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How Progressive Was the New Deal? The Civilian Conservation Corps as a Case Study

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In 1929, the United States rocketed into a global depression. Americans, like citizens around the globe, were out of work, and some were starving. The Dust Bowl brought droughts to already struggling families, the banks failed numerous times, and businesses closed. In order to combat this, President Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 devised a bold plan for relief called the New Deal. The New Deal was a 3-billion-dollar endeavor to aid farmers, bankers, businesses, and people struggling with unemployment. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal marked one of the largest government-funded programs in 20th century American history.

Historians have long debated the New Deal's legacy, its successes and failures. One of the aspects of the New Deal that has been questioned is its level of progressiveness. Many scholars have asked whether this massive American effort that attempted to pull the country out of the Great Depression was forward thinking or just maintained the status quo in terms of social equality. The definitive objective of the New Deal was the survival of the American people and economy, but did it go a step further to address the social justice goals of the Progressive Era that preceded it? Did it carry on progressive ideals, or did the New Deal morph into something different? Above all, did the New Deal empower disenfranchised groups such as African Americans or did it mainly benefit white working and middle class citizens, perpetuating traditional hierarchies of social and political power in the United States?

To analyze these questions, I will examine the writings of several historians that have assessed, scrutinized, and oftentimes criticized the New Deal to understand their viewpoints related to the New Deal's progressiveness. This task will necessitate understanding how the Progressive Era affected the New Deal. How was progressivism defined and how much of the spirit and letter of the Progressive age was present in the New Deal?

In order to analyze the New Deal's racial progressiveness specifically, I will look at the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) as a microcosm. The Civilian Conservation Corps is one of the most successful and enduring New Deal programs, so I will use it as a case study to examine how African Americans were treated in order to consider whether and how this program advanced progressive idealism during the 1930s. I find that while the New Deal aimed at improving the public good by increasing equality for all groups and advancing the spirit of the Progressive Era, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) itself fell short of creating full equality for African Americans. The New Deal was sincere in its ambition to aid African Americans, and the CCC gave invaluable opportunities to African Americans to find work during a time of economic duress. But due to many factors the government was unable and unwilling to undo existing racial segregation and prejudice. The Civilian Conservation Corps was a reflection of the progressive approach that the New Deal intended to embody in that it held out hope for a better future but it did so within the confines of a segregated work environment that capped the number of African Americans who were deemed eligible for relief.

The New Deal was one of the most highly debated actions taken by the United States government in recent history. Almost immediately after its completion, people began to analyze the effort. Some historians argued that it was an economic success, others said that it was an economic failure. Some believed that it helped create social equality, while others argued the opposite. Some historians fell in the middle of both arguments.

Some of the strongest and most passionate arguments come from New Left historians who see the New Deal as failing in multiple respects, and in this case, failing to bring social justice to African Americans or even address fundamental problems of social inequality in society. Lloyd Gardner, in *Economic Aspects of New Deal Diplomacy*, questions the success of

the New Deal and what it didn't address: "How many of the society's fundamental problems had really been corrected, or even attacked? How real had the recovery been? How dangerous was the path taken?"¹ Gardner sees it as a serious allegation that the New Deal failed to solve or more importantly even address fundamental social problems that existed in America at the time. It is clear he believed that they didn't target the issue of race relations because they were not bold enough to do so.

Another historian who supports a similar viewpoint is Howard Zinn. In *New Deal Thought*, Zinn portrays the New Deal as a failure because it did not manage "to bring the blessings of immense wealth and staggering productive potential to every person in the land."² According to Zinn, the key to the New Deal being successful was to spread capital from the immensely wealthy to those disempowered groups who needed relatively more assistance; but that did not happen. One of the strongest historians against the New Deal in terms of its racial progressiveness is Barton J Bernstein. He states: "[The] New Deal failed to solve the problem of depression, it failed to raise the impoverished, it failed to redistribute income, it failed to extend equality and generally countenanced racial discrimination and segregation."³ Bernstein sees the New Deal as falling short in its ability to help those who were suffering from existing social constraints. He discusses how racial discrimination and segregation existed at the time and were also allowed to be tolerated during and after the New Deal. Bernstein believes that Roosevelt should not be praised despite black Americans receiving minimal aid and cautious recognition

¹ Jerold S. Auerbach, "New Deal, Old Deal, or Raw Deal: Some Thoughts on New Left Historiography." *The Journal of Southern History* 35, no. 1 (1969): 20.

² Auerbach, "New Deal, Old Deal or Raw Deal," 20.

³ Auerbach, "New Deal, Old Deal or Raw Deal," 20-21.

because “The New Deal left intact the race relations of America” even as it was able to “woo Negro leaders and even court masses.”⁴

Not all historians view the New Deal that harshly: a majority of historians fall in the middle category, maintaining that it was an improvement in some ways, less so in others. One example of this is Roger Biles. In *The South and the New Deal*, Biles focuses on the social standing of African Americans during the New Deal. He argues that African Americans were “victimized by an omnipotent racial caste system and saddled with the lowest paying jobs.” They therefore “suffered disproportionately from the ravages of the economy’s collapse.” Still, “the New Deal’s muted influence in the 1930s laid the groundwork for later assaults on southern racial inequality. The New Deal provided a necessary – if frustratingly small – first step on the road to change”⁵.

Historian Raymond Wolters makes a similar point. Wolters shows that African Americans supported the New Deal, Roosevelt, and the Democratic Party because they offered more tangible benefits than had their immediate Republican predecessors. Wolters claims that African American leaders were aware of the defects in the New Deal and its implicit racial politics, but they still credited Roosevelt with making an honest effort to help their people.⁶ A historian with a similar viewpoint is Henry Moon. In his book *Balance of Power*, Moon explains how certain factors persuaded African Americans to embrace Roosevelt’s New Deal. He explained: “their confidence in him stemmed from the conviction that he was trying to facilitate

⁴ Auerbach, “New Deal, Old Deal or Raw Deal,” 22.

⁵ Roger Biles, *The South and the New Deal* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 103.

⁶ Thomas A Krueger, John Braeman, Robert H. Bremner, and David Brody, “New Deal Historiography at Forty,” *Reviews in American History* 3, no. 4 (1975): 485.

their long hard struggle to attain full citizenship.”⁷ Moon recalled the meaning of the New Deal as “broad based and humanitarian... [which] recognized the disadvantaged Negro minority as an integral part of the American people.”⁸ Similar to Biles, Moon sees African Americans as recognizing that the Democrats were sincere in their efforts to try to improve their socioeconomic standing. This vantage point differs starkly from that of historians like Gardner and Bernstein who see New Deal policies as not even addressing issues like race relations.

Another aspect to New Deal historiography that is important for the topic of racial progressivism during the New Deal has to do with black participation in governmental positions. Historian Gloria-Yvonne Williams, for instance, recognized that black leadership was limited, yet she had a fairly optimistic view of the New Deal. She believed that the New Deal created economic and political opportunities for African Americans through its policy of inclusion, which at the time was a fundamental step in gaining recognition of their civil and political rights.⁹ “The ideals, rhetoric and legislation of the New Deal fostered an environment of social inclusiveness and increased African American political representation at the federal level. The involvement of African Americans in New Deal programs, their work on Capitol Hill and their direct involvement with Roosevelt represented a high-water mark for African American rights and representation.”¹⁰ Williams’ viewpoint is very positive toward the New Deal and what it did for the African Americans. Historians Audrey McClusky and Elaine Smith share a similar belief.

⁷ Gloria-Yvonne Williams, “African Americans and the Politics of Race during the New Deal” In *Interpreting American History: The New Deal and the Great Depression*, edited by Aaron D Purcell (Kent: Kent State Univ. Press, 2014), 134.

⁸ Williams, “African Americans,” 134.

⁹ Williams, “African Americans,” 131.

¹⁰ Williams, “African Americans,” 141.

In *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a Better World, Essays and Selected Documents*, these authors show that black participation in positions of power curtailed racially based discrimination practices in several New Deal agencies. They use the example of Robert Weaver and Mary McLeod Bethune who were influential African Americans who served in government positions during the New Deal. People such as Weaver and Bethune in positions of power allowed for closer monitoring of local activities and helped ensure that racial discrimination was not part of the federal hiring process.¹¹ The inclusion of African Americans in government positions, while limited, was seen as a positive outcome.

Similarly, many historians have recognized the shortcomings of the New Deal for African Americans, but they see it as a crucial jumping off point for later reform movements in the 1950s and 1960s. Roger Biles, a historian mentioned earlier who has some criticisms of the New Deal, states that the New Deal “laid the groundwork for later assaults on southern racial inequality. The New Deal provided a necessary – if frustratingly small – first step on the road to change.”¹² Another historian with a similar viewpoint is Bernard Sternsher. He believes that most of the change in race relations that came in the 1950s and 1960s began slowly, cautiously, in the 1930s. He termed it a “prelude to revolution” because while the New Deal didn’t create or solve racial social inequalities, it modestly started a chain reaction that would prove successful in later years.¹³ Historian John Brueggemann does not call the New Deal a success because of the “ambiguity” of its position on race relations. However, he does conclude that social change

¹¹ Williams, “African Americans,” 136.

¹² Biles, *The South*, 103.

¹³ Biles, *The South*, 123.

during this era along with the African American struggle for equality planted the seeds for the modern Civil Rights Movement.¹⁴

Other historians have emphasized that the New Deal had mixed racial effects in both the short and long-term. For example, Patricia Sullivan in *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era*, claimed that “the depression created constraints as well as opportunities” for African Americans.¹⁵ Historian Paul Conkin personifies the New Deal as an “ungainly infant, destined to survive all the hazards of childhood, and a maladjusted adolescence, eventually to mature in the Great Society.”¹⁶ He then goes on to argue that the New Deal lacked economic potential, yet it made important modifications to the economic system. Conkin seems to look at the New Deal with regret because “its record was spotty and disappointing.”¹⁷ Another historian with a “yes and no” answer to the question of how racially progressive the New Deal is Alonzo Hamby in “The New Deal: Avenues for Reconsideration”. He states that the New Deal represented the forces of Enlightenment and progressive reform enmeshed in a desperate battle with backward-looking representatives of oppressive greed.¹⁸ In an environment of racial prejudice and discrimination even in the north, “in most New Deal thought, American blacks were a people to be at least uplifted, if not exactly empowered.”¹⁹ Hamby’s thesis recognizes the

¹⁴ Williams, “African Americans,” 134.

¹⁵ Williams, “African Americans,” 137.

¹⁶ Auerbach, “New Deal, Old Deal or Raw Deal,” 19.

¹⁷ Auerbach, “New Deal, Old Deal or Raw Deal,” 19.

¹⁸ Alonzo L. Hamby, “The New Deal: Avenues for Reconsideration.” *Polity* 31, no. 4 (1999): 665.

¹⁹ Hamby, “The New Deal,” 667.

goal of the New Deal to empower and improve the lives of African Americans despite the overt racial views of Americans at the time.

One of the most influential historians in this field is Ira Katznelson. In his book *Fear Itself*, Katznelson shows that the New Deal gave aid to Americans to help save the economy, forever changing the architecture of the federal government, but did little to arrest racial inequality. This was because “democracy” overlapped with “fear”—fear of racial mixing, fear of Southern power, and fear of social hierarchies inverting—which sapped the New Deal of its fullest potential.²⁰ Katznelson claims that public racism was visible in both the speeches and action of leaders. The New Deal thus “permitted, or at least turned a blind eye toward an organized system of racial cruelty...the New Deal collaborated with the South’s racial hegemony as it advanced liberal democracy.”²¹ Katznelson doesn’t downplay or diminish what was accomplished in the New Deal, but he states that the government blatantly ignored the South’s violation of black rights and worked closely to keep the system of racial domination operating.

My study fits between and among these other historians’ viewpoints. I believe, based on an exploration of the Civilian Conservation Corps and the New Deal, that policy makers did aim to be socially and racially progressive but, in the end, came up short due to internal and external pressures. Developing this thesis necessitates a fuller appreciation of the word “progressive”, both in its generic and its historical form. The term has often been used as a simple synonym for “making things better,” for improving conditions in pursuit of a larger goal. In a historical sense, “progressive” has roots in the Progressive Era of the early 20th century, which witnessed social reformers pushing to achieve social justice for America’s disempowered with the help of local,

²⁰ Ira Katznelson, *Fear Itself: the New Deal and the Origins of Our Time*. (New York: Liveright, 2014), 8.

²¹ Katznelson, *Fear Itself*, 17-18.

state, and federal agencies. However, over time, the definition and use of the word has slightly changed. A more contemporary definition is even bolder and seemingly requires not just justice but also equality for all. I will be referring to the use of the word during the Progressive Era. It is crucial to understand the importance of the Progressive Era and its relation to the New Deal because I will look at how the New Deal carries on the spirit of the Progressive Era.

The backdrop of the progressive movement was the Gilded Age which was an era from about 1877 through the end of the nineteenth century. This was a time that experienced incredible corruption, class and racial violence, and social inequality. Slums developed as big cities grew larger and factories came into existence. People were paid horrible wages in terrible working conditions. Reformers that became known as Progressives wanted to improve the conditions of life and work for those who were disempowered: the poor, women, children and immigrants. They had an optimistic vision of social reform and aimed at narrowing divisions of wealth and power in society. The Progressive Era embodied the spirit of optimism and the ideas of social justice and evolutionary change. Progressives utilized the power of science, social science, statistics, and facts to gather information that could make a scientific case for reform. For example, Ida B. Wells gathered data on lynching of African Americans, Lewis Hine photographed child labor, and Jacob Reis took pictures of urban slums. By using photographs, scientific evidence and statistics, people like Wells, Hine, and Reis accrued hard evidence for the need for reform. They were not radicals but people pushing for evolutionary change through efficient, orderly, and practical measures.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the population in cities was drastically increasing as urban areas became flooded with immigrants and minorities. Local government failed to prepare for the influx and the immigrants received no support. This was a byproduct of

industrialization: more factories led to more jobs which led to more people moving to cities, which was not always a good thing when the standard of living was low. During this time, working conditions were dangerous; nearly 2 million children under the age of 15 were working and women as well as men worked long hours with low wages. In the Progressive Era, workers formed unions that grouped workers together to increase their power to force change from large corporations that generally did not care about the safety or well-being of its workers. And reformers like Jane Addams created settlement houses to aid the pursuit of respectability for immigrants and the urban poor.

It was during the Progressive Era that the term feminism became part of people's vocabulary. Reforms in the Progressive Era aimed at improving conditions for women, both for living and social standing. For example, Charlotte Perkins Gilman created a small organization of New York professional women that developed plans for apartment buildings with communal areas and day care centers, all with the goal of freeing women from the home. The idea of personal freedom was reconsidered with the "new feminism" that attacked the traditional rules of sexual behavior. In this period, Progressives were advocating for better working conditions and better wages. However, there was also a new way that some women wanted to be seen: not merely as domestic ornaments but also as strong, confident, and capable members of the broader body politic, capable of positive influence in the private and public sectors alike.

One of the most significant aspects of the Progressive Era concerned the regulation of big business with acts such as the interstate Commerce Act, the Sherman Antitrust Act and the Hepburn Act. The presidents during their administration took advantage of the increased regulation by the Federal Government. During the Progressive Era, the presidents added significant government regulation of the private economy in hopes to make the economy more

efficient and more equal. Progressives believed that it was only through the national government that the creation of the conditions of freedom was possible because prior, it was the local and state governments that enacted reforms. The Progressives came to see those local and state government decisions are impeding progress. Poverty, economic insecurity, class disparities, and lack of industrial democracy were national problems that demanded national solutions. So, too, were ecological issues, and Progressive leaders like Theodore Roosevelt led the way in advancing measures to protect and conserve American wildlife.

The New Deal built on this Progressive vision of government acting on behalf of the public good. The New Deal was a response to an economic depression that caused high unemployment rates and nearly nation-wide poverty. Franklin D. Roosevelt “conceived of the New Deal as an alternative to socialism on the left, Nazism on the right, and the inaction of upholders of unregulated capitalism. He hoped to reconcile democracy, individual liberty, and economic recovery and development.”²² To aid American citizens, Franklin Roosevelt enacted the New Deal as a government reform relief program. The New Deal offered recovery help for businesses, created job opportunities, spurred conservation, and aided in housing and agriculture to name a few. It created the National Recovery Administration to provide assistance for businesses negatively affected by the Great Depression, the Public Works Administration to provide jobs, the Civilian Conservation Corps for jobs and preservation efforts, and the Federal Housing Authority to advance solutions to the urban housing crisis. It relied on data, facts, and statistics to advance progressive social change.

²² Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty! an American History* (New York: WW Norton & Co, 2017) 822.

When he entered office, Roosevelt did not have a concrete plan for dealing with the depression. He therefore relied on the former Progressive intellectuals and social scientists for ideas and inspiration. For example, FDR's Secretary of Labor was Frances Perkins. Perkins was an advocate and organizer of Hull House and the New York Consumers League. She was involved with human rights and was an eyewitness to the Triangle Fire of 1911. Harold Ickes was Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior. Ickes was involved with Theodore Roosevelt's progressive campaign in 1912. During FDR's presidency, Louis Brandeis advised him after advising Woodrow Wilson during the 1912 campaign. The Progressive Era was not a unified movement, so these advisors did not speak with one voice, but the presence of these individuals reflected how Franklin Roosevelt drew on reform traditions from the Progressive Era.²³

While the New Deal is not part of the Progressive Era, then, the New Deal very much reflects the ethos of the progressive movement. The New Deal, like its Progressive antecedent, aimed to provide a helping hand to ordinary Americans, assisting them through a period of economic hardship, and used the government to provide assistance and relief. Both Progressive reforms and the New Deal programs were enacted through the power of the federal government. But the New Deal was the first time that the government played such a large role in the regulation of business or in the aiding of ordinary people. Another similarity between the two movements was the protection of the laborer with the creation of labor unions in the Progressive Era and the National Recovery Administration in the New Deal. There were also educational job opportunities such as the Civilian Conservation Corps in the New Deal and the Settlement houses in the Progressive Era. In order to make the movements successful, both the Progressives

²³ Foner, *Give Me Liberty!* 823.

and the New Deal used government intervention and regulation of the economy to make them successful.

However, there are two key differences between the movements that are important to distinguish: their implementation and people they helped. The Progressives wanted to help disempowered groups who were struggling in society. Their targets included women, children, racial minorities, and immigrants. However, the New Deal's unspoken aim was mainly to aid average white Americans who were suddenly struggling due to the Depression. The primary focus of the New Deal was not on aiding traditionally disempowered groups but rather helping ordinary white people who were struggling to make ends meet. The New Deal did assist some minority groups such as African Americans, Native Americans, and women, but this was not its immediate focus. Another difference between the two is the organization of the movement. The New Deal was a large unified government program that included many small agencies. But while the government aided in Progressive reforms, that movement was less organized and centralized than was its New Deal successor.

Despite these differences, a case can be made that the New Deal was animated by Progressive-style ideals. At the core of both movements was a vision of social justice that envisioned democracy not merely as a set of political rights but also as guaranteeing basic human rights such as food, shelter, work, and medical care. The Progressives fell short in attaining social justice for all, but they did make modest gains. The New Deal's Progressive legacy was also mixed, as shown in the experiences of African Americans who served the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) during the 1930s.

The CCC had ambitious social aims. It attempted to tackle one of the most pressing issues at the time – unemployment – in a creative way that helped more than just the American

citizen. Roosevelt's approach was to use federal money to fund jobs while also fostering environmental improvement. But there was an additional purpose as well. The Civilian Conservation Corps, overseen by the U.S. Army, ran from 1933 to 1942. James McEntee, former director of the CCC, explained that the chief goal of the program was to "combat the ills of depression."²⁴ However, as time went on, he noted a second and even greater value of the new social institution that became increasingly evident. "In building the health and character and skills of young men, and in preserving and restoring the land and the forests upon which men depend for existence, the Civilian Conservation Corps creates strength with which to resist and withstand the batterings of economic and political forces. It gives vigor to the character and spirit as well to the bodies of young men."²⁵ In this quote, McEntee suggests that the benefits of the CCC were not merely economic. The program also proved its worth with providing essential development and protection for the nation's natural resources. Lastly, young boys were transformed into men. The institution, as McEntee referred to it, enforced character development and education for young American males.

The Civilian Conservation Corps targeted men between the ages of 17 and 23. The goal was to recruit men who were old enough to be in a position to support their family, start their career, or in need of education for a profession. The agency did not want married men with families, as the program aimed to help young men entering the workforce who could handle the physical work. "Each year several million boys reached a working age, energetic and ambitious, but they found nothing that they could do. Their fathers were unemployed; they, themselves,

²⁴ James J. McEntee, *Now They Are Men; the Story of the CCC*. (Washington, D.C.: National home library Foundation, 1940), xii.

²⁵ McEntee, *Now They are Men*, xii.

were keenly aware of the fact that they meant extra mouths to feed...They couldn't stand it."²⁶

The Civilian Conservation Corps took these men off the streets and from begging for food. The depression was the "story of human erosion" and the CCC was a strong remedy for it.²⁷

Within a month, a network of selecting agents became established around the country to recruit and select men for the program. According to the director of the program, camps were created and men were recruited at such a fast pace and in high numbers that, as he recalled, "it was the fastest mobilization in the history of the United States, in peace or war."²⁸ In the first few months from April to July 1st, 1933, the average program growth was 8,540 men a day, and workers built 1,300 camps. This was due to the simplicity and focus of the organization, whose purpose was evident to all involved.

Every enrollee signed for 6 months, and all were able to reenroll for a second, third and fourth time, for a maximum of two years. Participants were then expected to return to the broader work force and bring their skills to another venue. Eighty-five percent of the men chosen were under the age of 21, eager to learn, and had never held any other regular job. Often, men were shipped to camps across the country because a proportionally larger number of men applied from the northeast, while a majority of the important conservation work was in the west.

The work the men did varied from location to location. One of their duties was to plant trees. Throughout the CCC's duration, men in the Civilian Conservation Corps planted over 2,000,000,000 trees around the country (Appendix #1). Preserving soil from erosion and drying

²⁶ McEntee, *Now They are Men*, 3.

²⁷ McEntee, *Now They are Men*, 14.

²⁸ McEntee, *Now They are Men*, 15

up was imperative at the time due to the Dust Bowl and the suffering of the farmers. To combat this, the CCC planted trees, leveled gullies, built creek dams and terraced the land. This was only one aspect of work they did. Similar to the soil problems, forest fires were happening with no method to prevention or solution. People were dying and towns were being destroyed. To combat this calamity, the CCC built small roads to be able to quickly move men and equipment to areas that had just caught fire to stop them when they were manageable. They built fire towers for better vantage points. They also fought existing fires.

The Civilian Conservation Corps focused on “human conservation” as well. This refers to National or State parks where people vacationed to get a break from their mundane and stressful jobs. Such areas were underdeveloped, not available to all, and lacked infrastructure to reach their fullest potential. To make recreational areas available to more people, while also conserving the area ecologically, the CCC built roads, bridges, cabins, and cleared thousands of miles of trails (Appendix #2). They built fencing, guard rails, water systems, lookout towers, shelters, swimming areas and fishing areas. This allowed people to have more access to natural areas to enjoy their benefits. This was important because “the city man who looks forward for fifty weeks a year to catching a few fish during the other two weeks shall not be disappointed.”²⁹ It was under the impetus of the CCC that places that had been previously given little or no attention actually gained importance to the people and function of society. Thirty-seven states acquired 350 new park areas, and state park and forests acreage had doubled.

The CCC camps that the men lived in were set up like little towns. They included the barracks, administration buildings, a mess hall, storage buildings and the recreation hall

²⁹ McEntee, *Now They are Men*, 21.

(Appendix #3). The recreation hall typically held an education section with classrooms and a small library. The camps were run in a quasi-military like fashion. The commanding officer, or C.O. was the leader and kept things running smoothly. The C.O. was typically an Army's reserve officer. Every CCC member had a green uniform and had a strict daily routine including a 6am start time, calisthenics, cleaning of their barracks and an inspection. (Appendix #4). They worked for 8 hours, 5 days a week. Afterwards, they had the evening to attend a class or recreate. Some camps sponsored baseball teams or musical groups, and most had a newspaper (Appendix #5). Clinton Dean was a CCC enrollee from 1937-1939. In an oral history recording, he remembers recreational activities he participated in, "Some of the guys loved baseball...They played different camps...boxing was mostly for me."³⁰ On the weekends they would often go into the nearby town to watch a movie or have a good time.

Mentioned briefly earlier, the young men did not just labor while being in the corps. They learned trade skills on the job but also during additional classes. While on the job, the men learned a variety of jobs, each camp having an average of 30-75 different positions.³¹ These varied from blacksmiths, operating bulldozers, forestry, and carpentry. The men were also given the opportunity to take additional classes in the evening. They ranged from basic reading and writing skills to vocational classes like car maintenance, electrical, and cooking (Appendix #6). The organization wanted to create a population of educated and prepared workers to be able to use the corps as a jumping off point for them in the real world. Oral interviewee Ashton Burress describes his time in the CCC. He specifically remembers the classes and the opportunity they

³⁰ Clinton Dean, interview by Ken Steeber, Oct 1, 1995, National Park Service, Shenandoah NP. https://www.nps.gov/shen/learn/historyculture/upload/ccc_oral_history_dean_clinton.pdf

³¹ McEntee, *Now They are Men*, 42.

enabled him: “They had several things there. I think I took mechanics a little bit...I didn’t have no education. I attended several classes.”³² The CCC wanted to create the “whole man” with character and confidence. The CCC thus offered an opportunity for young men to gain skills, community and purpose while also supporting themselves and their families. Clinton Dean expressed his feelings about how the CCC affected him: “I think it . . . helped to make a man out of me. You know, discipline, and everything. I mean, I knew there was a better life ahead for me.”³³

This shining exterior of the Civilian Conservation Corps belies one of the most controversial themes coursing through the New Deal and Roosevelt’s presidency: the issue of segregation and discrimination against African Americans. There were many areas of difficulty African Americans faced. First, enrolling officers in the corps limited the number of African Americans who would be accepted, capping the number to far below the percentage of blacks who needed aid. Another area where blacks faced adversity was in was their inability to improve rank. Officers or directors were nearly always white. Lastly, their experience in the CCC itself was hindered due to segregation and discrimination, which limited African Americans’ ability to fully enjoy all the benefits of membership.

Historian and writer John Salmond quoted the Unemployment Relief Act of 1933 which gave a broad overview of the goal of relief programs in the Depression. This act gave the CCC its legal existence, stating that when employing citizens in the agency, “no discrimination shall

³² Ashton Burress, interviewed by Reed Engle, Sept. 27, 1998, National Park Service, Shenandoah. https://www.nps.gov/shen/learn/historyculture/upload/ccc_oral_history_ashton_burress.pdf

³³ Clinton Dean interview.

be made on account of race, color, or creed.”³⁴ Salmond wrote that “the intention was clearly to protect the rights of the Negro citizens in the matter of selection for the CCC organization, but these mere words did not ensure them full equality.”³⁵ For the Civilian Conservation Corps to be equal, the program had to have started by recruiting a heterogeneous group. However, biased enrollment created a huge roadblock for African Americans to even be considered for the corps.

African Americans needed help during the Depression. The Depression added further misery to their already dismal conditions which included chronic poverty and discrimination. “In 1933 Negro unemployment rates were double the national average and more than two million were on relief. In northern states Negro laborers found that the adage ‘first fired, last hired’ rang bitterly true, while in the South the Depression had erased even the structure of traditionally ‘Negro’ jobs.”³⁶ If the government intended to bring aid to people that were struggling, African Americans should have been high on that list. However, rather than receiving attention and aid, they were not given any priority. The government wanted to help those who had suddenly fallen into poverty but failed to notice African Americans who were previously struggling and did not receive any more aid when relief programs did come. This concept is clearly demonstrated in a first-hand account by Clifford Burke, an African American man living during the Depression. He remarks that “the Negro was born in depression. It didn’t mean too much to him, The Great American Depression, as you call it...It only became official when it hit the white man.”³⁷ Burke

³⁴ Unemployment Relief Act, March 31, 1933. Public Law 73-5, 48 STAT 22, National Archives Catalog. <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/299830>

³⁵ John A. Salmond, “The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro,” *The Journal of American History* 52, no. 1 (June 1965), 76.

³⁶ Salmond, “The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Negro,” 76.

³⁷ Clifford Burke, “A Black Man’s Perspective,” oral history by Studs Terkel, in Terkel, *Hard Times* (Donadio & Olsen, Inc. 1970), 82-83.

is explaining that African Americans had been struggling long before the depression began. It wasn't until whites began to struggle that the government decided to step in and help. In a way, he seems to resent the government for not seeing the struggles of African Americans long before the Depression hit.

Recruiting agents kept the number of African Americans who applied and who were accepted proportionally lower than their relative population and on the basis of need. According to historian Calvin Gower, "black Enrollment in the CCC was capped at ten percent of total recruits- roughly equivalent to the proportion of blacks in the US in 1930, but nowhere near the proportional number of blacks eligible for relief during the depression. Thousands were turned away."³⁸ For example, in Washington County Georgia, the population was 3/5 African Americans, yet none of them were admitted into the CCC despite many of them applying. The recruiting officers claimed they were unaware that they were supposed to enroll people from all races. If they were following the original statement, they should not have been judging applicants based on race anyway. Similarly, for the state of Georgia as a whole, 36% of the population was African American. In July 1933, only 143 out of the total 3,710 CCC enrollees were African Americans; less than 4%. In Mississippi, the population of African Americans was just over 50%. In the month of July 1933, selecting agents enrolled 46 African Americans out of 2,776 men accepted; only 1.6%.³⁹ This was not representative of the either their population in those states or those men who needed assistance.

³⁸ Calvin W. Gower, "The Struggle of Blacks for Leadership Positions in the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-1942," *The Journal of Negro History* 61, no. 2 (April 1976), 124.

³⁹ Gower, "The Struggle of Blacks for Leadership Positions", 125.

The struggle for enrollment was just one roadblock that African Americans faced in the Civilian Conservation Corps. They struggled with the ability to improve rank or move up in the organization. This appears to have limited their trust in the organization because if they were to be treated the same as whites, then they should fully have the same opportunity to advance in the program. The CCC had separate camps for white men and African Americans. Many black enrollees strongly believed that African American camps should be run by African Americans. This created a dilemma for CCC officials as well as Franklin Roosevelt because they had no intention of allowing substantial black leadership leading black camps. According to historian Olen Cole, “two African American leaders, Walter White of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Emmett Scott, an official at Howard University, spearheaded the movement to have African American officers in the CCC. It was not until August 1935 that President Roosevelt instructed the Army to call up a token number of African American reserve medical officers and chaplains for active duty in the Corps.”⁴⁰ Not until three years later were three African American officers assigned to duty with the black camp at Gettysburg National Park. Overall, there were only two officers called to command African American camps nation-wide. This reinforces the idea that blacks did not have equal representation in and opportunity for leadership positions. It also illustrates that many top CCC officials believed that the African Americans were only capable of manual labor and not able to become effective managers.

According to Calvin Gower, by May 15, 1934, only fourteen African Americans had received appointments as CCC educational advisers with additional appointments expected later.

⁴⁰ Olen Cole, *The African-American Experience in the Civilian Conservation Corps* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), 16.

“This gain was not impressive to those blacks who believed that Negroes should be in complete command of Negro camps.”⁴¹ To put it into perspective, there were over 2,500 CCC camps and nearly each one had its own educational advisor. Fourteen African Americans were promoted to those positions which obviously represents a very small percentage. If the organization thought that promoting a handful of African Americans was adequate, they were going against their original foundation statement of the CCC of not judging people based on their race. Some perhaps could argue that allowing African Americans into leadership positions, however limited, was a step in the right direction. While this is true, it highlights how far African Americans had to go before they were seen as equals and not assigned token roles. Even if an African American showed aptitude in management and leadership, he faced insurmountable odds in attaining advanced roles in the organization because of discrimination.

African Americans were intentionally kept at the enrollee level and prevented from acquiring positions of authority by active intervention movements. “Regarding the use of Negroes in that spot, the Army resorted to various means ranging from outright opposition, to what appears to be deliberate obfuscation to attempt to prevent this from occurring.”⁴² This question caused a debate in Congress when senator Robert LaFollette started a campaign of protest concerning the barring of Negroes from the position of company commanders in 1935. The debate failed to spur on any progress with the issue, and the uncertainty and uneasiness of the situation remained.

Another problem arose with the idea of the possibility of African Americans taking leadership roles within black camps. Oftentimes, there was public disapproval of African

⁴¹ Gower, “The Struggle of Blacks for Leadership Positions”, 128.

⁴² Gower, “The Struggle of Blacks for Leadership Positions”, 129.

American camps being set up in a town. The citizens of that town might claim they would feel unsafe and wary of a large number of African Americans congregating nearby. The local communities “feared the effect of a large body of Negroes on the social stability of their community.”⁴³ In most cases, communities near CCC camps were small, close-knit, primarily white and openly biased. They did not welcome African American enrollees.⁴⁴ These fears are a clearly a vestige of the Reconstruction era, particularly in the Deep South.

Logistically, however, whites should have thought the opposite way about a camp being created in their town. The establishment of a CCC camp in any town would boost its economy. The camp would typically turn to the town for cooks and washers. The men would spend their free time going into town to spend their extra money that they made. This would enhance the local economy and allow many people in those towns to obtain jobs. For many communities, however, these positives all seemed insignificant when they learned the camp would be made up of a significant number of African Americans. In an effort to appease these people who were uneasy, the CCC offered to maintain white leadership in those camps. “When the CCC had experienced difficulties in finding localities which would accept Negro camps, it had discovered that one inducement which sometimes eliminated the opposition was in the assurance that white supervisors would be in charge of the camp.”⁴⁵ Having white leadership in those camps helped but did not solve everything. African American CCC enrollees oftentimes would get involved with local police, not because they broke the law, but for being black. For example, an enrollee whose occupation was a truck driver regularly had to drive through Richmond to deliver

⁴³ John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1989), 92.

⁴⁴ Cole, *The African-American Experience*, 55-56.

⁴⁵ Gower, “The Struggle of Blacks for Leadership Positions”, 130.

supplies. He was originally told by a police officer ““we don’t want you damned niggers in town”” but was instructed by his CCC officer to continue to do his duties. The next time he drove into town he was arrested and charged with vagrancy.⁴⁶ Gower sums up the issue: “the efforts of blacks to gain equality of opportunity by securing leadership positions in the CCC were not very successful and reflect the general failure of blacks to obtain significant improvements for themselves during the New Deal Years.”⁴⁷ African Americans faced difficulties getting into the corps, moving up in rank and struggled with the local communities. What was their experience like in the camps themselves?

This is a very challenging and obscure topic to dig into because African American participants were not usually interviewed, nor did they write extensively about their experiences. The direct experience of African Americans in the Civilian Conservation Corps has not fully been unearthed. However, there are small glimpses through a limited number of sources that allow a look into their world. CCC camps became segregated in 1934. Before 1934, there weren’t enough African American enrollees to justify making separate camps, so the camps were integrated. However, those integrated camps were not completely unified. One example that illustrates this point was the Pineland Civilian Conservation Corps camp #893 located in Sabine County, Texas. The camp was established in June 1933 and its main function was planting pine tree seedlings because the area had been heavily deforested. In a camp photo, (Appendix #7) there is a clear distinction between the white members of the camp and those who were African American. Not only are the African Americans grouped apart, they are positioned at a distance from the rest of the camp. The white people in the camp are sending a fairly obvious message of

⁴⁶ Cole, *The African-American Experience*, 56.

⁴⁷ Gower, “The Struggle of Blacks for Leadership Positions”, 135.

“we don’t want to be near them”. Based on this photo, it is probable that African Americans had separate living quarters and worked separately. Also, given the space between them in the photo, the administration might have limited the interactions between the two groups. However, it is impossible to tell if their separate conditions were unequal or if they received harder manual labor jobs. The Pineland camp was not the only integrated camp that had segregation on the inside. Camp Haskell in Oklahoma is pictured in the same set up with the African Americans off to one side (Appendix #8). This can be seen in a camp in Weches TX as well (Appendix #9). This segregation in integrated camp was not unique to one camp, but rather was seen in many of the early integrated camps. On the other hand, a second picture (Appendix #10) of an unknown Michigan camp offers a different view. Much like the Pineland CCC camp, Michigan camps were integrated until 1934 when they became segregated. While this photo is less formal, it shows African Americans mingling with the white corps members. Based on the information given, or lack-there-of, it is hard to determine how blacks were treated in the camps simply based on photographs. It does suggest that each camp was unique in their treatment of African Americans perhaps based on geographic location, the leadership of the camp, the origins of where the men came from and the type of work being performed.

One of the few first-hand accounts of an African American in the CCC comes from Luther Wandall from New York City. He recalled his experience in the CCC in an article in the journal *Crisis*. He takes the reader on a fascinating journey through his CCC experiences. After arriving at a Fort Dix to receive conditioning training, he recalled, “here it was that Mr. James Crow just definitely put in his appearance.”⁴⁸ By this, he was referring to having his record labeled with a “C” for colored and then be required to fall out in the rear after exiting the bus. He

⁴⁸ Luther C. Wandall, “A Negro in the CCC,” *Crisis* 42 (August 1935), 253.

eventually made it to his camp in Virginia, which was composed entirely of African Americans. He stated that “this separation of the colored from the white was completely and rigidly maintained at this camp.”⁴⁹ He experienced a rigid top down structure in which the commanding officer had authority. He described officers varying in nature: usually they were courteous, kind, refined and even intimate, but a few were vicious and ill tempered. He describes his experience as having plenty to eat and a barrack to sleep in. He highly praised the recreation hall, playground and other facilities. Most significantly, he wraps up his article by saying, “On the whole, I was gratified rather than disappointed with the CCC. I had expected the worst. Of course it reflects, to some extent, all the practices and prejudices of the US Army. But as a job and an experience, for a man who has no work, I can heartily recommend it.”⁵⁰

His statement is profound in that he recognizes that the organization was not perfect due to the fact that it was operating during a very racially charged time. It is important to note that Wandall hailed from New York City and ended up in a Virginia camp. His life in New York must have been a stark contrast to rural Virginia, yet he makes no mention of any catastrophic persecution or discrimination. He holds nothing against the CCC because it gave him an opportunity and money in a time of economic depression and lack of jobs. It is tricky to analyze his account because he was an African American living in a time when racism and discrimination were certainly ordinary occurrences for him, even in New York City. In his account, he never mentioned being treated wrongly or looked down upon in his camp. However, if Wandall was used to negative treatment, he may not have thought it was important to mention

⁴⁹ Wandall, “A Negro in the CCC,” 253.

⁵⁰ Wandall, “A Negro in the CCC,” 254.

small incidences. Overall, I read his account as Wandall having a positive experience void of serious discrimination.

Due to the lack of reliable accounts of African Americans in the CCC, I looked to the correspondence of the director of the CCC, Robert Fechner, to see how he addressed the situation of the treatment of African Americans in the camps themselves. After the CCC camps became segregated, he remarked on the occasional placement of blacks in white camps. Fechner stated that it was permissible “because of the natural adaptability of Negroes to serve as cooks” and then later “in cases of this kind the small group of Negroes will be assigned to kitchen police or similar camp duties”⁵¹ It is clear by these statements that Fechner believed that it was better to keep African Americans working at menial tasks than to allow them to be a full enrollee next to white men. This attitude, however, was not reflected in an official letter to Thomas Griffith, the president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Griffith had expressed concern that the segregation of the CCC would lead to discrimination. Fechner defended segregation by stating that the decision was made by a variety of individuals who approved of the idea. In addition, he stated that African Americans themselves preferred to be in companies exclusively of their own race. Most significantly, he defended his decision by saying: “This segregation is not discrimination and cannot be construed. The negro companies are assigned to the same types of work, have identical equipment, are served the same food, and have the same quarters as white enrollees. I have personally visited many negro CCC companies and have talked with the enrollees and have never received one single complaint.”⁵² This

⁵¹ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: a New Deal Case Study*, 23.

⁵² Robert Fechner, *Letter to Thomas Griffith, 21 September 1935*, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160311065553/http://newdeal.feri.org/aaccc/aaccc04.htm>

somewhat contradicts his earlier statement. If he is claiming that there is no difference in the camps in his letter, but then says they would simply be cooks at a white camp, it shows that the director was torn on the subject. In the first correspondence he is degrading blacks and their place in the CCC. Then in a formal letter he is defending his decision of segregation by stating that everything is equal implying that he sees both races as equal. It is disheartening to hear in other correspondence of Fechner's low opinion of the abilities of African Americans in the corps despite his claiming that he saw them as equals. In the creation document of the CCC, the wording stated that men would be treated equally, but in practice it definitely was not. Both of the perspectives Fechner shows in his correspondence represent the reality of the CCC: equal facilities but unequal opportunity.

It is important to put the CCC in a historical perspective by looking at it in comparison with other federal agencies at the time. The United States army helped create, organize, and mobilize the CCC. The CCC camps and regulation somewhat resembled life in an army camp. How did the armed forces themselves handle segregation? African Americans took part and served in every war the United States had fought in. It was not until President Harry Truman created Executive Order 9981 in 1948 that segregation ended in the armed forces.⁵³ However, while integration was legally established in 1948, full integration of African Americans in the Navy and Air force didn't happen until 1950, and 1953 for the Navy.⁵⁴ Previously, African American soldiers had been kept separate, held less desirable jobs as well and paid less.

⁵³ Spencer Tucker. *The Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War: a Political, Social, and Military History*. (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2011), 1143.

⁵⁴ Rudi Williams, "African Americans in the Navy," United States Department of Defense. American Forces Press Service, February 1, 2001, <https://archive.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=45742>.

During the period between World War I and World War II, the Navy barred African American enlistment. In 1932 blacks were only allowed to serve on US navy ships as stewards and mess attendants. During WWII, by contrast, there were over one million African Americans enlisted in the armed forces. It was still highly segregated, however.⁵⁵ For example, the US Marines had no blacks in the combat infantry or on the front lines. African Americans were placed in all black platoons in non-essential roles. No African Americans receive the Medal of Honor during or after the war for many years, and the Army only had five African American officers, a tiny percentage compared to that of white officers.⁵⁶

During the depression era, then, the army was not integrated and wouldn't be for nearly two more decades. This shows that the Civilian Conservation Corps was not atypical; its treatment of blacks was no different from that of the armed forces. If anything, this comparison shows that the CCC was slightly ahead of its time because initially it was integrated. It is important to note that these organizations were not the same in every regard; the army was a more controlled environment and under national control. The CCC was carried out at the state level but its connection to the army makes the comparison illustrative.

To put the CCC in the context of work relief programs during the Depression, it is logical to compare the corps' progressiveness to another New Deal program. The Works Progress Administration is a good comparison due to similarities in the goals of the program and the work that they did. The Work Projects Administration (WPA) was created in 1935 during the worst period of the depression. Through its time running, it put nearly 8.5 million Americans to work. It employed unskilled men to carry out public works projects centered around infrastructure such

⁵⁵ Williams, "African Americans in the Navy."

⁵⁶ Foner, Eric, *Give me Liberty!* 696.

as building new schools, hospitals, bridges, repairing roads and planting trees. In addition, the WPA oversaw a program called Federal Project Number One. This employed musicians and artists for entertainment and creating public art pieces. In 1935, approximately 350,000 African Americans were employed in the WPA, about 15% of its total workforce at that time.⁵⁷ Similar in the CCC, civil rights leaders were upset that even though 15% was slightly higher than national population average of African Americans, it wasn't representative of the percentage of African Americans who needed serious aid during this time. Therefore, some believed that more blacks should have been admitted. Also similar to the CCC, the WPA operated segregated units. However, the WPA paid African Americans less and was known to give them less desirable jobs. The WPA was therefore not far off from the CCC. This suggests that the CCC was not much better or worse than other New Deal programs.

As the nation came to grips with reemploying the citizens during the Great Depression, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his administration grappled with different ways to combat spiraling poverty and unemployment. They placed their hopes in the new agencies that put Americans back to work. The New Deal did more than revive the economy, it attempted to improve the public good by increasing opportunity for all and advancing the spirit of the Progressive Era. However, the New Deal, and in the case specifically the CCC, fell short in delivering that promise to African Americans. The New Deal was sincere in its intentions to give a fair chance to African Americans. However, the government was unable and unwilling to push hard enough to undo the existing racial segregation and prejudice that continued on for decades. The Civilian Conservation Corps limited African Americans from entering the program to

⁵⁷ "The Works Progress Administration, a Beginning for Many," African American Registry, <https://aaregistry.org/story/the-works-progress-administration-a-beginning-for-many/>.

numbers that were not representative of how many needed aid. Also, it was nearly impossible for blacks to improve their positions simply by virtue of their race. While there was no direct evidence for atrocious racism in the camps themselves, there is evidence that there were differences in the experience of white men and black men. The camps were segregated, and segregation is discrimination. The CCC was progressive in that it did allow African Americans in and granted them opportunities. However, the above-mentioned details stained the CCC and undermined its aspiration to be progressive.

Pictured in the photograph *The Tree Army*, a group of six African Americans sit in front of a chalk board which reads “We have learned to write in the C.C.C.” Their signatures appear below⁵⁸ (Appendix #11). This picture embodies much of what the New Deal and the CCC was aiming to do. Because of the CCC, formerly illiterate men were now able to write, which opened the door to many new opportunities. The CCC did not entirely fail in its progressive vision. It just failed to reach its fullest potential.

The CCC did meet its goals of conserving the nations natural resources, providing work opportunities and even offering basic literacy skills. But it had limited success in carrying out racial equality. This was the perfect type of organization to make strides toward integration: it was a conglomerate of young men from all across the country and walks of life, coming together to improve themselves and the nation. It was a laboratory for progressivism, in camps nearly isolated from the outside world. However, the CCC was still unable to get away from the grips of racism. Since the CCC, organizations such as the Peace Corps and AmeriCorps have worked to create similar success but weren’t able to on the scale of the CCC. In current political, economic,

⁵⁸ Stan Cohen, *The Tree Army: A Pictorial History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942* (Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 2018), 138.

social and ideological climate in the country now, is another, truly progressive, Civilian Conservation Corps needed?

Appendix:

#1



Huron-Manistee National Forest Civilian Conservation Corps Planting Crew, June 1939
(Photograph, National Archives and Records Administration) Accessible at this url:
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Photograph_of_Civilian_Conservation_Corps_\(CCC\)_Planting_Crew_-_NARA_-_2129004.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Photograph_of_Civilian_Conservation_Corps_(CCC)_Planting_Crew_-_NARA_-_2129004.jpg)

#2



Idaho CCC camp F-110, trail to Looking Glass Lookout, 1933 (Photograph, Idaho Digital Archives) Accessible at this URL:
<https://www.lib.uidaho.edu/digital/cccidaho/items/cccidaho93.html>

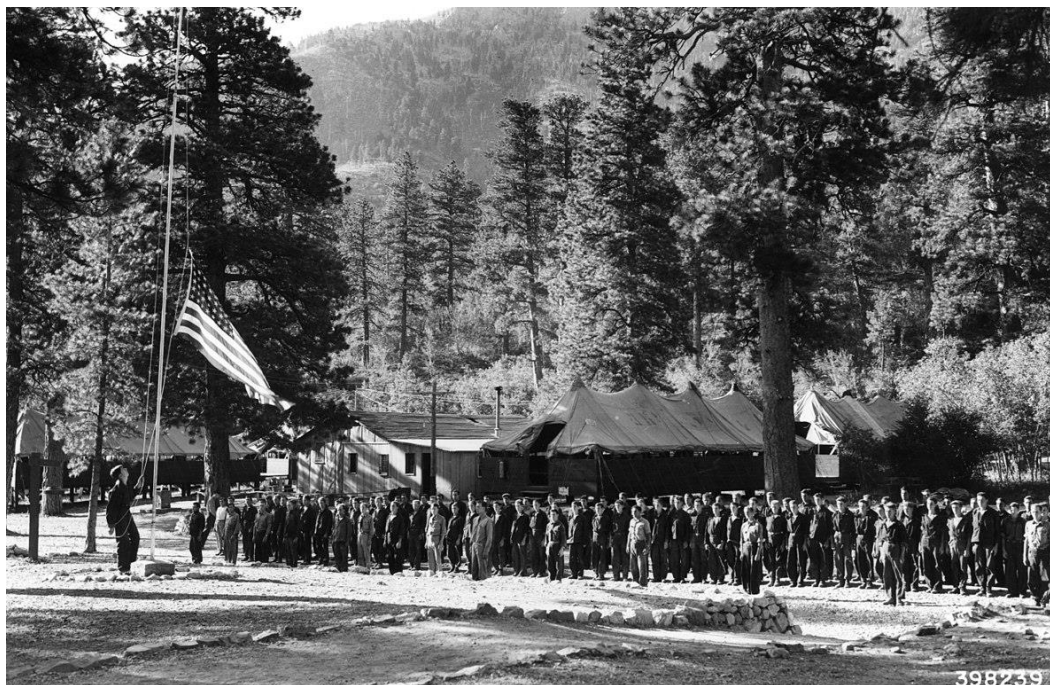
#3



Breen Burney Camp in Lassen National Forest, CA, date unknown (photograph, National Archives) Accessible at this URL:

<https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2006/fall/ccc.html>

#4



Kyle Canyon CCC camp stands at attention, Nevada National Forest, date unknown (photograph, OSU Special Collections & Archives) accessible at this URL:

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kyle_Canyon_CCC_camp_members_stand_at_attention_as_t
he_flag_is_lowered,_Nevada_National_Forest_\(3226892490\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kyle_Canyon_CCC_camp_members_stand_at_attention_as_the_flag_is_lowered,_Nevada_National_Forest_(3226892490).jpg)

#5



March Field CCC camp, California. Basketball district champions. 1935 (Photograph, FDR library) Accessible at this URL: <http://docs.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/images/photodb/27-0868a.gif>

#6



Cabinet making class, Civilian Conservation Corps, Third Corps Area, Richmond, VA, Co. 1372 and 1375. Date unknown (photograph, FDR library) Accessible at this URL: <http://docs.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/images/photodb/27-0888a.gif>

#7:



Pineland Civilian Conservation Corps camp, Pineland, TX ~1933 (Photograph, University of Northern Texas) Accessible at this URL:

<https://easttexashistory.org/items/show/105#&gid=1&pid=1>

#8:



Camp Haskell, Binger Oklahoma, Feb. 1934 (Photograph, Oklahoma Historical Society) Accessible at this URL:

<https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/viewer?entry=C1012&id=262#page/0/mode/1up>

#9:



CCC co. 888, Weches Texas, Oct 1934. (Photograph, Texas State Parks) Accessible at this URL:

<https://tpwd.texas.gov/state-parks/parks/things-to-do/history-culture/adversities-accomplishments>

#10:



Michigan Civilian Conservation Corps, ~1933 (Photograph, Michigan History Center)
Accessible at this URL: https://www.michigan.gov/mhc/0,9075,7-361-85147_87219_87222-472998--_00.html

#11



CCC Writing Class, date and location unknown (photograph), page 138.

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<https://archive.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=45742>.
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