CCC changed this with the development of Herrington Manor, Swallow Falls, and New Germany State Parks. The Corps enhanced state forests with recreational development at Savage River State Forest, Swallow Falls State Forest, Potomac- Garrett State Forest, Garrett State Forest, and Green Ridge State Forest. Swallow Falls State Forest became both Swallow Falls State Forest and Herrington Manor State Park in 1964. The state subdivided the Savage River Complex into Savage River State Forest, New Germany State Park, and Big Run State Park.¹⁸⁸ Each of these contained at least one CCC camp as well. For almost eighty years, the public has directly benefitted from the labors of the Civilian Conservation Corps, without most people ever realizing the connection to the 1930s' groundbreaking program. Serving as an inexpensive vacation option, the state and national park system established by the efforts of the CCC have served millions of Americans. In western Maryland, the state parks and forests feature campgrounds, overnight cabins, pavilions, shelters, outdoor grills, and restrooms; hundreds of miles of hiking and biking trails; and man-made lakes that provide fishing, boating, and swimming opportunities as well, complete with bathhouses and beaches. It is important to note that these are not the result of individual state government's desire to enhance outdoor space for their public. Instead, it is the result of nine years of intense

¹⁸⁷ Cohen, *The Tree Army*, 150.

¹⁸⁸ Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*, 29, 135-137.

effort on the part of the federal government that benefited the entire continental United States. Speaking to the benefit of these amenities, Leighninger succinctly states that “[s]imple pleasures multiplied over the decades can add up to a high improvement in the quality of American life.”¹⁸⁹ In western Maryland, these simple pleasures do not end when the temperature drops.

Once known as “Little Switzerland,” the heavy winter snowfalls and mountainous terrain of western Maryland discouraged even the hardiest of Native Americans from settling permanently in the territory. German immigrants to the area in the early twentieth century were not as easily dissuaded and established New Germany in the region. With them they brought what is now known as winter recreational sports, such as ice skating and sledding. In 1938 the CCC formalized this practice by building two major ski slopes in the New Germany area, designed by forester Joe Davis at the behest of Fred Besley. The slopes opened in January 1940 to skiers who came with ski clubs from Baltimore and Washington, staying in primitive cabins, boarding houses, or even with local families. The benefit of the ski industry was immediate apparent, increasing tourism during the dead of winter.¹⁹⁰ The *Baltimore Sun* carried full page spreads featuring the so-called skier’s Mecca. For over twenty years, New Germany was a haven for skiers in a time before massive ski resorts. Unfortunately, the construction of New Germany Road in the 1960’s cut the slalom course in half. The spirit of winter sports continues there today with ten miles of cross country skiing and snowshoe trails as well as sledding opportunities in Savage River State Forest and New Germany State Park.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment*, 27.

¹⁹⁰ In his memoirs, Bill Martin recalls setting up a hamburger stand to feed the hungry athletes. He states he grossed \$125 in one day selling quarter pound fried egg and cheese burgers for \$.20 each in Martin, “New Germany and the Civilian Conservation Corps.”, “Skiing at New Germany.”

¹⁹¹ M.H. Cadwalader, “Skiing Comes to MD,” *The Sun (1837-1985)* (January 1, 1940) <http://search.proquest.com/docview/543102222?accountid=10750> (accessed April 25, 2011); Edward G. Maxwell, “State Forest as Host,” *The Sun (1837-1985)* (May 11, 1941) <http://search.proquest.com/docview/540382443?accountid=10750> (accessed April 25, 2011); Melissa McCormick, “Meeting King Winter: Snow Sports at New Germany State Park,” *The Maryland Natural Resource* (Winter 2010):

The state used the abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps camps for recreational, governmental, or administrative purposes. Most notably, Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53 in Green Ridge State Forest housed a German prisoner of war camp from March 1944 until 1945. Sent to the United States due to overcrowding at the intended holding facilities in England, prisoners arrived from the Germany, Italy, and from the German Afrika Corps. Designed to accommodate a large number of men and most standing empty, the former CCC camps served as ideal POW camps. For this same reason, the camps were well suited as forestry camps for delinquent boys. Following World War II and after a brief stint as Forestry Headquarters from 1946-1955, Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53 ultimately served as such a youth camp, continuing until today. Former CCC camp Backbone Mountain Camp S-65 also began use as a forestry camp for delinquent boys in 1955 until the present. Abandoned camp S-70 is another former CCC camp currently used as a forestry camp through Juvenile Services. Not one to waste materials, the state used those from the construction of Blue Lick Camp S-66, that never opened, to construct simple wooden cabins in the Big Run State Park. Finally, Meadow Mountain Camp S-68 began its afterlife as a forestry camp for delinquent boys from 1952-1972; it was next used by the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) for a few years; finally it began to its current use as a training center for Forest and Park Service personnel. New Germany Camp S-52 also served as campgrounds for the National Youth Administration (NYA) in the years immediately following the closure of the CCC. Thus, the camps did not cease being of use after the Civilian

4-7.; "Skiing Comes to MD," Maryland Forest and Parks Collection, Miscellaneous Material, MSA SC 1178-1-69, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD; "First Skiers in Maryland," Maryland Forest and Parks Collection, Miscellaneous Material, MSA SC 1178-1-102, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD; "Down the Savage River Trail," Maryland Forest and Parks Collection, MSA SC 1178-1-103, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD.

Conservation Corps left. Instead, they became a place for rehabilitation and public benefit through their use by the Army, the YACC, the NYA, and the state.¹⁹²

The concept of providing unemployment relief through conservation efforts that drove the foundation and execution of the Civilian Conservation Corps planted the seed for similar programs both in the United States and around the world. The Peace Corps and the AmeriCorps are perhaps the two most famous examples of the synthesis of the model laid down by the Corps for the modern day. Many states have their own conservation programs named for the state, including the Maryland Conservation Corps. Other programs in Maryland and the United States overall include the Youth Conservation Corps, Young Adult Conservation Corps, Chesapeake Conservation Corps, and the Public Land Corps.¹⁹³ Around the world, similar programs include the Nature Conservancy in Brazil, and the Green Earth Center in China, the Green Belt Movement in Kenya, and the Afghan Conservation Corps in Afghanistan. This is perhaps the most remarkable effect of the Civilian Conservation Corps- the ethic of conservation it instilled in the American people and others around the world, whether or not it is consciously recognized. This program halted an age old cycle of destruction and exploitation of the natural environment for economic gain and instead focused upon enabling the sustainability of the natural environment for many generations to come. This instilled a respect of nature in the coming generations that persists as the environmental movement of the modern day.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² "Prisoners Go to State Camp," *The Sun (1837-1985)* (March 28, 1944) <http://search.proquest.com/docview/542943385?accountid=10750> (accessed April 25, 2011); Offutt Johnson, private correspondence with author, June 2010; John Mash, *The Land of the Living: The Story of Maryland's Green Ridge State Forest* (Cumberland, MD: Commercial Press, 2006), 780-788; Champ Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2010), 121-123.

¹⁹³ The failed Jobs Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps are also immediate descendents of the CCC, but are not included here as they are no longer extant.

¹⁹⁴ Neil M. Maher, "The New Deal and Climate Change," *Solutions in History*, no. 2010 (2010): 73-74; Zumbrun, *A History of Green Ridge State Forest*, 140.

Epilogue

The mission of the Committee for Maryland Conservation History is committed to the preservation, promotion, and interpretation for the public benefit of those items otherwise forgotten, left behind, or simply discarded that have direct bearing upon the history of conservation in Maryland. Tasked as an intern with the Committee to establish a system to identify and catalog these items, it was immediately apparent that a vast amount of historical material was quickly and without remark, being lost. This is in part due to the lack of recognition by the general public of the place of the Civilian Conservation Corps in the Department of Natural Resources' history. Although the CCC was vitally important to the enrollees and the lives of those close to the program, the later generations are not touched in such an immediate sense. As such, the public typically lacks recognition of the contributions of the Corps today.

In the years since the conclusion of the CCC, artifacts and documents related to the Corps were passed down from father to child and retained or collected by individuals interested in preserving this aspect of Maryland's history. Unfortunately, much of that material was discarded after the retirement or death of those individuals. What remains is thus all the more valuable. Through the course of the internship, two specific collections, previously unavailable to the public, proved valuable to this examination. Former Savage River Forest Manager Michael Gregory collected seven and one half feet of records related to Maryland Department of Natural Resources (DNR) history, two of which were specifically regarding the CCC. Offutt Johnson, retired naturalist with DNR, has thirty three inventoried artifacts from his father's time at Swallow Falls Camp S-59. Work with both of these collections contributed not only to my own understanding of the place of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Garrett and Allegany Counties,

but also provided an opportunity to step in and preserve those items for future generations of researchers and the general public through the development of an exhibition featuring the history of the Maryland Department of Natural Resources.

In early June 2010, I stayed at the former home of Matthew Martin, in the middle of New Germany State Park, just across from a cabin and the lake constructed by the CCC.¹⁹⁵ The motive of the visit was to process the historical files housed at the park headquarters office. To do so required the meticulous review of the records, which revealed several categories: History, Outdoor/ Recreation, Publications, Newsletters and Journals, Newspapers and News Articles, and alternate materials related to DNR. After individually processing the first four boxes that pertained directly to the history of the Savage River State Forest, the entire collection was transferred to Ann Wheeler, librarian at the DNR Carter Library, who worked with an intern to scan and digitize the historical records. As of publication, the records are pending transfer to the Maryland State Archives under accession number MSA SC 1178- Maryland Forest and Parks Collection Series 15- New Germany State Park records.¹⁹⁶ The foreknowledge of this transfer necessitated cooperation with Marcia Day of the Maryland State Archives to ensure accurate processing and cataloging procedures. The documents therein proved vital to this examination of the CCC in the region. Many were not found in any other archives reviewed and were integral to this research, including the letter by Stanford Altpeter and all copies of the New Germany camp newsletter, *Nu Wud Nus*. Through the benefit of this project, the collection should become accessible by the general public.

My work with Offutt Johnson amplified this effect upon accessible public knowledge. Retired from DNR, he currently resides part time in Oakland, Maryland, his hometown. His

¹⁹⁵ Matthew Martin was the first Resident Forest Warden of the Savage River State Forest.

¹⁹⁶ The records are currently housed in the Lawson Building at Greenbrier State Park. The author will introduce a proposal for the final transfer to the Maryland State Archives at the August 2011 meeting of the CMCH.

personal collection of CCC artifacts and memorabilia includes items he collected and also those collected by his father, William H. Johnson. Bill Johnson began his career with the Maryland State Department of Forestry at Swallow Falls Camp S-59 in January 1936. Those artifacts were inventoried during the course of the internship in August 2009 and again for the purposes of this study in September 2010. Featuring CCC restored and un-restored forestry tools, miniature CCC buildings used in touring exhibitions to promote the Corps in the public, historical forest warden uniforms, memorabilia, and documents, this collection is integral to the exhibition proposal herein. The process of reinserting necessary artifacts and documents of both collections into the narrative of DNR's history provided a public history component to this otherwise historical review.

A locally based exhibit highlighting the work of the CCC would at once inform the audience of the history that surrounds them and also address the issue of the public memory of the CCC in the region at present. Identifying private collections to feature in such an exhibit facilitates its execution as the future site of the museum is also privately owned at present. As such, the museum would not be beholden to the state government, but could instead function as a separate entity, displaying both private and publicly held materials. This in turn would allow the public access to privately held materials while simultaneously providing the proper place to house such materials. It is on this premise that an exhibit based upon this study is proposed.

Exhibition Proposal

The Western Maryland Landscape: A Century of Change

An exhibition featuring the private collection of Offutt Johnson and the holdings of the Maryland Department of Natural Resources.

Project Overview

This exhibit is part of a series that explores all agencies now under the auspices of the Maryland Department of Natural Resources (DNR). The Department of Natural Resources is inherently a conservation-minded agency, and its focus through the present has been upon current and future needs of the state's natural environment. Thus, the agency has made little effort towards conserving its own history. Various fishery, game, wildlife, and conservation agencies have culminated in what is the Department of Natural Resources today. The efforts of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) resulted in the state forest and parks system extant today. And yet, no formal exhibit of Corps work in Maryland exists. The western-most region of Maryland benefited from much of their activities, and it is this work upon which the installation focuses. This exhibit invites visitors to explore the achievements of the Corps through photos, personal recollections, artifacts, and hands-on activities.

This exhibit intends to foster an appreciation for the efforts a generation of men who were able to literally change the face of a nation. At a local level, their efforts have an effect upon the local economy and environment to this day. Their achievement, both for themselves and the community, is quickly being taken for granted. The ultimate goal of the installation is to rework the CCC into the public memory. To do so, the exhibit features brief content labels that pose questions to the visitor about their own experiences and memories. It is hoped that this will

facilitate a dialogue between visitors and with the staff. Ultimately, this exhibit will serve as both a place to preserve the history of DNR and to highlight its relevance to DNR today.

Description of the Building and Exhibit Outline

Though somewhat remote, the museum is only a ten minute drive from historic Route 40 and within walking distance of the Appalachian Trail. The space is multifunctional, built as a museum and also serving as a space to host DNR events for the local staff and community. As a result, the expected audience may vary widely and include local residents and tourists, hikers, campers, day trippers, couples, families, retired people, the elderly, and Department of Natural Resources employees and their families.

Built to look like the exterior of a barn, the length of the building runs parallel to the road. Rectangular in form, the building measures thirty feet by sixty feet, with ten foot high ceilings. The entrance road splits and forms a half-loop leading to each door. Visitors are guided towards the entrance through signage. The front entrance features a large porch for use by DNR parties and gatherings throughout the years. Upon entering the building, the DNR Family Tree is the focal point, either as a painting on the wall or an actual mock tree (depending upon budget constraints). The tree provides an overview of the structure of the Maryland Department of Natural Resources as it exists today. A greeter will sit at a desk situated to the left upon entering. Couches and unique seating in the form of mock logs and rocks invite visitors to relax in the space and serve to bring the outdoors inside. The exhibition space is divided into two further delineated spaces. Beyond the lounge is the CCC section, followed by the Maryland Department of Forestry area. The CCC section features a table of miniatures that recreates the exposition display for the public from the time, a display of CCC-era tools, both restored and un-restored, and a mock up interior of a fire-tower. The Department of Forestry section contains

many publications used daily in forestry work, as well as a replica uniform. Historical photographs and pictures of the items in use augment both of these sections. From the final interior section, visitors exit outside into a landscaped garden, featuring more rock and log relaxation corners, a water feature, benches, and a picnic area. In this setting, visitors enjoy the breathtaking scenery of the Western Maryland mountains, a modern benefit of the early efforts of the Maryland Department of Natural Resources.

Checklist

The images listed below are representative of those to be included in the exhibition. The final selection will be made after consultation.

Artifacts of Offutt Johnson's private collection

1. Miniature CCC picnic table, 1936. Object ID CMCH 2009_04.
2. Miniature CCC gazebo, 1936. Object ID CMCH 2009_05.
3. Miniature CCC log cabin, 1936. Object ID CMCH 2009_06.
4. Miniature cabin, circa 1955. Object ID CMCH 2009_19.
5. Two CCC era field compasses. Object ID CMCH 2009_13 and inventoried Sept 2010.
6. Candlestick telephone, post April 1908. Object ID CMCH 2009_11.
7. Pencil box with office supplies, 1936-1940. Object ID CMCH 2009_20.
8. Forest Warden house sign, post 1941. Object ID CMCH 2009_07.
9. Maryland State Park boundary line sign, post 1941. Object ID CMCH 2009_09.
10. Collection of CCC fire tools- nine restored, two unrestored, two water tanks. Object ID CMCH 2009_01.
11. Swedish increment borer, 1936. Object ID CMCH 2009_12.
12. Commemorative knick knack of 1976 Park Superintendent Conference at New Germany. Object ID CMCH 2009_15.
13. CCC patches and pins. Inventoried September 2010.
14. 1930's State of Maryland Forest Warden Uniform. Inventoried September 2010.

Publications in Offutt Johnson's private collection- Inventoried September 2010

1. *Audel's Carpenters and Builders Guide*. Volume 1. Theo. Audel and Company, 1939.
2. *Axe Manual of Peter McLaren: America's Champion Chopper*. Philadelphia, PA: Fayette R Plumb Inc, 1929.
3. Besley, Fred W. *The Forests of Maryland*. Baltimore, MD: Press of the Advertiser-Republican, 1916.
4. *Blaster's Handbook*. Wilmington, DE: E.I. DuPont Nemours and Co Inc, 1932.

5. *Driller's Handbook*. Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Rock Drill Company, 1931.
6. Stuart, RY with the United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service. *Forest Truck Trail Handbook*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1933.

Photographs owned by the Maryland Department of Natural Resources. All files received from Ann Wheeler, Carter Librarian, unless otherwise noted. The titles reflect the file names.

1. CCC Camp S-68 (a). A half constructed camp featuring tents and buildings.
2. CCC Camp S-61, Piney tract, 7-35 (a). Shows a half cleared field with tents.
3. David O Prince, Resident Warden, Patapsco Forest Reserve 1930-1945. This is displayed next to the Forest Warden Uniform worn by Prince.
4. Besley (a). Fred Besley portrait. Many variations over the years, any can be used. Featured in the entrance area, along with a brief biography.
5. Gifford Pinchot portrait. Featured in the entrance area, along with a brief biography.
6. Firetower, Long Hill, MEWarren (a). Displayed in mock fire tower area.
7. GR, CCC bridge (a). An old truck crosses a bridge made of logs over Fifteen Mile Creek. Constructed by enrollees of Fifteen Mile Creek Camp S-53.
8. HM building lake (f). An empty lake bed full of construction equipment.
9. HM, bath house, Pfeiffer, 8-41 (a). 1941. Lake and bathhouse.
10. Models of bldgs fr NG on display 1936. Received from Offutt Johnson. Displayed next to recreated CCC exposition models.
11. NG picnic pavilion, 1940 (a). 1940. Large group makes use of pavilion.
12. SF MEWarren (e). Swallow Falls.
13. Wardens 1947 (a). Display in Forest Warden section.
14. Wardens Sims and Tasker (a). Display in Forest Warden section.

Appendix

State #	Company #	Camp Name/ Location	Post Office	Railroad	County	Date Occupied	Date Closed
S-50	2301st	Swallow Falls State Forest	Oakland, MD	Oakland, MD	Garrett	6/8/1933	Gone by 10/25/1933
S-51	304th, 1318th, and 2309th	Potomac Camp/ Potomac State Forest	Deer Park, MD	Mtn. Lake Park, MD	Garrett	5/17/1933	7/1/1941
S-52	326th	New Germany/ Savage River State Forest	Grantsville, MD	Frostburg, MD	Garrett	5/22/1933	Early 1938
S-53	324th and 335th C	Fifteenmile Creek Camp/ Green Ridge State Forest	Flintstone, MD	Hancock, MD	Allegany	5/22/1933	Post January 1941
S-58	1359th	Town Hill/ Paw Paw Camp/ Green Ridge State Forest	Cumberland, MD	Paw Paw, WVA	Allegany	6/14/1933	Post January 1937
S-59	304th	Swallow Falls Rec Area/ Swallow Falls State Forest	Oakland, MD	Oakland, MD	Garrett	5/15/1934	Approx May 1942
S-60	1320th	Bond Camp/ Big Run Forest Rec Area/ Savage River State Forest	Westernport, MD	Piedmont, WVA	Garrett	6/8/1933	Post March 1936
S-61	377th	Little Orleans Camp/ Green Ridge State Forest	Little Orleans, MD	Hancock, MD	Allegany	8/28/1933	10/31/1935
S-65	2366th; 5482nd	Backbone Mtn Camp/ Potomac State Forest	Swanton, MD	Piedmont, WVA	Garrett	8/2/1935	Post 5/19/1937
S-66	Not assigned- never opened	Blue Lick Camp/ Savage River State Forest	Lonaconing, MD	Piedmont, WVA	Garrett	Never opened as of March 1936	N/A- never opened
S-67	377th- moved here from S-61	Piney Mtn Camp/ Sang Run Camp/ Swallow Falls State Forest	Oakland, MD	Oakland, MD	Garrett	10/31/1935	Through 1937
S-68	2365; 5461; 326	Meadow Mountain Camp/ Savage River State Forest	Bittinger, MD	Oakland, MD	Garrett	7/23/1935	Post 1940
S-70	2309 as a work project from S-51	Unnamed/ Savage River State Forest	Lonaconing, MD	Piedmont, WVA	Garrett	Discontinued February 1941	

Table 1. Complete list of the camps in Garrett and Allegany Counties, compiled 2010-2011. NARA II Record Group 35 Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Entry 14: Camp Directories and Entry 115: Camp Inspection Reports.



Figure 1. Map of Western Maryland and its borders. US Census Bureau, 2000 Population Statistics.



Figure 2. View from Fire Tower Hill, taken by Fred Besley in May 1932. Courtesy of Maryland Department of Natural Resources.



Figure 3. Soil erosion, hillside gullied, Garrett County, MD. Taken September 1935 by Theodor Jung. FSA LC-USF33-004009-M3. Farm Security Administration Photograph Collection, American Memory Project.



Figure 4. Cut-over, Garrett County, MD. Taken September 1935 by Theodor Jung. FSA LC-USF33-004021-M3. Farm Security Administration Photograph Collection, American Memory Project.



Figure 5. Characteristic Topography, Garrett County, MD. Taken September 1935 by Theodor Jung . FSA LC-USF33-004022-M4. Farm Security Administration Photograph Collection, American Memory Project.



Figure 6. Camp S-61 Little Orleans Camp at establishment, July 1935. Courtesy of Maryland Department of Natural Resources.



Figure 7. CCC cabin and bridge at Big Run State Park in Savage River, undated. Courtesy of Maryland Department of Natural Resources.



Figure 8. Gazebo at New Germany State Park. Photo by author, June 2010.



Figure 9. Swallow Falls, undated. Courtesy of Maryland Department of Natural Resources.



Figure 10. New Germany Lake. Photo by author, June 2010.

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