“HISTORY THAT WILL NOT VANISH:” PRESERVING THE LEGACY OF THE SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE BRANCH OF THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS IN GEORGIA

by

INGER WINSOR WOOD

(Under the Direction of Wayde Brown)

ABSTRACT

During the New Deal, the Civilian Conservation Corps completed numerous and extensive projects in Georgia, providing employment as well as conserving a variety of natural resources. The Soil Conservation Service was an active branch within the Civilian Conservation Corps in Georgia, working to reverse the effects of a century of severe soil erosion in the state, but it is underrepresented in the preservation and commemoration efforts surrounding CCC-era historic resources. This thesis explores the nature of the legacy of the Soil Conservation Service as a branch of the CCC in Georgia and also provides a preservation response. This study examines the history of the CCC in Georgia, analyzes a selection of current cases of CCC resource preservation, and explores preservation options for the legacy of the Soil Conservation Service in Georgia.

INDEX WORDS: Civilian Conservation Corps, Soil Conservation Service, New Deal, Georgia, Preservation, Commemoration

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INGER WINSOR WOOD

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INGER WINSOR WOOD

Major Professor:	Wayde Brown
Committee:	John Waters
	Marianne Cramer
	Richard Moss

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
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INTRODUCTION

On March 6, 1935, soil from devastated agricultural lands in the southern Great Plains filled the air of Washington, D.C., and covered congressmen's desks with a fine dust. It was as if nature itself was using the 'Dust Bowl' to emphasize the plea Hugh Hammond Bennett was delivering at that very moment on Capitol Hill: the war he was waging against soil erosion desperately needed facilities, funding, and man-power.[1] Washington's response was to add a new branch to the popular unemployment relief program created by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Civilian Conservation Corps. This new branch, which later became a permanent federal agency known as the Soil Conservation Service, deployed two hundred-man camps of Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees to areas across the nation in need of agricultural rescue. The Dust Bowl was only one of these areas.[2] Georgia's countryside in the 1930s exhibited all the scars of having endured a century of poor farming practices, which took their toll in the form of severe sheet and gully soil erosion. The Soil Conservation Service, through the instrument of the Civilian Conservation Corps, played a significant role in turning the tide of environmental deterioration in Georgia, leaving a legacy in the landscape that remains today.

This thesis explores the history of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in Georgia, and establishes a context for the investigation of preservation options for the remnants of the Soil

[1] [Panel Discussion] "Out of the Dust Bowl: Five early conservationists reflect on the roots of the soil and water conservation movement in the United States," *Journal of Soil and Water Conservation* Vol. 39, No. 1 (January-February, 1984). 8-9.

[2] The term 'Dust Bowl' refers to the severe dust storms that plagued the Great Plains during the Depression era from roughly 1930 to 1936. These dust storms were caused by extreme wind erosion of soil that had been made vulnerable by the combination of drought and poor agricultural practices.

Conservation Service's work. The work of this agency during the New Deal era is underrepresented in the already rare preservation efforts surrounding the overall legacy of the CCC. Although the CCC was created during an extreme economic and political period in our nation's history and terminated after only nine years in existence, the program was almost unanimously viewed as a success. Accounts of the program are filled with glowing statistics of people employed, money earned, and work completed by the program. The CCC is generally viewed as a truly successful public investment in America's future made by the 'Greatest Generation,' the generation that endured the Great Depression and World War II. However, these overwhelmingly positive reviews do not translate into a universal effort to preserve what pieces are left from that era. The National Park Service (NPS), the United States Forest Service (USFS), and the Soil Conservation Service (SCS) were the three federal agencies most active in employing the CCC in Georgia, and both the Park Service and the Forest Service engage in varying levels of preservation and commemoration of CCC resources on their lands across the state.[3] The work of the Soil Conservation Service does not currently receive the same recognition.

This research was initiated with a landowner, Mr. Larry Roberson, contacting the University of Georgia's Historic Preservation program for advice on how to preserve the remnants of a Soil Conservation Service CCC camp on his property. A visit was made to the site, during which time the area that was once home to two hundred CCC enrollees and their supervising officers was explored, and the visible evidence of their work documented. In looking for the history of this specific camp in the published works about the CCC's actions in Georgia, it became evident that little to no information was readily available concerning the Soil

[3] Work completed by the CCC camps stationed on military lands encompassed projects completed under the three major agencies of the CCC in Georgia (USFS, NPS, and SCS). Since military-related CCC camps produced resources in the state similar to those produced by the other agencies, they are not discussed separately in this thesis.

Conservation Service's role during the New Deal era in Georgia. The archives of the local newspaper held a wealth of information about the camp, while other sources documented only the camp's number and the fact that it was one of the few African American camps in the state. There was certainly no preserved Soil Conservation Service CCC camp that could serve as an example for the landowner to model on his own property.

From this experience, the research question of this thesis developed: what is the nature of this historic resource, the legacy of the Soil Conservation Service branch of the CCC, and how can it be preserved? In order to draw useful conclusions, the scope of the bulk of the research has been limited to the CCC work conducted in Georgia. When records from other states were consulted, it was to provide comparisons not available in Georgia and to serve as models of what Georgia could do in the future with regard to preservation of CCC resources.

The timeliness of this research is illustrated by the age of resources produced by the CCC. Because the CCC program began in 1933 and ended in 1942, all of these resources have recently or will very soon reach their seventy-fifth anniversary. With regard to the National Register criteria, the CCC resources nationwide could achieve significance through Criterion A, association with historic events, and Criterion C, being an illustration of a type of design and/or construction. The major impediment in the way of many CCC resources, Soil Conservation Service resources in particular, becoming eligible for the National Register is the lack of understanding of the important role the CCC played in the nation's physical and emotional recovery from the Great Depression, and also in the development of so many of our modern landscapes. Without an established historical context, these resources are rarely considered for listing on the National Register, and without eligibility for the National Register, these resources

often are neglected if owned privately, and released from management if owned by federal agencies.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the CCC has caught the nation's attention. The National Park Service commemorated the New Deal program reaching this milestone with a commemorative article in a 2008 issue of the publication, *Common Ground*. The article inadvertently reveals the precarious situation of CCC resources: "Although many people today aren't familiar with the CCC, its legacy endures through the sheer abundance of recreational facilities that are still with us – along with the stories of the men who built them."[4] The number of CCC enrollees who are still alive grows increasingly smaller, and soon the memory of the CCC program will only remain in what these workers left behind. In addition, urban sprawl and development throughout the state threaten to and do change the historic landscape daily. As a result, time is continually running out to document, understand, and potentially protect the work of the CCC in Georgia. The work of the CCC was a physical and financial investment on a national scale, and as one CCC enrollee poetically stated, one hope of the workers was to, "make history that will not vanish."[5] Given the effort put into these projects and with such great historical significance residing in CCC resources, it is important to find an appropriate method of preservation for this type of relic of human activity.

Both site visits and archival research were undertaken to complete this project. Visits were made to the Vogel State Park CCC Museum, Chattahoochee National Forest CCC structures, and the sites of remnants of CCC camps at Wilkes County and Kennesaw Mountain

[4] [Unknown], "New Deal for Parks: Civilian Conservation Corps Celebrates Its 75th Anniversary," *Common Ground* (Summer, 2008): 8.
[5] E.L. Leapthrot, Co. 1404, GA F-1, Suches: "High up in the Blue Ridge with high ideals, an enviable record for work well done and the spirit to carry on, we hope to be here a long time and make history that will not vanish, but be as constant as old Blood Mountain in the distance where the Cherokee left blood never to be washed away." From Ren Davis, "Our Mark on This Land: What Georgia Owes the "Boys" of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Roosevelt's Pride and Joy," *Georgia Journal*. Vol. 18, No. 2 (March/April, 1998): 20.

National Battlefield Park, to assess the level of activity surrounding the preservation of various CCC resources. Archival research was composed of consulting administrative histories of the CCC through the National Park Service, US Forest Service, and Soil Conservation Service; primary sources of the laws that brought about the CCC; secondary documentation of the history of the CCC in Georgia; and accounts of preserving a variety of CCC resources in Georgia and elsewhere. The archival research involved exploring the history of the CCC to understand the breadth of work completed by the CCC in Georgia, to establish the differences among the projects conducted by the CCC through the different agencies, and to determine what significant historic resources might be left in each arena from this work. Available methodologies for the preservation of CCC resources in Georgia and in other states were researched to provide comparisons of resource identification strategies, evaluation criteria, and management recommendations.

This study is organized in the following manner: Chapter 2 explores the history of the CCC program at the national scale, both in general and specifically within the three federal agencies most active in Georgia (the United States Forest Service, the National Park Service, and the Soil Conservation Service). Chapter 3 focuses on the history of the CCC in Georgia. Chapter 4 explores the various types of historic resources produced by the CCC program, both tangible and intangible, and also examines a few strong cases involving the preservation of CCC resources. Chapter 5 determines what composes the legacy of the CCC in Georgia and in what ways that legacy is currently being preserved, comparing the methods of resource identification, evaluation, and management with the projects described in the previous chapter. This chapter also documents the story of the Wilkes County Soil Conservation Service CCC camp. Chapter 6 consists of conclusions drawn from the research of the previous chapters related to what the

legacy of the Soil Conservation Service branch of the CCC is in Georgia, how it can most effectively be preserved, and why it has not been preserved yet. And finally, Chapter 7 includes a summary of the research with recommendations for further work regarding the preservation of the Soil Conservation Service's CCC legacy in Georgia.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The History of the CCC

In 1932, three years after the stock market crash of 1929, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was sworn in as president of a country in the midst of a deep economic depression. President Roosevelt's response to the Great Depression took the form of relief programs, each following the slogan of, "a new deal for the American people."[6] The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was one of these programs, "an original and very personal creation by the new president… [that] became one of the most, if not *the* most, popular of all New Deal programs" [emphasis original].[7] Through the CCC, Roosevelt "brought together two wasted resources, the young men and the land, in an attempt to save both."[8] These resources were more commonly known as 'drifters,' nearly two million of them (men and women), and natural resources. The Dust Bowl was a dramatic manifestation of the fact that only 100 million acres of virgin forest remained in the 1930s of the 800 million that once existed, and one sixth of the nation's 610 million acres of soil available for cultivation was ruined by 1934.[9] On March 21, 1933, President Roosevelt delivered a message to Congress, announcing his desire for the establishment of, "a civilian conservation corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with normal employment, and

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[6] Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Roosevelt's Nomination Address, 1932," [Delivered July 2, 1932], *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vol. 1, 1928-32* (New York: Random House, 1938): 647. Phrase written by Samuel I. Rosenman for President Roosevelt's acceptance speech at the National Democratic Convention.
[7] Robert D. Leighninger, Jr., *Long-Range Public Investment: the Forgotten Legacy of the New Deal*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2007): 11.
[8] John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967). Online Book http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/ccc/salmond/index.htm (accessed September 12, 2011): Ch. 1.
[9] Leighninger *Long-Range Public Investment* 11.

confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar projects."[10] The CCC officially came into being on March 31, 1933, with passage of the Emergency Conservation Work Act.[11]

The CCC was managed by an unusual alliance of four federal departments.[12] The newly-established Department of Labor, led by the first female cabinet member in the history of the United States government, Frances Perkins, selected the workers for the CCC through branches in state and local agencies. The Department of War was tasked with establishing individual camps and placing officers in command of them. The Department of Agriculture (USDA) and the Department of the Interior (DOI) directed the actual projects conducted by the CCC, with the USDA eventually managing the CCC working through the United States Forest Service and the Soil Conservation Service (SCS) while the DOI managed the National Park Service (NPS) CCC projects. President Roosevelt appointed Robert Fechner, who was born in Tennessee and raised in Georgia, as the Executive Director of the CCC program, a position he held until his death in 1939.

Unemployed and unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 25 were allowed to volunteer for the CCC, and 274,375 of them did by July 1, 1933, surpassing President Roosevelt's goal of employing a quarter million workers by that date.[13] Enrollees underwent two weeks of physical training after being approved for the CCC, and were then placed in companies of approximately two hundred men each and sent to camps. Each type of camp was

[10] Franklin D. Roosevelt March 21, 1933 "Three Essentials for Unemployment Relief" *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vol. 2, 1933*, (New York: Random House, 1938): 80.
[11] The CCC existed under the title of Emergency Conservation Work (the EWC) until 1935.
[12] Perry H. Merrill *Roosevelt's Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corp, 1933-1942* (Barre, Vermont: Northlight Studio Press, 1981): 7-8.
[13] Ren Davis "Civilian Conservation Corps" *New Georgia Encyclopedia* (2009): http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-3466 (accessed August 20, 2011).

designated by a letter code.[14] Overall guidelines for the structure and physical layout of the camps existed, but these plans were adjusted to local conditions as needed.[15] Typically, each of the camps evolved from canvas tents to an organized collection of buildings including barracks, a mess hall, an infirmary, officers' quarters, administrative buildings, latrine and shower buildings, garages, and tool storage buildings (Figures 1 and 2).[16] The enrollees earned $30 a month, with $22-25 of that wage automatically being sent home to their families.[17] This pay was provided in addition to the housing, food, clothing, and other amenities the workers received while employed by the program. Individual enlistments in the CCC lasted six months, but as the program's popularity grew, workers were allowed to re-enlist for another six month term.[18]

The CCC workers typically worked a five-day week. The camps were awoken at 6:00 AM for calisthenics and breakfast before the workday began at 8:00. The days typically ended at 4:30, and the rest of evening belonged to the workers. After supper, this time was spent on taking classes, playing games, and relaxing. Saturdays were devoted to further recreation or maintaining the camp. Many of the camps were well-equipped, offering the men opportunities for academic courses, vocational training, and athletic competitions. The main focus of the program, the work, was not easy. When CCC workers constructed buildings they often had to quarry the stone and cut the trees themselves in order to make the building materials. In thousands of camps across the country, the CCC constructed lakes, dams, lookout towers, roads,

[14] Alison T. Otis, William D. Honey, Thomas C. Hogg, and Kimberly K. Lakin. *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42* (United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, FS-395: August, 1986), Online Book http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/ccc/ccc/index.htm (accessed September 12, 2011): Chapter 2. Present in Georgia were National Forest (F), Private Forest (P), National Park (NP), State Park (SP), Military Park (MP), National Monument (NM), National Agricultural Research Center (A), Soil Conservation Service (SCS).
[15] Monica Smith, "The Archaeology of a 'Destroyed' Site: Surface Survey and Historical Documents at the Civilian Conservation Corps Camp, Bandelier National Monument, New Mexico," *Historical Archaeology* Vol. 35, No. 2 (2001): 38.
[16] Otis, et al, *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*, Chapter 12.
[17] Davis, "Our Mark on This Land," 23.
[18] Otis, et al, *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*, Introduction.

trails, bridges, buildings; they terraced farmland and replanted forests; and they fought wild fires, counteracted flooding, and provided relief in areas devastated by natural disasters.[19]

Evidence of the popularity of the program and of the far-reaching economic devastation of the time, groups of older men and Native American males objected to the age and citizenship requirements for enlistment in the CCC. A large number of World War I veterans gathered at the Capitol in 1932 requesting their compensation pension for wartime service early (they were not scheduled to receive it until 1945). President Hoover denied their request, and General Douglas MacArthur drove the veterans out of Washington using guns and tear gas. A group of veterans returned to Washington in 1933, protesting the fact that younger men would receive financial relief from the government for which they were ineligible. In a different style of response, President Roosevelt sent his wife, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, to inform them that they could enlist in the newly-created CCC camps for veterans.[20] Another group of objectors was composed of older men who lived in the areas designated for CCC camps. These men, many of them also unemployed, took issue with the fact that younger men would be paid to do their work in their own backyards. The Forest Service, in particular, used this problem to an advantage. The CCC employed many Local Experienced Men (LEMs) to train and supervise the young enrollees, and as a result, the local communities were pacified by having their unemployment rates reduced.[21] The unemployment rate was worse among Native Americans than almost any other group. Adding to this problem was the fact that they were located on land that was exceptionally affected by erosion and drought. Legislation governing other CCC camps was

[19] Davis, "Our Mark on This Land," 26.
[20] Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, Chapter 2; Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment*, 14.
[21] Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment*, 14.

adjusted for the thirty-three reservations that participated, allowing tribal governments to organize the work and permitting married men to enroll.[22]

One significant blemish on the historical image of the CCC was the program's inability to distance itself from the racism ingrained in American culture of the 1930s. From its beginning, the CCC was intended to be a non-discriminatory program in relief of unemployment across racial boundaries, but implementation did not follow this intention. The Emergency Conservation Work Act from March 31, 1933, clearly states that "in employing citizens for the purpose of this Act, no discrimination shall be made on account of race, color, and creed."[23] While the entire country was suffering under the Great Depression, African Americans were contending with an unemployment rate that was twice as high as the national average. The economic downturn effected a mass shift of poor whites into jobs traditionally held by blacks, leaving African Americans with no employment options and nowhere to turn but to federal relief.[24]

Enrollment into the CCC never achieved a faithful reflection of these unemployment percentages, but at the onset of the program, enrollment in the southern states left African Americans out entirely. A widely referenced history of the CCC, written in 1967 by John A. Salmond, provides the most extensive account to date of the African American experience in the program nationwide; in this work, Georgia is highlighted as one of the worst examples of deliberate exclusion of African Americans from the CCC.[25] Only one month into the program, Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins received a letter from W.H. Harris, a Georgia resident, who revealed that despite a 60% African American population, Clarke County had admitted only

[22] Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment*, 14.
[23] Emergency Conservation Work Act.
[24] Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, Chapter 5.
[25] Ibid.

whites to the CCC.[26] This letter triggered an investigation into the enrollment process overseen by Georgia's director of CCC selection, John de la Perriere, who defended his actions by explaining that all applicants were "classed A, B and C. All colored applicants fell into the classes B and C. The A class being the most needy, the selections were made from same."[27] Involvement from increasingly prominent public figures such as Jessie O. Thomas, Atlanta's National Urban League Secretary, and Will Alexander, the Director of the Committee on Interracial Co-operation in Atlanta, shamed the federal government into genuinely enforcing more racial equality in CCC enrollment in Georgia.[28] De la Perriere continued his denial of discrimination, claiming that "at this time of the farming period in the State, it is vitally important that negroes remain in the counties for chopping cotton and for planting other produce. The negroes in this way are able to obtain work on the farms throughout the state."[29] Only the threat of elimination of the state's CCC funding persuaded Georgia's administration to admit a token number of African Americans into the work program.

Georgia's was certainly not the only government guilty of institutionalizing racism. A letter from CCC Director Robert Fechner, written in response to an inquiry about the segregation of CCC camps from Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., President of the NAACP, seeks to explain that although the legislation enacting the CCC declared that "there should be no discrimination because of color," the official opinion of the CCC administration was that "segregation is not

[26] W.H. Harris May 2, 1933. "W.H. Harris to Secretary of Labor" National Archives, Records of the Selection Division, Negro Selection, as cited in Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, Chapter 5.
[27] John de la Perriere May 5, 1933. "De la Perriere to Persons" National Archives, Records of the Selection Division, Negro Selection, as cited in Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, Chapter 5.
[28] Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, Chapter 5.
[29] Frank Persons May 19, 1933. "Persons to de la Perriere (telephone conversation report)" National Archives, Records of the Selection Division, Negro Selection, as cited in Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, Chapter 5.

discrimination."[30] This attitude quickly translated into a rule of segregation with the rare exception in areas like New England, where there were not enough African American enrollees available to warrant forming separate camps. Although segregating camps was seen as the answer to keep the peace between the races, it created the problem of finding locations that would not boycott the presence of African American CCC companies for fear they would be accompanied by violence and immorality. A series of rules created to address the issue of race in the CCC were molded by the desire to appease state governments, without the support of which the program would not survive. Rather than promoting racial equality, these rules resulted in further curtailment of African American enrollment: the only administrative position African Americans were routinely permitted to hold, even in African American camps, was that of educational advisor; African American enrollees were not allowed to be transferred out of state for CCC work; and, eventually, African Americans could only be enrolled to fill vacancies in African American camps.[31]

The question of the CCC's policies on race culminated in a battle between Fechner and Persons. Fechner increasingly chose to simply not enforce equality between blacks and whites in admission into the CCC while Persons wished to demand integration of the camps and colorblind enrollment proportional to actual need at the very least.[32] In the end, President Roosevelt sided with Fechner's position of non-confrontation on the subject of racism within the CCC, feeling that the success of the overall program was more important than the discouragement of racial

[30] Robert Fechner "Robert Fechner to Thomas L. Griffith, 21 September 1935" (September 21, 1935), National Archives http://newdeal.feri.org/aaccc/aaccc04.htm *New Deal Network*, http://newdeal.feri.org (accessed February 15, 2012).
[31] Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, Chapter 5.
[32] Ibid.

prejudice.[33] Of the over three million men who benefitted from employment in the CCC, only 200,000 of them were African American.

Overall enrollment in the CCC peaked during 1936-37, but then began to wane in 1939 for several reasons. The economy was improving by this time, related to the early days of World War II. Also due to the outbreak of war in Europe, Congress grew reluctant to appropriate funds to the CCC program. By 1941, the war provided more employment opportunities for young men in manufacturing or in the armed forces. Although President Roosevelt and other supporters of the program argued that "the CCC was an adjunct to the war effort, providing military-type training to boys not yet of draft age and protecting natural resources that would be vital to the war effort," Congress eventually refused to continue paying for the CCC, causing the program to end on July 1, 1942.[34]

Figures 1 and 2: CCC Camp Barracks and Mess Hall in Marietta and Meriwether Co., GA.[35]

[33] Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, Chapter 5.
[34] Davis, "Our Mark on This Land," 22.
[35] From http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/vanga/id:ccc053b and http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/vanga/id:ccc026.

The United States Forest Service and the CCC

Its listing as the first area of potential CCC work in President Roosevelt's original description of the intention behind the program illustrates the prominent status that forestry held in the public's hope for a way out of the Great Depression. Although the United States Forest Service existed before the creation of the CCC, the New Deal era witnessed a significant increase in the acreage under the Forest Service's domain, and the CCC was the direct cause behind the development of large-scale administration and management infrastructure within the Forest Service.[36]

Fifty years after the New Deal program started, the Forest Service began to document the history of the CCC within the Forest Service, tracing the early roots of the agency and the significant effect the Corps had upon it, in *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*, written by Alison T. Otis, William D. Honey, Thomas C. Hogg, and Kimberly K. Lakin, who combined their specialties in cultural anthropology, ethnohistory, and architectural history for the product. Beginning with appeals for the protection of forests for economic reasons precipitating the creation of a Forestry Agent post within the Department of Agriculture in 1876, growing awareness of the need to manage forest resources caused the development of this position into a full division of forestry five years later.[37] Further legislation continued strengthening the government's power to manage forest lands, including the Forest Reserve Act of 1891, which allowed the designation of forests on public lands as protected areas, and the Weeks Law in 1911, which established a plan between states and the nation for protecting against forest fires and also enabled the allocation of funds to purchase forest lands for the protection of watersheds of navigable streams. The Clarke-McNary Act of 1924 expanded

[36] Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army*, 33.
[37] Otis, et al, *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*, Historical and Institutional Background.

upon the Weeks Law, allowing the federal government to acquire forest lands for the purpose of timber production in addition to watershed protection, and encouraging the relationship between the federal and state governments for the conservation of forest resources.[38]

Under the authority granted to the Department of Agriculture through the Emergency Conservation Work Act on March 31, 1933, the United States Forest Service was tasked with occupying a sudden and significant influx of labor and responded quickly, approving by April 13th the establishment of CCC camps in national forests for the first 10,000 workers.[39] The USFS managed CCC camps on lands within state and private forests, as well, simply adhering to different restrictions depending on the type of ownership. The Forest Service managed the largest number of CCC camps and workers of any federal agency over the course of the program's nine-year life. CCC work under the Forest Service was predominantly concerned with fighting forest fires, but other means of protecting forest resources were also undertaken, including disease and insect control, installation of telephone lines, and the construction of elements like fire towers, access roads and trails, bridges, and landing fields.[40] Secondary foci of CCC work under the Forest Service were forest improvement and recreation development.[41] Forest improvement involved taking inventories of timber stand contents, conducting surveys, and creating cover maps of forests, as well as improving timber stands through reforestation and establishing nurseries for seedlings. Forest recreation development consisted of the construction of campgrounds and accompanying amenities, such as water supplies, rest rooms, swimming pools, picnic areas, fireplaces, and lodges and shelters. The wide range of activities undertaken by the CCC on Forest Service lands also extended to improvement of range cover, wildlife and

[38] Otis, et al, *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*, Historical and Institutional Background.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

fish habitat development, erosion and flood control, forest research, construction of administrative buildings in the forest, and intervention in natural disasters and crises local to the CCC camps.[42]

The National Park Service and the CCC

The idea of reserving areas of particular natural or cultural interest surfaced relatively early in the nation's history, with the 1864 recognition and protection of Yosemite Valley, and the 1872 establishment of Yellowstone National Park; however, the National Park Service (NPS) was only established in 1916, by the National Park Service Act, as a federal bureau responsible for the entire system of national park areas.[43] Almost thirty different titles fall under the broad umbrella of 'national park areas,' including National Park, National Historic Site, National Battlefield, National Military Park, and National Seashore.[44] Long-time bureau historian for the National Park Service, Barry Mackintosh, wrote that the development of state parks began decades before the New Deal era, but the management of CCC camps by the NPS created a ready environment for federal establishment and expansion of the state park systems.[45] During the life of the CCC, all newly-created state parks were also technically under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service.

[42] Otis, et al, *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*, Historical and Institutional Background.
[43] Barry Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System* (Washington, D.C.: Harpers Ferry Center, National Park Service, 2005), 8.
[44] Mackintosh's publication lists 27 types of 'national park areas:' International Historic Site, National Battlefield, National Battlefield Park, National Battlefield Site, National Historical Park, National Historical Park and Preserve, National Historical Reserve, National Historic Site, National Lakeshore, National Monument, National Monument and Preserve, National Memorial, National Military Park, National Park, National Park and Preserve, National Preserve, National River, National Recreation Area, National River and Recreation Area, National Reserve, National Seashore, National Scenic River/Riverway, National Scenic Trail, Parkway, Scenic and Recreational River, Wild River, and Wild and Scenic River.
[45] Ibid. 8.

In President Roosevelt's 'First 100 Days' came what is "arguably the most significant event in the evolution of the National Park System": a reorganization of federally-owned lands, transferring some areas previously presided over by the War Department and the Forest Service to the jurisdiction of the National Park Service.[46] The far reaching authority of the NPS over both natural and historic areas grew dramatically in theory and in acreage after the passage of this August 10, 1933, legislation. Hand in hand with this system expansion and diversification went the incorporation of New Deal programs to relieve unemployment and conserve the nation's resources. The CCC was the New Deal program that became most integrally linked with the NPS.[47] Specific types of work were approved for the CCC to complete within NPS lands:

1) Structures--trail, camp and picnic ground shelters, toilets, custodian's cottages, bath houses, etc.--construction and repair.
2) Camp tables, fire places, other camp and picnic ground facilities--construction and maintenance.
3) Bridges, as adjuncts of park roads, protection roads and trails, and recreational bridle and foot trails--construction and maintenance.
4) Water supply systems, sewers, incinerators and other waste disposal facilities--construction and repair.
5) Park roads--construction and maintenance.
6) Dams, to provide water recreation facilities--construction and maintenance.
7) Fire towers, tool sheds, fire control water supply reservoirs--construction and maintenance.[48]

The involvement of the CCC with the NPS went beyond the various projects completed on Park Service lands: it altered the structure of the organization. Systems originally developed

[46] Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 28.
[47] Harlan D. Unrau and G. Frank Williss, *Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s: An Administrative History*, (National Park Service, Denver Service Center: 1983), Online Book, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/unrau-williss/adhi.htm (accessed September 12, 2012): Chapter Three: Impact of the New Deal on the National Park Service. Between 1933 and 1937, "the Park Service received emergency appropriations amounting to $40,242,691.97 from the Public Works Administration (PWA), $24,274,090.89 from the Works Progress Administration (WPA), $82,250,467.66 from the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and $2,490,678 from the Civil Works Administration (CWA)."
[48] Unrau and Williss, *Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s*, Chapter Three: Impact of the New Deal on the National Park Service: A) Emergency Conservation Work – Civilian Conservation Corps.

to manage the temporary CCC camps evolved into a permanent administrative structure for the NPS, creating regional offices where none previously existed to coordinate with state parks and establishing the precedent for a full staff of professionals within the NPS, such as "landscape architects, engineers, foresters, biologists, historians, archeologists, and architects."[49] The legacy of the CCC in the NPS remains both in the physical resources created by their projects and in the framework of the organization itself.

The Soil Conservation Service and the CCC

Soil erosion has been a preeminent concern of Americans since Europeans settled North America. To emphasize this idea, Douglas Helms, the historian of the Soil Conservation Service, opens his comprehensive account of the agency with a quote from Patrick Henry: "since the achievement of our independence, he is the greatest patriot who stops the most gullies."[50] Early farming practices and their consequences made this sentiment a common one. Cotton, tobacco, and corn, all early staple crops in America, were planted in rows from which weeds were religiously removed to prevent the loss of nutrients and moisture. This restriction of ground cover left much of the soil open to rainfall, which was exceptionally intense in the hilly landscapes of both New England and the Southern Piedmont.[51] These regions experienced severe soil erosion and nutrient depletion throughout the nineteenth century, as continuous tilling up of the rich topsoil allowed the sun and air to increase oxidation and the heavy rains to carry off inches of the best dirt. Tree removal to create more acres for cultivation compounded this problem by exposing even more erodible soils on sloping lands. Over the decades, runoff filled

[49] Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 46.
[50] Douglas Helms, "Two Centuries of Soil Conservation," *OAH Magazine of History* (Winter, 1991), 24.
[51] The Southern Piedmont is a geographical region located between the Appalachian Mountain range and the Fall Line, and it extends from eastern Alabama, across Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, and into Virginia.

the creeks and rivers with silt, increasing the danger of waterways overflowing their banks and turning formerly productive cropland into swamps (Figure 3).[52] These detrimental effects were well known to early American farmers, as were several remedies, but, "the availability of land to the west and the scarcity of labor are often seen by historians as the main impediments to the adoption of farming methods that conserve the soil and restore its fertility."[53]

The environmental disaster facing the country by the 1930s was the result of the culture surrounding agricultural practices in the centuries leading up to it. Stanley Wayne Trimble, a professor in the Geography Department at UCLA and an expert in southern environmental history as it relates to the soil, discusses how, "pioneer agriculture" took advantage of plentiful and seemingly expendable land, using up the resources in an area and then moving to a new one in a pattern that carried the depletion of the land steadily westward.[54] This system was succeeded by "a combination of plantations, small farms, and eventually a sharecropper system that not only degraded the land but also kept farmers in debt and uneducated."[55] On top of viewing the land as something that simply got used up, the sharecropping lifestyle, requiring movement from farm to farm every few years, added a distanced-from-the-land attitude described in 1948 by early agricultural historian A. R. Hall:

> Tenants, whether white or black, could not be expected to have an interest in the land which they did not own since they rarely lived on one place more than one year, and even if they were less mobile, they were obliged to overwork the land in cotton culture in an attempt to meet the obligations of the land lord and merchant.[56]

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[52] Stanley W. Trimble, *Man-Induced Soil Erosion on the Southern Piedmont, 1700-1970,* (Soil Conservation Society of America, 1974) 1.
[53] Helms, "Two Centuries of Soil Conservation," 24.
[54] Stanley W. Trimble and R. Harold Brown, "Soil Erosion," *New Georgia Encyclopedia* (2003), www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-942. (accessed January 3, 2012).
[55] Ibid.
[56] A. R. Hall, "Soil Erosion and Agriculture in the Southern Piedmont: A History," (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Duke University: 1948); Trimble, *Man-Induced Soil Erosion*, 159.

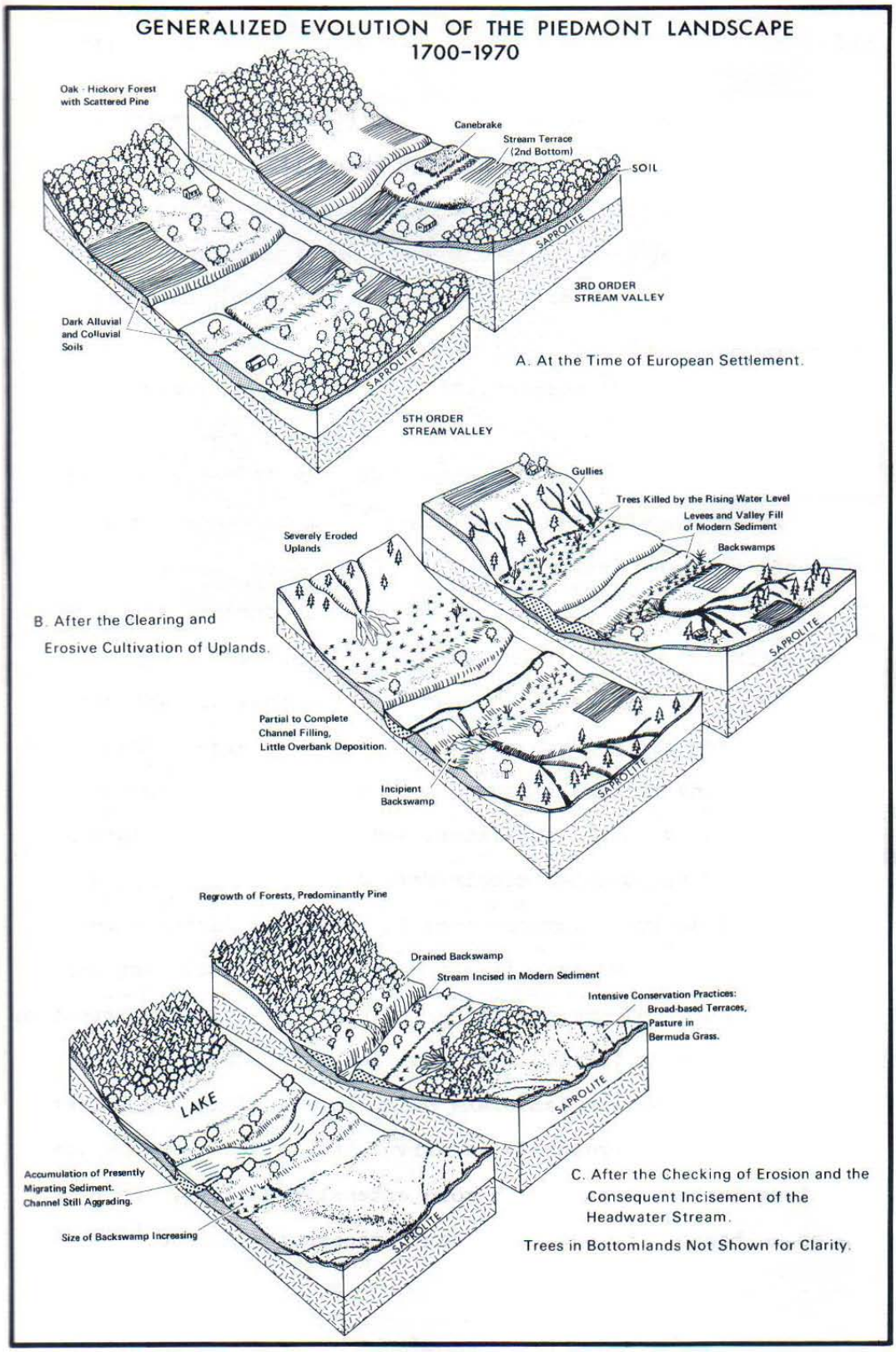


Figure 3: Illustration of the Effects of Erosion and Conservatory Measures on the Piedmont.[57]

[57] From Trimble, *Man-Induced Soil Erosion*, 117.

It was not until the twentieth century, when the efforts of soil conservationist Hugh Hammond Bennett were becoming widely understood and the environmental situation was viewed through the lens of the Great Depression that "the connection between poor, eroded land and poor people came into focus."[58]

Bennett is credited as being "the father of soil conservation."[59] His experience with easily-erodible soils began while growing up in the piedmont of North Carolina. While he worked as a soil surveyor and then a supervisor of soil surveys with the Department of Agriculture, Bennett became a strong voice for the prevention of soil erosion. He published numerous articles describing the causes and consequences of soil erosion, and in 1929, he authored a piece of legislation that established research stations to develop techniques for conserving soil. In 1933, Bennett was asked to be part of the New Deal programs by leading the Soil Erosion Service. Bennett developed a system of New Deal-sponsored soil conservation projects connected with the scientists at the erosion experiment stations and local farmers. The experiment stations provided scientific expertise in planning, equipment, seeds, and the benefit of data gathered in the area, and the Civilian Conservation Corps provided a ready supply of labor (Figures 4-8). The local farmers agreed to five-year contracts with the Soil Erosion Service, during which time they would practice on their own land the conservation techniques recommended by the scientists and the federal government. [60] The passage of the Soil Conservation Act on April 27, 1935, transformed this arrangement of demonstration projects and the Soil Erosion Service into the agency of the Soil Conservation Service, the face of a national commitment.

[58] Douglas Helms "SCS: 50 Years Young" *The Farmer* (March 16, 1985), 48.
[59] Helms, "Two Centuries of Soil Conservation," 25.
[60] Ibid, 26.

Figures 4-8: African American CCC Enrollees at a Soil Conservation Service Camp in Kentucky.[61]

[61] From Lacy, *Soil Soldiers*, 55, 77.

Rules set forth in original legislation concerning the permitted actions of the CCC had to be altered to create a productive partnership with the Soil Conservation Service. While federal money was easily spent on conservation work undertaken on public lands, many obstacles existed preventing that same money from being spent on state and private lands. While 70 percent of the nation's unemployed lived east of the Mississippi River, 95 percent of the country's public domain existed west of the Rocky Mountains, facts that would have required transportation en mass of CCC workers out of the states that had little to no federally owned land.[62] The chief forester within the Forest Service, Major Robert Y. Stuart, called for state and private land to be considered for CCC camp and project locations as well as federal lands, and largely to enable soil conservation work, the rules were reinterpreted.[63] As a by-product of this legislative change, the federal government was able to purchase over 20 million acres of formerly private land, creating a sizable collection of public lands east of the Mississippi River.[64]

Bennett's driving philosophy for preventing soil erosion, "farming land according to its capabilities," required a new approach to field arrangement, planting methods, and choosing what to plant.[65] The CCC provided the labor necessary to institute these new practices on a large scale, once given "the authority to assist in planning and applying soil-conservation measures on individual farms; in establishing good woodland and pasture management practices; in reforesting or regressing croplands retired from cultivation; [and] in purchasing areas of submarginal land recommended for permanent retirement from the district."[66] With the help of the CCC, the SCS demonstration projects (and later the districts) developed into "agents for

[62] Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, Chapter 1.
[63] Douglas Helms, "The Civilian Conservation Corps: Demonstrating the value of soil conservation," *Journal of Soil and Water Conservation* Vol. 40 (March, 1985): 184.
[64] Neil M. Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 47.
[65] Ibid, 185.
[66] Hugh Hammond Bennett, *Soil Conservation* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1939), 322.

agricultural change," gradually causing nearby farmers to change their methods through persuasion, example, and assistance.[67]

During the nine years that the CCC was in action, the SCS managed roughly 800 of the program's 4,500 camps.[68] The Reconnaissance Erosion Survey of 1934 helped identify areas that would benefit the most from these camps, focusing SCS efforts in the Plains and eastward in the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys and the Southern Piedmont (Figure 9). At these camps the CCC repeatedly employed certain conservation practices to reduce soil erosion: crop rotation, the planting of cover and conservatory crops, contour plowing, and terracing.[69] Crop rotation seeks to combat the soil erosion directly caused by the way certain crops are grown by covering the exposed soil during the winter months (for example, cotton can be grown in rotation with oats-lespedeza). Areas that are not currently needed for crops can be planted in cover or conservatory crops to keep the soil from being exposed and eroded. Plowing along the contours of fields as opposed to across them can reduce soil loss on slopes of 2-7% by half. During the CCC era the SCS promoted a significant improvement in terracing, a technique already employed across the country. The CCC provided the labor and equipment necessary to construct wide-base terraces to more effectively cut soil loss by dividing slope lengths into multiple segments. Trimble's study on the Southern Piedmont describes at length the reasons behind the significant decline in soil erosion in the region between 1920 and 1970, and notes, "the concerted effort by the federal government to stop uncontrolled erosion on exposed, abandoned land," through the SCS employing the techniques listed above as one major reason (Appendix A).[70]

[67] Helms, "The Civilian Conservation Corps: Demonstrating the value of soil conservation," 187.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Trimble, *Man-Induced Soil Erosion*, 106; 130.
[70] Ibid, 104.

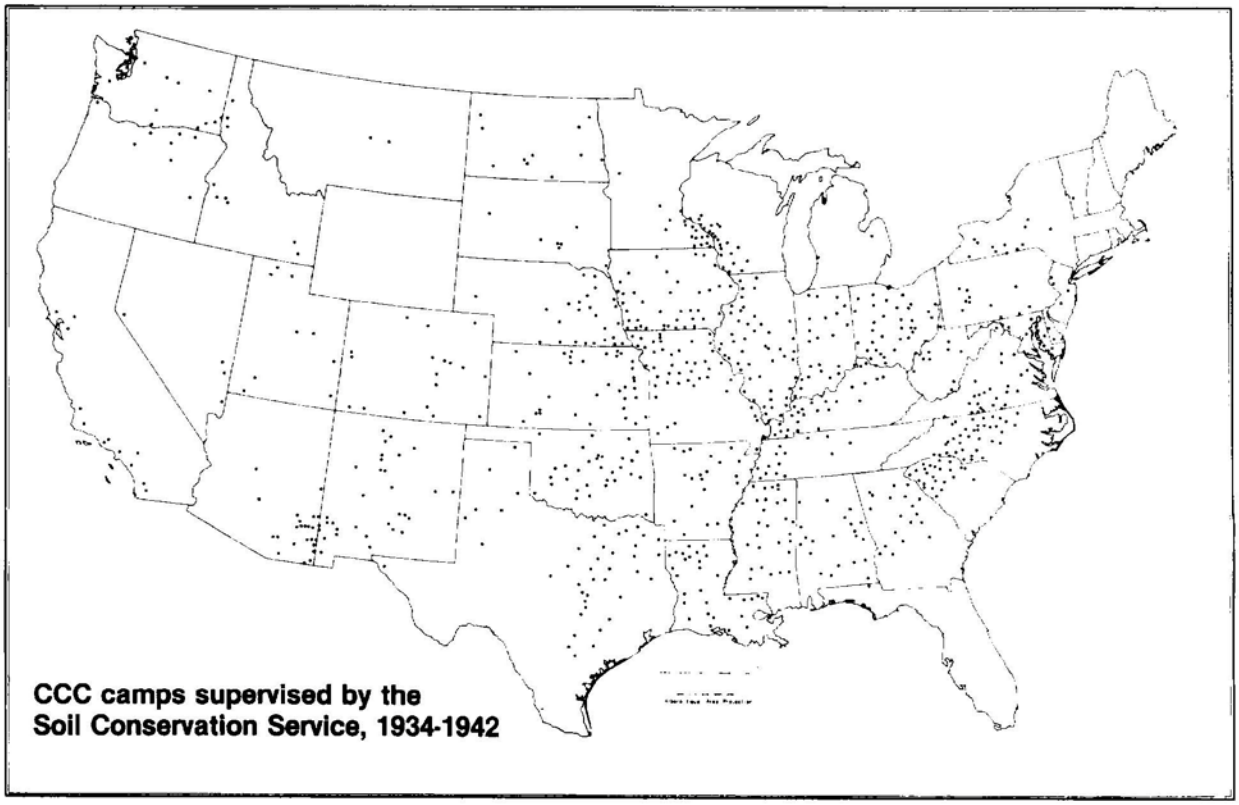


Figure 9: The Reconnaissance Erosion Survey of 1934.[71]

[71] From Helms, "The Civilian Conservation Corps: Demonstrating the value of soil conservation," 186.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF THE CCC IN GEORGIA

While 'Black Tuesday,' the day of the infamous stock market crash, traditionally marks the onset of the Great Depression, an extended period of economic hardship began much earlier in many parts of the country, especially in rural Georgia. Georgia plunged into the Depression after already enduring a decade of economic recession, a century of erosion caused by inadequate agricultural methods, and the recent devastation of the state's staple cotton industry from the spread of the boll weevil.[72] In spite of this prolonged period of depression and Georgia's long-standing adherence to the platform of the Democratic Party of which Roosevelt was the latest figurehead, the state government was slow to cooperate with the New Deal programs. Georgia's governor, Eugene Talmadge, took a firm stance against increases in government spending and regulation of the economy as solutions to the nation's woes, believing the answer lay instead in "hard work and thrift alone."[73] Senator Richard B. Russell led the political force that eventually won out over Talmadge, and as a result Georgia ultimately embraced the relief programs of the New Deal.

Georgia was located in the fourth of the nine corps that the country was divided into for CCC allotments. Although Georgia's records, like CCC records in most states, are incomplete, the source most commonly referenced for CCC enrollment and project statistics is the respected earliest comprehensive history of the CCC, written in 1981 by former state forester of Vermont, historian, and CCC administration veteran, Perry H. Merrill. Records gathered from biennial

[72] Davis, "Our Mark on This Land," 20.
[73] Kenneth Coleman, ed., *A History of Georgia*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1977), 311.

reports from the state foresters and state park directors indicate that 78,630 men from Georgia were employed by the CCC over the life of the program, and they sent an estimated total of $19,840,065 home to their families.[74] Georgia had a total of approximately 127 CCC camps, 19 of which were worked by the 13 African American companies, according to Davis's research. Georgia's first CCC camp opened near Suches in the forests of the North Georgia Mountains in May of 1933, and the end of work at the same camp coincided with the close of the program in the state in 1942. Between 30 and 35 camps were open in the state at any one time, and using June 30, 1937, as a snapshot reveals Georgia CCC camps distributed across the agencies as follows: 9 in National Forests, 10 in Private Forests, 9 in the Soil Conservation Service, 2 in the National Park Service, 6 in State Parks, and 1 Military Reservation.[75] CCC work in the state as totaled by project amounted to: installation of 3,638 miles of telephone line; the construction of 425,829 erosion-control check dams; control of 25,082 acres preventing erosion; planting of 1,672,905 trees for gully control; planting of 22,915,095 trees for reforestation; and wild-fire fighting consuming 153,022 man-days.[76]

President Roosevelt's Ties to Georgia

President Roosevelt had several experiences in life that made him familiar with issues addressed by his New Deal programs, especially the CCC. He was involved in the stewardship of forests on his family estate in Hyde Park, and he presided over conservation work conducted in New York while he was a senator and the governor there.[77] His distant cousin, Theodore

[74] Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army*, 122-123.
[75] Ibid, 122.
[76] Ibid, 123; Davis, "Our Mark on This Land," 23, 27; Lucy Ann Lawliss, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the State Park: an Approach to the Management of the Designed Historic Landscape Resources at Franklin D. Roosevelt State Park, Pine Mountain, Georgia," (MLA Thesis: University of Georgia, 1992), Appendix 1.
[77] Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment*, 12.

Roosevelt had been a champion of conservation during his own presidency, appointing Gifford Pinchot the first Chief of the United States Forest Service. Another influential experience for President Roosevelt and his New Deal Plans occurred in rural Georgia. President Roosevelt visited Warm Springs, Georgia, in 1924 to ease his suffering from polio at the town's healing waters. While in Warm Springs and the area of Pine Mountain, President Roosevelt became familiar with the extent of agricultural depression in the region and serious consequences the situation was having on the people.[78] He bought land at Pine Mountain and worked with Cason Callaway (of Callaway Gardens – an important land owner and textile executive in the area) to develop a model farm to teach agricultural techniques that would combat soil erosion (Figure 10). This project in rural Georgia has undeniable similarities to the later Soil Conservation Service work completed by CCC camps and encouraged President Roosevelt's support of Hugh Hammond Bennett's revolutionary agricultural mission.[79]

Figure 10: President Roosevelt Visits Park Service CCC Camp Meriwether.[80]

[78] Davis, "Our Mark on This Land," 20-21.
[79] Theo Lippman, Jr., *The Squire of Warm Springs: FDR in Georgia 1924-1945*, (Chicago: Playboy Press, 1977), 4.
[80] From http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/vanga/id:ccco22.

The United States Forest Service and the CCC in Georgia

During the years of the CCC, Georgia was one of eleven states along with Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas, in Region 8, the Southern Region, of the United States Forest Service under the direction of Regional Forester Joseph Kircher. Approximately half of the CCC workforce allotted to the Southern Region completed projects on national forest lands, composing thirteen percent of work in all of the country's national forests.[81] The Forest Service had managed certain parcels of land in North Georgia since the 1911 Weeks Law permitted the purchase and preservation of forest lands to protect watersheds. The beginning of the CCC catalyzed the expansion of the Forest Service in Georgia to include all of what is now called the Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forest, although during the CCC period some of these lands were classified as state and private forests.[82] The Forest Service acted on dual priorities in Georgia's state and national forests by both conserving natural resources and making these resources accessible to the public. These goals were reached through reforestation and the establishment of a system of roads, fire breaks, and fire towers for conservation, and also the construction of lodges, trails, campgrounds, and recreation areas for public use (Figures 11-14). The development of the forest ranger system enabled both goals, and the CCC in the Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forest established districts and constructed residences and outbuildings for these rangers.

CCC Forestry workers in Georgia contributed to the improvement of the southern extent of the Appalachian Trail, one of the most notable accomplishments of the USFS Region 8 CCC. The CCC was also responsible for the large-scale reintroduction of deer in the Chattahoochee

[81] Otis, et al, *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*, Chapter 9.
[82] James R. Wettstaed, "DRAFT: A Legacy in Wood and Stone: An Overview and Management Plan of Depression Era Resources on the Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forests, Georgia," (USDA Forest Service, Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forests, 2011), 8.

National Forest. The Timber Protective Organizations, which spread across the country after originating in Georgia, created easier opportunities for CCC camps to employ protective measures against fires in forests on private lands in the state.[83]

Figures 11-14: CCC-Era Resources in the Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forests. Clockwise from top left: Water's Creek Game Warden's Residence,[84] Blood Mountain Shelter, Fern Springs Spring House, and Chenoceta Fire Tower.[85]

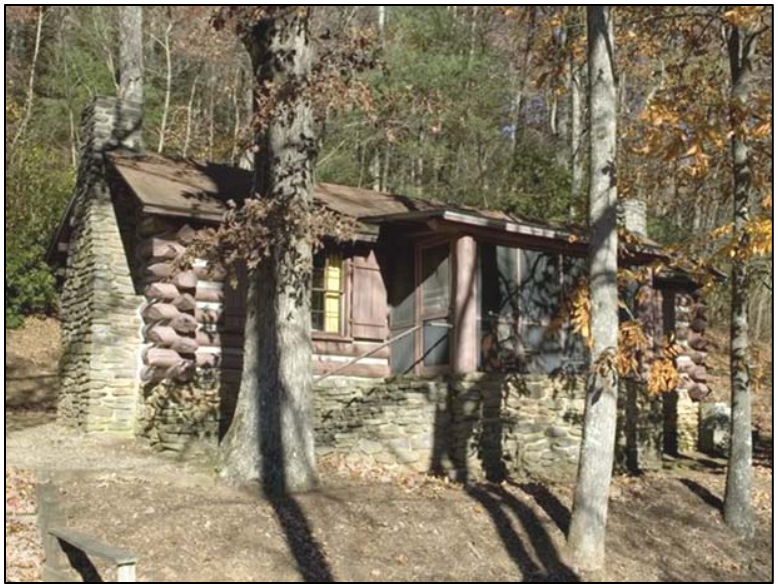
[83] Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army*, 123.
[84] Photograph by author.
[85] From Wettstaed, "DRAFT: A Legacy in Wood and Stone," 60, 38, 69.

The National Park Service and the CCC in Georgia

The roots of the National and State Park Service system in Georgia were created and greatly extended by the work of the CCC. Five National Parks were established in Georgia during the CCC era, focusing on historic sites and monuments of national significance. Chickamauga and Chattanooga, which had been a National Military Park since August 19, 1890, Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, established February 8, 1917, and Fort Pulaski, which had been a National Monument since October 15, 1924, were transferred to NPS jurisdiction on August 10, 1933, during the first sweeping reorganization of the NPS during the New Deal.[86] Chickamauga, Kennesaw Mountain, and Andersonville were all dedicated to the preservation of the history of the Civil War and promoting public access to it. The Mississippian period Native American village and mound site in Macon, Georgia, became Ocmulgee National Monument on June 14, 1934. At Ocmulgee, the CCC conducted archaeological excavations and constructed buildings allowing for interpretation of the Indian mound site. The architecture of Fort Pulaski was restored to preserve the site for future generations.

The Division of State Parks within the Department of Natural Resources was created in Georgia under the directorship of Charles N. Elliott on March 5, 1937, and eight state parks had been established by 1938: Indian Springs, Vogel, Alexander H. Stephens, Fort Mountain, Pine Mountain, Chehaw, Little Ocmulgee, and Santo Domingo. Seven of these eight state parks (Indian Springs is the exclusion) came into being as a direct result of the availability of CCC workers to provide all of the necessary amenities and improvements to the land, including cabins, restroom facilities, docks and boathouses, picnic tables, fireplaces, recreational areas (Figures 15 and 16).[87]

[86] Mackintosh, *The National Parks: Shaping the System*, 33, 41, 36.
[87] Merrill, *Roosevelt's Forest Army*, 124.




Figures 15 and 16: Vogel State Park Cottage and Visitors Center, Built by the CCC.[88]

The Soil Conservation Service and the CCC in Georgia

Providence Canyon, located in Stewart County in southwest Georgia, is the most dramatic example in the state of the erosional damage poor farming practices can create in an area particularly susceptible it (Figures 17 and 18). This state park, also known as 'Georgia's Little Grand Canyon,' contains a system of plateaus and gorges, some reaching 150 feet deep, that was carved entirely by rainwater runoff from agricultural fields.[89] The state's signature red clay hills are a constant reminder deriving from the same cause. The loss of an average of 7.5 inches of topsoil across the Piedmont region of the state has been dubbed "the worst environmental disaster Georgia has ever suffered."[90]

One recent commentary on the unsung importance of soil conservation efforts states that "the restoration of the bare, eroded hillsides, the silted streams, and the rutted and gullied

[88] From www.gastateparks.org.
[89] Sigrid Sanders, "Providence Canyon," *New Georgia Encyclopedia* (2003) www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-943. (accessed January 3, 2012).
[90] Trimble and Brown, "Soil Erosion," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*.

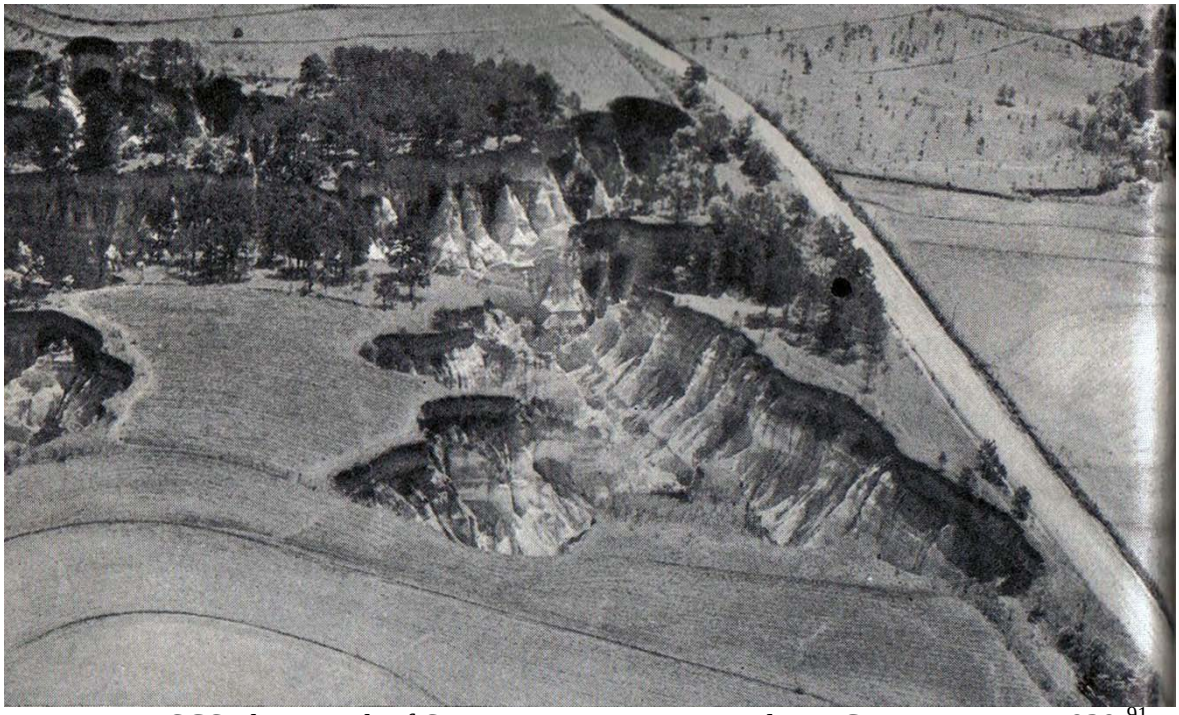


Figure 17: SCS Photograph of Severe Erosion near Providence Canyon Prior to 1939.[91]

Figure 18: Providence Canyon, Today.[92]

[91] From Bennett, *Soil Erosion*, 4.
[92] From www.gastateparks.org.

roadsides is hardly noticed, but the improvements are remarkable nonetheless."[93] The Soil Conservation Service quickly produced measurable benefits by changing agriculture in Georgia. The focus on crop agriculture in Georgia shifted over the course of the twentieth century and especially after the Great Depression, from the Piedmont region to the less-erodible soils of the Coastal Plain; and the total amount of land used for cultivation in Georgia decreased from almost 10 million acres to only 3 million. Silting rates also diminished so completely that "little concern was shown for the consequences" of the negligible filling of ponds and lakes in the second half of the century.[94] The Soil Conservation Service, powered by the human resources of the CCC, enabled this significant change in the course of Georgia's agricultural history.

Articles in *The Atlanta Constitution* provide a good timeline of SCS actions in Georgia.[95] A February 24, 1935, article titled, "Many Farmers Sign Soil Erosion Pacts," introduces Loy E. Rast, an Athens resident, as the director of soil erosion efforts in the state. The article also explains that the city of Americus was recently designated as the headquarters for "a vast soil erosion project to cover several southwest Georgia counties." As an early part of this project, ninety-one people who owned farms or land to total more than 30,000 acres within the newly-formed Americus soil conservation district signed agreements to use their land according to Soil Conservation Service guidelines for the following five years. This process would repeat itself as the work of the Soil Conservation Service spread across the state. A June 14, 1935, article announces a surge in SCS activity with the title, "Georgia To Have Big Soil Erosion Program: Georgia Slated To Get 2 Million For Soil Erosion and Forest Work." These funds were allocated through the CCC program, and the amount devoted specifically to soil conservation work in Georgia was $1.8 million, a large portion of the $25 million shared by the Soil Conservation

[93] Trimble and Brown, "Soil Erosion," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*.
[94] Ibid.
[95] *The Atlanta Constitution*, (Atlanta, GA, 1935), ProQuest Historical Newspapers, www.proquest.com

Service across the entire country. By October 24, 1935, Georgia had 10 SCS CCC camps working under this funding.

In a speech welcoming President Roosevelt on his official visit to Georgia on November 29, 1935, Athens lawyer Abit Nix thanked the President for enacting the Soil Conservation Service CCC program. After describing the dire environmental situation facing Georgia, Nix claimed that President Roosevelt's program "came to our rescue." Nix praised the ongoing work at the SCS CCC camp north of Athens, which demonstrated "how floods may be controlled, how bottom lands can be saved, how the fertility of the soil may be improved, how a countryside can be made more beautiful and attractive, and how a richer rural life may be enjoyed by those who live in the great Piedmont belt." During the New Deal era, approximately 19 Soil Conservation Service CCC camps were established in Georgia, predominantly in the Piedmont or near the Fall Line, to help large areas of the state achieve these goals (Figure 19).

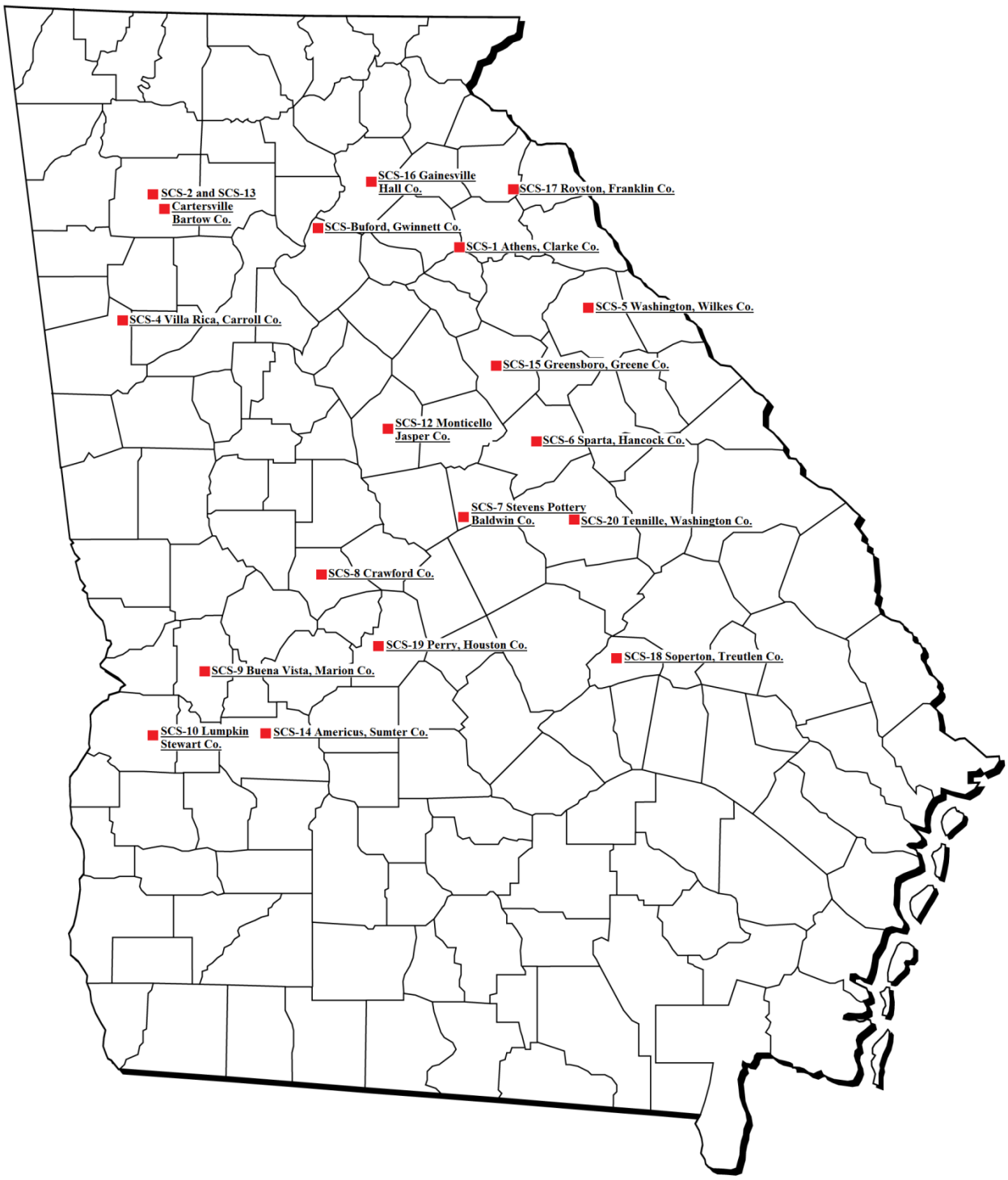


Figure 19: Map of Approximate Locations of SCS Camps in Georgia.[96]

[96] Base map from Carl Vinson Institute of Government www.georgiainfo.galileo.usg.edu.

CHAPTER 4

THE VARIOUS LEGACIES OF THE CCC

Even before the approval of the first CCC enrollee, President Roosevelt made a prediction of what would be accomplished by the New Deal program:

> It "will conserve our precious natural resources. It will pay dividends to the present and future generations. It will make improvements in national and state domains which have been largely forgotten in the past few years of industrial development. More important, however, than the material gains will be the moral and spiritual value of such work. The overwhelming majority of unemployed Americans, who are now walking the streets and receiving private or public relief, would infinitely prefer to work. We can take a vast army of these unemployed out into healthful surroundings. We can eliminate to some extent at least the threat that enforced idleness brings to spiritual and moral stability. It is not a panacea for all the unemployment but it is an essential step in this emergency."[97]

This was an ambitious proposal, but the CCC lived up to it. Over its nine years, the CCC employed over three million young men, which at that time equated to approximately five percent of the male population in the United States.[98] Various estimates have been made based on inconsistent records of the amounts of money allotted to each state or agency for the CCC and the total amount sent home to help the struggling families of the program's enrollees. The "Annual Report for Fiscal Year 1942" cites $2,893,786,288 as the overall cost of the program, a figure that includes wages for the enrollees, salaries for the managing staff, and costs involved in

[97] Roosevelt, "Three Essentials for Unemployment Relief," [Delivered March 21, 1933], *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vol. 2, 1933*, (New York: Random House, 1938), 80.
[98] John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and The National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History*, (Department of the Interior, National Park Service: 1985): Online Book http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/ccc/index.htm (accessed September 12, 2011): Overall Accomplishments.

establishing camps and supplying equipment.[99] Various numbers are also listed to quantify the accomplishments of the CCC in terms of trees planted, acres saved by erosion control measures, and miles of roads constructed. These numbers are impressive, but what is more impressive is the real legacy they quantify. The fact is that many of these numbers signify structures and features that remain in our environment today. These numbers symbolize what one historian of the Great Depression era describes as "the silent and largely forgotten physical accomplishments of the New Deal. They were vast in number. They were useful. Many of them are still being used. They must be reckoned with."[100] The other statistics, for the numbers of enrollees and the amounts of money they earned, broach the subject of the spiritual and moral benefits of the CCC promised by Roosevelt at the dawn of the program.

The Broad Range of the CCC Legacy

In trying to save the nation's two wasted resources – its natural resources and its people - the CCC developed two respective legacies. Resources left by all agencies of the CCC fall into these two general but distinct categories, the physical and the spiritual, or the tangible and the intangible. Whether it was done intentionally or not, Georgia historian Ren Davis describes the remaining legacy of the CCC program by listing items that fall into one of these two categories.[101] He cites cabins and trails in state parks and national forests, as well as trees planted in these areas by the CCC and the shade and timber they now provide. These items represent the tangible category in his review of CCC accomplishments. Davis then devotes more space in his article to describing the intangible legacy of the CCC: "The Corps also rescued more

[99] Federal Security Agency, *Annual Report of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1942*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), 42.
[100] Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment*, xv.
[101] Davis, "Our Mark on This Land," 27-29.

than three million young men. It renewed their self-esteem and their confidence, and restored faith in the future of their country. It taught them discipline and teamwork and prepared them well for military service in World War II."[102] A CCC veteran and historian, Robert Allen Ermentrout, expanded on this idea: "When we take up the intangible values we move into the realm of conviction supported by the self-evident. The enrollees received relief, encouragement and purposeful work with good food, in a healthy atmosphere removed from a depressing environment during an extremely impressionable period of their lives."[103] Although this legacy is difficult to identify, Robert Leighninger, a faculty associate at Arizona State University's School of Social Work and Editor of the Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, provides a rough form of quantification in a discussion of the CCC producing more unlikely authors than any of the other New Deal programs.[104] These three descriptions convey the intangible legacy of the CCC program that is common across the various agencies that employed it. The CCC helped raise the 'Greatest Generation' from unlikely beginnings.

In a study of the influence the CCC had on the origins of the environmental movement in America, environmental historian Neil Maher observes the legacy created by the CCC in the change they effected on both the natural and political landscapes of the years following World War II.[105] These categories can also be termed tangible and intangible. As one example of the thousands of "actual landscapes" the CCC left behind in forests, parks, and farmland across the country, Maher describes the first camp established by the CCC program: Camp Roosevelt near Luray, Virginia.[106] The hiking trails in George Washington National Forest, which Camp

[102] Davis, "Our Mark on This Land," 29.
[103] Robert Allen Ermentrout, "The Civilian Conservation Corps," (MA Thesis in History: University of Georgia, 1964), 100.
[104] Leighninger, *Long-Range Public Investment*, 11.
[105] Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 15.
[106] Ibid.

Roosevelt developed, were built by CCC workers, and evidence of the former camp exists there as well in the form of a small cluster of building foundations. After the close of the CCC and the war, former enrollees sought jobs to use the skills they had learned in the program, finding employment with conservation agencies and environmental groups by the thousands. State conservation organizations followed the model of the national program, and similar groups continue even today.

The three major CCC branches in Georgia produced enduring intangible legacies beyond these effects that they shared. The Park Service and Forest Service branches of the CCC established what would later become the permanent state park and forest service systems. The management infrastructure for both agencies was retained from the days of the CCC. The SCS became a permanent federal agency, now called the Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS), and the watersheds which hosted both CCC camps and soil conservation research centers developed into the modern soil conservation districts that the agency still manages.[107] The SCS also created a unique intangible resource in transforming the way people in the communities near SCS CCC camps thought about and practiced agriculture. These effects can all be included in the intangible legacy of the CCC.

Every branch of the CCC produced a tangible legacy, but they did so on a gradient reflective of the agencies' purposes. The National Park Service, with its major mission being recreation, produced the most consciously-designed architectural legacy, encompassing both buildings and landscapes on park lands. The CCC within the Forest Service also addressed recreation, but its driving purpose was resource conservation, resulting in a tangible legacy constructed for function more frequently than visual effect.

[107] With its gradual expansion into protecting natural resources aside from soil, such as water, air, plants, and animals, the Soil Conservation Service changed its name to Natural Resource Conservation Service in 1994.

Evidence exists nationwide of the significant tangible architectural and engineering legacy of the CCC. Two other New Deal programs, the Public Works Administration (PWA) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA), are also remembered for the structures they produced. While the PWA provided employment for highly-trained architects and construction professionals to build civic focal points like post offices, courthouses, and dams, the WPA "focused on smaller structures that utilized simple construction techniques and could be utilized quickly," and the CCC also concentrated on simpler structures, but with the important distinction of "forms often rooted in the traditions of the chosen sites."[108] In addition to the structures themselves, these New Deal programs left a legacy of distinctive architectural styles. These styles surfaced in the unusual venue of the federal and public built environment, as opposed to private construction which was rare in the Depression era. The PWA and WPA buildings often reflect what is termed the "Depression modern" style, embracing new building technologies and materials and coupling them with minimal or tempered historic reference. The CCC developed a style in direct response to the conditions which confronted workers in the unformed forests and parks, using the labor-intensive means of construction from the days of taming the frontier to serve functions that did not exist at that time. The artistic license taken with the construction transformed anachronism into an appropriate and appealing Rustic style alternatively called 'Parkitecture'.[109] This style was "characterized by a design related to the natural landscape and expressed in the use of materials natural to their setting and in scale and proportion to the physical features of their particular site."[110]

[108] Daniel Prosser, "The New Deal Builds: Government Architecture During the New Deal," *Timeline* (February/March, 1992), 42-43.
[109] Ibid, 48; Sandra Taylor Smith, *The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arkansas, 1933-1942*, 13.
[110] Smith, *The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arkansas, 1933-1942*, 13.

The tangible legacy of the Soil Conservation Service branch of the CCC is less easily defined than that of the Park Service and Forest Service, where the buildings, structures, lakes, trails, and forests built by the enrollees can be visited at any time. This fact helps explain why virtually none of the SCS resources have been preserved, since they include no catalysts for commemoration in the form of striking architecture. Comparing the grass-covered terraces of the SCS with the stone lodges in state parks and national forests, it is easy to see how the tangible resources of the SCS number fewer and are more subtle than are those of the Forest Service and Park Service. No part of the SCS mission involved constructing buildings to stand the test of time beyond CCC camp usage; however, the SCS did produce tangible historic resources, including terracing, ponds, wooded areas, drainages, and erosion-controlling crops and vegetation. These resources, if properly recognized and managed, could possess the same level of historical significance as those of the NPS and USFS.

The legacy of the CCC is composed of a broad range of possible subjects of preservation efforts, from tangible to intangible and from high style architecture to vernacular landscapes. Similarly, the level of recognition and preservation of CCC resources ranges widely from complete lack of awareness to wholesale restoration. The rest of this chapter discusses various methods and levels of preservation employed to date for specific CCC resources.

Public Commemoration of the CCC Legacy

With the successful campaign to save Mount Vernon, initiated in 1850, serving as a prime example, preservation in the United States began as a grassroots movement more than a professional one, with the real achievements stemming from passionate amateurs at the local level. The preservation efforts surrounding CCC resources follow suit. Organizations of CCC

veterans and their families, the National Association of CCC Alumni (NACCCA) and now the CCC Legacy being the largest, have led the way in general recognition of CCC work through their multiple local chapters, the information posted on their organization websites, the museums exhibits they have funded and established, and their campaign to erect at least one statue of a CCC worker in every state as a monument to the program's accomplishments. Georgia has one of these statues, installed at FDR State Park in Pine Mountain in 1999. As Leighninger points out, there are many accounts of the CCC experience that have been written by the CCC enrollees themselves. In fact, the bulk of literature available on CCC history was penned by CCC veterans. Georgia's only CCC museum was established by a CCC veteran, as were many of the other CCC museums across the country. Recognition and preservation of CCC resources seems to naturally fall to the state level, following the same governmental structure that placed much of the CCC project oversight responsibilities on the shoulders of the states. Maine's acknowledgement of its CCC history is similar to that of many other states, with records of the CCC highlighted by the state archives and a brief description of the program's work and camp locations posted online. In other states when the government puts forth too minimal or narrow an effort to recognize CCC history, locals have filled this role by establishing personal, though historically oriented, websites or blogs online about work completed by the CCC in their area. Peggy Sanders has taken on this responsibility for South Dakota, keeping a blog that is focused on one Forest Service CCC camp in particular, but publishes information related to the CCC program in the state.[111] Inspired by the statistics recorded by Perry H. Merrill for the CCC in each state, a blogger and CCC-history enthusiast who represents himself online as 'Michael,'

[111] Peggy Sanders, "Civilian Conservation Corps Camp F-1, Mystic, South Dakota," http://www.civilianconservationcorps.blogspot.com/ (accessed January 3, 2012).

began a state-by-state survey of CCC history, publishing an individual article for each state on top of the various other CCC-related postings he makes.[112]

USFS Guidelines for CCC Resource Evaluation

An appendix entitled, "Evaluation of CCC-Era Structures," in the administrative history of the Civilian Conservation Corps within the Forest Service provides guidelines for recording and determining the significance of CCC structures and features. This document is tailored to CCC actions conducted on Forest Service lands and divides potential historic resources into three specific categories:

> CCC Campsites and Structures: barracks, offices, tents and tent platforms, mess halls, kitchens, latrines, showers, infirmaries, educational buildings, recreation halls, pump houses, garages, machine shops, blacksmith shops, barns, officer quarters, offices, dispensaries.
>
> CCC-Built Recreation Areas: tent camps/campgrounds, drinking fountains, fire pits, community kitchens, picnic shelters, tables, restrooms, bathhouses, swimming pools and lakes, beach areas, paths, footbridges; organizational camps, mess halls, barracks, concession buildings, showers, playing fields, latrines, swimming pools; trail shelters, trails, ski lodges, and warming huts.
>
> CCC-Built Administrative Sites: ranger stations, rangers' residences, assistant rangers' residences, crew residences, bunkhouses, offices, mess halls, pump houses, garages, barns, blacksmith shops, machine shops, latrines, lookout towers and houses, guard stations. [113]

The recommendations the authors of this publication make for determining significance adhere to the criteria set forth in the National Historic Preservation Act. Although this guidebook was published in 1986, before many CCC-era structures had reached the eligibility

[112] 'Michael,' "Civilian Conservation Corps Resources Page," http://cccresources.blogspot.com/ (accessed October 15, 2011).
[113] Otis, et al, *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*, Appendix E: Evaluation of CCC-Era Structures.

milestone of being fifty years old, it states that "the social, political, and economic impact of the Great Depression and the subsequent development of the CCC gives [CCC] sites an exceptional status."[114]

The Massachusetts CCC Initiative

In 1998, the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management (DEM) developed a unique, statewide model for "identifying, preserving, and interpreting structures and landscapes of the New Deal era," called the Civilian Conservation Corps Initiative.[115] Catalysts for the project included the deterioration of the state's CCC buildings, increasing efforts to preserve CCC resources in other states, as well as the 100th anniversary of the DEM and the 60th anniversary of the CCC in Massachusetts. The CCC Initiative was commissioned to evaluate the historical significance of CCC resources in the state, assess the condition of these resources, and determine the best way to proceed with stewardship of the legacy of the CCC.

The Initiative was structured into four phases.[116] The first phase consisted of historical research to identify where in the state the CCC had worked and which areas would be likely to still contain CCC resources. Phase two involved field survey based on the information gathered in the first phase. In the third phase, survey findings were summarized and recommendations were made for preservation planning, protection, and interpretation of specific CCC resources. The fourth and final phase consists of disseminating the results of the project to staff members in

[114] Otis, et al, *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*, Appendix E: Evaluation of CCC-Era Structures.
[115] Shary Page Berg, "Civilian Conservation Corps Initiative: Cultural Resources in Massachusetts Forests and Parks," *APT Bulletin* Vol. 31, No. 4, ("Managing Cultural Landscapes," 2000): 47.
[116] Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management. "Draft: Civilian Conservation Corps Initiative," (Massachusetts Civilian Conservation Corps Initiative: 2011), 1-2.

charge of managing the resources studied, and providing more information about the history of the CCC in Massachusetts to the general public.

The legacy of the CCC in Massachusetts is discussed by categorizing resources by type:

Recreation Facilities
Campgrounds and Day-Use Areas
Lakes, Ponds, and Dams
Forest and Park Entrances
Ski Areas
Buildings and Structures
    Administration Buildings
    Lodges and Cabins
Bath Houses and Comfort Stations
Picnic Pavilions, Shelters and Overlooks
Utilities and Infrastructure
Roads, Trails and Associated Structures
    Roads
    Bridges
CCC Camp Sites
Forestry and Fire Control
Wildlife and Fishery Management
    Wildlife
    Fishery[117]

A hierarchy of resources was established at the field investigation stage, placing emphasis on obvious resources like buildings, while "more-subtle landscape improvements" which were difficult to locate, and roads, trails, forest plantations, and water holes, which were "too numerous to survey systematically," were simply described in the final report.[118] Phase three involved the evaluation of CCC resources, classifying them as one of the following options to guide recommended treatments:

> Significant: "unique or outstanding examples of CCC design and construction or areas with a high concentration of resources," including mostly buildings and recreation structures, but also some recreation areas, bridges, road systems, and a collection of water holes.

[117] Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, "Draft Civilian Conservation Corps Survey," 7-11.
[118] Ibid, 2.

> Extant: "resources with multiple examples or resources that have been altered or modified," including "simple recreation structures, many of the recreation areas, and some of the former CCC camps."
>
> Site-Only: "areas in which a definite site could be associated with CCC activity but few aboveground resources remained," including "most of the former CCC camps, former recreation structures, and the ruins of a dam."[119]

Recommendations for future management were made based on a matrix of criteria designed to prioritize the protection of more significant resources. All resources were placed on a scale for each of the following criteria: level of threat to the property, active use of the property, future reuse potential, public visibility within the park or forest, historic integrity, historic significance, level of outside interest, potential for outside funding or partnerships, existing regulatory obligations to manage the property, and level of existing interpretation.[120] The project won the Paul E. Buchanan Award from the Vernacular Architecture Forum in 1999 for its "multi-disciplinary methodology, its outstanding fieldwork inventory, its applicability to similar nation-wide resources, its various interpretive tools and products, and its positive preservation outcome."[121]

The Arkansas Historic Preservation Program CCC Project

An early statewide survey of CCC-built structures in Arkansas was conducted in 1986 as part of a broader survey of historic resources. Since this survey focused only on certain recreational areas constructed by the CCC, and an opportunity to partner with a National Forest presented itself, it was determined that another, more exhaustive investigation of CCC resources

[119] Berg, "Civilian Conservation Corps Initiative: Cultural Resources in Massachusetts Forests and Parks," 50.
[120] Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, "Draft Civilian Conservation Corps Survey," Criteria Matrix for Priority Investment-Draft.
[121] Berg, "Civilian Conservation Corps Initiative: Cultural Resources in Massachusetts Forests and Parks," 52.

should be undertaken.[122] One of the major goals of the project was to complete a state-wide multiple property nomination of CCC structures to the National Register of Historic Places. The project also produced a historical context for CCC-constructed recreational structures in Arkansas. This second survey, which began in 1989, also focused on recreational structures to the exclusion of fire towers and other utilitarian Forest Service features, but the intent was stated from the beginning that "other historic contexts covering other types of CCC-construction could be added at a later date."[123] As a result of this project, CCC resources at fifty-six distinct areas in thirteen counties were nominated to the National Register.[124]

The CCC resources in this study were judged to be significant due to their close association with the important New Deal policies established by President Roosevelt, their association with the origins of the National Forest system in Arkansas, and for their representation of the Rustic style of architecture indicative of the program and the period. Structures had to possess a minimum of 51% of their original material to achieve the level of physical integrity required for listing on the National Register. The scope of the Arkansas project, with one consultant developing a 'historical context' for one type of CCC resource, was narrower than that of the Massachusetts CCC Initiative.

Soil Conservation District, Eufala, Oklahoma

In 1980 the first and only site associated with the Soil Conservation Service's work during the New Deal era was nominated to the National Register. The nomination form lists this site as the first Soil Conservation District dedication in the country, a dedication that took place in 1939 in Eufala, Oklahoma. Although this SCS camp was staffed by the WPA rather than the

[122] Smith, *The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arkansas, 1933-1942*, 4.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid, 18-19.

CCC, the historic resources produced would be comparable between the two agencies. As the nomination describes, Oklahoma was devastated in the 1930s by the Dust Bowl, which was the result of poor farming practices combined with the effects of one of the worst droughts on record. The magnitude of the Dust Bowl and the success of the Soil Conservation Service's techniques against it are two of the factors contributing to the historic significance of the site.

One technique used by the organization that sponsored the nomination, the Oklahoma Historic Preservation Survey, to illustrate the significance of the site was comparing aerial photography of the area from 1938 to that of 1967.[125] The National Register nomination form discusses how the earlier image expresses the extreme erosion problems faced during the 1930s through exposed soil and visible gullies, while the second shows vegetation, conveying the benefits drawn from the erosion-preventing measures devised by the Soil Conservation Service and put in place by the WPA workers. In this specific case, contour terraces were constructed and Bermuda grass sod put in place to halt the development of gullies, a pond was built as a water source for livestock and to decrease runoff, and a tree lot planted with catalpa, black locust, and osage oranges was established to prevent erosion and to provide livestock cover and fence posts.[126]

Each of the cases described in this chapter demonstrates a different approach to preserving at least a part of the CCC's broad legacy. Although the historical time periods and events are the same for all of these resources, great variety exists within what the CCC program left behind. This variety, which exists on the national scale and also within the state of Georgia, makes it difficult to establish one rubric or set of standards for the preservation of all CCC resources. This challenge is discussed in the next chapter.

[125] Karen Curths, "First Soil Conservation District Dedication Site," (National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form: Eufala, Oklahoma, 1980), 2.
[126] Ibid, 2-3.

CHAPTER 5

THE STATE OF CCC RESOURCE PRESERVATION IN GEORGIA

Identification of historic resources is a logical first step in the preservation process; however, attempts to outline a specific legacy of the CCC's work in Georgia are complicated by the fact that every account of the CCC's history in the state produces a different list of what happened and what remains. As might be expected, the Forest Service and the Park Service possess more detailed inventories of the CCC-created resources within their lands than any outside sources have produced. The Heritage Program within the Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forest Service has compiled an overall inventory of its CCC sites, while individual State Parks in Georgia record the specifics of their own resources. Several different sources documenting the CCC camps in the state were compared for consistency with conflicting results. These sources include Ren Davis's article about the CCC in Georgia, Connie Huddleston's book about the CCC in Georgia, the list of SCS CCC camps posted on the NRCS website, the Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forests CCC Resource Inventory Draft, and the list of CCC camps posted on plaques at the Vogel State Park CCC Museum. Their lists of CCC resources are reproduced in Appendix B.

While all of these resources are technically available to the public, few of them can be termed easily accessible. Ren Davis's article was published in a 1998 issue of the *Georgia Journal*, a publication no longer distributed and not available online. The list of SCS camps is relatively difficult to find on the NRCS website and does not provide much information. The Forest Service's inventory of CCC resources is currently only in draft form, but will only be

distributed internally when complete. The Huddleston book is housed in the University of Georgia's Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library and cannot be checked out. The old CCC museum at Vogel State Park is no longer open to the public and the plaques listing the camps in Georgia are quickly deteriorating due to neglect of the former exhibit space. Currently, accurate and detailed identification of CCC resources in Georgia requires local investigation.

In order to illustrate the lack of consistent preservation treatment of CCC resources across the state, four examples will be discussed in this chapter, exemplifying different approaches to and attitudes about the CCC legacy.

Restoration: Franklin D. Roosevelt State Park

In the fall of 1978, a graduate class under the direction of Ian Firth, a professor in the College of Environment and Design at the University of Georgia, studied the conditions of Georgia's state parks established by the CCC. They determined that these CCC parks were "a threatened resource."[127] Lucy Ann Lawliss, the Superintendent of George Washington National Monument and Thomas Stone National Historic Site in Philadelphia with the National Park Service and a graduate of the University of Georgia landscape architecture program, wrote a masters thesis outlining a management plan for the CCC-designed Franklin D. Roosevelt State Park in Pine Mountain, GA, and found this conclusion to still be valid in 1992.[128] She identified a variety of historic resources within the park and made recommendations for aspects of the landscape of FDR State Park to be restored to their original National Park Service CCC design.

[127] Lawliss, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the State Park: an Approach to the Management of the Designed Historic Landscape Resources at Franklin D. Roosevelt State Park, Pine Mountain, Georgia," 4.
[128] Ibid.

In a section on the historic elements of the biotic landscape at FDR State Park established by the CCC, Lawliss discusses pine plantations and fish-rearing ponds.[129] Hundreds of acres within the park are covered with pine trees that were planted by the CCC as part of their reforestation efforts. Lawliss describes how the modern, mature condition of the trees fulfills the original plan for the forest which envisioned the return to a more natural system of cover and food for wildlife. However, as Lawliss observes, this CCC-created forest goes "unappreciated" by both the staff at FDR State Park and also the general public due to a complete lack of integrated documentation and interpretation. The park also originally contained a system of seven ponds for fish-rearing in order to supply Lake Delano and to attract migratory birds, but they were drained and became overgrown with vegetation.

After assessing the history and condition of the park as a whole, Lawliss recommended that the pine plantations be allowed to "continue through the normal forest succession," as was intended by the CCC.[130] Although this course of action would permit near release from maintenance, Lawliss also recommended that interpretation be installed where visitor traffic met the boundaries of the pine plantations.[131] For the fish-rearing ponds, which represent "the range of projects the CCC accomplished," Lawliss also recommended interpretation and inclusion in park maps since restoration to their original purpose would be costly and functionally unnecessary for Lake Delano's fish population.[132]

FDR State Park is a prime example of a large scale landscape carefully designed by National Park Service CCC workers to appeal to recreational users for decades to come (Figure 20). Lawliss worked with the staff of FDR State Park to encourage her goal of restoring this

[129] Lawliss, "The Civilian Conservation Corps and the State Park: an Approach to the Management of the Designed Historic Landscape Resources at Franklin D. Roosevelt State Park, Pine Mountain, Georgia," 44-48.
[130] Ibid, 104.
[131] Ibid, 117-118.
[132] Ibid, 106, 119-120.

landscape. She emphasized the park's links to President Roosevelt, the creator of the CCC program, and its popularity as a venue for CCC alumni reunions as intangible, but invaluable, characteristics contributing to its overall historic significance. FDR State Park contains good examples of CCC architecture in its buildings as well, but the focus on more subtle historic resources sets a useful precedent for promoting the preservation of the Soil Conservation Service legacy.

Figure 20: CCC-Constructed Cabin and Lake at FDR State Park.[133]

Mitigation: Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forests

James Wettstaed, the Heritage Program Director and Tribal Liaison for the Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forests, has recently undertaken a comprehensive inventory of the CCC resources on the forests' lands in fulfillment of a mandate in their land and resource management plan. Wettstaed explains that the context of the study is the Forest Service policy, "to manage cultural resources through a process of identification, evaluation, and allocation to

[133] From www.gastateparks.org.

appropriate management categories that protect cultural resource values and benefit the public."[134] With an attitude quite different from the one expressed by Lawliss in an academic setting, the Forest Service takes the approach of mitigation when it defines cultural resources as, "the tangible remains of past human activity," and assigns each of the cultural resources in its jurisdiction to one of four management categories according to its determined value: "preservation, enhancement, scientific investigations, and released from management under the NHPA."[135] Wettstaed explains that the CCC resources slated to be released from management in this report were labeled so because either, "1) the property has been destroyed or substantially altered and is found to be not eligible for the NRHP; or 2) the property is eligible for the NRHP, but based on management considerations the property will no longer be actively managed."[136]

For this study, CCC facilities were recognized and inventoried as cohesive designed landscapes rather than each feature being treated as an individual site or resource, as was previously done.[137] Once identified, these facilities were judged to be in excellent, good, or poor condition based on the percentage of original material remaining and the overall feeling of integrity that the site conveyed.[138] Although this study focuses only on assigning management categories to standing structures, which excludes all remnants of CCC camps from investigation, a section of the document is devoted to discussing the significance of the camps, which is a step toward establishing a protocol for evaluating Soil Conservation Service CCC camp sites.

Another innovation of this study involves the treatment of the extensive system of roads that the CCC constructed in the Chattahoochee-Oconee National Forests. Wettstaed acknowledges a concept discussed above with regard to the evaluation of CCC-constructed

[134] Wettstaed, "DRAFT: A Legacy in Wood and Stone," 2. From Forest Service Manual 2360.3.3.
[135] Ibid, 1-2, 3. From Forest Service Manual 2630.3.
[136] Wettstaed, "DRAFT: A Legacy in Wood and Stone," 3.
[137] Ibid, 4-5.
[138] Ibid, 5.

roads: “Although road construction was an important aspect of CCC work on the Forest, little attention has been given to such features in the past.”[139] This Georgia Forest Service study breaks new ground by endeavoring to provide guidelines for documenting and evaluating these more subtle features (Figure 21).[140] An article in a CCC newsletter provides a simple and apt statement of significance for these roads:

> The primary purpose of these roads will be to use in fighting fires, and next in importance will be for use for recreation. The value of these roads will probably repay the government and the people for the expense now being spent on them. This is in addition to giving the young men something to do in these trying times.[141]

Wettstaed prescribes mapping and recording of all roads and road features constructed by the CCC, advising that care should be taken to document these resources as systems rather than individuals.[142] Accordingly, Wettstaed asserts that the condition of CCC roads and road features should be evaluated by judging the system rather than the pieces.

Figure 21: CCC-Built Culvert at Holly Creek.[143]

[139] Wettstaed, “DRAFT: A Legacy in Wood and Stone,” 6.
[140] Ibid, 7.
[141] *Holly Creek Ripples* Newsletter of the Holly Springs CCC Camp (Camp F-7), June 4, 1934. Reprinted in Wettstaed, “DRAFT: A Legacy in Wood and Stone,” 116.
[142] Wettstaed, “DRAFT: A Legacy in Wood and Stone,” 117.
[143] Ibid, 114.

Interpretation: Vogel State Park Civilian Conservation Corps Museum

The most prominent example of interpretation of the CCC in the state of Georgia is the Civilian Conservation Corps Museum at Vogel State Park, which opened in 1996 (Figures 22 and 23). The force behind the museum's creation was John Derden, a Gilmer County, Georgia, native and a two-term veteran of the CCC through Company 3435, Camp P-87 in Armuchee, Georgia, and another camp in Ruch, Oregon. John Derden and his wife Virginia conducted the bulk of the research needed to establish the museum, including acquiring photographs of dozens of CCC sites and resources and collecting the tools and supplies on display, many of which were actually used by the CCC.

The museum is contained within a single open room that is divided into a series of displays around the perimeter and in the center. The museum devotes most of its space to depicting the daily life of a CCC enrollee, regardless of agency category. In one corner, an authentic CCC cot and trunk stand in front of a large photograph of a CCC barracks. Another corner holds a table set for a regulation CCC meal, complete with the large serving ware typical of the program's family-style consumption scale. The museum also has displays relating specifically to work completed through the Forest Service and the Park Service. The numerous tools that Derden amassed for the museum - saws, mauls, chisels, cleats - well illustrate how the 'CCC Boys' worked from scratch on all of their projects.

Derden personally narrates an informational video that serves as a guide for the museum, highlighting photographs, tools, and displays as he describes the history of the CCC and his experiences in it. He explains the typical evolution of a CCC camp as beginning as a sea of canvas tents for the two hundred workers and their supervising officers, graduating to sturdier structures with tar-paper huts, and then finally moving into the trademark CCC camp portable

buildings when preliminary work was completed. The normal layout for a camp included four 50-person barracks, a mess hall, officers' quarters, an infirmary, and tool storage buildings. Derden describes how even the most permanent camp buildings were designed to be easily dismantled, shipped, and reassembled at another location should the need arise.

Even the building in which the museum is housed is a testament to the CCC. The construction of the current museum exemplifies the American Rustic style the CCC made famous, complete with a wide front porch, wood walls, floor, and ceiling, and a stone-faced fireplace. All of the wood in the building is yellow pine salvaged during the pine beetle infestation in Vogel State Park's forests, forests planted by CCC workers.

While this museum is an excellent example of interpretation of the CCC's legacy, some negative factors do exist. The original museum building stands adjacent to the current one. Many of the exhibit materials supplied by John Derden remain in the old museum and are deteriorating due to insect and moisture damage in a building that is not climate controlled and is only used now for storage space. Due to the limits of staffing and budget at Vogel State Park, the CCC museum is not open except by appointment. Despite the large amount of information and materials present in the two museums, certain aspects of the CCC are not represented, such as the work of the Soil Conservation Service.


Figures 22 and 23: The Vogel State Park CCC Museum, Exterior and Interior.

Neglect: The Wilkes County Soil Conservation Service CCC Camp

The final case discussed in this chapter is the African American Soil Conservation Service CCC camp established in Wilkes County, Georgia. In contrast to the other three examples, this portion of the CCC legacy had experienced no attempt at preservation or even preliminary documentation before this thesis. The state of this camp speaks to both what resources can be expected at a similar site, as well as how Soil Conservation Service resources almost across the board have been neglected in terms of preservation. The history represented by its minimal remaining elements of architecture is described below.

The Wilkes Co. camp serves as an example of the very real effect CCC camps had on the local community, and the locally significant histories they each created. Headlines in the local newspaper, *The News-Reporter*, consistently tracked the progress of the SCS camp from "Congress Passes Relief Measure," in April, 1935, to "Advance Contingent for Camp will Arrive First of Next Week," in August, and beyond.[144] An article from May 2 of that year reveals that communities submitted bids to host CCC camps. The tone of this article and several following

[144] *The News-Reporter*, (Washington, GA: R.O. Barksdale and Will W. Bruner, April, 1935-April, 1936).

clearly show that Wilkes County wanted the camp they later received; the author editorialized that the potential Soil Conservation Service camp would be "a good thing," and would raise land values by improving farming techniques. The site for the camp, The Arnold Farm / The Sims Place, was chosen in May, and a May 30 article entitled, "Camp is Definitely Located Here," describes how the camp was situated at the center of the region it would serve, which encompassed the counties of Wilkes, Oglethorpe, Elbert, and Lincoln. On July 11, an article entitled, "Camp Officers are Assigned," explained that the work of the camp would be confined to a radius of 10 miles for the first six months. This fact, coupled with the number of counties the camp was expected to serve, indicates the significant land areas that SCS camps had the potential to influence. Beginning in July, the newspaper published notices of public meetings about working with the Soil Conservation Service, as well as educational pieces provided by the federal government about soil erosion, ideal agricultural practices, and how to work with the local CCC camp. By August 29, a Soil Improvement Association had formed in the community.

The first reference to the CCC camp being an African American camp appears in a July 25 article in a report of an army inspector explaining the operations of the CCC camp and that federal requirements for a quota of African American CCC enrollees needed to be met. The city council voted in approval of an African American camp if a white camp was "impractical." Another article from the same day discusses recent actions by the county commissioners, one of which was to officially state that an African American camp located in Wilkes County would be a "mistake" and "unsatisfactory." Plans for this CCC camp were nearly cancelled according to an August 8th article, but no explanation was provided. The 'CCC Boys' began to arrive two weeks later, starting work immediately, and articles related to the camp were purely educational until April of the next year.

The Washington newspaper of April 9th, 1936, was filled with reports of what is now dubbed the Tupelo-Gainesville Outbreak, a severe storm system that triggered seventeen tornadoes as it traveled across the southeast on April 5th and 6th. [145] As an indicator of the magnitude of the event, President Roosevelt cut short his vacation in Florida and arrived in Gainesville, GA, on April 9th, offering words of sympathy to the citizens of the city which lost over two hundred people to the storm, making it the fifth deadliest recorded tornado episode in national history. On that day, President Roosevelt expressed his, "hope to come back [to Gainesville] someday, at a less tragic time, and…to be able to see a greater and better Gainesville."[146] When he did return to Gainesville two years later to accept the city's dedication of its rebirth to him, he greeted the 25-30,000 people in attendance by claiming, "I can come closer than any President since Wilson to saying, 'My Fellow Georgians'."[147]

With specific reference to the effects of the tornado in Wilkes County, one account in the Washington newspaper reported that "On the night of the storm, rescue work of a most commendable nature was carried on by the CCC camp with the boys who are enrolled in the camp and the men in charge working tirelessly to relieve the suffering and care for the injured." Mrs. Norman Adams, chairman of the Relief Committee of the Red Cross in Wilkes County, gave a description of the local damage and said, "The CCC boys gave generously…For these services they are due thanks and praise." CCC Camp Superintendant H.D.L. Sutherland was quoted describing the work of the enrollees as they turned their recreation hall into a refugee quarters where the company surgeon, Dr. Darden, provided first aid. Sixty refugees stayed the

[145] Leigh Ann Ripley, "The 1936 Gainesville Tornado: Disaster and Recovery," Digital Library of Georgia (2007): http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/tornado/about/history.php (accessed February 6, 2012).
[146] Roosevelt, "Informal Extemporaneous Remarks of President Roosevelt at Gainesville, Ga. Following the tornado of April 6th, 1936," [Delivered April 9, 1936] National Archives, http://georgiainfo.galileo.usg.edu/FDRspeeches/FDRspeech36-1.htm (accessed February 3, 2012).
[147] Roosevelt, "Address of the President, Gainesville, Georgia," [Delivered March 23, 1938] National Archives, http://georgiainfo.galileo.usg.edu/FDRspeeches/FDRspeech38-2.htm (accessed February 3, 2012).

night, received first aid, were fed, and were given clothes from the CCC camp workers. Sutherland stated that "no men ever worked more willingly to help their fellow man than did these negro enrollees of company No. 3438." These articles from the local newspaper provide the details behind the Wilkes Co. CCC Camp that are missing from the lists of camp locations and codes and that explain what the New Deal program meant to the community.

Despite the large number of people stationed at the Wilkes County CCC Camp during its operation and the great amount of work that the newspaper articles suggest was completed on its own and neighboring land, few obvious clues remain on the site today of its former use, a trait that is shared by most CCC camps. The construction of camps was not the main focus of any branch of CCC work, and as a result, most of the camp buildings were "intentionally impermanent."[148] In the case of the Wilkes Co. Camp, the detrimental effect that the temporary design of CCC camps has on the search for salvageable historic resources is compounded by the architecturally subtle nature of Soil Conservation Service work and the fact that the area has been farmed by private landowners since the camp closed.

The remnants of the Wilkes Co. SCS CCC camp stand well off any main roads in a rural area a couple miles north of Washington. A long private driveway leads south along a ridge top to what was the center of the CCC camp and what is now the home of Larry Roberson. Mr. Roberson, the current landowner, has lived on this site since the 1970s. He purchased the lot from a man who in turn acquired it around 1950 from the United States government. Mr. Roberson resides in a ranch house located near the end of the ridge, and his daughter lives in a manufactured home between the old split of the driveway and a steep downslope to the east of the ridge. The surrounding area remains farmland, with aerial photography showing open fields and tree plantations on the directly adjacent parcels. The CCC enrollees would have worked

[148] Davis, "Our Mark on This Land," 27; John Derden, Informational Video at the Vogel State Park CCC Museum.

closely with the farmers who owned these lands. Both Mr. Roberson and the previous owner farmed the land around the camp remains, so it is almost certain that both of them utilized agricultural features originally installed by the CCC.

Granite piers, measuring approximately five feet tall one and a half feet on each side, still mark the entrance to the former camp and are located on either side of the drive (Figures 24, 25, and 29). Four of these piers remain standing while two have fallen over. Mature cedars line the modern driveway and mark the edges of what was once another portion of the driveway allowing vehicles to drive a circle around the center of the CCC camp. The age as well as the location of these cedars along the old split of the driveway suggests that they may have been planted by the CCC to further formalize the entrance to the camp (Figures 26 and 29). The foundations and remnants of buildings can be found around the outside of this former circular drive. To the southwest of the Roberson house, a granite chimney is slowly being consumed by vines and grass (Figures 27 and 29). This chimney is characteristic of the Rustic style employed by the CCC. A chimney of this formal and permanent design was likely attached to a recreation building, mess hall, or infirmary within the camp.[149] The chimney and a few visible pieces of concrete slab stand alone in an open field, and between them and the Roberson house runs a small man-made ditch, possibly dug by the CCC as drainage for their driveway. This field also holds evidence of possible CCC terracing, but further research is needed to make that determination. Further investigations are also needed to determine if any of the erosion-controlling vegetation commonly utilized by SCS CCC camps was planted here and may still remain on the site.

At the end of the ridge to the south of the Roberson house stand the concrete foundations of what appears to be the bathhouse near the piping and access for a camp septic system (Figures

[149] Berg, "Civilian Conservation Corps Initiative: Cultural Resources in Massachusetts Forests and Parks," 51.

28 and 29). These features are situated above a moderate slope that leads down and away on three sides, at what would have been the edge of camp farthest from the formal entrance and a logical place to devote to this purpose. Concrete foundations with some brick rubble mark the locations of several other indeterminate buildings around the southeast and east sides of the Roberson house (Figure 29). These buildings are situated at the edge of the high landform with a steep slope running down to the east. The relatively small size of these buildings may indicate that they were private officers' quarters. If that is the case, then it is likely that the barracks that housed the enrollees were located across the center of camp, along the west to southwest side of the estimated drive.

Figures 24 and 25: Wilkes Co. CCC Camp, Granite Piers

Figure 26: Wilkes Co. CCC Camp, Cedars

Figure 27: Wilkes Co. CCC Camp, Chimney

Figure 28: Wilkes Co. CCC Camp, Remains of Bathhouse and Septic System

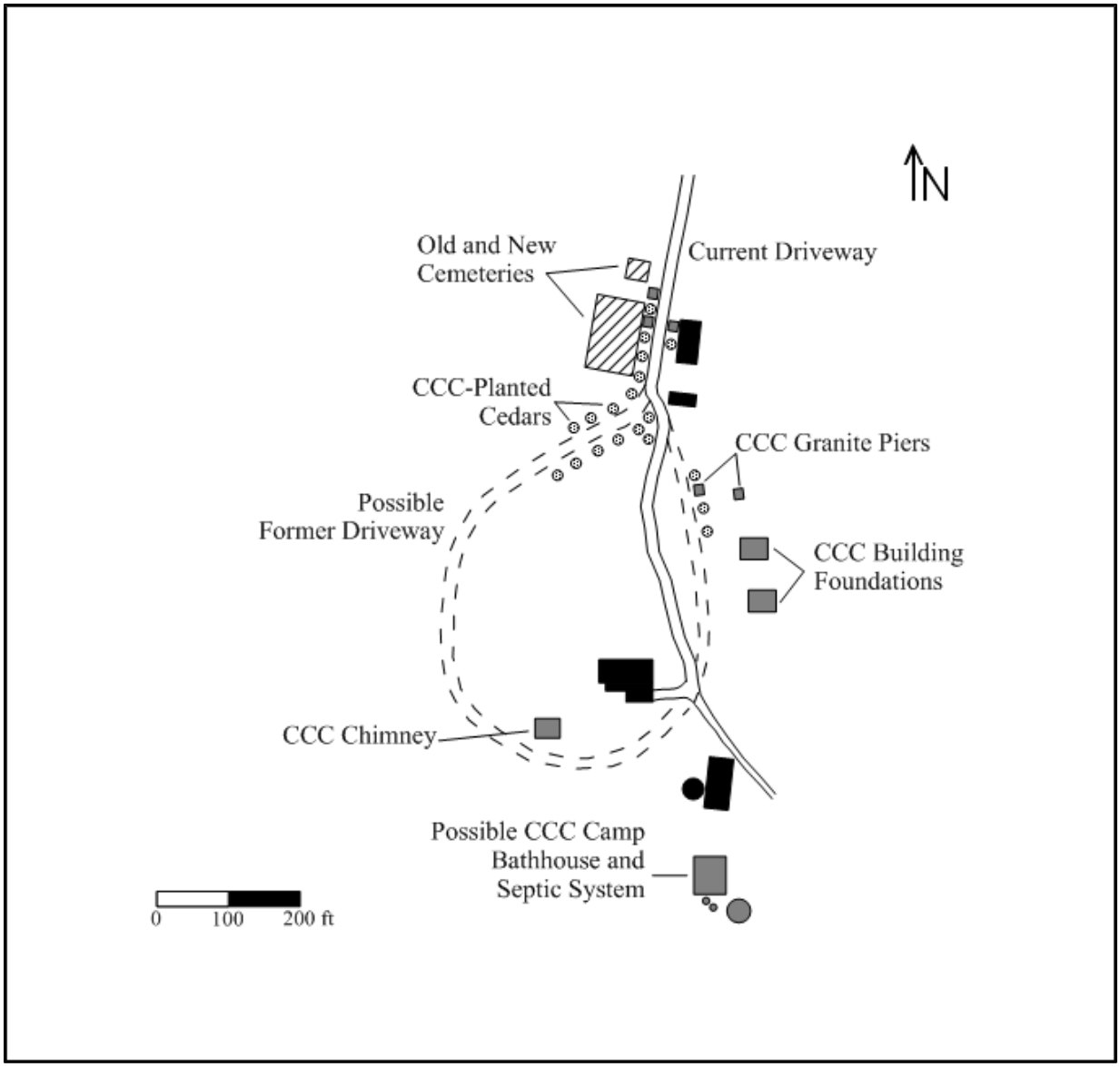


Figure 29: Wilkes Co. CCC Camp, Sketch Map. Locations and scale are approximate. The black shapes indicate modern buildings, and the gray shapes are remnants of CCC construction.

CHAPTER 6

PRESERVATION OF SCS CCC RESOURCES IN GEORGIA

Limited Preservation of SCS Resources

Earlier sections in this thesis established the magnitude of the soil erosion problem in 1930s Georgia, as well as the integral nature of soil conservation work to relieving the depression conditions in the state. Records show that a significant number of Soil Conservation Service CCC camps existed in Georgia, reshaping the agricultural landscape for miles around each one. Given all of these facts, the representation of Soil Conservation Service resources in the CCC legacy seems especially thin when compared to that of the Forest Service and Park Service. There are, however, several potential explanations for this uneven treatment.

One factor is simply the nature of what each agency of the CCC left behind. In addition to their conservation work, both the Park Service and the Forest Service constructed buildings on their lands that were meant to last, and many of these were intended for use by the public. In contrast, the work of the SCS was meant to serve a purely utilitarian purpose, with no portion needing to be visually attractive to future tourists or recreational users. The permanent architecture constructed by the SCS branch of the CCC was almost exclusively landscape architecture, and was intended to be worked rather than maintained as a monument. Also, many resources produced by the work of the SCS met a need during the New Deal era, a need that no longer remains, at least not at the same scale. While many public parks and recreational areas in public forests are today fighting to maintain visitation levels comparable to those of previous decades to remain in business, soil conservation areas were never designed to receive such

attention, and the Soil Conservation Service was not predisposed to use its history as a commodity.

Another reason for the NPS and USFS to hold the spotlight in the CCC legacy is the fact that Soil Conservation Service camps were constructed on land that was only temporarily owned by the federal government. The case of the Wilkes County camp illustrates how SCS camp land across the state and the historic resources on it would have cycled back into private ownership when the CCC program ended. After the CCC enrollees finished conducting demonstrations of agricultural practices on the camp land and working with local farmers, the camp's buildings were removed and the land returned to local residents. No matter how perfectly a system of checks dams and wide-base terraces might have halted soil erosion on a Georgia hillside, they have no hope of calling as much attention to their own history as do the picturesque log cabins arranged around the public, CCC-made lake at Vogel State Park.

One major, if indirect, reason for the minimal awareness of the work of the Soil Conservation Service during the CCC era is the culture of racism that existed during the New Deal era. The concepts of 'white work' and 'black work' that permeated the job market after the end of slavery and unemployment rates during the Great Depression bled into the implementation of the CCC. For the most part, jobs provided by government relief programs were reserved for whites. When selection officials for the CCC in Georgia were essentially forced to enroll African Americans in the program, they seemed to do so with continued prejudice.

Although information about the CCC camps is inconsistently documented, available records indicate that there were nineteen Soil Conservation Service camps in Georgia, and that seven of them were worked by African Americans (Appendix B). There were only thirteen

African American CCC companies over the course of the program's history in Georgia, meaning that roughly fifty percent of the state's African American CCC enrollees were employed in SCS work. The other types of CCC camps in Georgia that employed African Americans were Army Post camps at Fort Benning, Fort Stewart, and Fort Gillem, two Military Park camps at Fort Oglethorpe, one Private Forest near Waynesville, and one Federal Game Refuge in the Okefenokee Swamp. Even allowing for inaccuracies in the records, it is evident that the Forest Service and the Park Service in Georgia did not employ African Americans at the same rate as the Soil Conservation Service. Army reservations were sometimes the locations of last resort for African American CCC camps that could not be placed elsewhere in a state without protest from local communities.[150] Although no evidence has been found proving this was the case in Georgia, the high number of African American CCC camps placed on army lands may have stemmed from racism driving them out of other areas.

Wilkes County was somewhat hesitant to accept an African American CCC camp at first, but other communities across the country refused outright.[151] The problem of needing to convince almost exclusively white government officials to tolerate African American CCC camps may have created a bias of placement in locations where the races were already relatively accustomed to coexisting in close proximity: agricultural areas of the South. In contrast to its general refusal to enroll any African Americans at the outset of the CCC, the South eventually showed less opposition to hosting African American camps than other regions.[152] The fact that most African American CCC camps in Georgia conducted Soil Conservation Service work may have been at least partly because that was the work needed most by the regions that would accept them.

[150] Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, Chapter 5.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.

It is possible that this seemingly disproportionate allotment of African American CCC enrollees to SCS camps was a result of timing. The Soil Conservation Service did not form as an arm of the CCC until after the Park Service and Forest Service incorporated the program, and employment of African Americans in the CCC in Georgia was not enforced in the program's early days. The first ten SCS camps in Georgia opened in the same season, and it is possible this development happened to coincide with the state belatedly filling its quota of African American enrollees. However, the dates available for the opening of these African American SCS camps do not coincide with each other or the date Georgia experienced an influx of SCS funding.

Racism may have been the motive behind the predominant employment of African Americans in the Soil Conservation Service branch of the CCC, and it may also have been a reason for the lesser focus on SCS work during the CCC era. Newsletters were published by a number of CCC camps across the country, but none remain from SCS or African American camps in Georgia. Several CCC companies in Georgia had formal photographs taken with all of the enrollees posed in front of their camps, but none of these were of Soil Conservation Service camps or African American companies. Less documentation at the time has left Soil Conservation Service and African American CCC resources at a disadvantage in terms of potential for preservation and commemoration.

Preservation Options for SCS Resources

The Wilkes County camp site can be used as a representative case study of Soil Conservation Service resources from the CCC era, showing what is available for identification, how the resources might be evaluated, and which management treatments could be effective.

The Wilkes County example also illustrates well the potential these SCS sites to have both tangible and intangible legacies.

Composing the bulk of the tangible legacy, the only architectural elements remaining from the Wilkes County camp are the granite piers along the entrance drive, the standing stone chimney, and the foundations of the former camp buildings. Photographical records of CCC camps in Georgia and across the country indicate that markers and signs were routinely placed at the entrances to camps.[153] The piers here appear to be made from the local stone called Elberton granite, a fact that fits well with the CCC's Rustic style, the philosophy behind which called for incorporating local, natural materials into design and construction. The chimney, made from smaller pieces of the same type of granite, is also characteristic of the Rustic style, and its craftsmanship exemplifies CCC techniques.[154] Comparable examples of CCC camp remnants consisting of building foundations exist, but the only management treatment provided for these is explanatory signage. [155] Interpretation in the form of signs at the physical Wilkes County camp site would inform no one beyond the landowner since the property is located so far back from any public roads. This situation is likely a common one for SCS CCC sites due to their frequent location on private lands. Terracing and other modifications to the landscape made for agricultural purposes are evident near the camp site, but it is unclear whether these were made by CCC workers or local farmers who worked the area before and since. Interviews with neighboring landowners may be the only way to determine the age of these types of landscape features at the Wilkes County site and other SCS CCC camp sites.

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[153] Images available throughout: Connie M. Huddleston, *Georgia's Civilian Conservation Corps*, (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2009); Stan Cohen, *The Tree Army: A Pictorial History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942*, (Missoula, Montana: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, 1980).

[154] United States Department of the Interior, "Brick and Stone Work," Emergency Conservation Work: Project Training, P.T. Series, No. 5 (1937).

[155] CCC camp building foundations are marked by signs at Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park and Hard Labor Creek State Park, both in Georgia.

A good place to begin with questions of evaluation of these elements, of how to determine their significance, is with the overarching authority for dealing with historic resources: the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). The NHPA, which provides the criteria to recognize historically significant districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects as eligible to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), deals exclusively in the realm of the tangible. The criteria are as follows:

> (a) Sites associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
> (b) Sites associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
> (c) Sites that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
> (d) Sites that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Like other CCC resources, the Wilkes Co. camp site is associated with the relief and conservation policies of President Roosevelt's New Deal. In its few remaining architectural elements, the Wilkes Co. camp displays the Rustic style of architecture typical of CCC construction. These two traits have been enough to establish historic significance under NHPA criteria A and C for other CCC resources, although the lack of physical integrity of the Wilkes Co. camp hurts the site's chances of being accepted as eligible for the NRHP.

These National Register criteria, due to their relatively narrow focus and how they have already been used at other recognized CCC resources, do not account for the intangible legacy of the Soil Conservation Service. The Wilkes Co. camp possesses additional significance in the fact that it was the site of an SCS camp, a branch of the CCC that is not formally recognized at any other location in Georgia despite the notable fact that it helped the state counteract the

important historical problem of soil erosion on agricultural lands. Furthermore, the Wilkes Co. camp was composed of African-American workers, a group that was originally underrepresented in enrollment in the CCC in Georgia and nationwide, and a group that is underrepresented now in the overall preservation of the CCC legacy. Finally, while the intangible legacy of the CCC is undeniably real and important, no codified precedent exists for its preservation in the same sense as a tangible legacy. The intangible legacy of the Wilkes Co. camp left in the surrounding community through education and assistance and in the CCC enrollees themselves through the benefits of employment and purpose are lost without any efforts at commemoration. These lasting effects compose the story of the camp, a locally-significant story that is likely mirrored in every community that hosted an SCS CCC camp.

No historic context has been written for evaluating the significance of resources specifically from the SCS branch of the CCC like the Wilkes Co. camp site. The development of such a resource would be a critical move toward an effective preservation strategy and would be necessary before the National Register could really be a relevant and useful tool. A joint effort made by all three of the major operating agencies of the CCC in Georgia, the Park Service, Forest Service, and Soil Conservation Service, to produce related historic contexts for their CCC resources would be an ideal solution. However, even without a unique context for evaluating and prescribing management treatments for SCS resources, appropriate direction can be gathered from related studies. Some of the guidelines provided in research concerning CCC history within the Forest Service and Park Service in Georgia and elsewhere could be applied to SCS CCC resources and serve as a precedent for their recognition and preservation.

The methods of identification, evaluation, and management of CCC resources in Forest and Park Service settings set forth in the examples discussed in the previous chapters can be

applied to SCS CCC resources, but the similarities of cases are relatively few. SCS CCC "sites" are centered on the camps themselves, resources that were intended to be impermanent, have few to no standing structures remaining, and precedent already leans heavily in favor of undertaking no measures for their preservation. Beyond the SCS CCC camps, the tangible resources consist of terraces, check dams, farm ponds, and areas of specific vegetation. With their almost complete lack of remaining architecture, these resources are most analogous to the roads, trails, culverts, firebreaks, and tree plantations, etc., established by the CCC under the Park Service and Forest Service - resources that are not taken past the identification phase of assessment under these agencies due to the difficulty of delineating them and the lack of an established significance. The resulting problem is that the majority of tangible SCS CCC resources receive the same treatment as the intangible ones: dismissal in the eyes of historic significance. A judgment of significance has to be made for these more subtle, difficult to define resources, or they inevitably will be lost. Especially in the case of the Soil Conservation Service, these resources are the only tangible remnants available to represent the agency's history with the CCC.

Each of the cases of preservation of New Deal era resources described in the previous chapters provides guidance for how to evaluate Soil Conservation Service CCC resources. Within the Forest Service guidelines for evaluation of CCC-era structures, the discussion of the evaluation of CCC Camp Sites and Structures is the category most relevant to resources from the Soil Conservation Service branch of the CCC. In this publication the authors allow that "the site plan was often determined by the environment," asserting that the significance of each camp site should be judged within the context of its unique history and surroundings.[156] Wettstaed's

[156] Otis, et al, *The Forest Service and The Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-42*, Appendix E: Evaluation of CCC-Era Structures.

approach in the Chattahoochee National Forest to the significance of the roads, coupled with the treatment of collections of CCC-built features as designed landscapes, is much more compatible with the nature of SCS CCC resources than is the strict focus on standing structures employed in the rest of the same inventory, which completely eliminates CCC camp remnants from eligibility.

The Park Service CCC resources identified by Lawliss, the pine plantations and fish-rearing ponds within FDR State Park, are also analogous to the resources left by the Soil Conservation Service CCC camps. The intent behind creating them was conservation and functionality, and they have been deemed historically significant and worthy of interpretation. SCS resources are just as worthy. The major difference between these two categories is that the FDR State Park resources are in a state park, where the public is allowed to visit them and expected to benefit from their presence and interpretation. This fact is an argument for simpler and less expensive interpretation to be employed at the SCS sites.

The framing of the CCC Initiative in Massachusetts makes it a particularly appropriate model for Georgia. The intent was to expand the narrow focus of the CCC legacy in the state beyond national parks in order to better recognize work completed on other federal lands and in state forests and parks.[157] A similar imbalance of commemoration exists among the branches of the CCC that operated in Georgia, highlighting the Park Service work above that completed by the Forest Service and especially above that of the Soil Conservation Service. The CCC Initiative in Massachusetts helps make the case that work completed by the Soil Conservation Service can be better represented in Georgia's CCC legacy. The CCC Initiative also illustrates how cooperation between agencies like the Park Service and Forest Service, and potentially the Soil Conservation Service, serves the interest of most effectively preserving CCC resources.

[157] Berg, "Civilian Conservation Corps Initiative: Cultural Resources in Massachusetts Forests and Parks," 47.

In the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program CCC Project, it was implied that features other than recreational structures could be added to the management plan for the subject area and also to the multiple property submission to the National Register at a later date, provided that a separate historical context for these features was also established.[158] Although its scope was limited, this project acknowledged the importance of more subtle features constructed by the CCC as well as the need for a unique context through which to evaluate them. The agricultural elements present at the Eufala, Oklahoma, soil conservation district comprise the physical description of the site on the National Register nomination form, an example that could be followed for Soil Conservation Service sites created by the CCC if the landscape features could be definitively dated to the CCC period.

Looking forward to an improved state of preservation and commemoration of the CCC legacy and SCS resources within that legacy, a few items should be considered. The need for a historic context through which SCS resources can be evaluated was mentioned above. Before this can be developed, a thorough inventory of SCS camps should be compiled. This inventory would be composed of archival research to pinpoint the locations of each camp site, documentation of the physical, tangible remains in the field, and extensive local historical research to piece together the story of the camp, its intangible legacy. The Natural Resources Conservation Service, the modern SCS, may be the best candidate to undertake this project with their proximity to historical institutional records and a presumably good understanding of the landscape architecture produced by the SCS CCC camps. Site documentation in the field would be an expansion of the NRCS's existing internal history program, but such an inventory would be consistent with their published interests. As is discussed above, a historic context for SCS CCC resources would benefit from a collaborative development of historic contexts for Park

[158] Smith, *The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arkansas, 1933-1942*, 4.

Service and Forest Service CCC resources, with all three including a state-wide perspective of the CCC legacy. Cooperation among the agency's institutional historians would produce a long-term benefit in the preservation and commemoration of the state's CCC resources.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

> Idle through no fault of your own, you were enrolled from city and rural homes and offered an opportunity to engage in healthful outdoor work in forest, park, and soil conservation projects of definite practical value to all the people of the Nation.[159]

This research was undertaken to identify the legacy of the CCC, focusing on the Soil Conservation Service branch, as well as to supply a potential preservation response for SCS CCC resources. The legacy of the Civilian Conservation Corps in Georgia is, in short, significant. As it did in the rest of the country, the CCC in Georgia gave a sense of purpose to thousands of unemployed young men, stabilizing the mental health and financial security of a generation. The CCC also cemented the role of the federal government as the leader in conserving and preserving our natural resources. The program made our park and forest system what it is today, both physically and administratively. The research of the Soil Conservation Service coupled with the ready labor of the CCC helped reverse the damage caused by a century of intense soil erosion in Georgia.

The Wilkes County camp served in this research as an example of a typical Soil Conservation Service CCC site in Georgia. The legacy of this site includes little in the vein of standing architecture, although the granite chimney is a good representation of the Rustic style employed by the CCC in most of their trademark buildings. Only foundations remain of the other camp buildings, although the granite piers and planted cedars lining the driveway entering the camp site make the visitor aware of the former presence of the CCC. More research is

[159] Roosevelt, "A Radio Address on the Third Anniversary of the C.C.C.," [Delivered April 17, 1936] *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vol. 5, 1936*, (New York: Random House, 1938), 170.

needed to determine the presence and extent of CCC-era alterations to the agricultural landscape surrounding the site. The protocol for SCS camps and evidence from the local newspaper confirm that the Wilkes County camp did a great deal to the land in their jurisdiction, but these efforts need to be ground-truthed. The significance of the Wilkes County CCC camp and other SCS camps across the state stems in large part from the service these workers provided for Georgia. Soil Conservation Service sites and resources are underrepresented in the history of the CCC when compared to the NPS and USFS. The Wilkes County camp is also historically significant as a rare representation of the African American experience in the CCC.

The question of how to most effectively preserve this resource remains. By selling the lands of their CCC camps back to private landowners, the Soil Conservation Service inadvertently avoided the compliance laws surrounding cultural resources and historic preservation that the National Park Service and United States Forest Service have to obey. As trying to make a tourist attraction out of the privately-owned and rurally-located Wilkes County CCC camp site would not be feasible, a logical place to turn is to the federal agency that created it. However, the Soil Conservation Service, now the Natural Resources Conservation Service, has no obligation to take care of these historic resources, and has taken no initiative to model the treatment of their CCC resources after the NPS or the USFS.

As an easy and inexpensive beginning to commemorating the Soil Conservation Service, better recognition of the projects conducted through the SCS camps could be provided in existing CCC museums and exhibits. One effective means of commemoration of the Wilkes County site would be to compile a detailed a record of the site's history and present condition to be housed at the local historical society or library. In the vein of the Massachusetts CCC Initiative, overseeing agencies could join forces to compile an accurate list of CCC camps and the projects

they conducted, as well as an inventory of extant CCC resources. A comprehensive list of CCC camp sites in GA should be established, but this will only be achieved through inter-agency cooperation among the NPS, the State Park System, the USFS, the State Forest System, the NRCS, and the Army. In Georgia, a good way to record this information in a venue that is easily accessed by the public would be through NAHRGIS (the Natural, Archaeological, and Historic Resource Geographic Information System database). A component could be added in the Historic Resources section of NAHRGIS for New Deal Era resources, or even CCC resources.

Even though its establishment was brought about by a different branch of the CCC, Providence Canyon State Park would be an appropriate site in the state for a CCC museum devoted to recognizing the contributions of the Soil Conservation Service. This suggestion has been made previously by southern environmental historian Paul Sutter: "The story of southern soil erosion is one of the most important in U.S. environmental history, and Providence Canyon ought to be an interpretive centerpiece."[160] Soil certainly holds a special place in the history of the South, and the study of southern environmental history itself appropriately developed just before and during the New Deal era around agriculture and human interactions with the soil.[161] Providence Canyon, now a unique and important environment unto itself, was created by man-made soil erosion, and would serve as a powerful example of what the SCS battled against in order to protect the country's agricultural potential.

The National Park Service, United States Forest Service, and Natural Resources Conservation Service (formerly the SCS) may never again receive the federal attention and money they did during the New Deal era. It is estimated that the influx of funding and labor provided by the CCC and other New Deal programs caused "developments in the national, state,

[160] Paul S. Sutter, "What Gullies Mean: Georgia's 'Little Grand Canyon' and Southern Environmental History," *The Journal of Southern History* Vol. 76, No. 3 (August, 2010): 600.
[161] Ibid, 581.

county, and municipal parks [to be] carried forward fifteen to twenty years ahead of schedule."[162] The scale of the work completed during this period was unprecedented and is no longer financially feasible, adding an element of scarcity to the historic CCC resources that remain. Continuing to leave these resources to a fate of demolition by neglect is tantamount to throwing away this embodied investment of money and work.

[162] Unrau and Williss, *Expansion of the National Park Service in the 1930s: An Administrative History*, Chapter Three: Impact of the New Deal on the National Park Service.

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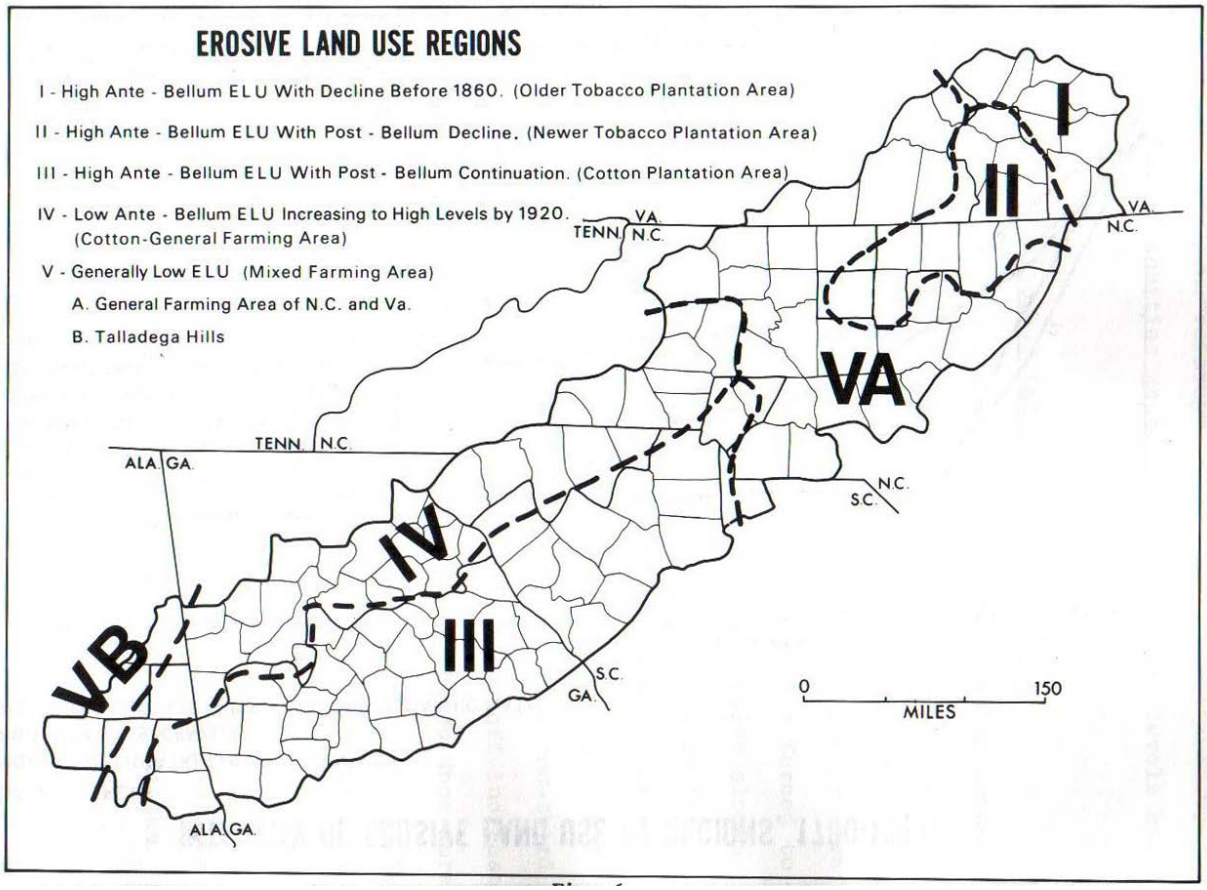
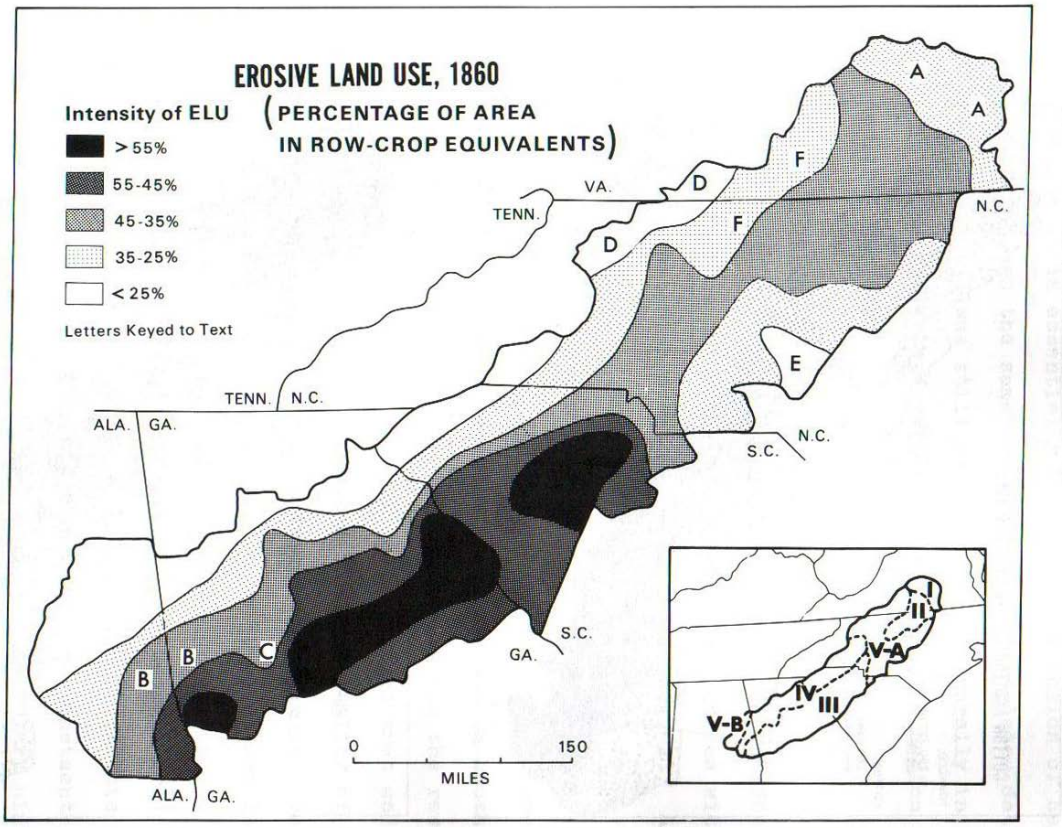
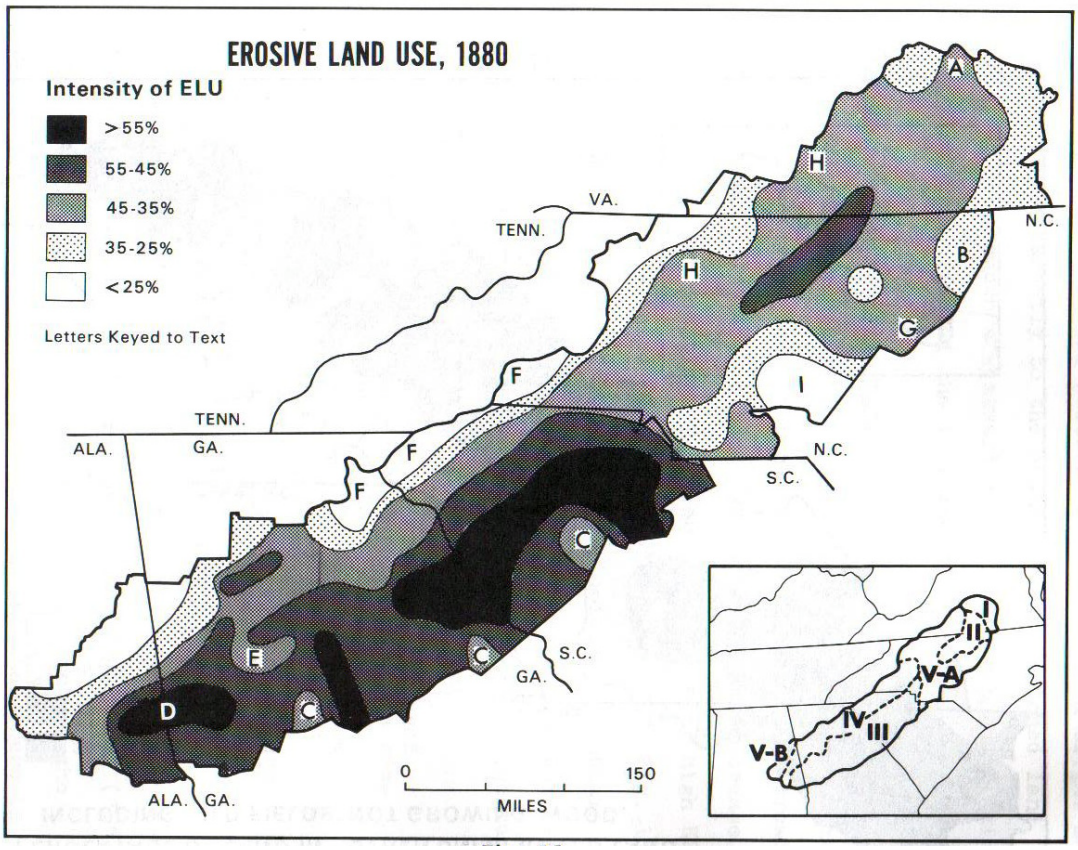
APPENDIX A

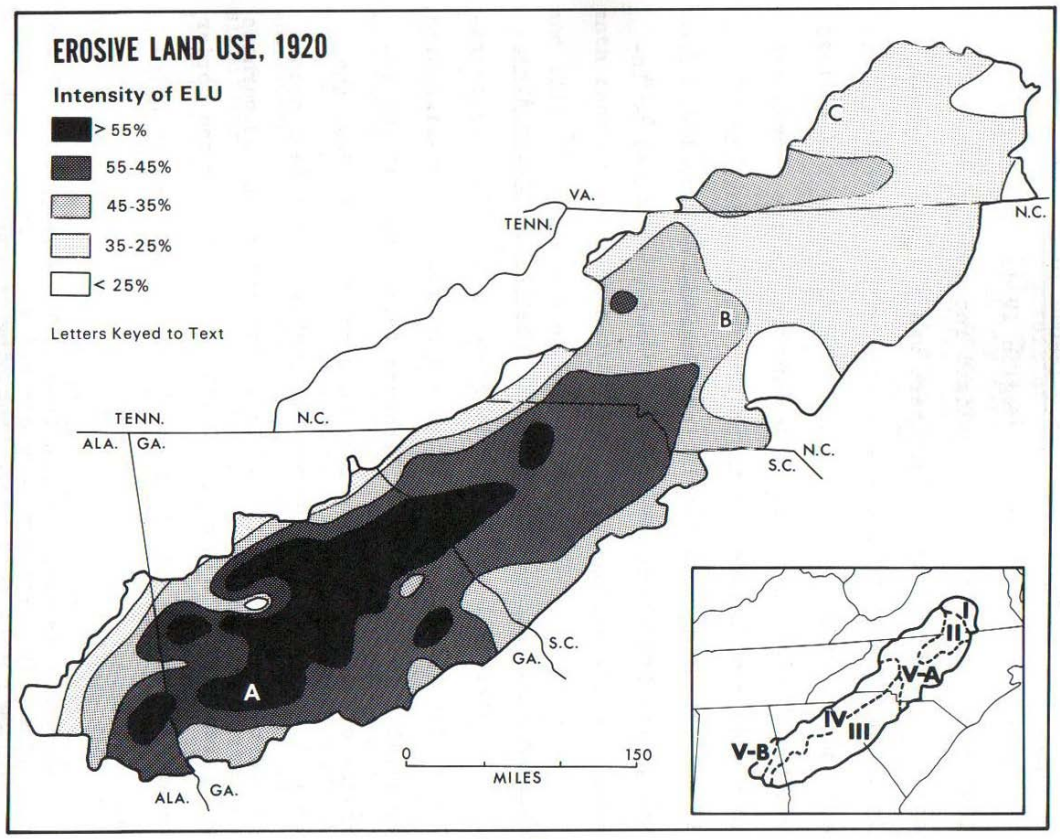
THE ABATEMENT OF EROSIVE LAND USE LINKED TO THE ACTIONS OF THE SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

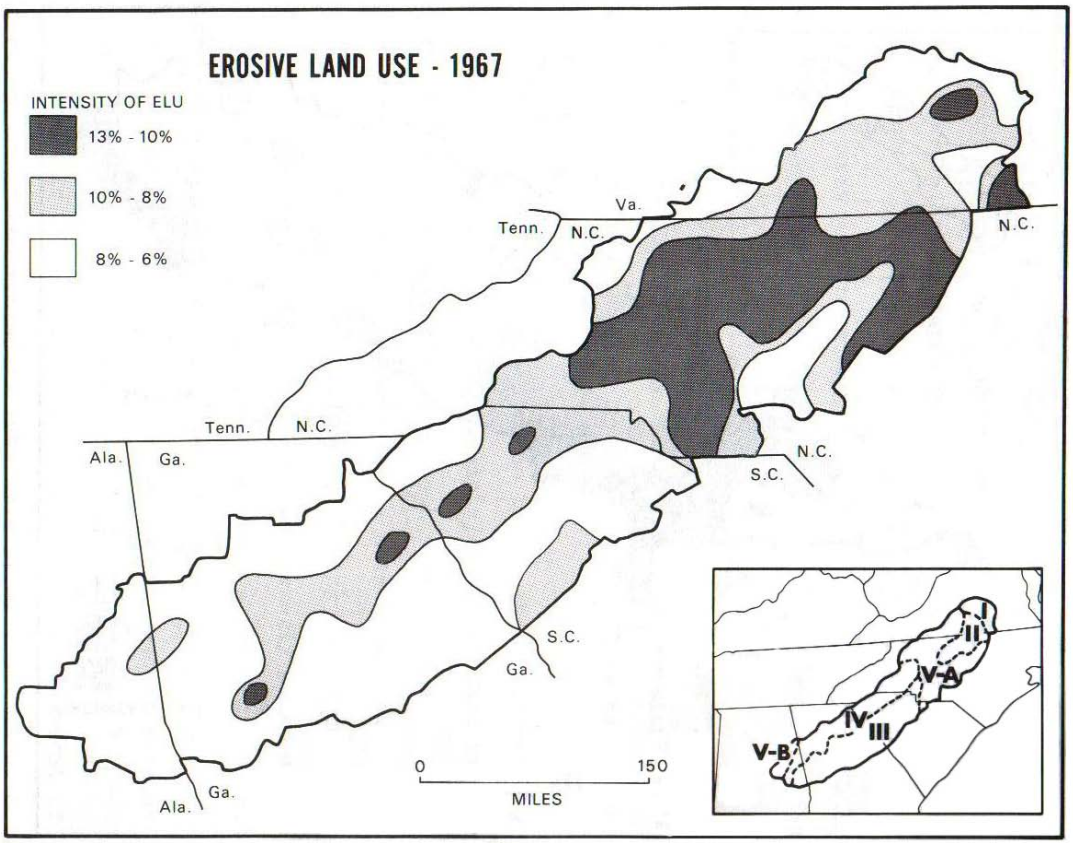
In his study of soil erosion in the Southern Piedmont over the course of nearly three centuries after European settlement, Trimble mapped how the intensities of erosion caused by agricultural practices changed over time. The following images are his figures, compiled to illustrate the magnitude of the erosion problem in the Southern Piedmont, part of which encompasses a large swath across Georgia, and to further emphasize the importance of the Soil Conservation Service's work through the CCC in the state. In these figures Trimble uses the abbreviation "ELU," which stands for "Erosive Land Use." These figures come from Trimble, *Man-Induced Soil Erosion on the Southern Piedmont, 1700-1970*, Figure 6, pg. 15; Figure 12, pg. 59; Figure 15, pg. 71; Figure 18, pg. 80; and Figure 21, pg. 95; respectively.




EROSIVE LAND USE, 1860
Intensity of ELU
(PERCENTAGE OF AREA IN ROW-CROP EQUIVALENTS)
>55%
55-45%
45-35%
35-25%
<25%
Letters Keyed to Text
VA.
TENN.
N.C.
ALA.
GA.
S.C.
0
150
MILES
I
II
V-A
IV
III
V-B


EROSIVE LAND USE, 1880
Intensity of ELU
>55%
55-45%
45-35%
35-25%
<25%
Letters Keyed to Text
VA.
TENN.
N.C.
ALA.
GA.
S.C.
0
150
MILES
I
II
V-A
IV
III
V-B


EROSIVE LAND USE, 1920
Intensity of ELU
> 55%
55-45%
45-35%
35-25%
< 25%
Letters Keyed to Text
A
B
C
TENN.
VA.
N.C.
ALA.
GA.
S.C.
0
150
MILES
I
II
III
IV
V-A
V-B


EROSIVE LAND USE - 1967
INTENSITY OF ELU
13% - 10%
10% - 8%
8% - 6%
Tenn.
Va.
N.C.
Ala.
Ga.
S.C.
0
150
MILES
I
II
III
IV
V-A
V-B

APPENDIX B

LISTS OF CCC CAMP AND RESOURCE LOCATIONS IN GEORGIA

Vogel State Park CCC Museum List of CCC Camp Sites:

No.	Name	Location	Camp Number	Camp Code
1	Camp Chehaw	Albany	4411/4461	S/P-9
2	Camp Pretoria	Albany	4455	P-54
3	Camp Sumpter	Andersonville	4411	A-3
4		Armuchee	1411/3435	SP-12/P-87
5		Athens	485	SC-92/SCS-A-1
6		Baxley	1424	P-62
7		Blairsville	431	P-55/SP-2
8		Bloomingdale	1426	P-81
9	Camp Sea Creek	Blue Ridge	3430	F-12
10	Camp Wilscot	Blue Ridge	485	F-8
11	Camp Spring Creek	Brinson RFD	470	P-67
12	Cmp Harwl	Brunswick	446	P-52/P-92/SP-3
13		Buford	5433	SCS 16
14	Camp Lan'y	Butler	1449	P-78
15		Cartersville	485	SCS 13
16	Fort Mountain	Chatsworth	447	SP 15
17	Hly Crk	Chatsworth	448	F-7
18	Cmp K'Bro	Chipley	4463	SP-13
19	Cman River	Clayton	3427	F-5
20	Wman Crk	Clayton	457	F-6
21	Gafton	Clayton	1443	F-10
22		Cleveland	3432	F-14
23		Commerce	444	P-69 CP M-N-A
24		Conley	3438	AF-9
25		Cornelia	460	P-79
26		Crawfordville	478	P-64
27	Cmp Mgrt	Dahlonega	455	F-2
28		Douglas	1450	P-69
29		Ellijay	488	SP-6
30	Camp H. Creek	Eton	488	SP-6
31	Camp Echols	Fargo	1448	P-59
32	Cp Oknfe	Folkston	1434	BF-2
33		Gainesville	3432	F-14

34		Gainesville	5433	SCS-16
35		Greensboro	4485	SCS-15
36		Hiawassee	1443	F-15
37	Van H.	Ft. Benning	6443	A-2
38	Van H.	Ft. Benning	6444	A-3
39	Van H.	Ft. Benning	6446	A-5
40		Ft. Benning	Dis. Supply Co.	Dis. Supply Co.
41	Camp Harmony Church	Ft. Benning	416	A-1/A-2
42	Camp James Town	Ft. Benning	3482	A-6
43	Camp Torch Hill	Ft. Benning	4455	A-4
44	C. Van H.	Ft. Benning	459	AF-1
45	C, Van H.	Ft. Benning	6442	A-1/A-2
46	Camp Van Horn	Ft. Benning	645/646	AF-4
47		Ft. McPherson	Dis. Supply Co.	Dis. Supply Co.
48	Camp	Ft. Oglethorpe	1464	NP-1
49		Ft. Oglethorpe	Dis. 'C' Supply Co.	Dis. 'C' Supply Co.
50		Ft. Pulaski	460	NP-3
51		Ft. Screven	Savannah Beach Supply Co.	Savannah Beach Supply Co.
52		Hiawassee	427	P-73/F-15
53		Higdon Store	3431	F-1/F-13
54		Hinesville	1412	PE-3
55		Homerville	1413	P-52
56	Springs	Jackson	3441	P-1
57	Springs	Jackson	459	SP-1
58		Jesup	416/2418/4461	P-65
59	Pocket	Lafayette	3435	F-16
60		Lakeland	4458	P-90
61		Lakemont	1407/3429	F-9
62	Russel	Lookout	3434	P-86
63		Lumpkin	4460	SCS 10
64	Camp Tuggle	McRae	2419	P-63
65	Nat. Mont.	Macon	1426	NM-4
66		Madison	4485	SCS 15
67	Camp Brumby	Marietta	449	NM-3
68	C. Brumby	Marietta	431	SP-4
69	M. Springs	Millen	3465	SP-6
70		Monticello	3439	SCS-12
71	Camp LW C??Z	Morris	476	
72	C. Brantley	Nahunta	1436	P-70
73	C. Rieley	Pine Log Mtn.		
74		Riedsville	5410	P-52
75		Riedsville	1456	P-82

76	H.L. Creek	Rutledge	459	SP-8
77	Y. Pine	Rutledge	3442	SP-11
78		Rydal	4458	P-93
79		St. George	1439/1450	P-71
80	C. Cloudland C.	Rising Fawn		
81		Robertstown	456	F-3
82	C. Armu.	Rome	3435	F-17/P-87
83	Ty Cobb	Royston	3438	SCS 17
84	C. Pulaski	Savannah	460	NP-3
85	C. NL Gillis	Soperton	1414	P-61
86	G Truop	Soperton	3439	SCS-18
87	C. Hancock	Sparta	3439	SCS-6
88		Stephens Pottery	3440	SCS-7
89	Camp Woody	Suches	1401	F-17/P-87
90		Swainsboro	3443	P-89
91		Sylvania	1424	P-57
92	C. Tate	Tate	1449	F-2/P-77
93		Tennille	3440	SCS-20
94		Toccoa Falls	446	P-74
95	C. Lucr.	Villa Rica	3437	SCS-4
96	Harl. County	Waco	3426	A-7
97		Warm Springs	1429	P-66/SP-7
98		Washington	3438	SCS-5
99		Waycross	1434	P-72
100		Woodbine	452	P-60
101		Woodbine	5410	P-52

NRCS Website List of SCS Camp Sites:

Name	Location	Camp Code
Clarke	Clarke	GA-SCS-1
Bartow	Bartow	GA-SCS-2
Carroll	Carroll	GA-SCS-4
Wilkes	Wilkes	GA-SCS-5
Hancock	Hancock	GA-SCS-6
Baldwin	Baldwin	GA-SCS-7
Crawford	Crawford	GA-SCS-8
Marion	Marion	GA-SCS-9
Stewart	Stewart	GA-SCS-10
Gwinnett	Gwinnett	GA-SCS-11
Jasper	Jasper	GA-SCS-12
Bartow	Bartow	GA-SCS-13
Sumter	Sumter	GA-SCS-14
Greene	Greene	GA-SCS-15
Hall	Hall	GA-SCS-16
Franklin	Franklin	GA-SCS-17
Treutlen	Treutlen	GA-SCS-18
Houston	Houston	GA-SCS-19
Washington	Washington	GA-SCS-20
Bibb	Bibb	GA-ASCS-1
Bibb	Bibb	GA-ASCS-2
Houston	Houston	GA-ASCS-3

Huddleston book list of CCC Camps:

No.	Location	Camp #	Camp Code
1	Homerville	1413	P-52
2	Hinesville	1412	P-53
3	Albany	1411	P-54
4	Blairsville	431	P-55
5	Warm Springs	1429	P-56
6	Waynesboro	1424	P-57
7	Ellijay	488	P-58
8	Fargo	1448	P-59
9	Woodbine	452	P-60
10	Soperton	1414	P-61
11	Baxley	1424	P-62
12	Crawfordville	478	P-64
13	Jessup	2418	P-65
14	Brooklet	1426	P-66
15	Brinson RFD	470	P-67
16	Douglas	408/1447	P-68
17	Commerce	464	P-69
18	Nahunta	1436	P-70
19	St. George	1480	P-71
20	Waycross Route 5	1434	P-72
21	Hiawassee	427	P-73/F-15
22	Toccoa Falls	446	P-74
23	Fort Gaines	476	P-75
24	Chula	472	P-76
25	Tate	1449	P-77
26	Butler	1449	P-78
27	Cornelia	460	P-79
28	Cloudland	unknown	P-80
29	Bloomingdale	1426	P-81
30	Reidville	1256	P-82
31	Folkston	unknown	P-84
32	Nashville	unknown	P-85
33	Lookout	unknown	P-86
34	Armucheo	unknown	P-87/F-17
35	Swainsboro	unknown	P-89
36	Lakeland	4458	P-90
37	Brunswick	446	P-92
38	Waleska	4458	P-93
39	Waynesboro	1424	P-94
40	Fendig	5430	P-95

41	Lanier	415	P-96
42	Haylow	unknown	P-97
43	Athens	485	SCS-1
44	Cassville	unknown	SCS-2
45	Villa Rica	3437	SCS-4
46	Washington	3438	SCS-5
47	Sparta	3439	SCS-6
48	Stevens Pottery	3440	SCS-7
49	Musella	unknown	SCS-8
50	Buena Vista	4459	SCS-9
51	Lumpkin	4460	SCS-10
52	Buford	5433	SCS-11
53	Monticello	4485	SCS-12
54	Cartersville	485	SCS-13
55	Americus	4459	SCS-14
56	Greensboro	4485	SCS-15
57	Gainesville	5433	SCS-16
58	Hoyston	3438	SCS-17
59	Soperton	3439	SCS-18
60	Perry	3482	SCS-19
61	Tennille	3440	SCS-20

CCC Legacy Website List of CCC Camp Sites:

No.	Project	Co. #		Date	Railroad	Post Office	Location
1	SCS-1	405		10/12/1934	Athens	Athens	
2	P-68	408		6/26/1933	Ellijay	Athens	
3	AF-2	416	-C	12/1/1933	Ft. Benning	Ft. Benning	Harmon Church 7 mi E Post Hdq.
4	P-73	427		6/21/1933	Murphy, NC	Hawesce	
5	SP-2	431		6/21/1933	Gainesville	Blairsville	Camp Enotah 35 miles South
6	NP-4	431		6/3/1938	Marietta	Marietta	2 mi NW Camp T. M. Bromby
7	P-74	446		6/2/1933	Toccoa	Toccoa	
8	P-92	446		5/17/1934	Brunswick	Brunswick	4 mi S on Blythe Island
9	SP-15	447		6/2/1938	Chatsworth	Chatsworth	Fort Mountain 1 mi South
10	P-60	452		5/31/1933	Woodbine	Woodbine	Satilla Bluff 3 mi South
11	F-2	455		5/16/1933	Gainesville	Sushues	
12	F-3	456		5/16/1933	Gainesville	Roberstown	37 mi NW Robertstown
13	F-6	457		5/16/1933	Clayton	Clayton	Warwoman 4 mi East
14	F-5	458		5/16/1933	Clayton	Clayton	
15	SP-1	459		5/2/1933	Jackson	Jackson	
16	SP-8	459		11/5/1934	Rutledge	Rutledge	Camp Hard Labor Creek 2 mi NW
17	AF-1	459		9/27/1940	Ft. Cusseta	Ft. Cusseta	Columbus Camp Van Horn 7 mi NW
18	P-79	460		6/14/1933	Cornelia	Cornelia	
19	NP-1	460		5/10/1934	Savannah	Ft. Sereven	Ft. Pulaski 16 mi SE
20	F-7	463		6/26/1933	Eten	Chatswoth	
21	P-69	464		6/21/1933	Commerce	Commerce	
22	SP-6	468		6/24/1933	Ellijay	Ellijay	Camp Ellijay 2 mi SE
23	SP-47	470		6/24/1933	Bainbridge	Brimson	Camp Brimson 4 mi S
24	SP-76	472		6/27/1933	Chula-Tifton	Chula	
25	P-75	476		6/25/1933	Cullbert	Cullbert	
26	SP-5	478		6/24/1933	Crawfordville	Crawfordville	Camp Liberty 1mi E
27	F-1	480		6/2/1933	Jackson	Jackson	
28	P-65	481		6/21/1933	Blairville	Blairville	
29	P-60	482		6/21/1933	Oslgsburo	Wockbiam	
30	F-7	483		6/25/1933	Eton	Chatsworth	Camp Crawford W Long 7 mi E
31	F-8	485		2/25/1933	Blue Ridge	Blue Ridge	
32	SCS-13	485		10/6/1936	Cartersville	Cartersville	1 mi NE
33	P-82	1256		10/21/1933	Reidsville	Reidsville	1/2 mi N
34	F-1	1404		5/24/1933	Gainesville	Suches	Camp Woody 48 mi E
35	P-42	1405		6/22/1933	Baxley	Baxley	
36	F-9	1407		6/21/1933	Lakemont	Lakemont	
37	P-52	1411		6/2/1933	Homerville	Homerville	In City Limits

38	AF-3	1411		10/2/1934	Andersonville	Andersonville	
39	P-53	1412		6/29/1933	McIntosh	Homerville	5 mi W
40	P-52	1413		6/2/1933	Homerville	Homerville	In City Limits
41	P-41	1414		6/20/1933	Soperton	Soperton	Camp Gillis in City Limits
42	P-54	1422		6/27/1933	Albany	Albany	
43	P-66	1423		6/18/1933	Warm Springs	Warm Springs	
44	P-67	1424		6/17/1933	Waynesboro	Waynesboro	
45	P-42	1424		5/25/1934	Baxley	Baxley	4 mi NE
46	P-67	1424		6/10/1940	Waynesboro	Waynesboro	1 mi N
47	P-61	1426		11/27/1933	Meldrin	Bloomingdale	6 mi N Bloomingdale
48	NM-4	1426		4/28/1937	Macon	Macon	1 mi NE
49	SP-7	1429		6/18/1933	Warm Springs	Warm Springs	Camp Meriwether in City Limits
50	P-78	1430		6/29/1933	Butler	Butler	
51	Army-1	1433		6/22/1933	Ft. Benning	Ft. Benning	Harmony Church 7 mi E Post Hdq
52	BF	1433	-C	5/25/1937	Folkston	Folkston	7 mi S Camp Okefennokee
53	(A)SCS-1	1433	-C	1/15/1942	Franklinton	Camp Wheeler	1 mi NW
54	P-41	1434		6/20/1933	Soperton	Soperton	
55	P-84	1434		11/1/1934	Folkston	Folkston	2 mi S
56	P-70	1436		6/21/1933	Nahunta	Nahunta	Camp Brantley in City Limits
57	F-10	1443		6/22/1933	Clayton	Clayton	Mermon Creek 17 mi SW
58	F-15	1443		1/13/1936	Murphy	Hiwassee	50 mi S
59	P-59	1448		6/27/1933	Fargo	Fargo	Camp Echols in City Limits
60	P-77	1449		6/21/1933	Tate	Tate	
61	P-78	1449		5/24/1934	Butler	Butler	
62	P-68	1450		7/11/1933	Douglas	Douglas	Camp Stone in City Limits
63	MP-1	1464	-C	6/20/1933	Ft. Oglethorpe	Ft. Oglethorpe	Camp Booker T. Washington
64	P-71	1480		6/24/1933	St. George	St. George	
65	MP-2	2402	-C	6/20/1933	Ft. Oglethorpe	Ft. Oglethorpe	Camp Booker T. Washington
66	F-11	2417		11/15/1933	Gainesville	Dahlenaga	Camp Ward Creek 40 mi NE
67	F-12	2417		7/14/1937	Blue Ridge	Blue Ridge	Camp Sea Creek 23 mi SE
68	NP-5	2417	-V	4/28/1939	Macon	Macon	Camp Ocmulghee
69	P-65	2418		7/15/1933	Jesup	Jesup	In City Limits
70	P-63	2419		7/24/1933	McRae	McRae	Tuggle 1 mi E
71	SP-14	2419		3/14/1936	McRae	McRae	Camp Sodan
72	P-80	2427		7/27/1933	Musle	Chomdland	
73	SCS-10	2450		10/2/1937	Lumpkin	Lumpkin	4 mi S
74	NP-6	2453		10/1/1940	Rutledge	Rutlege	2 mi NW

75	P-66	2636		6/20/1933	Brooklet	Brooklet	
76	F-5	3427		6/16/1933	Clayton	Clayton	Camp Tree 14 mi NW
77	F-9	3429		6/21/1933	Lakemont	Clayton	Camp Lake Rabon 5 mi W
78	F-12	3430		7/15/1935	Blue Ridge	Blue Ridge	Sea Creel 25 mi SE
79	F-13	3431		8/14/1935	Blue Ridge	Blue Ridge	Camp Laurence W. Young 12 mi NW
80	P-87	3435		7/10/1935	Rome	Rome	Berry School 9 mi N
81	F-16	3435		11/8/1938	Ft. Rome	Lafayette	Camp Pocket bowl 26 mi N Rome & 23 mi S. Lafayette
82	SCS-4	3437		8/18/1935	Villa Rica	Villa Rica	Camp Lacretia 2 mi E
83	SCS-5	3438	-C	8/23/1935	Washington	Washington	Camp Robert W. Toombs 7 mi S
84	SCS-17	3438		5/10/1939	Royston	Royston	Camp Ty Cobb 1 mi N
85	SCS-6	3439		8/2/1935	Sparta	Sparta	Camp Hancock 1 mi Sw
86	SCS-13	3439		9/26/1939	Soperton	Soperton	1mi N
87	SCS-7	3440		8/16/1935	Stevens Pottery	Stevens Pottery	Camp Dixie 3 mi W
88	SCS-20	3440		6/1/1940	Tennille	Tennille	1 mi SW
89	SP-11	3442		8/20/1935	Rutledge	Rutledge	Camp Young Pine 3 mi N
90	SP-16	3465		7/2/1939	Millen	Millen	6 mi N
91	SCS-19	3482	-C	9/30/1939	Perry	Perry	5 mi SW
92	Army-7	3486		7/28/1935	Bremon	Macon	5 mi Sw
93	AF-5	4447		10/31/1940	Ft. Cusseta	Ft. Cusseta	7 mi NW
94	AF-6	4454	-C	4/6/1941	Camp Stewart	Camp Stewart	LCL McIntosh 7 mi NW
95	AF-4	4455		7/13/1935	Ft. Benning	Ft. Benning	Torch Hill 1 mi SE
96	AF-6	4457	-C	7/20/1935	Cusseta	Cusseta	Jamestown 1 mi W
97	P-90	4458		7/29/1935	Lakeland	Lakeland	1 mi W
98	P-93	4458		6/16/1939	White	Rydah	Camp Cherokee 9 Camp Fechner
99	SCS-9	4459	-C	8/17/1935	Buena Vista	Buena Vista	2 mi NE
100	SCS-14	4459	-C	11/10/1938	Americus	Americus	2 mi NW
101	SCS-10	4460		7/10/1935	Lumpkin	Lumpkin	4 mi S
102	SP-9	4461		7/3/1935	Albany	Albany	Camp Chehaw 2 mi NE
103	P-65	4461		12/31/1937	Jesup	Jesup	In City Limits
104	SP-13	4463		8/17/1935	Chipley	Chipley	Kimbrough 3 mi SE
105	AF-7	4475		6/30/1941	Stewart	Stewart	Camp McIntosh 7 mi NW
106	SCS-12	4485	-C	8/20/1935	Monticello	Monticello	Camp Young Pine 3 mi N
107	SCS-15	4485	-C	5/9/1939	Greensboro	Greensboro	5 mi S
108	P-82	5410		10/21/1933	Reidsville	Reidsville	1 mi W
109	P-95	5430	-C	8/29/1940	Nahunta	Waynesville	3 mi NE

110	SCS-11	5433		8/31/1935	Burford	Buford	Camp Young Pine 5 mi E
111	SCS-16	5433		5/15/1939	Gainesville	Gainesville	5 mi S
112	AF-2	6443		10/9/1940	Ft. Cusseta	Ft. Cusseta	7 mi W
113	AF-3	6444		10/12/1940	Ft. Cusseta	Ft. Cusseta	
114	AF-4	6445		10/8/1940	Ft. Cusseta	Ft. Cusseta	7 mi W
115	AF-5	6446		10/31/1940	Ft. Cusseta	Ft. Cusseta	
116	AF-6	6447	-C	7/10/1941	Ft. Cusseta	Ft. Cusseta	