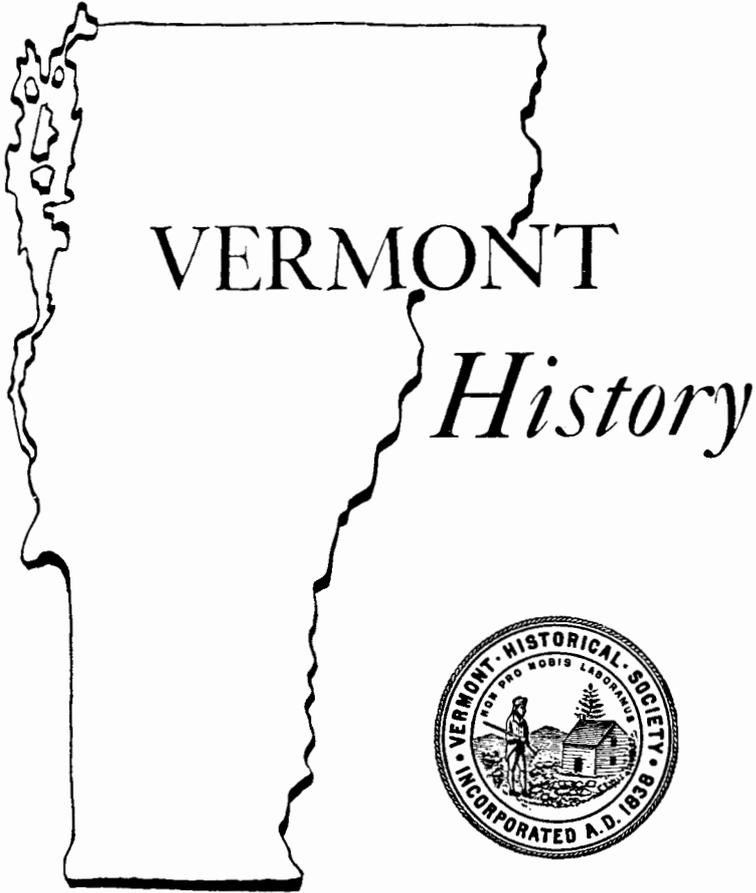
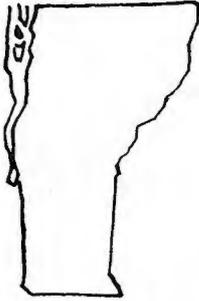


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Vermonters overlooked the fact that the C.C.C. was a federal program developed by a President they voted against four times. They did their best to maintain the tradition of independence, "but you can't eat it. You can't live on it."

The Civilian Conservation Corps in Vermont

By FREDERICK W. STETSON

Congressman Charles A. Plumley, Vermont's lone member of the United States House of Representatives in the late 1930's, thought the state had seen enough of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. In particular, he found the notion of making the Civilian Conservation Corps a permanent institution tantamount to "denying initiative" and "crushing incentive and individualism." To establish a "perpetual Army of American boys" would be "devastatingly unfair" and "invidiously discriminating." "Furthermore," he said, "it will engender hatred and strife and breed all isms except Americanism. It is an insult to the intelligence of the upstanding, red-blooded, self-respecting young men of America."¹ Although Plumley's statement was not an unique expression of Republican sentiment in the late 1930's, the C.C.C.'s recognized accomplishments and wide acceptance in Vermont suggest that the Congressman's constituency may not have been as insulted as he imagined. Even the *Burlington Free Press*, then not known for its support of Roosevelt and his New Deal, took exception to his remarks and instead proclaimed the C.C.C. "the most popular and most justifiable of the various forms of unemployment relief which the Roosevelt administration set up."²

Evidence indicates that Vermonters found the C.C.C. both justifiable and popular. The young enrollees improved forests, parks, ski areas and roads and completed dozens of other tasks, work which "put Vermont's state recreational development ahead by 50 years."³ The program established at least two dozen C.C.C. camps in Vermont (a disproportionately large number)⁴ and placed millions of federal dollars into the state's sagging economy.⁵ Vermont was among the first states in the nation to take advantage of this program enacted

during the first "Hundred Days" of the Roosevelt administration. While many communities in other states fought efforts to locate Black C.C.C. units in their communities,⁶ East Barre welcomed an all-Black detachment, "and when these colored veterans departed on December 4, 1934 for Virginia, they took with them the well wishes of the people of Vermont."⁷

For hundreds of young Vermont men, and thousands of others across the country, the C.C.C. offered a glimmer of hope during the depths of the Depression, a chance to learn a skill and gain employment. When the program began in 1933, more than 23,000 Vermont men were unemployed.⁸ "They were hungry. They were emaciated," recalled Perry H. Merrill of Montpelier, former State Forester and C.C.C. director in Vermont. When walking from his mayor's office in Montpelier, he said, "I'd get up the street and somebody'd halt me and say, 'So and so's got some oranges today. Why can't I get some?' People didn't have anything — no jobs, no money to buy with."⁹

The state's disastrous flood of November 2, 1927, was also on the minds of many. Eighty-four Vermonters had lost their lives, and property damage reached thirty million dollars.¹⁰ The devastating flood and difficult economic times dealt Vermont a double blow. The small and fiercely independent state attempted to repair the flood damage on its own and voted against Roosevelt in four presidential elections, including 1936 when it was joined by only Maine in opposition. Yet Vermont welcomed those New Deal programs which were consistent with its values just as enthusiastically as it opposed others.

Hundreds of World War I veterans signed up with the Bonus Army, which operated much like the C.C.C., and poured into the state in August 1933 to prepare for work on three Winooski valley flood control dams at Wrightsville, East Barre and Waterbury, which was more than a third of a mile wide, one of the largest earth fill dams in New England.¹¹ And hundreds of others, aged 18 to 25, were recruited to work at C.C.C. camps scattered about the state. Most of them knew little or nothing about the woods when they arrived; many were city boys from Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New York.¹²

They accomplished much, often working in sub-zero temperatures and in trying conditions which resembled those they faced later on the battlefields of Europe or Pacific jungles.¹³ They were not always model citizens. C.C.C. enrollees sometimes engaged in strikes, missed bed checks, damaged vehicles and property and deserted their companies.¹⁴ But they also risked, and lost, their lives trying to save the lives of others or trying to prevent flood or forest fire damage.¹⁵ Local girls seemed to welcome their frequent and popular dances.¹⁶ Ultimately they earned the respect of civic groups, politicians and editorial writers. "The CCC has served the state well," *The Brat-*



The C.C.C. enrollees worked in all weather and were a familiar sight clearing snow from Vermont roads. Courtesy of Charles Lord, Stowe, Vermont.

tleboro Reformer concluded. "It has improved innumerable state forest areas; it has fought forest pests on privately owned timber land; it has constructed flood control dams; it has built lookout towers and in times of emergency the boys have done such creditable public service that we are hard put to remember where we looked for aid before there was any CCC."¹⁷ Similarly, former United States Senator George D. Aiken, Vermont's outspoken governor from 1937 to 1941, seldom, if ever, criticized the Corps' work in Vermont, and four decades later his recollections of the program are uniformly positive. "The C.C.C. was one of the federal agencies or programs I approved of heartily here," and he added finally, "maybe it's because they worked in the woods. I liked the woods."¹⁸

Governor Aiken's attitude toward the woods and the C.C.C. may have contributed to the facility with which the program developed in Vermont. The program's director in Vermont, although responsible to state and federal officials, had wide latitude to acquire sites and initiate forestry projects.¹⁹ Merrill cannot recall the Governor's telephoning him with significant "concerns" about the administration of the program. His account of project selection contrasts sharply with modern bureaucratic procedures. "I laid down all the projects myself," he explained. "We had survey maps. I purchased the areas. I walked all over them. I knew the terrain." Then

"I took a map, drew a line from here to there, and said, 'I want a road from here to there,' like through the Groton Forest, ten or twelve miles. 'I want a road through here. Down here, I want a road going here. I want a bathing beach here. I want a picnic area there. I want a camping area here'." ²⁰ With an expansive gesture of Merrill's finger across a survey map of Vermont, the C.C.C. began work on a project.

Administration of the C.C.C. was not quite as uncomplicated and free of bureaucracy as Merrill remembers. Only five days after President Roosevelt created the program by signing the Emergency Conservation Work Act on March 31, 1933, a council was formed to advise the program's national director and coordinate federal agencies cooperating in the program's development. ²¹ The Cabinet level Departments of Agriculture, War, Interior and Labor all had representation on the council, and each had special pre-assigned functions. Labor was directed to select the men for enrollment; War was to enroll, feed, clothe, house, and condition the men and transport them to the camps; Agriculture and Interior, through their various bureaus, had the responsibility to select work projects, supervise the work, and administer the camps. ²²

In practice, Vermont's director, Merrill, designated projects and sites in cooperation with the Agriculture Department, the United States Forest Service, the National Park Service and the C.C.C.'s national headquarters in Washington. ²³ In some cases, approval for Vermont's C.C.C. projects and camps came from the highest authorities, including the program's national director, Robert Fechner, and even President Roosevelt. ²⁴ Both the President and his wife, Eleanor, visited C.C.C. project sites in Vermont. ²⁵

The United States Army, with responsibility for enrolling, housing, feeding and disciplining the men, formed a second administrative structure. The Army organized enrollees into companies of about 200 men at each campsite, ²⁶ often under the command of young officers with the rank of lieutenant or captain. Vermont companies formed part of the Second C.C.C. District of the First Corps Area, comprised of the six New England states and commanded by Major General Fox Conner. ²⁷

With the organization of the Second C.C.C. District on May 18, 1933, Fort Ethan Allen in Colchester, Vermont, was designated district headquarters. The fort was also one of the Army posts selected as an enrollee processing center. At the outset the Second C.C.C. District included only camps in Vermont, but it later expanded to include camps in New Hampshire. ²⁸

All C.C.C. companies in Vermont were part of the Second District with the exception of the World War I veteran's Bonus Army camps in Barre, Montpelier and Middlesex. Organized and operated entirely by military commanders, the Bonus Army camps were in the Sixth District with headquarters in Montpelier. They had the tasks of construc-

ting three flood control dams and completing other flood abatement projects in the Winooski River valley.²⁹ "The sixth C.C.C. District claimed the unique distinction of being composed entirely of war veterans," according to their Yearbook. "Twenty-nine companies, with an approximate strength of 5,000 men, recruited from Maine to Virginia, were sent into the district in July and August 1933. These companies were commanded by officers of the Army, Navy and Marine Corps, both Regular and Reserve."³⁰

Thus, two basic administrative channels or command chains controlled the work. Campsites, forestry and conservation projects were selected by Merrill, and, if approved by the appropriate federal authorities, managed by the foresters and technicians he helped select and supervise. Logistical and administrative support, such as food, housing, and the day-to-day supervision of the men, except when they were working on forestry or conservation projects, was provided by the military. The division of authority and responsibility did not apply to the Sixth C.C.C. District where the military assumed responsibility for all of the veterans' work, welfare and supervision.

In many ways, the camps resembled small military posts, with wooden-frame, one-story "barracks," small assembly areas, central flag poles, mess halls and dispensaries. They were generally located in remote, rural areas of the state, near parks or forests. Merrill identified a site located on private land in Bellows Falls and numbered P-54 as the first Vermont camp. Bellows Falls Company 119 arrived at the site June 6, 1933, and disbanded two and one-half years later on January 13, 1936.³¹ However, the *Burlington Free Press* reported June 5, 1933, a day before the Bellows Falls Company arrived, that the "first" C.C.C. camp in the state was established by the 166th and 167th companies in Danby at the base of Peru Mountain. "424 Bronzed and Husky Lads," announced the headline, "Work in First of Vt.'s CCC's."³²

Although Fechner, Merrill and other former C.C.C. officials and enrollees downplayed the military discipline and procedures of the C.C.C., camp life sometimes approximated the harsh, extreme conditions of a military, and even wartime, environment. In February 1934, for example, 200 C.C.C. enrollees were marooned by snow at a camp in Groton, where temperatures often reached 40 below.³³ In the summer, opposite conditions prevailed. In August 1935, the 167 men of St. Albans' 1134th Company were "housed in tents on an area which . . . resembled a sea of mud due to heavy rains."

Few of the C.C.C. enrollees came from well-to-do families. The program aimed to assist the economically disadvantaged. The state Poor Department and its local overseers determined candidates' financial eligibility for the C.C.C.³⁴ But eligibility requirements were not always strictly adhered to. Charles Lord of Stowe, a highway engineer assigned to the staff of several Vermont camps, recalled that



They worked on suntans as well as the project during a sunny day in the early spring. Courtesy of Charles Lord, Stowe, Vermont.

"a rich kid couldn't get into the CC's — let's put it that way — unless he pulled strings." Walter Godfrey of Underhill enrolled at the age of sixteen, two years below the specified minimum.³⁵

Enrollees earned thirty dollars per month, about twenty-five dollars of which was sent home to their families or, if no parents survived, held in an escrow account for distribution upon separation. Enrollees signed up for an initial six month tour of duty and were eligible for additional six month re-enlistments. Godfrey served in the C.C.C. from October 8, 1936 to April 2, 1939, separating as an assistant leader. He rejoined the corps April 19, 1940 and served until April 29, 1941, when he separated as a leader/truck driver.³⁶ Leaders supervised subgroups of men assigned to a company numbering about 200. Responsible for the men's work at a project site as well as their behavior during off-duty hours, the leaders reported to a camp superintendent, responsible for work projects undertaken by the company, and to camp commanders, military officers, responsible for the welfare of the men in the company while they were in camp.³⁷

Typically, a C.C.C. enrollee's day began with reveille at six o'clock in the morning. After cleaning and policing the barracks, the company assembled in formation for roll call at seven. Breakfast followed in a mess hall, with the men seated at tables and benches similar to picnic tables in state parks. At eight o'clock the company was reformed and their military commanders turned them over to the C.C.C. supervisors, leaders and staff. "Local Experienced Men" (LEMs), men familiar with forestry, conservation, roadwork, tools and heavy equipment assisted the staff.³⁸ These men provided valuable instruction to the new recruits, most of whom had never worked in the woods before.

As the program first got under way in the spring and summer months of 1933, the hundreds of enrollees who entered Vermont created tremendous confusion at some campsites, especially where the necessary tools were not available. "In the beginning there was turmoil." The C.C.C. "dumped all these guys [in the state] and said, 'There they are — do something with them.' They were running around like hens with their heads cut off until they found something to do for them." Charles Lord and others responsible for supervising this avalanche of manpower frantically looked for projects which could "be cooked up over night." Thinking of a project in Waterbury, Lord remembers that for "the first few days there were fifty men working on it and tools for only twenty-five. It was chaos caused by all these men being thrust upon you."³⁹ Quickly the leaders made order out of chaos. In less than a month and certainly by the end of 1933, "things were on an organized basis." Whatever its initial problems, the C.C.C. managed to build bridges, roads, dams, power lines, guard rails, stone walls, fireplaces, springs, reservoirs, trails, channels, levies and even latrines.⁴⁰

The skills learned in the C.C.C. camps were readily transferred to the requirements of the United States Army during World War II and civilian jobs. Courtesy of Charles Lord, Stowe, Vermont.



The enrollees built 105 miles of roads in Vermont from 1933 to 1942.⁴¹ In work done under United States Forest Service supervision alone, and with a precise measurement which mimicked their military character, they improved 35,038 acres of forest, constructed 119,227 square yards of parking area and parking overlooks, stocked ponds and waterways with 214,500 fish, completed timber estimating on 278,660 acres and controlled tree insects and pests on 1.03 million acres.⁴² The control of insects and other forest pests formed a major C.C.C. activity, and they recorded anti-pest programs in the fashion of military yearbooks complete with military detail. The 1179th Company of Wilmington, for example, claimed to have scouted 22,460 acres, and then reported exactly “30,967 Gypsy Moth Egg Clusters” destroyed and “24,715 caterpillars crushed,” and “28 pupae” killed.⁴³

At other times, the C.C.C. enrollees worked on their own facilities, building permanent barracks to replace tents, painting murals on walls, drilling wells, building laundries, libraries and other structures, and caring for the walks in their encampments. Typically, yearbook accounts describe the men as pleased with their work, both on and off the campsite. One account of the 1143th Company in Rochester fighting a “raging” forest fire, went on to note offhandedly that “aside from fatigue and the thrill of this new experience nothing unusual took place.”⁴⁴

The C.C.C. enrollees were generally happy with their experiences. Officials and former enrollees in Vermont praised the program, but they also acknowledged that there were strikes, desertions and other manifestations of discontent. Walter Godfrey recalled that a group of about fifteen men from the 1135th Company in Underhill struck and refused to work on a winter project in nearby Essex, when “they figured it was too cold to work, and they went on strike.” The camp

commander dismissed all but four of the strikers and ordered them to return home on the next available train.⁴⁵ On December 1, 1936, the *Burlington Free Press* reported that 100 C.C.C. enrollees had struck for better food.⁴⁶ Only four months after the first C.C.C. camps were established in Vermont, the newspaper reported in October, 1933, that 1,000 men had left camps in Barre and Montpelier and that twenty percent of these had left "at their request."⁴⁷ In later reports the *Free Press* claimed that there was a shortage of 500 men to work on the Little River flood control project in July, 1936, and that state quotas for "junior" C.C.C. enrollees went unfilled in October, 1936, and January, 1937.⁴⁸ Because of low enrollments the camps at North Shrewsbury and North Thetford had to close in May, 1937, five years before the program ended.⁴⁹

The low enrollments, especially toward the end of the program as the country prepared for war, may not reflect negative attitudes toward the C.C.C. Some enrollees left the program for better job opportunities, and Vermont's difficult working conditions discouraged some of the C.C.C. men from the South and from the cities. Senator Aiken recalls a story that suggests the Black detachment had particular problems with the cold Vermont winter. One of them, according to the story, "went to the boss one day, said, 'I'm goin' home.' 'What are you going home for?' 'I'm going' home to get warm — too many belows up here: five below, ten below, fifteen below.'"⁵⁰ In a poem he entitled "The Whip" Theodore Passmore of the 198th Company in Northfield described a C.C.C. forester who treated the men sternly, but in the end he is hailed because, "He means all right toward us — his humble slaves."⁵¹

C.C.C. officials made frequent use of camp publications to counter negative attitudes and to encourage enrollees to continue working. An unsigned editorial entitled, "Does This Mean You?," admonished the enrollees at Ft. Ethan Allen in January, 1936, that "the end of the enrollment period is drawing near, and many of the fellows are thinking of entering civilian life, job or no job." These men, continued the editorial lecture, are "deceiving themselves," if they think they can find jobs easily. "A fellow that gets out now with the expectation of getting a job right away is going to wish that he was right back in the C.C.C. before a month . . . So where's your percentage in getting out, fellows, without a job in view? Think it over thoroughly before taking any drastic steps later."⁵² This and other editorials tended toward the fatherly. The moralistic, advisory and patronizing tone of editorials and letters from C.C.C. officials printed in camp publications were apparently designed to encourage continued enrollment as well as to give sound advice to the supposedly inexperienced young men.

The camp publications and company yearbooks also revealed the activities and interests of the men during their off-duty hours. After a

Time out for lunch near Lake Mansfield about 1939. Courtesy of Charles Lord, Stowe, Vermont.



day's work, the enrollees typically returned to their barracks about four o'clock, showered and ate supper. Then they could relax in recreation rooms, often equipped with pool tables, attend classes on a myriad of subjects, participate in athletics or visit nearby communities. Walter Godfrey recalled that on pay day the men of the 1135th Company of Underhill often wagered their month's earnings, or gambled with cigarettes earned for maintaining a neat barracks bed. "It was quite a place on pay day, they'd be gambling and mostly one guy would end up with everything. . . . They'd play poker and blackjack at night to get more cigarettes. A lot of guys smoked in those days. About every guy there smoked."⁵³

Some men skipped out at night to visit girlfriends in Burlington and other communities. The leaders "took bed check about ten or ten-thirty," and sometimes "a little later than that." If most of the leaders did the same as Walter Godfrey, they "used to take it pretty fast," and never really "check the beds." The leaders themselves enjoyed an occasional night on the town. "There was a lot of times," Godfrey admitted, "I went out and never checked out. The leaders took care of each other."⁵⁴

Residents of communities near the C.C.C. camps often shared an interest with the enrollees and their activities. Boxing matches and baseball games attracted large crowds. Basketball, wrestling, swimming and woodsmen's contests were also popular. The boxing matches were sometimes held in town halls, and in places such as Essex Center they were packed full more than once. The 1148th Company in Danby held 18 dances at its camp in one year, attended, "not only by



Road construction required tons of gravel. Courtesy of Charles Lord, Stowe, Vermont.

the younger people of Danby, but by their parents and grandparents.” Townspeople were also invited to attend movies at the camp and nine Danby girls participated in a company variety show.⁵⁵

If camp relations with the local community were as good statewide as they appear to have been in Danby, there was an apparent willingness by the general public to tolerate a certain amount of misbehavior by the “hardy lads” that invaded Vermont. According to the *Burlington Free Press*, a rash of unhappy incidents occurred in May and June of 1936. Headlines in that period included: “CCC Camp Man Arrested on Breach of Peace Charge; CCC Enrollee Is Killed Under Wheel of Truck; Truck Leaves Road, CCC Man Killed;” and, later in 1936, “Two CCC Men In County Jail [for driving while intoxicated and stealing an automobile];” and “Danby Man Fatally Injured When Hit By CCC Truck.”⁵⁶

C.C.C. officials were very conscious of the importance of local support, and they tried to discipline their men. On February 28, 1941, the “Coolidge Rambler,” a camp newspaper published by the 145th Company in Plymouth, printed an indignant editorial about the conduct of some C.C.C. men following church services. One enrollee, it related, “had whistled and given a sly remark to every girl that passed by. On top of this he made himself known to everyone by his raucous laughter and talking.” The outraged editorial characterized the incident as “disgusting” and urged other members of the company to

show the townspeople "that we can become one of them if we want to."⁵⁷ Although it is difficult to ascertain fully the local and state reaction to these reported incidents, C.C.C. officials and others generally regarded them as isolated occurrences, outweighed by the corps' positive accomplishments. George Aiken, whose remarks often spoke for the state, did not "recall that we had a great deal of difficulty with the C.C.C. camps as far as lawlessness and crime went."⁵⁸

Certainly, many people were probably impressed by the collective and individual deeds of the C.C.C. enrollees. Their efforts to fight severe flooding in March, 1936, are repeatedly mentioned in company yearbooks and news reports.⁵⁹ Owen Goodnoo, a member of the 1143rd Company in Rochester, drowned March 27, 1936, while attempting to recover the bodies of two children lost in flood-swollen waters.⁶⁰ Vermont newspapers often dramatized the work of the C.C.C. enrollees. The *Free Press* carried a headline over a routine story, "Outstanding CCC Unit Clears Dam Site of Homes."⁶¹ The *Free Press* often added a "kicker line" above its headlines: "With The CCCs."⁶² The tone of the headlines and reports foreshadowed uncritical and enthusiastic World War II combat reports from the front lines.

The Vermont C.C.C.s achieved records that often stood out in the New England region. In 1933, a C.C.C. camp in Montpelier was judged the best of 126 camps in the six state region.⁶³ The 1135th Company in Underhill managed New England's first soil conservation project.⁶⁴ The C.C.C.'s constructed the first ski trail on



Summer camp at Mt. Philo, Charlotte, Vermont. Courtesy of Charles Lord, Stowe, Vermont.

Mount Mansfield, and they also improved the Long Trail to the benefit of thousands of hikers.⁶⁵ In neighboring communities they raised funds for hospitals and other organizations.⁶⁶

Along with help for local institutions, the federally funded C.C.C. camps represented an economic stimulus to the communities. Construction projects provided work for local carpenters, masons and other skilled workers. When barracks replaced temporary tents in the fall of 1933, the C.C.C. placed an order for fifty million feet of lumber for C.C.C. camps in New England, "the largest order ever placed by the Army in the region as of that time."⁶⁷

Despite the coverage in camp publications, yearbooks and the newspapers, there was little indication of the treatment of the C.C.C.'s Black enrollees or the way Vermont, with a miniscule Black population, responded. For the most part, the program integrated Blacks with the predominantly white companies in Vermont. The few Blacks in the 1135th Company of Underhill were treated just like any other white guy — no different."⁶⁸ There were entirely Black units which worked on flood control projects on the Winooski River. The Army's Sixth CCC District "Yearbook" presented a stereotyped picture of one of these units, the 1351st Company from Virginia. "Humor, spontaneous and unaffected, is always the dominant trait of the Negro," according to an account, written in 1937. Sunny Winston, of the 1105th Colored Detachment and one of the 1351st pioneers, related the following conversation which took place as his company entrained from Ft. Devens, Massachusetts on the first of July, 1933.

" 'Where do we go from here?' asked one of the colored vets.

" 'To East Barre, Vermont,' came the reply.

" 'How far is that from the German line?' persisted the vet.

" 'The war is over,' said the Captain.

" 'I'm glad of that,' " said the colored man, as he climbed aboard."

On the following morning the train arrived at the railroad station in Barre "while the natives stood around with wide eyes and open mouths, amazed at the unexpected sight before them. Three hundred colored veterans stepped from the train, lined up at attention before their commanding officer . . . Most of the children had never seen a colored man before."⁶⁹

Despite the generally favorable impression of the C.C.C. held by Aiken and others, opposition to a "permanent" C.C.C. developed in Vermont in 1937, about the same time that it developed in other rural Republican states. Congressman Plumley supported a temporary C.C.C. but emphatically opposed efforts to make the program permanent. The *Burlington Free Press* supported him, but took exception to his criticism of the corps and labeled the program both popular and justifiable.⁷⁰ To men like Walter Godfrey, Charles Lord



Mess hall at side camp on Mount Mansfield now used as a state ski dormitory. Courtesy of Charles Lord, Stowe, Vermont.

and Perry Merrill, the C.C.C. needed little justification. It was enough that it changed their own and many other lives for the better. Godfrey remembers it as “a great thing,” and thinks the country “should have something similar to it today.” For him it was the equivalent of going to high school as “your high school then was a lot different than it is today.”⁷¹

Charles Lord said the economic climate was so dismal that Vermonters overlooked the fact that the C.C.C. was a federal program developed by a President they voted against four times. They did their best to maintain the tradition of independence, “but you can’t eat it. You can’t live on it. There comes a point when you throw your scruples out the door. You line up accordingly.” And Lord has no regrets about his engineering work for the C.C.C., “because it was a job. It had an appeal to me because it was outdoors — forests, roads. It was my line of work,” a man “grabbed anything in those days.”⁷²

Thousands of young men thought and acted the same way. They earned money for their families, learned how to use tools and equipment in the forests, and kept themselves busy in the midst of the Depression. In some ways, the C.C.C. prepared these young men for far greater responsibilities, for the coming of the Second Great War. “Why we had more bulldozers than the Highway Department had,” according to Merrill, “and those fellows that learned to run the trac-



"Ranch Camp" enrollees pose in November 1933. The conditions were often crude, but spirit was generally high. Courtesy of Charles Lord, Stowe, Vermont.

tor-bulldozers, when 'forty-one came, . . . were running tanks in France. There were a lot of them that were using jackhammers, drilling and blasting, and probably these same fellows used their roadwork experience." Merrill ascribed "a lot of the vitality, force and knowledge that had been learned and garnered in the C.C.C. — that went a long ways, producing an Army that was physically fit and mentally alert."⁷³ The Civilian Conservation Corps provided training and steady employment for thousands during the Great Depression, and while the skills the men learned were easily transferred to the needs of the war effort in the 1940's, their efforts in Vermont helped lay the foundations of the state's post-war tourist industry.

NOTES

¹*Burlington Free Press* (hereafter *BFP*), May 15, 1937, p. 6.

²*Ibid.*

³Perry H. Merrill, *History of Forestry in Vermont, 50th Anniversary, 1909-1959* (Vermont Department of Forests and Parks, 1959), p. 63.

⁴The exact number of Vermont camps is uncertain. Merrill's *History of Forestry* lists twenty-four camps formed and disbanded at various times between June 6, 1933, and June 14, 1942. John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967), p. 84, reports that Vermont had thirty-seven camps on June 30, 1935 (twenty-first in the nation). Among the possible explanations for the differing figures are that the camps did not operate continuously during the entire nine-year life of the program, causing constant changes in their total number, that some camps were renamed and others were identified with differing communities or landmarks in newspaper accounts, that some camps or C.C.C. companies changed locations, and lastly, that some companies established "side camps," or smaller, temporary encampments for short term projects. Although the latter were not listed as "camps" in Merrill's history or company yearbooks, some have been described as such in newspaper accounts.

⁵*BFP*, September 1, 1933, p. 4.

⁶John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, pp. 92-94.

⁷Arthur O'Hara, Literary Editor, "Year Book, Sixth District, First Corps Area, Civilian Conservation Corps," 1937, p. 17.

⁸The First Earlham College Vermont Off Campus Study Group, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Vermont, A Study of Camp Calvin Coolidge, Plymouth, Vermont," unpublished manuscript, Vermont Department of Libraries, Montpelier, Vermont, 1970, p. 34.

⁹Interview with Perry H. Merrill, Montpelier, Vermont, March 2, 1977.

¹⁰O'Hara, "Year Book," p. 5.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹²Interview with Merrill; Second C.C.C. District, First Corps Area, District Headquarters, Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont, "Official Annual-1937," in the possession of Walter Godfrey, Underhill, Vermont. C.C.C. company rosters contained in this annual show home states for enrollees.

¹³Interview with Merrill; interview with Charles Lord, Stowe, Vermont, March 1977.

¹⁴*BFP*, May 25-June 8, 1936; interview with Merrill; and interview with Lord.

¹⁵*BFP*, October 29, 1936, p. ; Second C.C.C. District, "Official Annual-1937," p. 91.

¹⁶Second C.C.C. District, "Official Annual-1937," p. 101.

¹⁷*The Brattleboro Reformer*, March 24, 1937, p. 7.

¹⁸Interview with Senator George D. Aiken, Putney, Vermont, February 17, 1977.

¹⁹Interview with Merrill.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, pp. 30-31.

²²*Ibid.*

²³Interview with Merrill.

²⁴*BFP*, June 5, 1933, p. 8; May 8, 1933, p. 2; and April 21, 1936, p. 2.

²⁵*Ibid.*, August 1, 1936; July 11, 1933, p. 2.

²⁶Second C.C.C. District, "Official Annual-1937," company rosters.

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 7 and 20.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁹*Ibid.*; O'Hara, "Year Book," p. 5.

³⁰O'Hara, "Year Book," p. 5.

³¹Merrill, *History of Forestry*, pp. 63-65.

³²*BFP*, June 5, 1933, p. 2.

³³*Ibid.*, February 27, 1934, p. 2.

³⁴Interview with Walter Godfrey, Underhill, Vermont, February 10, 1977; Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, p. 30.

³⁵Interview with Godfrey.

³⁶Interview with Godfrey; interview with Merrill.

³⁷Interview with Godfrey.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹Interview with Lord.

⁴⁰Second C.C.C. District, "Official Annual-1937," company histories.

⁴¹Merrill, *History of Forestry*, p. 65.

⁴²Letter to Merrill from U.S. Forest Service, Washington, D.C.

⁴³Second C.C.C. District, "Official Annual," p. 119.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 91.



Lunch time for the survey party working out of the C.C.C. Camp at Underhill, Vermont, circa 1938. The spaniel, "Bozo", was not listed on the official roster. Courtesy of Charles Lord, Stowe, Vermont.

⁴⁵Interview with Godfrey.

⁴⁶*BFP*, December 1, 1936, p. 1.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, October 1, 1933, p. 2.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, July 3, 1936, p. 2 and October 9, 1936, p. 2.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, May 15, 1937, p. 2.

⁵⁰Interview with Aiken.

⁵¹"The OS & D," 198th C.C.C. Company of Northfield, Vermont camp newspaper, June 1936.

⁵²"The Champlain Journal," 118th and 170th C.C.C. Companies camp newspaper at Fort Ethan Allen, Colchester, Vermont, January 1936.

⁵³Interview with Godfrey.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵Second C.C.C. District, "Official Annual-1937," p. 101.

⁵⁶*BFP*, May 25-June 8, 1936.

⁵⁷"The Coolidge Rambler," 145th Company of Plymouth, Vermont camp newspaper, February 28, 1941.

⁵⁸Interview with Aiken.

⁵⁹*BFP*, July 20, 1934, p. 2 and October 29, 1936, p. 3; Second C.C.C. District, "Official Annual-1937."

⁶⁰Second C.C.C. District, "Official Annual-1937," p. 91.

⁶¹*BFP*, September 2, 1933, p. 2.

⁶²*Ibid.*, October 10, 1933, p. 2.

⁶³*Ibid.*, August 31, 1933, p. 2.

⁶⁴Second C.C.C. District, "Official Annual-1937."

⁶⁵Interview with Lord.

⁶⁶Second C.C.C. District, "Official Annual-1937," company histories; camp newspapers.

⁶⁷*BFP*, September 1, 1933, p. 4.

⁶⁸Interview with Godfrey.

⁶⁹O'Hara, "Year Book," p. 17.

⁷⁰*BFP*, May 15, 1937, p. 6.

⁷¹Interview with Godfrey.

⁷²Interview with Lord.

⁷³Interview with Merrill.

Table No. 1
Tentative List of Vermont C.C.C. Camps

Key To Sources

1. *Burlington Free Press*
2. Map prepared by Professor Frank H. Armstrong, Department of Forestry, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.
3. Perry H. Merrill, *History of Forestry in Vermont, 50th Anniversary, 1909-1959* (Vermont Department of Forests and Parks, 1959).
4. Map and list in *1135th Company Yearbook* in the possession of Walter Godfrey, Underhill, Vermont.
5. Second C.C.C. District, First Corps Area, District Headquarters, Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont, "Official Annual — 1937," in the possession of Walter Godfrey, Underhill, Vermont.
6. List prepared by Arthur Heitman, Vermont State Forester, in the possession of Professor Frank H. Armstrong, Department of Forestry, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.

LOCATION	SOURCE	NOTES
Aitken	6	veterans camp
Ascutney	1, 2, 3	may be same as Windsor, Okemo
Barre	1, 2	may be same as East Barre
Bellows Falls	1, 2, 4, 5, 6	confirmed campsite
Bethel	3, 5, 6	confirmed campsite
Brunswick	3, 6	confirmed campsite
Camel's Hump	1	probably a side camp
Cuttingsville	5	confirmed campsite
Danby	1, 2, 3, 5	confirmed campsite
East Barre	1, 6	U.S. Army Corps campsite
East Burke	1, 3	probably a campsite, but may be same as West Burke
East Wallingford	1, 4, 5	confirmed campsite
East Windsor	1, 5	may be same as Windsor
Elmore	3	confirmed campsite
Ft. Ethan Allen	5	two companies here, used for processing C.C.C. enrollees sent throughout state; confirmed site
Lyndonville	5	confirmed campsite
Ludlow	6	probable campsite
Marshfield	1, 3, 5	confirmed campsite
Mendon	1, 3	confirmed campsite
Middlesex	1, 6	U.S. Army Corps campsite
Milton	1	may be same as Sand Bar, listed by Merrill's <i>History of Forestry</i>
Montpelier	1	possibly a U.S. Army Corps site
Moscow	4, 5	Waterbury camp or company was relocated at Moscow

Mount Mansfield	5	side camp
Mount Philo	1, 5, 6	side camp
Northfield	1, 2, 3, 5, 6	
North Shrewsbury	1, 3	confirmed campsite appears to be the same as Cuttingsville
North Stratford	1, 4	confirmed campsite
North Thetford	1, 3, 6, 5	confirmed campsite
Okemo	1	probably same as Ludlow
Plymouth	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	confirmed campsite
Poultney	1, 4, 6	probable campsite
Proctorsville	1, 2, 3	eventually relocated at Lyndonville; a confirmed campsite.
Putnamsville	1	may be same as Wrightsville
Rickers Mills	1, 2, 3, 5, 6	confirmed campsite
Rochester	1, 4, 5	confirmed campsite
Rutland	1	may be same as Mendon
St. Albans	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	confirmed campsite
Salt Ash	6	
Sand Bar	1, 3	same as Milton
Sharon	1, 2, 3	confirmed campsite
Shrewsbury	5	see North Shrewsbury
Smugglers Notch	1, 6	probable side camp
Townsend	1, 2	probable campsite
Underhill Center	3, 4, 5, 6	confirmed campsite
Waterbury	1, 5, 6	confirmed campsite
Westminster	1, 2	probable campsite
West Burke	1, 2, 3, 4	confirmed campsite, but may be same as East Burke
Weston	1, 3	confirmed campsite
Willoughby	1, 2, 3	confirmed campsite
Wilmington	3, 5, 6	confirmed campsite
Windsor	3, 5	confirmed campsite
Wrightsville	1	U.S. Army Corps campsite