

**A NARRATIVE HISTORY OF THE
CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS AT
CHIRICAHUA NATIONAL MONUMENT,
COCHISE COUNTY, ARIZONA**



Labor Day Celebration at Massai Point, 3 September 1934. Photograph courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration - Rocky Mountain Region, Denver, CO.

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MONUMENT, COCHISE COUNTY, ARIZONA**

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PROJECT OVERVIEW

This research report, intended to serve as background material for the National Park Service and to assist in interpretative, management, and policy decisions, examines the history and activities of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) at Chiricahua National Monument in Cochise County, Arizona. Located in the southeast corner of the state, in the northwestern portion of Coronado National Forest, the national monument is approximately 37 miles southeast of Willcox and 124 miles southeast of Tucson. Established on 18 April 1924 with 4,480 acres, Chiricahua National Monument was subsequently enlarged in 1938, 1978, and 1984. Today, the 11,985-acre national monument includes the majority of the following areas: sections 18, 19, 30, 31, and 32, T.16S., R.30E.; sections 13, 24, 25, and 36, T.16S., R.29 1/2E.; sections 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 35, and 36, T.16S., R.29E.; sections 1 and 2, T.17S., R.29E.; section 1, T.17S., R.29 1/2E.; and sections 5 and 6, T.17S., R.30E., all in the Gila and Salt River Baseline and Meridian (USGS Cochise Head, Ariz. 7.5', 1979; USGS Rustler Park, Ariz. 7.5', 1978). Faraway Ranch, a historic structure and ranch located within the current national monument boundaries, is the only surveyed historic archaeological site; however, several prehistoric archaeological features [AZ CC:15:13-27 (ASM)] and [AZ FF3:11-14 (ASM)] have been recorded.¹ This study, intended to be used in conjunction with a Chiricahua National Monument landscape study currently under preparation, examines the archival and secondary sources relating to the CCC and provides a narrative history of its presence at the national monument. Specifically, the report focuses on the six-year period between 1934 and 1940, when enrollees of Company 828 lived and worked at

¹ *Statement for Management: Chiricahua National Monument* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1987), 1-6; Louis Torres and Mark Baumler, *Historic Structure Report Historical and Archeological Data Sections: A History of the Buildings and Structures of Faraway Ranch, Chiricahua National Monument* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1984), 207-220; and Sharon Urban, 11 June 2001, transcript in author's possession. See also "Chiricahua National Monument, Arizona," 1952, Park Brochures, Folder 13, Box 1, Administrative Correspondence, Chiricahua National Monument, Archival Record Group 4, Museum Collections Repository, Western Archeological and Conservation Center, Tucson, AZ (hereafter cited as AC, CNM, ARG 4, MCR, WACC, Tucson).

Camp NM-2-A (later Camp NP-9-A). Broader discussions on the impact of the New Deal in Arizona and the organizational structure of the CCC are also included as introductory material. The report places special emphasis on a number of research questions: How was Cochise County influenced by the Great Depression and subsequent New Deal? What factors brought the CCC to Chiricahua National Monument? What significant improvements were constructed by the CCC during their six-year tenure? What problems and/or difficulties did the CCC face at Chiricahua National Monument? Who were the typical enrollees, where were they from, and how were their days spent? Finally, what is the overall significance of the CCC vis-à-vis Arizona and the Southwest?

ARCHIVES CONSULTED

This study is based on archival and secondary material located at a number of important Arizona repositories, including, but not limited to, the History and Archives Division, Department of Library, Archives and Public Records, State of Arizona; the Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Arizona State University; the Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service; the Mesa Family History Center; and the vertical files at Chiricahua National Monument. Outside of Arizona, the holdings of the National Archives at College Park in College Park, MD, the National Archives and Records Administration - Pacific Southwest Region in Laguna Niguel, CA and the National Archives and Records Administration - Rocky Mountain Region in Denver, CO were utilized.² The latter archive, which contains a wealth of primary material, was visited during a four-day research trip in April-May 1998. All of these collections were further supplemented by microfilmed newspapers, which were accessed via Interlibrary Loan from the Center for Research Libraries located in Chicago, IL. Finally, special thanks are reserved for Alan Cox, Alan G. Whalon, Kathrine Neilsen, Suzanne Moody, and Bob Black, at Chiricahua National Monument, who provided kind advice and assistance, and Dr. Robert L. Spude, at the National Park Service, Southwest Support Office, in Santa Fe, NM, who waited patiently for the completion of this report.

² For a discussion of pertinent record groups see Harold T. Pinkett, "Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Civilian Conservation Corps," (Washington, D.C.: The National Archives, 1948), 2-9 and Edward E.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Natural Resources of Chiricahua National Monument

Often described as a “wonderland of rocks,” the natural landscape of Chiricahua National Monument was formed more than twenty-seven million years ago.³ Ten miles south of the natural monument, at what is today known as the Turkey Creek caldera, volcanic eruptions blanketed the area with a 2,000-foot layer of volcanic rock, known as rhyolite, and at the same time formed the massive Chiricahua Mountains.⁴ Then, over millions of years, erosion from water, wind, and ice, sculpted the rhyolite into odd shapes and rock forms. Some of the massive weathered stone columns and pinnacles and balanced rocks and spires have been affectionately named: “Punch & Judy,” “Duck on a Rock,” “Totem Pole,” and “Mushroom Rock.”⁵ The cool forests that surround the rock formations are home to a variety of fauna and wildlife and numerous rare birds.⁶ During the historic period, as the United States sought to force Native Americans onto reservations in an effort to protect an expanding frontier settlement, the surrounding region played a significant role during the Apache Wars. In fact, Geronimo surrendered in Skeleton Canyon, east of the Chiricahua Mountains, in September 1886.⁷ Early homesteaders, including Ja Hu Stafford and Luis Preu, and later Neil and Emma Erickson, farmed and ranched in the foothills of the mountains. In 1917, the Ericksons’ children, Lillian Sophia and Helen Hildegarde, began “offering Sunday meals at the

Hill, comp., “Preliminary Inventories Number 166: Records of the National Park Service,” (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Record Service, 1966), 17-18.

³ A detailed listing of books relating to the natural history of the region can be found in “Bibliography of References Used in Writing Chiricahua Natural History Handbook,” nd, Natural History, Folder 3, Box 2, AC, CNM, ARG 4, MCR, WACC, Tucson.

⁴ Laurence Parent, *Chiricahua National Monument* (Tucson: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1994), 2-5. A caldera is formed by the collapse of the central part of a volcano, or by extraordinary volcanic explosions.

⁵ Janice Emily Bowers, *Chiricahua National Monument* (Tucson: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1988), 9-12 and *Chiricahua: Official Map and Guide* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1994).

⁶ *Chiricahua: Official Map and Guide*.

⁷ Richard White, “*It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own*”: *A History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 104-108. See also, Robert Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984) and Angie Debo, *Geronimo: The Man, His Time, His Place* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976).

ranch” as a way to supplement their income.⁸ By the 1920s, Lillian and her husband, Edward Riggs, began renovating Faraway Ranch into a guest, or dude, ranch. Shortly thereafter, during the summer of 1923, Edward Riggs, with the assistance of J. J. P. Armstrong and the American Legion Park Committee in Douglas, sought to transform the area surrounding the ranch into a national park, in order to preserve its “beauty and grandeur.”⁹ Today, the Chiricahua National Monument, as it was ultimately proclaimed, is visited by 85,000 to 95,000 people per year.¹⁰

The New Deal in Arizona

The history of the New Deal in Arizona and the Southwest has been well studied by local historians and other scholars.¹¹ The Great Depression of the 1930s, which was initiated by the Wall Street stock market crash of October-November 1929, would quickly become exacerbated by a collapse in the nation’s banking system. By 4 March 1933, Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Inauguration Day, almost every bank in the United States was closed, either due to failure or by restrictions from state authorities. The national economic crisis, which had begun less than four hundred days after Herbert C. Hoover was elected president, had developed into a worldwide economic collapse. Contributing to the depression was a severe ecological disaster occurring in the Great Plains and the western United States. Agriculture expansion, encouraged during the First World War,

⁸ Betty Leavengood, *Faraway Ranch: Chiricahua National Monument* (Tucson: Southwest Parks and Monuments Association, 1995), 6-11.

⁹ James A. Randell, “Chiricahua National Monument Arizona: A Conservation Study,” March 1957, History of, Vertical File No. 3, Chiricahua National Monument, ACC 654-40, Chiricahua National Monument, Willcox, AZ (hereafter cited as CNM, ACC 654-40, CNM, Willcox). See also Arno B. Cammerer to Frank Pinkley, 13 August 1923, 101- History, Box 74; Correspondence Relating to CCC, ECW, ERA Work in National Parks, Forests, Monuments and Recreation Areas 1933-43, Chiricahua National Monument AZ; RG 79; Records of the National Park Service; National Archives and Records Administration - Rocky Mountain Region; Denver, CO (hereafter cited as Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver).

¹⁰ *Statement for Management: Chiricahua National Monument*, 8 and Alan Cox, 14 July 2001, transcript in author’s possession.

¹¹ The list of monographs examining the New Deal is almost endless; however, two good overviews are Anthony J. Badger, *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933-40* (London: MacMillian Education Ltd., 1989) and William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963). Western regional issues can be found in Richard Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), and to a lesser extent in William S. Collins, *The New Deal in Arizona* (Phoenix: Arizona State Parks Board, 1999). For bibliographical review, see James S. Olson, ed., *Historical Treatment of the New Deal: From Inauguration to Preparation for War* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 563-75.

had placed millions of marginal acres into wheat production.¹² Poor farming techniques, combined with overgrazing of cattle and cyclical drought, had quickly contributed to soil erosion and extensive crop damage.¹³ By early 1934, dust storms had become a common sight on the Great Plains, dispersing top-soil and weakening the productive value of the land.

Within Arizona, the southern portion of the state was most severely affected. The copper industry, the key sector of the state's economy, had collapsed between 1931 and 1933. As copper prices plummeted and mines closed, thousands of workers went unemployed.¹⁴ By 1933, nearly 25 percent of Arizonans were out of work. Towns that depended on mining, like Douglas and Bisbee, soon faced extreme hardship. Auxiliary businesses, such as the railroads, which depended on the mines for a significant portion of their freight, were soon facing crisis as well. For example, the Southern Pacific Railroad, which linked the cities of Willcox, Benson, Tucson, Phoenix, and Yuma, initiated layoffs and instituted reduced schedules.¹⁵ The state's second largest industry, short-staple cotton, also faced economic ruin due to record crops and low prices on the national market. Other Arizona industries, such as cattle raising, faced similar circumstances, including reduced market demand and overproduction. As the depression moved across the United States, a mass migration of families and people soon occurred. More than 110,00 families migrated from the southern Great Plains during the 1930s; approximately 350,000 people crossed the Arizona border in search of work.¹⁶ Unfortunately, the response of state officials to Arizona's economic crisis was limited and mostly ineffective. With a legislature that met in regular session only once every two years, Governor George W. P. Hunt found his fellow Democrats unwilling to initiate relief measures, save for minor increases in spending on federal highway projects.¹⁷ By 1933, the newly elected Governor Benjamin B. Moeur found a state with one-fifth of its families on relief rolls. Nonetheless, Moeur, a critic of government-funded relief, argued

¹² Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West*, 33.

¹³ Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West*, 37-38.

¹⁴ Peter MacMillan Booth, "Cactizonians: The Civilian Conservation Corps in Pima County, 1933-1942," *The Journal of Arizona History* 32, no. 3 (Autumn 1991): 291 and Collins, *The New Deal in Arizona*, 125.

¹⁵ Collins, *The New Deal in Arizona*, 21-25.

¹⁶ Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West*, 178-79.

¹⁷ Collins, *The New Deal in Arizona*, 31.

tirelessly that “welfare was not a state concern.”¹⁸ As a result, local authorities in Arizona were often alone in responding to the economic crisis. In Cochise County, local officials spent \$58,200 on public relief during a four-month period, stretching the limited public and private resources.¹⁹

Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s response to the economic crisis, his New Deal, is often described by scholars as a “revolving set of laws, agencies, and programs.”²⁰ The First New Deal, which lasted from 1933 to early 1935, focused on relief and recovery. Through the Emergency Banking Relief Act, the Agriculture Adjustment Act, the National Industrial Recovery Act, and others, Roosevelt sought to reorganize banks, initiate government control of commodities, and create employment through the funding of public works. The Second New Deal, which lasted from 1935 to 1939, focused on social reform, and brought into existence such varied initiatives as unemployment compensation, the National Youth Administration, and the Works Projects Administration.²¹ In Arizona, a state that was sometimes known to “begrudgingly [accept] federal aid and support,” many were critical of New Dealers’ efforts to provide direct relief, rather than work relief.²² Nonetheless, most did not seriously reject the New Deal, and in fact, throughout the 1930s, Arizona’s counties competed tirelessly for government dollars and programs. Among the most sought-after items was a Civilian Conservation Corps camp.

The Civilian Conservation Corps

“More important, however, than the material gains will be the moral and spiritual value of such work. . . . We can take a vast army of these unemployed out into healthful surroundings. We can eliminate to some extent at least the threat that enforced idleness brings to spiritual and moral stability. It is not a panacea for all the unemployment but it is an essential step in this emergency. I ask its adoption.”²³ With these words, President

¹⁸ Peter MacMillan Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona, 1933-1942” (M.A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1991), 12.

¹⁹ Collins, *The New Deal in Arizona*, 27, 58.

²⁰ Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 67.

²¹ Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 105-130.

²² Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West*, 218.

²³ U.S. House Committee on Labor, *Message from the President of the United States on Employment Relief*, Doc. 6, 73rd Cong., 1st sess., March 21, 1933, p. 2.

Franklin D. Roosevelt sought passage of the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW), an unemployment relief agency popularly referred to as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC).²⁴ Enacted by Congress nine days later, on 31 March 1933, the CCC was the fourth piece of major legislation passed during Roosevelt's First New Deal. Reflecting Roosevelt's strong interest in conservation, and the economic need to provide tangible employment opportunities, the CCC immediately placed, in one of the largest peacetime mobilizations, 250,000 men in work camps throughout the public lands of the United States.²⁵ Their mandate--to construct roads and campsites, to help prevent soil erosion, to aid in reforestation, to assist in flood control, to provide range improvement, and to work on any other conservation-related projects--would either directly or indirectly relate to the broad goals of the CCC, which included resource protection and development, rural infrastructure construction, and recreation development.²⁶ To enlist, enrollees needed to be male, unmarried, unemployed, between ages 17 and 24, and have parents on the relief rolls. For a six-month enlistment, the recruits would receive thirty dollars a month, of which twenty-five dollars would be sent home in an allotment check.²⁷ Depending on personal circumstances, the enrollees could re-enlist for one additional six-month service. On 11 May 1933, in an effort to increase the influence of the program, veterans of the

²⁴ The best study on the Civilian Conservation Corps is John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942: A New Deal Case Study* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967). An examination of the CCC in Arizona is found in Booth, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona". The National Park Service and its interactions with the CCC are documented in John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1985) and Conrad L. Wirth, *Parks, Politics, and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980). Other accounts, designed for the popular audience, include Kenneth Holland and Frank Ernest Hill, *Youth in the CCC* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942); Ray Hoyt, "We Can Take It": *A Short Story of the C.C.C.* (New York: American Book Company, 1935); and Louis Lester Purvis, *The Ace in the Hole: A History of Company 818 of the Civilian Conservation Corps* (Columbus, GA: Brentwood Christian Press, 1989). Although the Emergency Conservation Work was the official name of the agency, Roosevelt used the term "Civilian Conservation Corps" on 21 March 1933, in a message to Congress that described the legislation. Almost immediately, this became the popular, yet unofficial, name of the agency. In an effort to end the confusion, the ECW was renamed the CCC on 28 June 1937.

²⁵ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 11-25. As early as 1931, Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt had sponsored legislation in New York allowing the state to purchase and reforest marginal land. The state of California, in 1932, had initiated twenty-five work camps. The laborers would clean roadsides, assist in fire prevention, and work on underbrush clearing. See Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 4-7, 126 and Collins, *The New Deal in Arizona*, 205-207.

²⁶ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 121-134.

²⁷ Booth, "Cactizonians," 295.

First World War were allowed to enroll into the CCC, with all marriage and age requirements waived.²⁸

The legislation creating the CCC linked together the efforts of four federal agencies: the War Department, for camp administration; the Department of Interior and the Department of Agriculture, for project supervision; and the Department of Labor, for enrollee mobilization.²⁹ The director of the CCC, Robert Fechner, a former executive of the International Association of Machinists, was charged with ensuring that each department worked closely and efficiently. The typical CCC camp included approximately two hundred men, of which a small number were “local experienced men” (LEM), skilled workers selected from surrounding towns and communities who assisted in project implementation and administration.³⁰ All CCC camps were under the direct supervision of the Army. Camp commanders were typically college graduates with Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) commissions, or reserve officers; however, the number of regular commissioned officers commanding CCC camps was also quite substantial, especially during its formative period.³¹ Within the CCC camps, recruits wore old military uniforms, slept in tents or barrack buildings, were organized in 45- to 55-men crews, and worked eight-hour days.³² In the most elemental example of the relief nature of the enterprise, CCC camps were restricted from purchasing any mechanized machinery or equipment if manual labor, no matter what the time delay, could produce the same result.³³

On 27 April 1933, Robert Fechner authorized Arizona’s CCC quota. The state would receive twenty camps, employing approximately 1,000 men.³⁴ The majority of the enrollees, nearly 44 percent, would be from the relief rolls of Maricopa and Pima

²⁸ Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 15.

²⁹ At the sub-agency level, project supervision would grow to include the Forest Service, the National Park Service, the Soil Conservation Service, the Office of Indian Affairs, the Grazing Service, and the Bureau of Reclamation, among others.

³⁰ Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 44 and Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 12. The majority of LEM’s hired in Arizona were ranchers, farmers, and other skilled workers.

³¹ Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 56-57.

³² Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 66.

³³ Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 12.

³⁴ As the season progressed, additional camps were authorized, bringing Arizona’s first year total to twenty-eight camps, of which three were veteran camps.

counties, the state's largest urban areas.³⁵ Enlistment of enrollees began shortly thereafter, and by 23 May 1933, Arizona had its first CCC camp.³⁶ Ultimately, all CCC activity in the state would be managed by Major General Guy Haygood, commander of the Army Eighth Corps. Fort Bliss, located in El Paso, Texas, would serve as the central quartermaster depot for all Arizona camps, although individual CCC camps were often encouraged to purchase supplies and other necessities from local merchants.³⁷ As the second largest federal program in Arizona, it was estimated that the CCC would bring approximately ten million dollars annually into the state.³⁸ Nonetheless, a significant number of individuals opposed the introduction of the CCC in Arizona. Senator Henry Ashurst, representing the state's xenophobic fears, argued that Arizona youths would be "corrupted by seditious, radical, and immoral ideas smuggled in by Easterners."³⁹ The Arizona Highway Commissioner, C. E. Adams, continued this line of reasoning, noting that Arizona should be wary of "importing undesirables."⁴⁰ Residents in isolated communities, like Holbrook, in Navajo County, were particularly fearful of rising crime rates due to enrollees from Eastern cities. Others cited financial imperatives: editorial writers at *The Arizona Republic* argued that the state would "never . . . [receive] an adequate return" on its CCC investment.⁴¹ The harshest attacks, however, were from Arizona's copper mining companies, who disliked any increase in the federal presence in the state, and described the CCC as "pork barrel" aid for Arizona's farmers and ranchers.⁴² In order to appease some of these complaints, the Roosevelt administration decided in May 1933 to only place recruits from the Army Eighth Corps (Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, and Wyoming) into Arizona camps.⁴³ As a further gesture, CCC officials also decided to rename CCC camps after well-known Arizona heroes.

³⁵ Booth, "Cactizonians," 295.

³⁶ Booth, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona," 39.

³⁷ Booth, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona," 57.

³⁸ Collins, *The New Deal in Arizona*, 208.

³⁹ Booth, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona," 20. Opposition to the CCC reached dangerous proportions in other states. In Shenandoah National Park in Virginia, locals fired guns into the local CCC camp. See Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 89.

⁴⁰ Collins, *The New Deal in Arizona*, 209.

⁴¹ Booth, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona," 37.

⁴² Booth, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona," 18, 137.

Within Arizona, the two key technical agencies that would direct the majority of CCC projects were the Forest Service, located within the Department of Agriculture, and the National Park Service, part of the Department of Interior. According to historian Richard Lowitt, “neither department, from secretaries on down, had much confidence in the other.”⁴⁴ The Forest Service, charged with overseeing 16 percent of the state’s land, became the largest supervisor of CCC labor, managing nearly one-half of all CCC camps.⁴⁵ The majority of Forest Service projects dealt with enhancing the “extractive value of the land.”⁴⁶ For example, in Coronado National Forest CCC camps were organized to protect range land from erosion, construct telephone lines, erect fences, build cattle guards and stock tanks, and plant trees.⁴⁷ For the National Park Service (NPS), whose fundamental mission was the “preservation of scenic lands and natural wonders,” the bulk of CCC activities centered on increasing tourist visitation and access.⁴⁸ The Grand Canyon, Arizona’s only national park at that time, became a particular focal point. The NPS directed CCC enrollees to construct trails and access roads, string telephone lines, and build Bright Angel Lodge. Nonetheless, many in the NPS were concerned with the overdevelopment of natural resources. As early as May 1933, Horace M. Albright, director of the NPS, ordered that no exotic vegetation or artificial landscaping would be allowed in national parks or monuments.⁴⁹ Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, noted:

This is the automobile age. But I do not have a great deal of patience with people whose idea of enjoying nature is dashing along the hard road at fifty or sixty miles an hour. . . . I do not happen to favor the scarring of the wonderful mountainside just so we can have a skyline drive. It sounds poetical, but may be creating a natural atrocity.⁵⁰

⁴³ Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 22.

⁴⁴ Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West*, 220. For a detailed discussion on the disagreement between the Forest Service and the National Park Service, see Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 60-63.

⁴⁵ Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 67 and Collins, *The New Deal in Arizona*, 210.

⁴⁶ Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 72.

⁴⁷ Booth, “Cactizonians,” 301.

⁴⁸ Collins, *The New Deal in Arizona*, 214.

⁴⁹ Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 104.

⁵⁰ Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 104.

To protect the parks and monuments, the NPS created detailed master plans, outlining the exact development and construction proposed in each. Workplans, bi-weekly reports, and project completion reports were required from every CCC camp, and strict construction guidelines were introduced. Consenting to the use of only indigenous materials, and limiting the cost of each structure to \$1,500 dollars, the NPS utilized architecture, dubbed “NPS Rustic” for its pioneering design application, which sought to create buildings with the least possible intrusion on the natural landscape.⁵¹ In no other natural area is this better exemplified than in Chiricahua National Monument, where, in 1934, the CCC began a six-year period of remarkable impact.

SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

Camp NM-2-A is Established

On Wednesday, 21 February 1934, *The Douglas Daily Dispatch* reported that “within the next week or 10 days, a new civilian conservation corps camp will be established in the Chiricahua National Monument.”⁵² According to the newspaper, the NPS had reached the decision to create the CCC camp sometime during the week of 12-16 February 1934, after conducting pumping tests to adequately determine “the available water supply.” The newspaper noted:

The local people do not know from what area the camp to be located in the Wonderland will be brought. The appeal was merely to provide such a camp to do trail building and other improvement that would make the place available for the visitors as soon as the highway is ready for motorists to come into it that way.⁵³

In reality, it would be another ninety-three days until a CCC camp was authorized or any CCC enrollees arrived at Chiricahua National Monument. Nonetheless, the establishment of Camp NM-2-A, as it would be officially designated, highlights the important role that

⁵¹Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 39-41. For a detailed look at the NPS pseudo-rustic style, see Albert H. Good, *Park and Recreation Structures* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938).

⁵²“New CCC Camp Coming to Wonderland Of Rocks to Help Put in Shape For Opening Celebration On Sept. 3rd,” *The Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 21 February 1934.

⁵³“New CCC Camp,” *The Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 21 February 1934.

local boosters and other city and county officials played in the organization of CCC camps.⁵⁴

As early as May 1933, the CCC had an important presence in southern Arizona, and particularly in Coronado National Forest. The first CCC camp in Arizona, Treasure Park Camp (F-14-A), was established on 23 May 1933 in the high country of the Pinaleno Mountains.⁵⁵ Located at the end of Swift Trail, a rustic automobile road, the camp enrollees were charged with constructing fire lookout towers. By July 1933, twenty-three active CCC camps were organized in the state, employing approximately 4,140 men. These included camps organized in Gardner Canyon (F-11-A) near Sonoita, in Parker Canyon (F-13-A) near State Highway 83, in Tripp Canyon (F-15-A) at the north end of the Pinaleno Mountains, and in Cave Creek (F-10-A) on the east side of the Chiricahua Mountains. The latter camp, located near the town of Portal, had the unfortunate status of being the site of Arizona's first CCC fatality.⁵⁶ The majority of the CCC camps organized in southern Arizona during the spring and summer of 1933 were supervised by the Forest Service.⁵⁷ Fred Winn, Forest Supervisor for Coronado National Forest, was

⁵⁴ To help manage and standardize the numerous CCC camps being created, the War Department developed a number of guidelines. The first was to assign each CCC camp an alphanumeric camp designation number. Loosely based on the technical agency that administered its activity, the camp number also included a one-letter prefix designating the state in which the campsite was located. For example, F-20-A was the twentieth camp assigned to the Forest Service in Arizona. NP-4-C was the fourth camp assigned to the National Park Service in California. SP-2-T was the second camp assigned to the Texas State Parks Board in Texas. Also, each CCC company was given its own numeral designation. Like other CCC requirements, this followed standard military convenience. For example, Company 820 was the twentieth company in the Army Eighth Corps. Company 2870 was the 270th company in the Army Eighth Corps. Company 2163 was the 263rd company in the Army First Corps. Finally, the War Department sought to standardize the CCC term of service. Camps were to be organized in six-month cycles. These six months, known as one "Enrollment Period," rotated annually, April through September and October through March. By the conclusion of the CCC in 1942, it had reached the Nineteenth Enrollment Period. See Booth, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona," 23-24.

⁵⁵ *The Civilian Conservation Corps: Coronado National Forest, 1933-1942* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1991).

⁵⁶ On 13 June 1933, Harold C. Riley, a 23-year-old enrollee from Houston, Texas, was killed in an explosion due to the misfiring of a delayed fuse. The accident caused the CCC to reevaluate its safety procedures; the camp was later renamed Camp Harold C. Riley in his honor. See Booth, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona," 59 and "Code for Blasting Practice and Handling and Storage of Explosives," 16 September 1933, 208-01.4 Permits, Box 75; Correspondence Relating to CCC, ECW, ERA Work in National Parks, Forests, Monuments and Recreation Areas 1933-43, Chiricahua National Monument AZ; RG 79; Records of the National Park Service; National Archives and Records Administration - Rocky Mountain Region; Denver, CO (hereafter cited as Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver).

⁵⁷ Booth, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona," 40.

particularly entrepreneurial in requesting and receiving CCC camps.⁵⁸ On 9 August 1933, as a result of Executive Order 6166, which sought to reorganize and expand the list of properties managed by the Park Service, Chiricahua National Monument was officially transferred from the Forest Service to the NPS. Shortly thereafter, Arizona monuments, including Chiricahua, Gila Cliff Dwelling, Sunset Crater, and others, were prepared for their transfer to the NPS's Southwestern Monuments field office and its superintendent, Frank Pinkley.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, little changed in Chiricahua National Monument between late summer 1933 and early 1934. The Forest Service, which had begun a topographic mapping of the monument, "proceeded as originally planned," and was "ready at any time to give the Park Service all the cooperation and information it needs . . . as it assumes jurisdiction."⁶⁰

One noticeable development was the near completion of a new approach road to Chiricahua National Monument. Initiated in 1931 by the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads and the Arizona Highway Department, the public works project awarded extremely small contracts, sometimes less than \$2,500, to more than eleven prime contractors. More importantly, the new road, Bonita Canyon Highway, linked the monument to the County Road (now State Highway 181) and via State Highway 81 (subsequently U.S. Highway 666; now U.S. Highway 191) south to Elfrida and McNeal, terminating at U.S. Highway 80 (now State Highway 80) and Douglas.⁶¹ From U.S. Highway 80, any motorist could easily reach the communities of Bisbee, Tombstone, Benson, and Tucson to the west and Rodeo, N.M., Portal, and Lordsburg, N.M., to the east. By February 1934, as the project was nearing completion, the Cochise County Chamber of Commerce, the Cochise County Committee on Chiricahua National Monument, the Douglas Chamber of Commerce, and the Douglas Projects Committee, which, not incidentally, consisted of many of the same

⁵⁸ Booth, "Cactizonians," 301.

⁵⁹ Booth, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona," 75. See also Horace M. Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913-33*, as told to Robert Cahn (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1985), 298-307.

⁶⁰ Fred Winn to Field Headquarters, 1 March 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁶¹ James A. Randell, "Chiricahua National Monument Arizona: A Conservation Study," March 1957, History of, Vertical File No. 3, CNM, ACC 654-40, CNM, Willcox. See also L. I. Hewes to T. C. Vint, 17 December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

individuals, began petitioning for a CCC camp within the boundaries of Chiricahua National Monument.⁶² Specifically, the booster groups sought to develop the national monument, which was seventy miles from Douglas, into a major attraction for tourists traveling along U.S. Highway 80.⁶³ The most vocal proponent of the new CCC camp was Rex Rice, President of Rice & Company, a Douglas-based real estate, insurance, and brokerage business. As a way to garner publicity for the completion of the new approach road into the “fantastic wonderland,” and to establish an explicit need for the CCC camp, Rex Rice and others suggested organizing a Labor Day dedication on 3 September 1934. Conceived as the “biggest outdoor gathering ever held in southern Arizona,” the ceremony would include a pageant, 25 barbecued steers, and more than 10,000 guests, including if possible, “at least one member of President Roosevelt’s cabinet.”⁶⁴ On 21 February 1934, *The Douglas Daily Dispatch* announced that Rex Rice would serve as the general chairman of the newly formed Labor Day Committee.

On Sunday and Monday, 15-16 April 1934, Frank A. Kittredge, Chief Engineer of the NPS, and Walter Attwell, Associate Engineer of the NPS, toured Chiricahua National Monument with Rex Rice, John B. Crowell of the Bank of Douglas, and Edward Riggs of Faraway Ranch.⁶⁵ Writing to the editor of *The Douglas Daily Dispatch* shortly upon his return, Kittredge noted:

In all the National Park and Monument areas, I know of nothing comparable. It stands quite unique, so far as I know, both in type of scenery and in the grand formation.

Mr. Attwell and I were led gradually from one spectacular view point to the next until the grand climax at Massai Point. The view from this point can’t help becoming nationally famous and will rank along with some of [sic] great spectacles of the

⁶² Notable local elites included John B. Crowell of the Bank of Douglas; John A. Curry, editor of *The Douglas Daily Dispatch*; Harry A. Clark of Phelps Dodge Corporation, John Hild of the Cochise County Board of Supervisors; and Harry Saxon of 3-Links Cattle Company. See Rex Rice to Carl Hayden, 20 April 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and Rex Rice to Frank A. Kittredge, 3 May 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁶³ John M. Curry, “A New Road Into Wonderland of Rocks,” *Arizona Highways* 10, no. 8 (August 1934): 6-7, 17.

⁶⁴ “New CCC Camp,” *The Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 21 February 1934.

⁶⁵ Rex Rice to Carl Hayden, 20 April 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

country.

We returned via the new Bonita Canyon road-on horse back-and it too leads through country which in itself would justify the road construction cost even if the Massai Point climax did not exist.⁶⁶

In a separate report filed with Arno B. Cammerer, director of the NPS, Kittredge appeared to lend support to the establishment of a CCC camp within the Monument's boundaries. Kittredge's two-page field inspection requested "the sum of \$10,000" for park projects, including minor road work, trail construction, and camp and picnic grounds, which were "urgently needed" for the Labor Day dedication.⁶⁷ Public support was further galvanized on 17 April 1934, when the *The Douglas Daily Dispatch* published a two-column article and separate editorial on the Kittredge visit. The concluding line of the editorial, noted in frank affirmation, "visitors will bring great crowds through the southwest because of this area's wealth in such places, and out of the crowd we will get our share."⁶⁸

One week later, on Monday, 23 April 1934, Frank Pinkley, superintendent of the Southwestern Monuments, and Dan Mull, inspector for the Emergency Conservation Work, toured Chiricahua National Monument "in about one hour."⁶⁹ Shortly thereafter, Frank Pinkley and Fred Winn, Forest Supervisor for Coronado National Forest, submitted five copies of Form 3-2, the official application for a new CCC camp. Specifically, the application sought the transfer of SP-6-A, a State Park camp located at Manville Well in Tucson Mountain Park near Tucson, to Chiricahua National Monument. The newly created camp, to be named "Bonita Canyon," would be managed jointly by the Forest

⁶⁶ Frank A. Kittredge to John A. Curry, 16 April 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁶⁷ F. A. Kittredge to A. B. Cammerer, 16 April 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and F. A. Kittredge to A. B. Cammerer, 25 April 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁶⁸ "Nothing Comparable to Chiricahua National Monument In Entire Nation National Parks Chief Engineer Says," *The Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 17 April 1934 and "We Have An Attraction Worth While," *The Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 17 April 1934. Interestingly, on reading the article about his visit, Kittredge felt he had been misquoted, noting "I am afraid the editor let his imagination fill in between the lines far beyond my statements." See F. A. Kittredge to Rex Rice, 30 April 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁶⁹ Frank Pinkley to Field Headquarters, 24 April 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and Rex Rice to Frank A. Kittredge, 3 May 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

Service and the NPS. The land for the campsite would be leased from Edward M. and Lillian E. Riggs of Faraway Ranch, although this was noted as being “without cost.”⁷⁰ The projected work for the camp enrollees included the construction of truck and horse trails, trailside clearing, erosion control, and the development of public campground facilities. The application requested \$7,840 for materials and an additional \$300 for temporary labor costs. Two weeks later, on 16 May 1934, Kittredge again wrote to the NPS director, inquiring on the status of the \$10,000 for the Labor Day celebration and candidly stating “that unless the Park Service undertakes further work in the providing of parking area, lookout, etc., the congestion is going to bring upon the Park Service no end of criticism and ill feeling.”⁷¹ Kittredge was less blunt in his closing paragraphs, noting, “Chiricahua . . . [is] the home area” of Lewis Douglas, the well-known New Dealer and Budget Director in the Roosevelt administration, and he is “much interested in the proper handling of this.”⁷²

On Friday, 25 May 1934, Arthur E. Demaray, assistant director of the NPS, telegraphed Kittredge:

Arizona State Park Camps SP-11 and SP-12 are to be transferred to Petrified Forest and Chiricahua National Monument as camps NM-1 and NM-2 respectively and will be handled as NPS camps for the balance of Third Enrollment Period. . . . These camps will be financed from NPS funds.⁷³

The telegram further noted that all equipment and trucks, as well as “present state park supervisory personnel,” would move with the companies to their new locations and that Chiricahua National Monument would receive an initial allotment of \$4,050 for work in

⁷⁰ “Form 3-2,” 9 May 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁷¹ F. A. Kittredge to Arno B. Cammerer, 16 May 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁷² F. A. Kittredge to Arno B. Cammerer, 16 May 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and Badger, *The New Deal: The Depression Years*, 200-201.

⁷³ Interestingly, Demaray’s telegram instructs the transfer of Camp SP-12-A to Chiricahua National Monument. This is apparently a clerical error. Multiple documents, as well as the original Form 3-2, note that Camp NM-2-A was originally Camp SP-6-A. See Telegram from Arthur E. Demaray to F. A. Kittredge and William G. Carnes, 25 May 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), Civilian Conservation Corps Camp Papers, The Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, IL (hereafter cited as CCCCP, CRL, Chicago).

both the monument and the Forest Service areas.⁷⁴ The telegram eluded to another, yet exceedingly more subtle, bargain that appears to have been struck between the NPS and George Anklam, chairman of the Tucson Board of Supervisors. The CCC camp would stay at Chiricahua National Monument until 30 September 1934, the end of the Third Enrollment Period, after which the NPS agreed to return “the camp and personnel back to the State Park organization.”⁷⁵ The NPS would hire their own CCC Project Superintendent, H. O. Hammond, and further agreed to retain the majority of foremen and enrollees, who not coincidentally, were later described by NPS staff as “Tucson pet politicians.”⁷⁶ Whatever the agreement, the town of Douglas was quite pleased to receive the Bonita Canyon camp. On Saturday, 26 May 1934, Kittredge wrote Rex Rice that “this camp . . . is going to be a great relief and will make it possible to do nearly everything which we had contemplated.”⁷⁷ That morning, the main body of Company 828, approximately 170 men, arrived at Camp NM-2-A and began erecting a campsite in Bonita Canyon. A location chosen by Frank Pinkley and Walter Attwell, the canyon bottom offered “oak and sycamore trees” and “plenty of shade.”⁷⁸ The campsite was in the southern portion of the southeast quarter of section 26, T.16S., R.29E., slightly to the east of Silver Spur Spring and north of the main monument road. Over the next sixteen days, until about 11 June 1934, the tent camp was slowly constructed. A camp telephone was installed, linking NM-2-A to the Forest Service system, numerous entrance signs were painted, and seven tents were constructed to serve as shops for the technical service,

⁷⁴ Telegram from Arthur E. Demaray to F. A. Kittredge and William G. Carnes, 25 May 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁷⁵ Frank Pinkley to Arno B. Cammerer, 5 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁷⁶ Walter G. Attwell to F. A. Kittredge, 6 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver. Frank Pinkley described the terms of the transfer a few months later in a letter to William G. Carnes: “The men were all politically sponsored and the Service agreed to hold them. We felt that some changes were desirable shortly after the camp was transferred to us, but ran into such a storm of protest from the sponsors of the men involved that we feel we are not in a position to suggest the separation of any other.” See Frank Pinkley to W. G. Carnes, 13 October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁷⁷ F. A. Kittredge to Rex Rice, 26 May 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁷⁸ “Form 3-2,” 9 May 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and “Report to Chief Forester on Fire Hazard Conditions and Emergency Conservation Work at Chiricahua National Monument,” 12-15 September 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

engineering and drafting workers, and for storage. Finally, a 1,000-gallon underground gasoline tank was installed and 16 feet of solid rock was excavated to serve as a powder magazine.⁷⁹ Interestingly, during the first few months Camp NM-2-A mail, express, and freight were addressed to Willcox, which, at approximately forty miles away, was the closest town. However, in acquiescence to the camp's real patronage, this was quickly rectified, and the mailing address was changed to Douglas, *seventy* miles away.⁸⁰

“The Only Cloud in the Sky”

“The only cloud in the sky now is that proposed celebration at Chiricahua next Labor Day. I get the jitters when I think of tearing up four or five acres to make a one-day parking ground and taking two thousand cars and eight thousand people up a fairly narrow and unfinished road five miles of mountain grades to have a barbeque and speech making. You will hear more about this later.”⁸¹ So wrote Frank Pinkley to Arno B. Cammerer on 5 July 1934. In fact, as early as 26 May 1934, many staff at the NPS began to express serious doubts about the feasibility and practicality of the planned Labor Day dedication. The ceremony, as originally conceived by Douglas's Labor Day Committee, sought to utilize Massai Point, a spectacular 6,870-foot mountain crest rising approximately 1,470 feet above the monument entrance, as the day's major attraction. All guests would experience the wonder of Bonita Canyon Highway, traveling the six-mile road to Massai Point's natural amphitheater where

the speaker's rostrum on a lower level and the space for the audience above the speaker but giving the audience not only good location, so far as the speaker is concerned, but also providing it with a remarkable view into the great beauty falling sharp from the precipice back of the speaker's rostrum. This will provide space for from a crowd as large as 10,000 to 12,000 easily and even more, without crowding.⁸²

⁷⁹ “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, Narrative Reports Concerning CCC Projects, RG 79, Records of the National Park Service, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD (hereafter cited as Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park).

⁸⁰ Frank Pinkley to F. A. Kittredge, 10 December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁸¹ Frank Pinkley to Arno B. Cammerer, 5 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁸² “Nothing Comparable to Chiricahua National Monument,” *The Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 17 April 1934.

Nonetheless, Park Service officials, including Frank Pinkley, Walter G. Attwell, and Harry Langley, Resident Landscape Architect of Chiricahua National Monument, began to privately worry about what they mischievously termed the “Rex Rice Coming-Out Party.”⁸³ Most pressing was the lack of proper parking facilities at Massai Point, which they thought would require the clearing of over six or eight acres, the potential of accidents due to the lack of guard rails on the “tough and unfinished road,” and the stark realization that the capacity of Massai Point’s “natural amphitheatre” was at best 1,400 people.⁸⁴ As such, these NPS representatives sought to hold the celebration at Faraway Ranch near the beginning of the new monument road. In a 11 July 1934 letter to the director of the NPS, Pinkley noted:

Our neighbors persist in an attempt to run from eight to fifteen thousand visitors in on us in one day and are quite hurt when we don’t grow enthusiastic about having the place torn up and made over to fit the occasion, which will probably be the peak day of the next fifteen years.⁸⁵

He further questioned “how much change of appearance in a scene or locality . . . can [we] impose without laying ourselves open to the charge of vandalism,” adding ironically, to “those visitors to whom we might try to explain this . . . we would have to reply; ‘It was a celebration held to dedicate this Monument . . . to hold it for all time in its original beauty for the enjoyment of untold generations.’”⁸⁶ Pinkley flatly declared that it was too “high [a] price to pay for one day’s celebration.”⁸⁷ However, other Park Service representatives, most notably Frank A. Kittredge and James C. Ray, Assistant Engineer of the NPS, continued to be strong proponents of the celebration at Massai Point, arguing, “[the] great part of the spectacularity of this venture will be lost if the people cannot be at Massai Point and have the wonderful outlook. . . . It would seem that the speakers would

⁸³ Walter G. Attwell to F. A. Kittredge, 26 May 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁸⁴ Frank Pinkley to Arno B. Cammerer, 11 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver. See also W. G. Carnes to Arno B. Cammerer, 16 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁸⁵ Frank Pinkley to Arno B. Cammerer, 11 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁸⁶ Frank Pinkley to Arno B. Cammerer, 11 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁸⁷ Frank Pinkley to Field Headquarters, 29 June 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

lose quite a part of their objective if they were not located within the scenic area while giving their addresses.”⁸⁸ On 19 July 1934, Kittredge wrote Arno B. Cammerer:

This celebration will bring the Park Service before the people of Arizona and New Mexico in a way which could help the Park Service very materially in its local relations throughout all of the monuments and parks of these two states. Many very influential men will be present and it would be most desirable it seems to me to show the men of influence of these two states that the Park Service can cooperate with them whole-heartedly.⁸⁹

Six days later, on 25 July 1934, Arthur E. Demaray telegraphed both Pinkley and Kittredge: “while am not happy about situation believe best cooperate with local sentiment have celebration Massai Point giving special use permit for day for concession to local committee.”⁹⁰ The matter was officially settled.

For enrollees at Camp NM-2-A, the first three months of CCC life would be a barrage of activity. The officers and executive staff of the camp, including First Lieutenant Clarence W. Woody, Commanding Officer; H. O. Hammond, Project Superintendent; Boyd Berrill, Education Advisor; Richard D. Sias, Junior Landscape Architect; and J. H. Tovrea, Landscape Foreman, were under strict orders to complete a number of priority projects relating to the Labor Day celebration.⁹¹ According to Frank Pinkley:

⁸⁸ F. A. Kittredge to Walter Attwell, 2 June 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁸⁹ Sometimes seemingly at odds with the mission of his superiors, Frank A. Kittredge’s loyalty to the NPS was never seriously questioned. However, his relationship with Douglas elites was referred to jokingly. In this vein, John A. Curry, of *The Douglas Daily Dispatch*, wrote Kittredge: “This will give you definite advice of your newest and latest assignment. I have just issued the order.” See John A. Curry to Frank Kittredge, 19 August 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver. See also F. A. Kittredge to Arno B. Cammerer, 19 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁹⁰ Telegram from Arthur E. Demaray to Frank A. Kittredge and Frank Pinkley, 25 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and A. E. Demaray to Frank Pinkley, 26 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁹¹ James C. Ray to F. A. Kittredge, 3 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and “Report to Chief Forester on Fire Hazard Conditions and Emergency Conservation Work at Chiricahua National Monument,” 12-15 September 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver. As per ECW guidelines, the duties of landscape architects were shared among multiple camps. In this case, Richard D. Sias was also required to work at a CCC camp in the Petrified Forest. See W. G. Carnes to Richard C. Sias, 6 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

Taking the camp on the 6th, we told Mr. Hammond that we didn't want him to be a slave driver but that we wanted these men to hit the ball while he had them and give us some real results for the period the camp was with us; that if any of the foreman failed to deliver the goods we would back him up in letting them go and trying other foreman in their places; that he was in charge and we were looking to him for results.⁹²

The most concerted efforts were directed towards the preparation of Massai Point.

Although the project was originally estimated as requiring only ten men working for one month, in actuality the “gigantic undertaking” would require the entirety of “the Camp’s resources in men, machinery and equipment.”⁹³ Approximately 150 tons of supplies were transported to the mountain crest by Camp NM-2-A. Rocks and boulders were removed and the area was leveled; small shrubs and other vegetation were pruned, trimmed, or removed; numerous welded pipe railings were installed along paths; a wooden press stand was built; and a stone rostrum was constructed.⁹⁴ The construction of this “natural amphitheatre” was only a small portion of the work completed by Company 828.

Utilizing “two compressors working two shifts a day,” an 85-foot-long by 4-foot-wide barbecue pit was excavated from solid rock.⁹⁵ Located along a low ridge adjacent to Massai Point, later dubbed “Barbecue Hill,” the barbecue pit was designed with “iron grids and screens set in rock walls” and included serving areas, tables, and water fountains.⁹⁶ Another, albeit smaller, barbecue pit was constructed nearby for the

⁹² Frank Pinkley to Arno B. Cammerer, 5 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁹³ Richard D. Sias to James C. Ray, 28 June 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

⁹⁴ “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park. Unfortunately, the amphitheatre rostrum that was constructed would later be criticized by NPS staff. According to Walter G. Attwell, “The whole structure looks very poor to me. I would say that it is a disgrace. . . . If you wish, I’ll remove it and do it right.” See Walter G. Attwell to F. A. Kittredge, 27 August 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁹⁵ “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

⁹⁶ “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

preparation of baked beans and coffee in “ten 50-gallon iron drums.”⁹⁷ Three large parking areas, along a hill adjoining Massai Point and directly to its north, were also built. Utilizing bulldozers and dump trucks, enrollees removed rocks and boulders and leveled off the area. Shrubs and other vegetation were also trimmed, but in this case at least, enrollees were directed to not disturb roots or any “larger growth.”⁹⁸ The CCC enrollees also assisted in the construction of two latrines “of simple frame construction” measuring 50 feet long, as well as other public rest stations of burlap and cloth construction.⁹⁹ A temporary water system was also built, linking six huge iron tanks, with a combined capacity of approximately 6,000 gallons of water, to a web of outlets, including drinking fountains, latrines, and a first aid station.¹⁰⁰ Finally, a temporary telephone line was installed at Massai Point and its main road, Bonita Canyon Highway, was oiled to prevent dust during the dense traffic of the celebration.

Other, non-Labor Day-oriented work was also initiated by enrollees of Camp NM-2-A in Chiricahua National Monument between June and September 1934. One of these projects, a 4-foot-wide horse trail through Rhyolite and Sarah Deming canyons, was constructed with only hand tools “until the arrival of a trail building compressor and jackhammers.”¹⁰¹ By September 1934, approximately 1.5 miles of the trail had been built, while “another mile . . . [was] located and brushed out.”¹⁰² Other significant projects focused on locating a water supply for the proposed public campgrounds; the topographic and linear survey of approximately 24 acres of the monument; and the

⁹⁷ “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

⁹⁸ The extent of shrub and vegetation removal at Massai Point is only tangentially mentioned in the historical record. One extended report noted: “Manzanita covers the area quite thickly and must be removed. I am informed by Mr. Ed Riggs of the Faraway Ranch that this brush can be cut at the ground level and will grow out again from roots within three years.” See James C. Ray, “Report on Chiricahua National Monument Opening Celebration Sept. 3, 1934,” undated, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

⁹⁹ “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁰⁰ “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁰¹ “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁰² “Report to Chief Forester on Fire Hazard Conditions and Emergency Conservation Work at Chiricahua National Monument,” 12-15 September 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

completion of NM-2-A's powder magazine, an underground storage chamber complete with "a boiler plate steel door."¹⁰³ Planning work was also initiated. Preliminary drawings, engineering plans, and elevations were prepared for an administration building and residence, campground cooking grills and fireplaces, and a fire lookout tower on Sugarloaf Mountain.¹⁰⁴ Of course, Camp NM-2-A also had a responsibility to work on Forest Service projects within Coronado National Forest. As a result, two "fly camps," or side camps, were organized south of Chiricahua National Monument.¹⁰⁵ The first, at the termination of Rustler Spur Road in Rustler Park, was organized on 14 July 1934. Approximately eighteen miles from NM-2-A, the Rustler Park side camp was located in a small wooded area:

Quarters are provided for the men in wall tents with board floors, and two tents set end to end are used for kitchen and mess-hall. A hot water system and shower bath are adjacent.¹⁰⁶

For the sixteen CCC enrollees assigned to the side camp, work focused on public campground improvements, including the construction of outdoor fireplaces, campground tables, latrines, and garbage pits.¹⁰⁷ Other activities included locating two "clean mountain water" springs, building a cistern and small earthen dam, and constructing a

¹⁰³ "ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September," October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park and H. Langley to Chief, Western Division, 17 August 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹⁰⁴ Frank Pinkley to W. G. Carnes, 25 August 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; Frank Pinkley to Fred Winn, 18 July 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; and H. Langley to Frank Pinkley, 17 August 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹⁰⁵ "ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September," October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park. Side camps were utilized by the CCC for areas that were too remote or were otherwise inaccessible to large groups of enrollees. See Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 55.

¹⁰⁶ "ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September," October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park and "Report to Chief Forester on Fire Hazard Conditions and Emergency Conservation Work at Chiricahua National Monument," 12-15 September 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹⁰⁷ "Report to Chief Forester on Fire Hazard Conditions and Emergency Conservation Work at Chiricahua National Monument," 12-15 September 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

grain or hay storeroom with pine logs.¹⁰⁸ The second side camp, established in early August 1934, was seven miles beyond Rustler Park in “a virgin location in the forest” and at an altitude of nearly 10,000 feet.¹⁰⁹ Known as Cima Park, “all supplies and materials have to be transported by pack train. Ten pack mules are used for this purpose and two return trips per work day are frequently necessary.”¹¹⁰ The twenty-one enrollees stationed at the Cima Park side camp worked almost exclusively on constructing a summer ranger headquarters cabin for the Forest Service. The structure, built with native spruce logs, had a “rock-cement-mortar” foundation, three rooms, hardwood floors, two fireplaces, a stone chimney, and a telephone. A 20-acre pasture, complete with barbed wire fence and gate, was constructed adjacent to the cabin by the CCC. Finally, six cattle guards and other trail “betterment” were constructed along seven miles of Barfoot Road in Pinery Canyon.¹¹¹

As the Labor Day celebration quickly approached, Camp NM-2-A faced two serious problems. The first was supply difficulties. In fact, supply shortages became a continuing feature of camp life. Basic equipment, such as branding irons (for labeling ECW equipment), safety goggles, and tent supplies, often took months to order and receive.¹¹² However, Camp NM-2-A faced its biggest crisis in locating shoes. In early August 1934, while touring the camp, Walter G. Attwell noted that NM-2-A had “seventeen barefooted men in camp and that the local commander was unable to get them shod.”¹¹³ In fact, shoes only arrived for the enrollees after Rex Rice telegraphed U.S.

¹⁰⁸ “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁰⁹ “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹¹⁰ “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹¹¹ “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹¹² Hugh M. Miller to H. O. Hammond, 23 July 1934, 208-01.4 Permits, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and Hugh M. Miller to Chief Engineer, 21 August 1934, Equipment, Box 77; Correspondence Relating to CCC, ECW, ERA Work in National Parks, Forests, Monuments and Recreation Areas 1933-43, Chiricahua National Monument AZ; RG 79; Records of the National Park Service; National Archives and Records Administration - Rocky Mountain Region; Denver, CO (hereafter cited as Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver). See also Hugh M. Miller to Chief Engineer, 14 June 1934, Equipment, Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹¹³ Walter G. Attwell to Frank Pinkley, 15 August 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

Senator Henry F. Ashurst and notified him of the situation. Another significant problem facing NM-2-A was the continued removal of the camp's local experienced men (LEM)--skilled workers from surrounding towns and communities who assisted in project implementation. On 17 August 1934, Frank A. Kittredge telegraphed Arno B. Cammerer, NPS director:

Attwell wires that Army is continuing transfer of experienced enrollees . . . and that it is most embarrassing not only to regular work projects but also is serious handicapping the preparatory work for the Labor Day celebration. He advises camp strength already seriously handicapped by loss of experienced men. Some immediate adjustment most necessary to prevent Army from disrupting the work organization. . . . Request that Army be instructed immediately to refrain from all transfers experienced personnel from Chiricahua National Monument camp until after September third. Please wire.¹¹⁴

Unfortunately, there was little that could be done to stop the transfers by the War Department. Although the camp strength of Company 828 was only 177 men of a 200-man quota, NM-2-A had arrived at Chiricahua National Monument with "three times its quota of LEM."¹¹⁵ Furthermore, according to Frank Pinkley, "none . . . were actually local men except insofar as they were residents of state and very few were in fact experienced in either type of work we had to perform or type in which they claimed experience at enrollment."¹¹⁶ These problems aside, by late August, *The Douglas Daily Dispatch* reported that Chiricahua National Monument was 70 percent complete, and would be "ready for the crowd ahead of Labor Day."¹¹⁷ In a further sign of the painstaking preparation, on 27 August 1934, the Army announced that it would be "bringing twenty men of their own" to clean NM-2-A, noting "it would be a disgrace for the public to visit their camp in its present condition."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Telegram from Frank A. Kittredge to Arno B. Cammerer, 17 August 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹¹⁵ Telegram from Frank Pinkley to Arno B. Cammerer, 18 August 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹¹⁶ Telegram from Frank Pinkley to Arno B. Cammerer, 18 August 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹¹⁷ "Chiricahua Road Closed for Week; Is Being Oiled," *The Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 17 August 1934.

¹¹⁸ James C. Ray to F. A. Kittredge, 27 August 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

“The making of the [sic] Chiricahua a part of this great system means much in the future. It no longer is an area for local use only. It now is recognized as of National importance and must be so treated. The general policies governing Chiricahua will now be those governing all National Parks and Monuments rather than local policies. . . . Here, in the name of Secretary Ickes this Wonderland of Rocks is now dedicated to the people of the Nation as Chiricahua National Monument.”¹¹⁹ So stated Frank A. Kittredge on Monday, 3 September 1934, officially inaugurating the Labor Day celebration. The festivity at Massai Point, which was attended by approximately 7,000 people, a “crowd . . . not so large as expected,” unfortunately faced the absence of the day’s major speaker, Joseph M. Casey, personal representative of William Green, well-known American labor leader and president of the American Federation of Labor.¹²⁰ Nonetheless, the celebration was a popular success. Festivities included a concert by the 25th Regiment Band, a fifty-member assembly of the U.S. Army; the cooking of approximately 8,000 pounds of beef and 1,000 pounds of beans; and presentations by numerous local politicians.¹²¹ Unfortunately, for the enrollees at NM-2-A, Labor Day meant a day of labor. The CCC men, “neat appearing and well informed,” directed crowds, served as messengers, assisted in first-aid, patrolled parking areas with fire extinguishers, and on the day after, were charged with cleanup duties.¹²² In honor of their efforts, *The Douglas Daily Dispatch* printed a special Labor Day edition of their newspaper, complete with “a roster of the entire C.C.C. personnel, giving every boy’s name and home address.”¹²³ In

¹¹⁹ Frank A. Kittredge, “Dedication Chiricahua National Monument,” 3 September 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹²⁰ F. A. Kittredge to Arno B. Cammerer, 4 September 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park; and “Casey of San Francisco Will Speak For Organized Labor At Chiricahua Monument Dedication On Labor Day,” *The Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 22 August 1934.

¹²¹ Rex Rice to Harold L. Ickes, 10 September 1934, 101- History, Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; “ECW Progress Report, Third Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, June-September,” October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park; and “25th Regiment Band Goes To Mountain For Labor Day Celebration, On Sunday And Will Play Concert For CCC Boys,” *The Douglas Daily Dispatch*, August 1934.

¹²² C. E. Powell to Robert H. Rose, 14 August 1934, Geology, Folder 6, Box 2, AC, CNM, ARG 4, MCR, WACC, Tucson and Walter G. Attwell to Frank Pinkley, 15 August 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹²³ Walter G. Attwell to Frank Pinkley, 15 August 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (3 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

addition, the dedication was publicized in Bisbee, Tucson, Phoenix, El Paso, and Los Angeles newspapers. Even more inspiring, seven days later twenty-six Army carpenters and laborers from Fort Bliss began construction of prefabricated buildings at Camp NM-2-A. The wooden structures, creosoted and covered with tar paper, included five enrollee barracks, officer quarters, kitchen and mess halls, parking garages, and supply quarters.¹²⁴ In addition, a blacksmith shop, machine shop, tool storage house, and carpenter shed, each of light frame and corrugated iron, were also constructed. Finally, a small corral “to accommodate pack animals,” a masonry magazine “for the storage of electric blasting caps,” and a shower bath complete “with heater and water boiler” completed the campsite.¹²⁵ The days of living in tents were numbered.

Years of Expansion *and* Decline

Between late 1934 and 1937 the CCC would undergo important transformations affecting both Chiricahua National Monument and the broader relief program. For NM-2-A, the remaining three months of 1934, now the Fourth Enrollment period, saw a host of activities. The construction of the camp’s winter quarters, which took approximately two months, was completed on 3 November 1934.¹²⁶ With the closing of the Third Enrollment Period, staff changes were necessitated. Richard D. Sias, Junior Landscape Architect, left NM-2-A to return to a CCC camp in Randolph State Park, while a carpenter and “two competent . . . stone masons,” were added to the ranks of Company 828.¹²⁷ Wilbur D. Cook, a landscape architect with Cook & Hall, a well-known Los Angeles-based landscape and city planning firm, was hired as the new “ECW Landscape

¹²⁴ Beginning in the spring of 1934, the Army began designing buildings that had interchangeable parts, were easily transportable, and could be quickly fabricated on-site. The structures were first placed in mass production in 1935, and by the following year were being used at 1,500 CCC camps. During the Second World War, the buildings were utilized even more extensively. See “Report to Chief Forester on Fire Hazard Conditions and Emergency Conservation Work at Chiricahua National Monument,” 12-15 September 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago; and Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 71.

¹²⁵ “ECW Progress Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October-December,” December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹²⁶ “ECW Progress Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October-December,” December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹²⁷ W. G. Carnes to Frank Pinkley, 10 October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and Robert M. Rose to W. G. Carnes, 26 November 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

Foreman.” Sixty years old, “very active” and “very anxious for the work,” Cook eagerly accepted the position.¹²⁸ It paid \$2,000 per year “subject to economy reduction” and was a guaranteed job only until 31 March 1935.¹²⁹ Equipment concerns also continued to plague the camp. In late September 1934 NM-2-A requested eight pieces of heavy equipment, including a compressor “complete with air hose and connections,” a grader, a rotary fresno, a five-tooth Kilifer ripper, and four jackhammers.¹³⁰ The majority of the equipment was denied; however, several jackhammers were transferred from Yosemite National Park and one WEHR Motor grader was purchased from Edward R. Bacon Company in San Francisco, CA. The company was also lucky enough to purchase two vehicles, a Chevrolet half-ton pickup truck and a Chevrolet 1.5-ton dump truck.¹³¹ Both were 1934 models and bought new. Other supplies, including an alidade and hand level, for use in “taking topography” were requested and received. However, the staff of NM-2-A was always extremely cognizant of costs. One NPS official asked: “At the E.C.W. camp at Chiricahua National Monument we have quite a lot of worn-out Crucible Bits from the drilling operations. Is there any trade-in value to the bits or are they a total waste?”¹³² The reply, advising that the bits “have really given full value for their cost when they become too small to be further used,” highlighted the fact that the economic depression was still an important and considerable concern.¹³³

The workload for NM-2-A between October and December 1934 continued many of the projects begun during the Third Enrollment Period. Within Chiricahua National Monument, Camp NM-2-A completed a 9,880-foot horse trail through Rhyolite and Sarah Deming canyons and began construction on another horse trail linking Massai Point with Sugarloaf Mountain. The latter trail, stretching over 4,000 feet, required the

¹²⁸ Harry Langley to Frank Pinkley, 17 December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹²⁹ Wilbur D. Cook to Wm. Gray Carnes, 20 December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹³⁰ Walter G. Attwell to A. W. Burney, 20 September 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹³¹ A. W. Burney to Arno B. Cammerer, 4 December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹³² Walter G. Attwell to F. A. Kittredge, 22 December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹³³ A. W. Burney to Walter G. Attwell, 27 December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

construction of a short tunnel in order to surmount a “sharp curve on a vertical ledge” thought to be too “dangerous to horse traffic.”¹³⁴ Work was also focused on Bonita Canyon Highway, where ditches were cleaned, culverts were enlarged, and trees were removed. In fact, in cleaning the road the CCC enrollees also painstakingly prepared nearly one-hundred truck loads of firewood, “cut into cordwood lengths and piled up for disposal to County relief agencies.”¹³⁵ Other projects included the installation of approximately six miles of telephone line, from “the proposed Administration Area” to Massai Point and Sugarloaf Mountain, and the continued topographic and linear survey of approximately 16,000 acres of the “general monument.”¹³⁶ Enrollees at NM-2-A also completed substantial landscaping and beautification work at Massai Point, constructing stone steps and ramps, “resetting . . . certain shrubs and plants,” and painting “skinned bark and sawed limbs and stumps.”¹³⁷ The company also continued to prepare numerous drawings, engineering plans, and elevations for planned CCC projects. As noted previously, the Park Service was particularly sensitive of the natural landscape:

We . . . are very strongly opposed to the adoption of any ‘standard’ plans. We hope that each park can have more or less individual types of fireplaces and other campground facilities. The desire to standardize these plans would detract considerably from the park’s individuality and reflect considerable urban influence, for in cities everything is standardized, fire hydrants, electroliers, etc.¹³⁸

As such, drawings, sometimes with multiple revisions, were made for Chiricahua’s cooking grills and fireplaces, sewer system, public campground, headquarters and administration building and for a fire lookout house on Sugarloaf Mountain.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ “ECW Progress Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October-December,” December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park and Frank Pinkley to F. A. Kittredge, 15 December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹³⁵ “ECW Progress Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October-December,” December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹³⁶ “ECW Progress Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October-December,” December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹³⁷ “ECW Progress Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October-December,” December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹³⁸ W. G. Carnes to F. A. Kittredge, 23 October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹³⁹ See, for example, Walter G. Attwell to F. A. Kittredge, 2 October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; Walter G. Attwell to F. A. Kittredge, 6

Within Coronado National Forest, CCC enrollees backsloped Barfoot Road in Pinery Canyon, blasting rock and correcting “dangerous blind curves.”¹⁴⁰ Workers also conducted roadside cleanup in the canyon, removing fallen trees and burning and disposing “leaves, brush, slash, and dead timber.”¹⁴¹ Company 828 also began clearing a 2-acre parcel adjacent to Barfoot Road for use as “a Public Camp Ground.”¹⁴² As part of this work, CCC enrollees excavated ground for the installation of fireplaces, latrines, and garbage pits. The CCC also began assisting in “fire presuppression,” one of the most important activities conducted by the CCC in the West. Accordingly:

This work consisted of week-end patrols along adjacent roads on the Forest during the hunting season and the putting out of camp fires left burning. In addition, lookouts were maintained at two Forest lookout stations during week-ends and from time to time during the week.¹⁴³

Due to the potential of forest fires, enrollees at NM-2-A were forbidden to smoke while walking, while on horseback, and even while “riding in a truck or other motor vehicle.”¹⁴⁴ In fact, smoking was only permitted “during rest periods” in camp, “dismounted on a road,” or in low hazard areas such as creek bottoms.¹⁴⁵

Finally, NM-2-A’s two side camps, at Rustler Park and Cima Park, were abandoned, due to their high elevation and the onslaught of winter, on 19 November 1934 and 28 November 1934 respectively. Prior to being withdrawn, a considerable effort in itself, Rustler Park side camp completed “all assigned and unfinished work projects”

December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; H. Langley to E. A. Nickel, 2 November 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; and H. Langley to Frank Pinkley, 13 September 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹⁴⁰ “ECW Progress Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October-December,” December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁴¹ “ECW Progress Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October-December,” December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁴² “ECW Progress Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October-December,” December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁴³ “ECW Progress Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October-December,” December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park. One of the greatest threats to the parks and monuments was forest fires. As a result, numerous CCC projects focused on fire protection and fire suppression. In fact, enrollees often fought fires on non-federal land. See Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 98-99.

¹⁴⁴ Forest Supervisor to H. O. Hammond, 12 June 1934, 208-01.4 Permits, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

from the prior enrollment period, mainly campground improvements and the construction of a log granary, and Cima Park side camp finished the “doors, windows, shower bath, kitchen sink, range” and other miscellaneous features of Cima Park Cabin.¹⁴⁶ Another ranger cabin, at Fly Peak, was not completed, although “the spruce logs for its construction were all cut, peeled and hauled to the site and placed on racks for seasoning.”¹⁴⁷

By the first months of 1935, the CCC was at the height of its activity. Congress had increased appropriations to more than \$4.8 billion, allowing the unemployment relief agency to initiate numerous new camps and projects.¹⁴⁸ More than 502,000 men were engaged in work, the most ever for the CCC; in Arizona, 9,000 men were employed at more than fifty camps throughout the state.¹⁴⁹ In Coronado National Forest, the CCC expanded to include camps at Walker Canyon (F-64-A) near Nogales and in Turkey Creek Canyon (F-47-A) in the Chiricahua Mountains.¹⁵⁰ To help assist in the management of the numerous camps in southern Arizona, a Tucson-CCC District office was established in Tucson in mid-1935. For Company 828, now numbering 205 men, the remaining months of the Fourth Enrollment Period, between January and March 1935, still found the camp “pinched for funds,” although the NPS was allotted approximately \$25,500 for “post construction . . . parking areas, campground roads, and facilities” in Chiricahua National Monument.¹⁵¹ As in previous enrollment periods, the enrollees

¹⁴⁵ Forest Supervisor to H. O. Hammond, 12 June 1934, 208-01.4 Permits, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹⁴⁶ “ECW Progress Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October-December,” December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park. See also *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁴⁷ “ECW Progress Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October-December,” December 1934, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁴⁸ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 56-58.

¹⁴⁹ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 62-64 and Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 123-124.

¹⁵⁰ *The Civilian Conservation Corps: Coronado National Forest, 1933-1942* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1991).

¹⁵¹ Arthur E. Demaray to E. K. Burlew, 5 September 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (2 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; Frank Pinkley to W. G. Carnes, 13 October 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (1 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; and H. O. Hammond to Arno B. Cammerer, 5 February 1935, Monthly Work Progress Report (2 of 2), Box 76; Correspondence Relating to CCC, ECW, ERA Work in National Parks, Forests, Monuments and Recreation Areas 1933-43, Chiricahua National Monument AZ; RG 79; Records of the National Park Service; National

divided their time equally between Park Service and Forest Service projects. One significant project, initiated in January 1935, sought the construction of a septic tank for Camp NM-2-A. According to one NPS engineer, “it will be entirely worth while [sic] for the Army to build this septic tank . . . because the owner of the land, living below the camp, could not long stand the pollution of the stream.”¹⁵² Camp NM-2-A was further improved by the construction of a camp “tool grinding shed” and the addition of fire protection equipment, including “pyrene extinguishers . . . [and] sand and water barrels” in each building.¹⁵³ Within Chiricahua National Monument, CCC enrollees completed a horse trail linking Massai Pont with Sugarloaf Mountain, continued highway maintenance along Bonita Canyon Highway, and widened the channel of Bonita Creek. The latter stream, which winds through Bonita Canyon, also saw the addition of stone revetments “to protect the bank from washing out.”¹⁵⁴ Company 828 also began construction of a fire lookout house on Sugarloaf Mountain, initiating excavation of the foundation and transporting building materials “by mule pack train” to the site.¹⁵⁵ Preliminary work was also started on public campground facilities in Bonita Canyon. Enrollees cleared approximately 5 acres of trees, “brush and litter,” initiated construction of a rock masonry comfort station, and began work on numerous campground tables.¹⁵⁶ Within Coronado National Forest, CCC enrollees erected two cattle guards along Barfoot Road in Pinery Canyon, continued routine roadside clean-up, built a truck trail linking “Pine Canyon and Pinery Canyon roads,” and constructed two concrete reinforced bridges. Other Forest Service projects included building tables, fireplaces, garbage pits, and two toilets for the campground at Oak Park. These camping facilities were further augmented by the

Archives and Records Administration - Rocky Mountain Region; Denver, CO (hereafter cited as Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver).

¹⁵² F. A. Kittredge to H. E. Eastwood, 30 January 1935, 208-01.4 Permits, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹⁵³ “ECW Progress Report, Complete Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October, 1934-March, 1935,” March 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁵⁴ “ECW Progress Report, Complete Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October, 1934-March, 1935,” March 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁵⁵ “ECW Progress Report, Complete Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October, 1934-March, 1935,” March 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁵⁶ “ECW Progress Report, Complete Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October, 1934-March, 1935,” March 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

construction of a concrete reservoir, with “masonry . . . hydrants,” capable of storing 1,000 gallons of water.¹⁵⁷

In April 1935, as the Fifth Enrollment Period officially began, Company 828 experienced a number of important changes. One appreciable alteration was the ethnicity of its enrollees. During previous enrollment periods, Camp NM-2-A consisted mainly of white Arizonans or Texans. This slowly changed as local authorities began recruiting among a broader spectrum of unemployed.¹⁵⁸ By 1935, a substantial portion of the company was Mexican American. Other changes involved the company’s officer and executive staff. Over the preceding several months, Camp NM-2-A’s supervising personnel, which included a commanding officer, project superintendent, and educational advisor, was enlarged to include a camp surgeon, a full-time project engineer, several more foremen, two mechanics, and twenty-nine LEM.¹⁵⁹ Enrollees were also given more leadership roles, with men selected as camp leaders and assistant leaders. Nonetheless, sometime in April-May 1935, the War Department replaced NM-2-A’s commanding officer, First Lieutenant Clarence W. Woody, with Lieutenant Machon. Shortly thereafter, Machon was succeeded by his “second in command,” Lieutenant R. J. Harris.¹⁶⁰ Serving for only one or two months, Harris was replaced on 1 August 1935 by Lieutenant R. S. McAlister. An extremely experienced and capable officer, McAlister had served at Camp Booker T. Washington, an African-American camp located at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia. According to enrollees of Company 828, “we wish him a lot of success in his stay here, and for the benefit of the camp we hope that his stay will be a long one.”¹⁶¹ It wasn’t. Less than one month later, “a complete change of Army personnel” was ordered by the War Department.¹⁶² McAlister was replaced with another commanding officer, First Lieutenant J. Arnold van Hardeveld. Well

¹⁵⁷ “ECW Progress Report, Complete Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October, 1934-March, 1935,” March 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁵⁸ For a discussion on ethnicity issues in the Arizona CCC see Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West*, 19 and Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 30, 64-65.

¹⁵⁹ “Monthly Work Progress Report,” May 1935, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (2 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

¹⁶⁰ *The Totem Pole*, August 1935, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁶¹ *The Totem Pole*, August 1935, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁶² “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

experienced with unemployment relief, Hardeveld had served as director of the Phoenix Transient Camp and of the Nogales Transient Camp, had taught briefly at the Phoenix Indian School, and prior to the Depression, had been assigned to the American Consulate in Panama City, Panama.¹⁶³ For Camp NM-2-A, his appointment brought a “marked improvement, in the morale, conduct and general activities of the Company.”¹⁶⁴ Other staff changes were also initiated. In June 1935, the NPS and the Forest Service replaced the camp’s project superintendent, H. O. Hammond, with William Stevenson. Hammond, who had been at NM-2-A since its establishment at Chiricahua National Monument, “took charge of the work at [the] Turkey Creek” CCC camp.¹⁶⁵ Finally, Boyd Berrill, education advisor, was transferred to a joint appointment at Camp SCS-13-A and SCS-12-A, and was succeeded by Kermit Dale.¹⁶⁶

Other important changes at NM-2-A involved the expansion of camp-wide educational programming. As early as December 1933, Robert Fechner, director of the CCC, had sought to include educational programs for enrollees.¹⁶⁷ Although most camps had an educational advisor by early 1934, curriculum and content varied. The majority of camps provided vocational instruction in truck driving, machine operation, typing, or welding; within Arizona CCC officials encouraged enrollees to attend night classes at local high schools and sometimes colleges.¹⁶⁸ However, the War Department, which managed all educational programming, saw a dangerous link between education and politics.¹⁶⁹ Specifically, the Army was extremely fearful that radical or subversive ideas might infiltrate the camps, with one military official noting:

I have constantly fought the attempts of long-haired men and short-haired women to get in our camps. . . . we are going to be hounded to death by all sorts of educators. Instead of teaching the boys how to do an honest day’s work we

¹⁶³ *The Totem Pole*, 15 February 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁶⁴ “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁶⁵ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁶⁶ *The Totem Pole*, August 1935, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago and “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁶⁷ Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 157-59.

¹⁶⁸ Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 161-63.

¹⁶⁹ Jason H. Gart, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona: An Analysis of Camp Newspaper Content,” Unpublished Paper, HIS 591, American West Seminar, Arizona State University, May 1997.

are going to be forced to accede to the wishes of the long-haired men and short-haired women and spend most of the time on some kind of an educational course.¹⁷⁰

As a result, many publications, including *The New Republic* and *The Nation*, were prohibited from CCC camps due to their liberal content; unemployed teachers who sought jobs as camp education advisors faced tough examination and scrutiny.¹⁷¹ Nonetheless, by 1935, the Army began to acquiesce, and the CCC offered an expanded list of classes. Within NM-2-A, courses in history, arithmetic, trigonometry, radio instruction, bookkeeping, blueprint reading, English, and Spanish were offered; while classes in “current events, and possibly . . . geometry . . . [were to be] organized very shortly.”¹⁷² Company 828 also planned to offer its enrollees a photography class, “as soon as requisitioned photographic supplies arrive,” and a course in diesel engineering.¹⁷³ Finally, to supplement routine classes, enrollees often attended evening lectures or slide shows. For NM-2-A, characteristic topics included the “national parks and monuments of the West,” and other forestry-related subjects.¹⁷⁴

Of course, other diversions, such as sports and entertainment activities, were also quite popular among CCC enrollees, and camp commanders often encouraged intramural sports between CCC camps.¹⁷⁵ At NM-2-A, enrollees spent early evening and weekends playing horseshoes, basketball, baseball, softball, ping pong, and boxing. Other games, such as checkers, dominos, and cards, were also encouraged.¹⁷⁶ Volleyball was a particular favorite among enrollees:

[On] Sunday . . . a group of men journeyed from Bonita CCC

¹⁷⁰ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 48-50. See also Frank Ernest Hill, *The School in the Camps: The Educational Program of the Civilian Conservation Corps* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1935).

¹⁷¹ Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 81.

¹⁷² “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park and “ECW Progress Report, Complete Fourth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A, October, 1934-March, 1935,” March 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁷³ “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁷⁴ *The Totem Pole*, August 1935, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁷⁵ Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 51.

¹⁷⁶ “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park; *The Totem Pole*, August 1935, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago; and *The Totem Pole*, 20 September 1935, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

Camp to encounter a well trained volleyball team from the CCC camp at Turkey Creek. . . . A Turkey Creek player called ‘Curley’ was especially good at the net, and whenever his team-mates set the ball up for him at the net he banged it across and downward with such force that it was almost impossible to return.

Our boys were very much in need of practice, but seemed to improve perceptibly the longer they played. Eight or nine games were played with our opponents winning all except one.¹⁷⁷

Interestingly, American football was prohibited in the camp due to it being “frowned upon by higher officials,” although touch football, kicking, and passing were still permissible.¹⁷⁸ More elitist sports were also played. Enrollees enjoyed polo on the “rolling turf” beside the camp, with pick handles and tin cans serving as mallets. According to *The Totem Pole*, the camp newspaper, “horses not being available, burros were used as mounts.”¹⁷⁹ And the camp surgeon, Dr. Stanley Z. Weisshaus, offered fencing lessons for interested individuals. By the summer of 1935, Camp NM-2-A had extensive recreational facilities, a recreational hall, a camp piano, and was even in the planning phase for a dance.¹⁸⁰ Unfortunately, the summer of 1935 also saw the company’s first significant accident. On Friday night, 16 August 1935, while transporting twenty-five enrollees to Bisbee, a CCC truck from NM-2-A overturned “several times” at a curve “three miles south of Elfrida.”¹⁸¹ According to *The Totem Pole*:

Practically every man who was on the truck suffered some injury, some of them serious injuries.

Two of the men are now in the Calumet hospital at Douglas where it was necessary to give them blood transfusions.¹⁸²

The seriously injured included Dela Cruz, Ray Lopez, Edward Thomas, Abelardo Romero, J. D. Williams, Federico Montijo, Jose Molino, Isidro Ruiz, James Brown,

¹⁷⁷ *The Totem Pole*, 20 September 1935, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁷⁸ *The Totem Pole*, 20 September 1935, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁷⁹ *The Totem Pole*, 20 September 1935, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁸⁰ Open houses and dances became quite popular with Arizona CCC camps. Often youth, and especially females, from surrounding towns and communities would be invited. During one dance, at Camp F-30-A near Sonoita, a thunderstorm “forced the young ladies to spend the night.” See Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 63.

¹⁸¹ *The Totem Pole*, August 1935, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁸² *The Totem Pole*, August 1935, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

Ernest Jiminez, Humberto Federico, Ramon Mondosa, and Elsie Reeves. Luckily, all of the men recovered, although some were transferred to William Beaumont General Hospital at Fort Bliss, in El Paso, Texas, and were still hospitalized more than seven months later.¹⁸³

Nonetheless, the summer and fall of 1935 found enrollees at NM-2-A completing a host of NPS and Forest Service work projects. Within Chiricahua National Monument, enrollees completed the landscaping and surfacing of the horse trail from Massai Point to Sugarloaf Mountain. They also finished the construction of a fire lookout house on Sugarloaf Mountain, the “highest peak in the Monument.”¹⁸⁴ The building, which had a masonry foundation, concrete basement, and cistern, was of frame construction, had hardwood floors, large windows, a hitching rack, and a regulation flagpole.¹⁸⁵ Two “pit” toilets were also constructed at the site. Company 828 also continued work on the public campground facilities in Bonita Canyon. The 5-acre site was divided into “three units,” with each supplied with “fireplaces, tables and water.”¹⁸⁶ Twenty fireplaces, “of native stone lined with fire brick,” and twenty-six tables were installed.¹⁸⁷ A campground comfort station, begun during the Forth Enrollment Period, was also completed.¹⁸⁸ The masonry building was constructed with “weathered native stone” and included a cedar shingle roof. It offered visitors flush toilets, urinals, and lavatories. Preliminary work was also begun on a headquarters area for Chiricahua National Monument. CCC enrollees constructed a headquarters comfort station, septic tank, and sewer lines. Finally, a reinforced concrete dam, measuring sixty feet high and thirteen feet wide, was

¹⁸³ Two enrollees, J. D. Williams and Edward Thomas, faced lengthy recuperations. Although the extent of their injuries is not known, neither was released from the hospital until March 1936. See *The Totem Pole*, 20 September 1935, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago and *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁸⁴ “Monthly Work Progress Report,” May 1935, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (2 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁸⁵ “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁸⁶ “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁸⁷ “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁸⁸ Berle Clemensen, “Chiricahua National Monument Civilian Conservation Corps Buildings,” National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, 1992.

constructed approximately “two miles east of the headquarters area.”¹⁸⁹ The dam was designed to direct water from several springs to a 5,000-gallon concrete reservoir. The water supply, for use by campground visitors, was surrounded by a “woven wire fence . . . to prevent contamination.”¹⁹⁰ Another 10,000-gallon concrete reservoir, for headquarters staff, was also constructed. Other important projects included the relocation of two culverts along Bonita Canyon Highway, the obliteration of “an old road leading into the Monument,” and the maintenance of CCC men at the Sugarloaf lookout house.¹⁹¹ Enrollees from NM-2-A also assisted the “Monument Ranger” and served as guides. In Coronado National Forest, enrollees constructed a log cabin, “to be used as a fire season residence by the District Forest Ranger,” at the Rustler Park side camp; worked on fire suppression; and were called upon to serve approximately “100 man days . . . fighting fires.”¹⁹²

By 1936, an enlarging federal budget deficit, coupled with a desire to establish a smaller, but permanent ECW agency, led the Roosevelt administration to seek reductions in the size and scope of the CCC. Throughout the year, camp closures were announced. Within the NPS, the number of CCC camps was reduced by nearly one-quarter (23.7 percent), while average camp size, traditionally 200 men, was reduced to 160 men.¹⁹³ Within NM-2-A, 1936 would mark the beginning of a slow, yet unmistakable, decline in projects and manpower. This was first foreshadowed in mid-March, towards the end of the Sixth Enrollment Period. On Friday, 13 March 1936, Company 828 received orders from the Tucson District Headquarters to demobilize and to begin preparations to leave Camp NM-2-A.¹⁹⁴ According to *The Totem Pole*:

Camp DG-49-A and Camp NM-2-A will be reoccupied by
companies from the Second Corps Area shortly after

¹⁸⁹ “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁹⁰ “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁹¹ “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁹² “ECW Progress Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, Camp NM-2-A,” 8 October 1935, Chiricahua National Monument, Box 1, NRCP, RG 79, NPS, NARA, College Park.

¹⁹³ Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 216 and Collins, *The New Deal in Arizona*, 22-23.

¹⁹⁴ *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

abandonment by present companies.

LEM enrollees of all companies will be demobilized, will, within the limit of 16 per camp, be transferred to fill vacancies in other companies of this or other Districts within this state. LEM in excess of the prescribed number of 16 per camp will be discharged.

Rated enrollees as far as possible will be transferred in rating to camps where vacancies may exist. All rated enrollees who cannot be absorbed in other companies within authorized allowance will be disrated prior to transfer.¹⁹⁵

Eight other companies were also ordered to demobilize; while six camps, including those at Stockton Pass (F-46-A) in the Pinaleno Mountains and in Turkey Creek Canyon (F-47-A) in the Chiricahua Mountains, were to be officially abandoned.¹⁹⁶ However, within a few days of the order to demobilize, Company 828 saw the order rescinded, leading the camp newspaper to inquire, “Fate of Company 828 Uncertain?”¹⁹⁷ In fact, it was, and over the next several weeks, “the major-outdoor sport of Company 828 . . . [became] trying to figure out . . . what is to become of the Company in the re-organization program.”¹⁹⁸ By late April, the matter abated and the “consensus opinion” was that the company was to remain at Camp NM-2-A indefinitely. Other companies were not so lucky. On 22 March 1936, Camp F-47-A declined an invitation to an inter-company wide picnic due to the “unsettled conditions of moving and demobilization.”¹⁹⁹

Another noticeable concern to Camp NM-2-A was the continuation of the revolving door in company supervising personnel. Staff changes, authorized by the War Department, and to a lesser extent by the NPS and the Forest Service, increasingly placed reserve officers in command of Company 828. This was done, in part, to allow regular officers the opportunity to return to traditional Army commands. On Saturday, 15 February 1936, less than six months after his appointment, the camp’s commanding

¹⁹⁵ *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁹⁶ *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago and *The Civilian Conservation Corps: Coronado National Forest, 1933-1942*.

¹⁹⁷ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁹⁸ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago.

¹⁹⁹ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago.

officer, First Lieutenant J. Arnold van Hardeveld, was “released from active duty.”²⁰⁰

According to the camp newspaper:

In appreciation of your two years of honorable service in the Citizens’ Conservation Corps and your duties performed in this company to increase its efficiency and promote the welfare of the personnel, we wish to dedicate this issue of the company paper, ‘The Totem Pole’ as a token of our esteem and regard; we wish you the best of luck in all your immediate and future undertakings.²⁰¹

Hardeveld was succeeded by Second Lieutenant Elmer Colglazier, “one of the youngest company commanders in the Tucson District.”²⁰² A native of Fort Worth, Texas, and member of the Infantry Reserve, Colglazier graduated from the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College and had worked at the Magnolia Oil Company before receiving active orders.²⁰³ He served in a number of CCC camps, including Camp SCS-12-A in Bowie, Camp SCS-18-A in Naco, and Camp SP-6-A in Tucson, before taking command of Company 828. Nonetheless, Colglazier would serve at Camp NM-2-A for only one month; on 15 March 1936 he was replaced by First Lieutenant William E. Sharp. Well experienced, Sharp had seen action during the First World War at the Second Battle of the Marne, the Aisne-Marne Offensive, and the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Following the war, Sharp served as a “member of the American Detachment, American Conference to Negotiate Peace,” which was charged with negotiating the terms of the Versailles Treaty in Paris, France.²⁰⁴ Sharp later served as a highway engineer until “he was called to active duty” as company commander of Camp F-21-N in Las Vegas, Nevada and as “sub-District Commander” of the Yuma and Fort Huachuca sub-districts.²⁰⁵ When companies under his jurisdiction were demobilized, Sharp was transferred to Camp NM-2-A to undertake command.

Other significant staff changes also occurred throughout 1936. One particularly heartfelt departure occurred in July, when the camp surgeon, Dr. Stanley Z. Weisshaus,

²⁰⁰ *The Totem Pole*, 15 February 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁰¹ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁰² *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁰³ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁰⁴ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁰⁵ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

returned to New York to “resume his medical practice.”²⁰⁶ In addition to providing medical service, Weisshaus had also served as the company’s second in command, earning much respect and admiration from the enrollees. According to *The Totem Pole*:

We have always found you to be kind and sympathetic, regardless of “rank”; creed, or color; always ready to render assistance; always ready to cheer and console.

[W]ords cannot express what you have meant to us here in NM-2-A. Camp life has been made easier because of your association with us.²⁰⁷

The new camp surgeon, Dr. James L. Nicholson, was recruited from the Oklahoma National Guard, and came to Camp NM-2-A directly from Fitzsimmons General Hospital in Denver, CO. On 13 January 1936, Company 828 was assigned a new educational advisor, Carlton K. Prather. A joint appointment, Prather was also required to coordinate educational activities at Camp F-47-A.²⁰⁸ In fact, between February and July 1936, Company 828 would see a host of rotations, some of which became quite absurd. These included the arrival of a new camp music teacher, R. J. Boardman; the arrival of a camp journalist and educational instructor, M. M. Graef; the almost immediate departure of Boardman; the departure of Graef; the arrival of a new athletic director, Harold Cocke; and finally, the return of Graef.²⁰⁹ Other, more routine, staffing changes also occurred. Within technical services, Travis Horn and Harry Abbott, who had served as NPS assistants and park guides, departed; while Frank L. Fish became the first “permanent . . . Ranger” at Chiricahua National Monument in July.²¹⁰

For enrollees of Company 828, the completion of a CCC enrollment period typically found men trying to re-enlist for another six-month term of service.²¹¹

²⁰⁶ *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁰⁷ *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁰⁸ *The Totem Pole*, 15 February 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago and *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁰⁹ *The Totem Pole*, 15 February 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago; *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago; and *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²¹⁰ *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago and *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²¹¹ By 1936, the maximum term of service for CCC enrollees had increased from six months to eighteen months. See *Camp Talk*, 20 August 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), Civilian Conservation Corps Camp Papers, The Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, IL (hereafter cited as CCCCP, CRL, Chicago).

However, as the economy slowly improved throughout 1936, more enrollees and staff sought entrance into the permanent workforce. In February, Wilbur D. Cook, landscape foreman, received a job offer from the National Housing Bureau and “left immediately” for Washington, D.C.²¹² Shortly thereafter, Jack May, “the congenial and efficient” company clerk, left for employment in his hometown of Shreveport, Louisiana.²¹³ Others followed throughout the summer.²¹⁴ In July, Vernie Brown was discharged “to accept employment at Tecumseh, Oklahoma,” and Nathan D. Linton was discharged to enlist in the Navy, “having applied for enlistment before entering the CCC.”²¹⁵ Finally, William Roby, “one of the few remaining members of the old guard,” left NM-2-A to accept employment. According to *The Totem Pole*: “he saw company commanders come and go . . . [and] saw Company 828 develop from a fledgling to a well seasoned organization.”²¹⁶ Many other enrollees, of course, were discharged from Company 828 without any prospects for employment. On Tuesday, 31 March 1936, approximately thirty-seven enrollees, mostly from Oklahoma, were discharged, “having completed their enrollment period.”²¹⁷ The camp newspaper noted:

Tuesday was a busy day for the Supply Sergeant, Oldenburg, for he checked in innumerable articles of departing enrollees. The room was a most unbelievable sight, with an interesting collection of shoes, shirts, coats, etc., stacked in the middle of the floor six feet high.²¹⁸

To honor the departing men, a farewell dinner, with “fried chicken . . . [and] shrimp salad,” was held.²¹⁹ A special issue of the camp newspaper, including “a complete roster of all the men who have been in the company during the last six months or more,” was

²¹² *The Totem Pole*, 15 February 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²¹³ *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²¹⁴ The summer of 1936 would also see desertions by company enrollees. In July, six men “decided that their presence was needed elsewhere” and “departed for greener pastures.” According to the camp newspaper, the men were greeted by a “welcoming committee” in Willcox. See *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²¹⁵ *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²¹⁶ *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²¹⁷ The same month, however, also saw the re-enlistment of approximately one-hundred enrollees in Company 828. See *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago and *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²¹⁸ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²¹⁹ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

also issued.²²⁰ The newspaper also included reflection and guidance from departing enrollees. One man noted,

Since I joined the CCC I have met hundreds of different boys from all walks of life. It has taught me that boys from Texas are not very much different from the boys from Oklahoma or Arizona.

I have had to revise my ideals of values. I had an ideal that ‘no good could come from Nazareth’ and that values came from family position and prestige. I have received my greatest inspirations from boys who sprang from the lowliest of environments.²²¹

A more pragmatic insight came from *The Totem Pole*, Camp NM-2-A’s newspaper, which warned departing enrollees to “please count your change before leaving window.”²²²

During the spring and summer of 1936, now the Seventh Enrollment Period, Company 828 made a number of improvements to its camp facilities. In doing so, Camp NM-2-A supervising personnel, and specifically, First Lieutenant William E. Sharp, sought to “make the surroundings of the men in the company area and in the buildings as comfortable and home-like as possible.”²²³ As such, small white-washed rocks were used to outline “graceful walks” throughout the compound. The camp’s recreation hall became a specific focus for overhaul. Drapes were added and the building was repainted “a delicate sea green to reflect the natural green of its setting and trimmed in turquoise blue reflecting the blue of the Chiricahua Mountain sky,” all with the intent to create “an inviting room, a room that is suggestive of refinement and culture rather than barrenness and coarseness.”²²⁴ By July 1936, the hallmark building included a company canteen, complete with linoleum flooring, a barber shop, a journalism work room, a reading room, and a new library with “wrought iron . . . brackets for the bookshelves.”²²⁵ The company mess hall was also redecorated and revamped, as were the five enrollee barrack buildings.

²²⁰ *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²²¹ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²²² *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²²³ *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²²⁴ *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²²⁵ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

Finally, an athletic field was constructed nearer to the camp, allowing enrollees to no longer necessitate transport “of four miles by truck” just to play ball.²²⁶ Other recreational activities organized during 1936 included swimming classes, held in the municipal pools of Willcox and Bisbee; camp lectures and movies; a Sunday Morning Assembly; and the organization of an NM-2-A “concert orchestra.”²²⁷ Of course, sports also continued to play an important role in camp life at NM-2-A. Enrollees participated in district-wide basketball tournaments, in baseball leagues (Sulfur Springs Valley League), and in boxing competitions (Southern Arizona Boxing Tournament).²²⁸

By mid-1936, sickness, health problems, and accidents would also increasingly plague Camp NM-2-A. One particular concern became venereal disease. Throughout most of their stay in Chiricahua National Monument, enrollees were allowed to visit nearby towns and communities on the evenings and weekends.²²⁹ CCC trucks and vehicles were often used to transport men to Douglas, Willcox, and Bisbee. The Mexican border towns, Agua Prieta and Naco, also became extremely popular among the men. A popular joke in Camp NM-2-A asked: “What is it that makes the world go round?” The reply: “Ten shots of that Willcox gin will do nicely.”²³⁰ Banter within the camp newspaper seemed to reaffirm the playground atmosphere. A column entitled “Chiricahua Bill” noted, “the only way you can tell how a girl will turn out is to wait until the old folks turn in.”²³¹ The camp’s supervising personnel were also sometimes brought into the fray. On 15 February 1936, *The Totem Pole* quipped, “according to Lt. McNay, our Commanding Officer was philanderer in his youngerdays [sic].”²³² Another article noted, “Dr. Nicholson says that he doesn’t wish anybody bad luck but that he would like to have a good excuse to visit the Copper Queen Hospital in Bisbee occasionally.”²³³ As

²²⁶ *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²²⁷ *The Totem Pole*, 15 February 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago; *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago; *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago; and *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²²⁸ *The Totem Pole*, 15 February 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago and *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²²⁹ “Fred W. Youngman,” Former Employees of CCC at Chiricahua National Monument, ACC 3047 1687-13, Chiricahua National Monument, Willcox, AZ.

²³⁰ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²³¹ *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²³² *The Totem Pole*, 15 February 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²³³ *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

a result, cases of venereal disease began to appear within the camp. In March 1936, *The Totem Pole* reported:

[D]uring the past seven and a half months there were only two cases of venereal diseases discovered out of an average company strength of 170 enrollees, and only three cases of more serious nature have occurred during the same period, everyone of which had consequently made an uneventful recovery.²³⁴

Nonetheless, by July 1936, the camp surgeon, Dr. Stanley Z. Weisshaus, sought again to give “the boys some timely pointers on ‘personal’ safety,” and as a precautionary measure, placed “border towns on the ‘verboden’ list.”²³⁵ Of course, many other health problems were treated in Camp NM-2-A. Common ailments suffered by enrollees during the spring and summer of 1936 included the flu, tonsillitis, pneumonia, strep throat, a broken leg, boils, and the mumps.²³⁶ The latter sickness forced one young enrollee to delay “going home . . . for at least two weeks,” as a result of having been diagnosed on his day of departure. Enrollee health was improved, however, by a comprehensive vaccination program and good nutrition, which had the very real effect of increasing enrollee average weight by approximately “twelve and one-half pounds per man.”²³⁷

The work program for 1936 continued much of the activity begun in prior enrollment periods. Within Chiricahua National Monument, Company 828, now numbering approximately 154 men, continued road sloping along Bonita Canyon Highway and maintenance on approximately one mile of horse trails. Within the public campgrounds at Bonita Canyon, three fireplaces, three tables, and twenty-five burrow pits were installed. A combined bathhouse and laundry was also built.²³⁸ Unlike prior years, Company 828 was now under strict orders to comply with the NPS policy of not

²³⁴ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²³⁵ *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²³⁶ The broken leg was suffered by Robert Mikes while attempting to flee from a boulder broken loose by a CCC crew. The accident is detailed quite extensively in Hugh M. Miller to Frank Pinkley, 27 November 1936, 801-01 Accidents, Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver. See also *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²³⁷ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²³⁸ “Monthly Work Progress Report,” January 1936, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (2 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; “Monthly Work Progress Report,” March 1936, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (2 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; and “John Sticht,” Former Employees of CCC at Chiricahua National Monument, ACC 3047 1687-13, Chiricahua National Monument, Willcox, AZ (hereafter cited as Former Employees, ACC 3047 1687-13, CNM, Willcox).

disturbing “any natural shrub or tree.”²³⁹ As a result, enrollees carefully transplanted all trees and shrubs. The monument’s headquarters area was also improved. Enrollees from Camp NM-2-A graded the service road, constructed “rock lined” parking stalls, and erected a one-story dwelling.²⁴⁰ The structure, completed between January and March 1936, was constructed of native rock, contained four rooms, and was topped with a pitched roof and cedar shingles.²⁴¹ Upon completion of the dwelling, it was utilized as a ranger station, residence, and work “quarters” by William Stevenson, NM-2-A project superintendent.²⁴² Finally, CCC enrollees constructed a rock quarry and six stone fences within the headquarters area.²⁴³ Other significant projects included topographic surveying and fieldwork, by Andrew Clark and Carl Schmidt, for a Vegetation Type Map; the collection of geological specimens for “public contact” and other guide work; the registering of “incoming visitors” to the Monument; and the manning of the fire lookout house on Sugarloaf Mountain.²⁴⁴ Within Coronado National Forest, CCC enrollees finished a “tough” seven-mile telephone line to Portal and assisted in fire suppression.²⁴⁵

In 1937, the CCC continued to suffer setbacks and decline. An effort by President Roosevelt to seek permanent status for the agency and place enrollees within the civil service was defeated in early summer.²⁴⁶ The CCC was, however, reauthorized for an additional two years, and was also required to offer all enrollees at least ten hours of

²³⁹ *The Totem Pole*, 31 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁴⁰ “Form WO-1,” September 1936, 8th Period ECW Program, Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver. See also, Frank L. Fish to Mr. Beaty, 14 March 1938, History of, Vertical File No. 2, Chiricahua National Monument, ACC 654-25, Chiricahua National Monument, Willcox, AZ.

²⁴¹ “Monthly Work Progress Report,” March 1936, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (2 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁴² *The Totem Pole*, 15 March 1936, MN 0524 (1 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁴³ “Monthly Work Progress Report,” July 1936, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver. See also Clemensen, “Chiricahua National Monument Civilian Conservation Corps Buildings,” 1992.

²⁴⁴ Robert H. Rose to Norman L. Smith, 16 December 1936, Geology, Folder 6, Box 2, AC, CNM, ARG 4, MCR, WACC, Tucson; *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago; and *Vegetation Type Map: Chiricahua National Monument Topographic Map* (San Francisco, CA: Department of the Interior, 1937).

²⁴⁵ *The Totem Pole*, 31 July 1936, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago and “Monthly Work Progress Report,” July 1936, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁴⁶ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 145-61.

general education or vocational training per week.²⁴⁷ Throughout 1937 the number of CCC camps declined and company strength slowly decreased; within Arizona fourteen camps were closed, reducing the state's quota to only thirty companies.²⁴⁸ The Tucson-CCC District office, established only twenty months earlier, was also closed, and all statewide CCC operations were moved to Phoenix.²⁴⁹ Arizona's improving economy, largely a result of rising copper prices, decreased relief rolls and placed many in the state back to work. As this occurred, a number of Arizona newspapers began to become outspoken critics of the New Deal, arguing that the work relief programs benefited only government bureaucrats who "by ever increasing the rolls of the so-called needy, can . . . hang onto their jobs."²⁵⁰ Within NM-2-A, enrollees were informed on Saturday, 20 February 1937 that:

The CCC will be continued until July 1, 1937. Congress has appropriated \$95,000,000 for that purpose. The Army will remain in charge of administration. Only 84 camps will be discontinued. This will leave approximately 2,000 camps in operation.²⁵¹

For Camp NM-2-A, the bulk of enrollees continued to be white or Mexican American. Most were from Texas, specifically from the small communities of Beaumont, Center, Colmesneil, Jasper, Kirbyville, Kountze, Newton, Pineland, Port Arthur, San Augustine, Silsbee, and Woodville.²⁵² Throughout the year, enrollees continued to be discharged as they accepted full-time employment. Men went to work at trucking companies, with small businesses, and in "building construction."²⁵³ A few enrollees were released to further their education; A. J. Beaty, camp education advisor, was "granted a leave of absence during the month of August" to finish his master's degree at the University of Southern California, and Bert Blasdell departed to attend college in Hammond, LA.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁷ Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 24.

²⁴⁸ Booth, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona," 192-95.

²⁴⁹ Booth, "Cactizonians," 320-21.

²⁵⁰ Booth, "The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona," 195.

²⁵¹ *Camp Talk*, 20 February 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁵² "Joe E. Fields," Former Employees, ACC 3047 1687-13, CNM, Willcox.

²⁵³ *Camp Talk*, 20 February 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago and *Camp Talk*, 20 August 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁵⁴ *Camp Talk*, 13 March 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago and *Camp Talk*, 20 August 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

Within Camp NM-2-A, life continued its comfortable regiment. The company newspaper, *The Totem Pole*, described as “one of the best camp papers in the country,” was replaced with *Camp Talk*, a smaller, more “short and snappy” production.²⁵⁵ NM-2-A’s commanding officer, William E. Sharp, continued his efforts to make the camp’s recreational facilities “the most up-to-date in the district.” In late July 1937, he traveled to Phoenix and purchased two “glider type” couches for the recreation hall.²⁵⁶ The facility was further improved with the “installation of a pool table,” an event that “overjoyed” the camp.²⁵⁷ Sporting events also survived throughout the spring and summer. The company basketball team, “The Bonita Wonders,” competed in a number of tournaments, and an inter-company softball league “composed of five barracks” was organized in March.²⁵⁸ Other camp tournaments challenged enrollees in checkers, cards, ping pong, and dominos. Educational activities also continued throughout the year. Enrollees attended classes, some of which were held in Tucson, and even Phoenix, on truck driving, clerical duties, and radio operation.²⁵⁹ The company clerk, Rafael Salgado, successfully passed the U.S. civil service examination and expected “an appointment in due . . . time.”²⁶⁰ In order to meet the new CCC education requirements, an “educational film schedule” was also organized. Mostly industry- or manufacturing-oriented, the movies included such business favorites as *Mountains of Copper*, *King of the Rails*, *The Voice of Business*, *Thomas A. Edison*, *Money Making Industry*, and *Carbon Monoxide*.²⁶¹ The latter film was apparently ordered in error. Finally, beginning in March 1937, Camp NM-2-A saw visits by several Army dentists. According to *Camp Talk*, “a certain amount of free dental work is now one of the opportunities afforded each CCC enrollee.”²⁶² As a result, “more than one hundred men” received a dental examinations.

²⁵⁵ *Camp Talk*, 20 February 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁵⁶ *Camp Talk*, 30 July 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁵⁷ *Camp Talk*, 13 March 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁵⁸ *Camp Talk*, 20 February 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago and *Camp Talk*, 13 March 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁵⁹ *Camp Talk*, 30 July 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago and *Camp Talk*, 13 March 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁶⁰ *Camp Talk*, 30 July 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago and *Camp Talk*, 20 August 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁶¹ *Camp Talk*, 30 July 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁶² *Camp Talk*, 13 March 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

Most importantly, the dentist, Dr. Byron N. Coward, was described as “one of the few ‘Painless’ dentists we ever had the pleasure of meeting.”²⁶³

The work program for the Ninth Enrollment Period continued NPS and Forest Service projects. Within Chiricahua National Monument, Company 828, now averaging approximately 150 men, completed approximately three miles of horse trails; oversaw minor road work, backsloping, and highway maintenance along Bonita Canyon Highway; and constructed foot trails.²⁶⁴ Throughout the summer, enrollees registered incoming visitors, worked at contact stations, and served as educational guides. Continuing work begun in previous enrollment periods, Company 828 also focused efforts in the headquarters area. The centerpiece, an administration-museum building, was constructed between May and November.²⁶⁵ The one-story building had a concrete foundation, a basement, four rooms, hardwood floors, and a pitched roof with cedar shingles. Between July and November, enrollees built a second dwelling, consisting of three rooms, to serve as a residence for “custodians, caretakers, [and] rangers.”²⁶⁶ Shortly thereafter, an equipment and supply storage shed, or garage, was begun. The one-story structure had a concrete foundation, pitched roof, and “six bays with wooden, hinged doors that swung outward.”²⁶⁷ Within Coronado National Forest, fire suppression efforts continued and the “Ye Olde Coronado Trail” foot bridge was repaired with new reinforcing poles.²⁶⁸

²⁶³ *Camp Talk*, 20 August 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁶⁴ “Monthly Work Progress Report,” May 1937, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; “Monthly Work Progress Report,” January 1937, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; and “Monthly Work Progress Report,” August 1937, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁶⁵ “Monthly Work Progress Report,” May 1937, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁶⁶ James A. Randell, “Chiricahua National Monument Arizona: A Conservation Study,” March 1957, History of, Vertical File No. 3, CNM, ACC 654-40, CNM, Willcox; “Monthly Work Progress Report,” November 1937, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; and “Instructions and Explanations Regarding Form CCC-7,” undated, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁶⁷ “Monthly Work Progress Report,” May 1937, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and Clemensen, “Chiricahua National Monument Civilian Conservation Corps Buildings,” 1992.

²⁶⁸ *Camp Talk*, 13 March 1937, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago and “Monthly Work Progress Report,” December 1937, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

Throughout the year, accidents and injuries continued to afflict the company. In February, Amos B. Campbell was injured when a “tractor rolled back” and pinched his lower right leg against a “CCC truck which was stuck in the mud.”²⁶⁹ In April, Paul M. Harrell fractured his left foot when it became stuck between “the frame and bowl of a small mechanical concrete mixer.”²⁷⁰ Due to the serious accident, he was hospitalized at the William Beaumont General Hospital in El Paso for twenty-two days. One of the chief causes of injuries in NM-2-A were automobile accidents. In August, Ray Ringenbach, a LEM, completely wrecked a CCC pickup truck “on a section of newly graveled road,” when he skidded to “avoid striking a rock.” Exceeding the Monument speed limit, Ringenbach “miraculously escaped with only a scratched arm and shoulder,” although his “drivers permit . . . [was] cancelled.”²⁷¹ More serious punishment fell Eliga Alton, Vestal Burke, Jess Willard Smith, and Leroy Wells several months later. On the night of Friday, 26 November 1937, the four enrollees took a CCC Ford V-8 dump truck “on a ‘joy ride’” in search of a “party at Pinery Canyon.” After consuming “one can” of beer, the driver, Vestal Burke, lost control of the vehicle and “turned [it] over” near Animas, New Mexico, approximately forty-five miles from Camp NM-2-A. As a result of the accident, Eliga Alton suffered a broken collar bone, and all four men were discharged from the CCC three days later.²⁷²

The Closing Days

Camp NM-2-A’s road to closure began in 1938 during the Eleventh Enrollment Period. The previous months had seen continued camp closings and a decline in the number of new enrollees. By spring, Arizona had lost another ten companies, reducing the number of active camps to twenty. An effort to boost enrollment in the CCC--by reducing the minimum age requirement to seventeen--was little competition for a

²⁶⁹ William Stevenson to R. D. Sias, 9 March 1937, 801-01 Accidents, Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁷⁰ William Stevenson to Frank Pinkley, 22 April 1937, 801-01 Accidents, Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁷¹ William Stevenson to Frank Pinkley, 31 August 1937, 801-01 Accidents, Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁷² “Findings and Recommendations of Investigating Officer,” 26 November 1937, 801-01 Accidents, Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

strengthening economy and higher paying jobs in the permanent workforce.²⁷³ On 5 April 1938, Frank L. Fish, now Chiricahua National Monument custodian, noted, “rumors are that Phelps Dodge will start another furnace in Douglas and employ more miners for development work in Bisbee.”²⁷⁴ One month later, the mining company did begin hiring workers, although mainly “older . . . [and] married ones,” confirming Cochise County’s progress on the road to recovery.²⁷⁵ Unfortunately, economic strength increased New Deal criticism, and local support and boosterism for CCC camps, including NM-2-A, dampened.²⁷⁶ The town of Douglas, of course, continued to be an ardent supporter of Company 828, and the Chamber of Commerce and Mines continued to encourage “every visitor to Douglas to visit the Monument.”²⁷⁷ Others, however, began to lose interest with the activities of Camp NM-2-A. After several years of eager interaction, the surrounding community, including civic leaders, small businesses, educators, and boosters, slowly turned their attention elsewhere.²⁷⁸ For others, including the War Department and the Roosevelt administration, domestic issues were slowly being overshadowed by war clouds in Europe and Asia. On 21 April 1938, the Army requested information, including building style, building dimensions, heating unit type, water heater capacity, and sink/lavatory inventories, for all “CCC camps under Army custody, as well as those camps which are now in custody of the technical services.” According to the request:

It is requested that the above information be shown on all CCC camps, both occupied and unoccupied, in the Arizona District, but not to include those camps which have already been salvaged. However, if a camp has been cleared for salvage and salvage operations have not yet begun, it is requested that these camps

²⁷³ Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 77.

²⁷⁴ Frank L. Fish, “Field Technicians’ Comment,” April 1938, Daily Diaries, January 1938-January 1946, Daily Diaries-Field Technicians Report, Vertical File No. 1, Chiricahua National Monument, ACC 362-1, Chiricahua National Monument, Willcox, AZ (hereafter cited as DD, 1938-46, DD-FTR, VFN 1, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox).

²⁷⁵ Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 24 May 1938, Superintendents Narrative, April 1938-December 1958, Daily Diaries-Field Technicians Report, Vertical File No. 2, Chiricahua National Monument, ACC 362-1, Chiricahua National Monument, Willcox, AZ (hereafter cited as SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox).

²⁷⁶ Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 211.

²⁷⁷ M. F. McCue to National Park Service, 3 May 1938, 500- Publicity & Statistics, Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁷⁸ Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 211.

be included.²⁷⁹

For the United States, war preparations began with the exhaustive cataloging of CCC equipment and materials.²⁸⁰

There were additional staff rotations and changes within Camp NM-2-A in 1938. Early in the year, First Lieutenant William E. Sharp, commanding officer of Company 828, was succeeded by Lieutenant Guenther. Serving only for several months, Guenther was replaced with Lieutenant Paul M. Willson on 19 June 1938.²⁸¹ A reserve officer who appreciated that the days of the CCC were numbered, the new commander sought to:

[keep] one objective in mind-that of rehabilitation of the enrolled members-and my entire efforts and policies will be directed toward the end of aiding each and every member of the company to better prepare himself mentally, morally and physically to carry out his duty as a citizen of the United States when his days with the CCC are over.²⁸²

Company strength, which averaged approximately 152 men during the first half of the year, was reduced to 128 men in June.²⁸³ This did not last, however, and on the rainy night of 30 June 1938, eighty-seven new enrollees arrived from Camp SP-3-A at South Mountain Park in Phoenix.²⁸⁴ Educational activities continued to be emphasized at Camp NM-2-A, and a portable school house was transferred to the camp from Douglas.²⁸⁵ In May, twenty-four different subject areas were being taught, including auto mechanics, arithmetic, cooking, building construction, first aid, mimeographing, photography, and

²⁷⁹ J. H. Hilldring to Frank Pinkley, 21 April 1938, 620- Buildings, Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁸⁰ For an extended discussion on the role of the CCC during the opening stages of the Second World War, see Jason H. Gart, "Solid State: The Science, Politics, and Culture of the Electronics and High-Technology Industries in Arizona, 1945-90," (Ph.D. dissertation, Arizona State University, Forthcoming 2001).

²⁸¹ *Bonita Canyon Echos*, 26 May 1938, MN 0524 (2 of 2), Civilian Conservation Corps Camp Papers, The Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, IL (hereafter cited as CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago). See also *Bonita Canyon Echos*, undated, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago.

²⁸² *Bonita Canyon Echos*, undated, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago.

²⁸³ "Monthly Work Progress Report," June 1938, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁸⁴ Frank L. Fish, "Field Technicians' Comment," June 1938, DD, 1938-46, DD-FTR, VFN 1, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox. By far the most anticipated enrollee came to Camp NM-2-A on Wednesday, 2 March 1938, when Project Superintendent William Stevenson and his wife welcomed the 9 lb. 0 oz. "addition" of Eleanor Jean Stevenson. See Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 25 April 1938, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

²⁸⁵ Frank L. Fish, "Field Technicians' Comment," June 1938, DD, 1938-46, DD-FTR, VFN 1, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

typing.²⁸⁶ The camp newspaper, now *Bonita Canyon Echos*, reported that 68 percent of the company were attending vocational classes. In an effort to boost enrollment, the camp education advisor began offering prizes for the “enrollee who gets the most ‘man-hours’ [of] attendance.”²⁸⁷ Those who attended more than sixteen hours of classes per month were promised “special recognition.” Films and movies also continued to supplement educational activities. In May, the CCC camp saw *Geology, Erosion and Plant Seeds*, and efforts also began to organize “a movie ‘circuit’” among companies in southern Arizona to bring “more and better pictures” into the CCC camps.²⁸⁸ One popular diversion at Camp NM-2-A during 1938 was stamp collecting. A favorite pursuit of Franklin D. Roosevelt and other New Dealers, philately became a popular hobby among enrollees. Collecting was further spurred in May, when:

a Mexican 5 peso stamp valued at \$2.00 . . . was recently purchased by Mr. Beaty for one cent. Mr. Beaty found the stamp in a group of others he bought from a stamp and curio dealer in Agua Prieta. . . . Consulting his Scott catalogue on his return home he found this particular stamp listed for \$2.00. This find is the same as a ‘nugget’ to a desert rat and we suppose he will be a ‘stamp hound’ for life.²⁸⁹

Community interaction and inter-company recreation also continued, albeit to a lesser degree: Camp NM-2-A held an “openhouse” in April; enrollees from Camp F-12-A, in Rucker Canyon, explored the “trail system” of Chiricahua National Monument in May; and a theater group from Douglas presented “a play at [the] CCC camp” in June.²⁹⁰

The biggest transformation for Company 828 during 1938 was the addition of a new side camp at Casa Grande National Monument (now Casa Grande Ruins National Monument), near Coolidge, Arizona. Located approximately 185 miles northwest of Camp NM-2-A, and 56 miles southeast of Phoenix, the national monument was headquarters of the Southwestern Monuments field office, and its superintendent, Frank

²⁸⁶ *Bonita Canyon Echos*, 26 May 1938, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁸⁷ *Bonita Canyon Echos*, 26 May 1938, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁸⁸ *Bonita Canyon Echos*, 26 May 1938, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁸⁹ *Bonita Canyon Echos*, 26 May 1938, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

²⁹⁰ Frank L. Fish, “Field Technicians’ Comment,” April 1938, DD, 1938-46, DD-FTR, VFN 1, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox; Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 24 May 1938, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox; and Frank L. Fish, “Field Technicians’ Comment,” June 1938, DD, 1938-46, DD-FTR, VFN 1, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

Pinkley. In late 1937, Pinkley requested that enrollees from Company 828 construct a “maintenance and storage facility” at the monument.²⁹¹ On 16 November 1937, twenty-five carpenters from Camp NM-2-A arrived at Casa Grande and began construction of enrollee “barracks, mess-hall, washroom, storeroom, and . . . recreational hall.”²⁹² Shortly thereafter, on 4 December 1937, the side camp, interchangeably referred to as “Casa Grande” and “Coolidge,” was fully operational.²⁹³ In 1938, enrollees initiated construction of an adobe shop building, an adobe warehouse, an oil house, an equipment shed, and several adobe walls. Other enrollees registered incoming visitors at Casa Grande National Monument, served as “mimeograph operators,” or transported materials and supplies between the side camp and Camp NM-2-A.²⁹⁴ Most important, enrollees at the Casa Grande side camp were active in many of the same activities as their compatriots at Chiricahua National Monument. According to *Bonita Canyon Echos*, “thirteen classes . . . [were] offered at the side camp” and 100 percent “participation” existed.²⁹⁵

The main battalion of Company 828, at Chiricahua National Monument, continued resource development and monument maintenance. In June, Chiricahua National Monument was enlarged by approximately 6,407 acres to make “possible a more rounded picture, and the development of parking space, picnic grounds, and camping areas for public convenience.”²⁹⁶ The chief effort by the CCC was directed towards the completion of the monument’s headquarters area, which now included several structures, including a comfort station, two dwellings, an administration-museum building, an equipment shed, a parking area, and multiple stone fences.²⁹⁷ Nonetheless, much work remained to be done. The administration-museum building was unfinished and needed

²⁹¹ A. Berle Clemensen, *Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Arizona: A Centennial History of the First Prehistoric Reserve, 1892-1992* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1992), 91-94.

²⁹² Clemensen, *Casa Grande Ruins National Monument*, 91 and “Monthly Work Progress Report,” December 1937, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁹³ *Bonita Canyon Echos*, undated, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago and *Bonita Canyon Echos*, 26 May 1938, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago.

²⁹⁴ Clemensen, *Casa Grande Ruins National Monument*, 91-93.

²⁹⁵ *Bonita Canyon Echos*, undated, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCPC, CRL, Chicago.

²⁹⁶ “United States Department of the Interior Memorandum for the Press,” 16 June 1938, Legal Papers, Folder 1, Box 2, AC, CNM, ARG 4, MCR, WACC, Tucson.

²⁹⁷ Frank L. Fish to Mr. Beaty, 14 March 1938, History of, Vertical File No. 2, Chiricahua National Monument, ACC 654-25, Chiricahua National Monument, Willcox, AZ.

furniture; the newest residence still had no interior.²⁹⁸ Between February and April 1938, enrollees completed the interior of the second dwelling, allowing Frank L. Fish, Chiricahua National Monument custodian, to move into the new residence.²⁹⁹ Over the next several months, enrollees constructed nine stone fences, made additions to the parking area, installed six museum cases in the administration-museum building, and began work on a warehouse.³⁰⁰ The latter structure, begun on 30 June 1938, was one story, had concrete floors, four rooms, and three large bays with “double doors which swung outward.”³⁰¹ Beyond the headquarters area, enrollees cleaned culverts, worked on miscellaneous landscaping, constructed water control structures, worked at contact stations, served as educational guides, and manned the Sugarloaf fire lookout.³⁰² As the year progressed, CCC projects were also shut down. The last work on entrance road construction and drainage projects was done in November.³⁰³ In Coronado National Forest enrollees continued Forest Service projects, including bank sloping and stream protection; laying out and marking new boundaries; collecting tree seedlings; assisting in fire suppression; and helping during a two-day search for a lost child.³⁰⁴ Their greatest effect, however, occurred on 25 April 1938, when seventeen enrollees from Camp NM-2-A were “sent to suppress a fire south of the Monument in the Coronado National Forest.”³⁰⁵ The “sawmill fire,” covering three acres, was an excellent example of the “splendid cooperation” between CCC enrollees, the NPS, and the Forest Service. As

²⁹⁸ Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 10 December 1938, 800- Protection Service to Public & Forestry, Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

²⁹⁹ Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 25 April 1938, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

³⁰⁰ Frank L. Fish, “Field Technicians’ Comment,” June 1938, DD, 1938-46, DD-FTR, VFN 1, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

³⁰¹ Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 10 December 1938, 800- Protection Service to Public & Forestry, Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and Clemensen, “Chiricahua National Monument Civilian Conservation Corps Buildings,” 1992.

³⁰² “Monthly Work Progress Report,” February 1938, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; “Monthly Work Progress Report,” June 1938, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; and “Arizona National Monuments Preserved By CCC Workers,” *The Phoenix Gazette*, 5 September 1938.

³⁰³ Frank Pinkley to Arno B. Cammerer, 7 November 1938, 207-22 Final Construction Reports, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁰⁴ “Monthly Work Progress Report,” June 1938, 207-002-3 Monthly Work Project Report (1 of 2), Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and “Joseph E. Turner,” Former Employees, ACC 3047 1687-13, CNM, Willcox.

Fred Winn, forest supervisor of Coronado National Forest, noted, “we shall certainly repay the cooperation if the opportunity should arise some time in the future.”³⁰⁶

The activities of the CCC in Chiricahua National Monument and Coronado National Forest were further reduced in 1939, during the Twelve and Thirteenth Enrollment Periods. In July 1939, another effort to establish the CCC as a permanent federal agency failed.³⁰⁷ The reauthorization bill did, however, extend the life of the CCC until 1943. More disheartening was the consolidation of work relief programs--the CCC lost its independence and was placed into the Federal Security Agency; the influence of Robert Fechner, CCC director, was radically weakened.³⁰⁸ Other problems also surfaced. Throughout the country desertion rates among CCC enrollees began to increase, reaching 20 percent by mid-1939. Caused primarily by men leaving the CCC for higher paying jobs in the permanent workforce, the desertions created substantial organizational problems for the agency.³⁰⁹ Cases of discrimination also emerged, and in Arizona camps, including Camp NM-2-A, incidents of racial friction occurred between white and Mexican-American enrollees.³¹⁰ More pressing, however, was the German invasion of Poland in September. As an extended European war became imminent and isolationist hopes evaporated, the United States began to focus on national security and defense-related issues. By the end of 1939, the NPS had been instructed by the Roosevelt administration to begin reducing “supervisory personnel involved in CCC work.”³¹¹ The War Department was directed to terminate reserve officer commands in the CCC and to

³⁰⁵ Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 25 April 1938, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

³⁰⁶ Fred Winn to Frank Pinkley, 22 July 1938, 800- Protection Service to Public & Forestry, Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁰⁷ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 158-61.

³⁰⁸ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 190-94 and Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 24-26.

³⁰⁹ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 181-86

³¹⁰ The extent of racial hostilities in Camp NM-2-A is unclear. ECW and CCC documents from the 1930s make no mention of friction. However, two enrollees, interviewed during the 1980s and 1990s, do describe several events. N. W. Andrews remembers “fist fights, whites vs. Mexicans” and Jeff Thomason notes that “Anglos would walk by and thought the Mexicans were speaking badly of them and a fight would ensue.” See “N. W. Andrews,” Former Employees, ACC 3047 1687-13, CNM, Willcox; Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 66; and Robert Iski, “Civilian Conservation Corps Report,” September 1983, CCC Report, Vertical No. 1-14, Chiricahua National Monument, ACC 1687 1687-1, Chiricahua National Monument, Willcox, AZ (hereafter cited as CNM, ACC 1687 1687-1, CNM, Willcox).

³¹¹ Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 27-28.

withdraw commanding officers for permanent military duty.³¹² Many others, within both the Democratic and Republican parties, called for the introduction of military training for all CCC recruits. These fundamental realignments, in agency organization, in the economy, and in international events, would soon impact Camp NM-2-A.

Within Cochise County, the economy continued to improve, although Frank L. Fish, Chiricahua National Monument custodian, occasionally caught “financially embarrassed” former Consolidated Gold Mines Co. employees pilfering firewood from the monument.³¹³ Local interest in Chiricahua National Monument was briefly boosted by promotional postcards issued by the Union Oil Company of California, which included scenes of the “wonderland of rocks,” and by the town of Bowie, which “started work on two signs . . . [to draw] attention of the tourists” to the national monument.³¹⁴ In Camp NM-2-A, staffing changes and rotations continued. In early 1939, Lieutenant Paul M. Willson, commanding officer of Company 828, was replaced with Lieutenant Carl W. Andrews.³¹⁵ Andrews served as the commanding officer of the camp until approximately November 1939, when he was succeeded by Captain B. F. Loftfield.³¹⁶ In August 1939, Project Superintendent William Stevenson, who first arrived at Camp NM-2-A in June 1935, departed, and Edwin F. Knagge took charge of NPS and Forest Service project supervision.³¹⁷ The camp surgeon, Dr. James L. Nicholson, left Company 828 in late 1939 and was replaced by Dr. James M. Walsh, a contract surgeon.³¹⁸ Company strength varied throughout 1939, but typically remained at approximately 160 men. In January, forty-nine new enrollees arrived from the “Rio Grande Valley” in Texas.³¹⁹ These recruits were further supplemented in October by an additional eighty-seven enrollees

³¹² Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 29.

³¹³ Frank L. Fish to Consolidated Gold Mines Co., 13 March 1939, 200- Administration & Personnel, Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³¹⁴ Don M. Cameron to Frank Pinkley, 500- Publicity & Statistics, Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 26 December 1939, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

³¹⁵ *Bonita Canyon Echos*, 25 November 1939, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

³¹⁶ “Mearl E. Hansler,” Former Employees, ACC 3047 1687-13, CNM, Willcox.

³¹⁷ James A. Randell, “Chiricahua National Monument Arizona: A Conservation Study,” March 1957, History of, Vertical File No. 3, CNM, ACC 654-40, CNM, Willcox.

³¹⁸ *Bonita Canyon Echos*, 25 November 1939, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

³¹⁹ “Record of Inspection,” 10 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 25 January 1939, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

transferred from “a neighboring CCC camp.”³²⁰ Within Camp NM-2-A, educational programming and recreational activities continued. The portable school house supplemented the recreational hall, and enrollees took classes in fire prevention, first aid, and Spanish. Some men even participated in an “old time spelling bee . . . three times a month.”³²¹ Basketball continued to be popular within the company, and a camp dog further spurred activity.³²² The most significant event for Camp NM-2-A occurred on 14 September 1939, when the CCC announced the deposition of camps for the Fourteenth Enrollment Period. Fifteen camps in Arizona were closed, reducing the number of active camps to twenty-eight and enrollees to a “maximum of approximately 5,600.” Camp NM-2-A was selected to continue, but, in a sign of things to come, its camp designation number was officially changed. On 1 October 1939, Camp NM-2-A became Camp NP-9-A.³²³

The work program for Camp NM-2-A did not alter substantially during the spring and summer of 1939. In Chiricahua National Monument, enrollees from Company 828 continued work in the monument’s headquarters area. Within the administration-museum building, museum preparation and installation continued. The museum, “a lobby with six exhibit cases” and herbarium specimens, emphasized the history and geology of the national monument, its numerous ecological “life zones,” and the importance of the

³²⁰ Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 24 October 1939, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox and Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 26 December 1939, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

³²¹ *Bonita Canyon Echos*, 25 November 1939, MN 0524 (2 of 2), CCCCP, CRL, Chicago.

³²² Frank Pinkley to Frank Fish, 2 February 1939, 208-01.4 Permits, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver. Besides a dog, enrollees at Camp NM-2-A also apparently enjoyed the company of an orphaned bear cub. Found at the Cima Park side camp, the bear was named “Cima,” and fed by enrollees in the company mess hall. Later, an enclosure, or “bear cage,” was constructed in a small cave west of camp. In fact, the presence of the pet bear at Camp NM-2-A was not unique. Another CCC camp, at Randolph Park in Tucson, also had a bear cub, named “Teddy.” See “Glenn E. Grubb,” Former Employees, ACC 3047 1687-13, CNM, Willcox; Robert Iski, “Civilian Conservation Corps Report,” September 1983, CCC Report, Vertical No. 1-14, CNM, ACC 1687 1687-1, CNM, Willcox; and Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 53.

³²³ “Memorandum for the Press,” 14 September 1939, 501-03 Newspaper Articles, Box 152; Correspondence Relating to CCC, ECW, ERA Work in National Parks, Forests, Monuments and Recreation Areas 1933-43, Central Arizona; RG 79; Records of the National Park Service; National Archives and Records Administration - Rocky Mountain Region; Denver, CO.

region in Native American culture.³²⁴ Enrollees also constructed handmade furniture for the building, and by late December, “all [was] complete but painting and leather seats.”³²⁵ Construction of a third dwelling, or “employee’s residence number three,” was also initiated.³²⁶ Built of native rock, the structure had a concrete foundation, several rooms, a basement, and was topped by a pitched roof and cedar shingles.³²⁷ By December 1939, the building phase of the structure was near complete, save for kitchen cupboards and plaster treatment in the basement.³²⁸ A field inspection of the dwelling conducted on 16 January 1940 noted, “the stonework is the best yet done at the monument.”³²⁹ Enrollees also began construction of another water reservoir, an oil house, and a combined power house and laundry. By December 1939, the reservoir was only “about half dug,” and neither buildings were more than 30 percent complete.³³⁰ Finally, landscaping was initiated around the administration-museum building and residences in the headquarters area.

Another significant project initiated by Company 828 was the construction of an orientation station at Massai Point. As early as May 1938, Frank L. Fish, Chiricahua National Monument custodian, and others had sought to tell the geological story of the monument at the scenic lookout.³³¹ Beginning in June 1939, enrollees constructed an octagon-shaped observation station at Massai Point. The one-story structure, with seven natural “unenclosed viewing windows,” would eventually have as its centerpiece a large

³²⁴ Natt N. Dodge to Frank L. Fish, 5 December 1939, 833-05 Museum (Exhibits), Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and Natt N. Dodge to Frank Fish, 18 January 1939, 833-05 Museum (Exhibits), Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³²⁵ “Record of Inspection,” 10 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³²⁶ “Record of Inspection,” 10 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³²⁷ Clemensen, “Chiricahua National Monument Civilian Conservation Corps Buildings,” 1992.

³²⁸ “Record of Inspection,” 10 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³²⁹ “Field Report: Plans and Design Division,” 16 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³³⁰ “Record of Inspection,” 10 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³³¹ Frank L. Fish, “Field Technicians’ Comment,” May 1938, DD, 1938-46, DD-FTR, VFN 1, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

geological relief model.³³² By December, the construction of the station was “complete but [for] small amount of work on roof and case.”³³³ Other miscellaneous projects initiated by the CCC in Chiricahua National Monument included backsloping, maintaining of truck trails, erecting monument signage, installing replacement garbage receptacles in the public campground, cutting telephone poles for the Bonita telephone line, and during the summer hunting season, assisting Frank L. Fish in an investigation of several hunting violations.³³⁴ Unfortunately, 1939 also saw the elimination of the CCC from monument contact station and educational guide work. A staple of Company 828 since 1936, the service was reduced in October to only “one enrollee.”³³⁵ In Coronado National Forest, enrollees continued fire presuppression activities, and two enrollees “saved two Park Service trucks and one Forest Service pick-up from being destroyed in the Mason-Davies sawmill fire.”³³⁶ In addition, the side camp at Casa Grande National Monument also stayed extremely active throughout the year. In January 1939, enrollees finished construction on the shop building, the warehouse, and the oil house. A few months later, in March, the equipment shed was completed. Throughout the summer, enrollees from Company 828 continued to enlarge the equipment shed and warehouse,

³³² “Record of Inspection,” 10 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 24 June 1939, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox; “Preliminary Outline for the Chiricahua National Monument Exhibit Program,” July 1940, Museum Exhibitions, Folder 8, Box 2, AC, CNM, ARG 4, MCR, WACC, Tucson; and Clemensen, “Chiricahua National Monument Civilian Conservation Corps Buildings,” 1992.

³³³ “Record of Inspection,” 10 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³³⁴ “Record of Inspection,” 10 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; “Project Construction Program,” December 1939, 621- Project Construction Programs, Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver; and Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 24 June 1939, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

³³⁵ Fish was quite upset with the elimination of the CCC from contact station and educational guide work, noting, “it will be interesting to observe the custodian operate a checking station, museum, orientation station, hike with parties and do other little duties expected. Possibly some scientist will discover a method of segregating one human to be in three different places at one time.” However, in February 1940, after attending an informal workshop for Park Service officials, he began to appreciate the larger resource management issues facing the NPS: “In the matter of protection-I realize for example-that it is more important for increased personnel at, say, El Morro where vandalism would probably mean total destruction . . . then at Chiricahua where any loss in game or shrubbery would naturally be something to avoid but in course of time could be restored naturally.” See Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 24 October 1939, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox; Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 24 November 1939, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox; and Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 24 February 1940, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

³³⁶ John R. White to Frank L. Fish, 23 May 1939, 800- Protection Service to Public & Forestry, Box 77, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

constructed a monument check-in station, and built several adobe walls around the maintenance yard.³³⁷

By early 1940, the Second World War had begun in earnest. After the invasion of Poland by Germany on 1 September 1939, and sixteen days later by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. In the spring, German troops attacked Denmark and Norway in April, and Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Belgium between May and June. On 5 June 1940, Germany and Italy invaded France and in less than twelve days brought about the “Fall of France.” Two months later, Germany began a two-month air offensive against Great Britain. Within the United States, the international turmoil brought a quickened pace to national security and defense-related issues. After the Fall of France, the Roosevelt administration established the National Defense Research Committee (NDRC) to mobilize the financial community, industry, and labor unions for the “eventuality of war.”³³⁸ Unemployment relief agencies, including the CCC and the Works Progress Administration (WPA), were directed to drastically downsize operations and staff; while remaining CCC camps were charged with constructing airfields, obstacle courses, artillery ranges, and other military structures.³³⁹ By late 1940, the War Department had re-directed CCC vocational training to focus on an array of military skills, including “signal communication, equipment operation, bridge construction, welding, and surveying.”³⁴⁰ The CCC was further weakened by the death of Robert Fechner, CCC director, on 31 December 1939, from a heart attack. Fechner, who had worked tirelessly for the expansion and permanency of the relief program, was replaced by James J. McEntee.³⁴¹ The new director inherited rising desertion rates, renewed difficulties in the recruitment of enrollees, and a reduced budget. By mid-1940, it became clear that Arizona would suffer the loss of several more CCC companies.

In 1940, war mobilization also came to Chiricahua National Monument and Coronado National Forest. On 24 April 1940, Frank L. Fish, Chiricahua National

³³⁷ Clemensen, *Casa Grande Ruins National Monument*, 91-93.

³³⁸ Paul A. C. Koistinen, *The Military-Industrial Complex: A Historical Perspective* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980), 68-72.

³³⁹ Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 30.

³⁴⁰ Booth, “The Civilian Conservation Corps in Arizona,” 214.

³⁴¹ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 175-177.

Monument custodian, reported: “Colonel McAdams, Fort Huachuca, sought a possible maneuvering area for a Battalion of troops, due to the roughness of the area and the rules prohibiting shooting blanks, he was able to find more favorable conditions on the neighboring Forest Service.”³⁴² For Camp NP-9-A, as it was now officially designated, the Fourteenth Enrollment Period, between October 1939 and March 1940, would mark the closing days for the CCC at Chiricahua National Monument. As early as January 1940, rumors began to circulate among Monument staff that Camp NP-9-A would be abandoned “in the spring.”³⁴³ Less than two months later, on Wednesday, 28 February 1940, it became official: Company 828 received orders, via telegram, that “Camp NP-9, Arizona, Chiricahua National Monument, was to terminate . . . on March 31.”³⁴⁴ The company and its equipment, supplies, and heavy machinery were to be transferred to either Camp NP-6-A in Grand Canyon National Park or to Arches National Monument in southeast Utah. However, Camp NP-9-A’s buildings would be “held where they are until the next [CCC] period.”³⁴⁵ Almost immediately, it became apparent that Company 828 could not complete its scheduled work projects by late March. As a result, on 19 March 1940, the camp was granted a one-month reprieve and, “May 31 was, accordingly, determined upon as the final date and with cooperation of all concerned it is regarded as entirely practicable to complete current work program by that date.”³⁴⁶

Reports of Camp NP-9-A’s impending departure from Chiricahua National Monument first became public in a series of newspaper articles in early April 1940. Immediately, Michael F. McCue, executive secretary of the Douglas Chamber of Commerce and Mines, telegraphed Senator Carl Hayden to protest and asked the

³⁴² Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 24 April 1940, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

³⁴³ Frank L. Fish to Frank Pinkley, 3 January 1940, 600- Lands, Buildings, Roads & Trails, Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁴⁴ Hugh M. Miller, “Memorandum for the Regional Director,” 6 March 1940, 200- Administration & Personnel, Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁴⁵ J. C. Roak to Regional Director, 6 March 1940, 200- Administration & Personnel, Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁴⁶ Hugh M. Miller, “Memorandum for the Files,” 19 March 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

“Arizona delegation to use every effort to have these camps retained.”³⁴⁷ It was soon discovered, however, that

certain business houses that have received business from the CCC Camp were the main parties in riding the Secretary to keep the Camp here, and although many of them never put themselves out to visit or aid the camp during its stay were up in arms immediately when they thought they were going to lose the business.³⁴⁸

On the afternoon of Thursday, 25 April 1940, Frank L. Fish traveled to Douglas to meet with representatives of the Douglas Chamber of Commerce and Mines in an effort to reconcile the situation. Utilizing “tact and diplomacy,” Fish highlighted the accomplishments of the “camp . . . during the past six years,” while also describing the urgent need for development in other national parks and monuments.³⁴⁹ As a result of the meeting, the Douglas Chamber of Commerce and Mines demurred, deciding “that no attempt should be made to hinder the movement of the Camp to another area.”³⁵⁰ In the months ahead, “no further community pressure . . . [was] brought against camp termination.”³⁵¹

For Camp NP-9-A, the work load of early 1940 would be substantial. By far the greatest concern was to not leave Chiricahua National Monument “in an embarrassing state of incompleteness.”³⁵² As a result, numerous projects were rushed towards completion. Within the monument’s headquarters area, effort was placed on finishing the third dwelling. Underground power and telephone lines were added; the kitchen, dining room, and bedroom were painted; green linoleum was installed; and “interior woodwork .

³⁴⁷ Telegram from Douglas Chamber of Commerce & Mines to Carl Hayden, 8 April 1940, Official Correspondence, Folder 9, Box 1, AC, CNM, ARG 4, MCR, WACC, Tucson.

³⁴⁸ Frank L. Fish, “Memorandum to Superintendent Miller,” 26 April 1940, Official Correspondence, Folder 9, Box 1, AC, CNM, ARG 4, MCR, WACC, Tucson.

³⁴⁹ Hugh M. Miller, “Memorandum for the Director,” 29 April 1940, Official Correspondence, Folder 9, Box 1, AC, CNM, ARG 4, MCR, WACC, Tucson.

³⁵⁰ Frank L. Fish, “Memorandum to Superintendent Miller,” 26 April 1940, Official Correspondence, Folder 9, Box 1, AC, CNM, ARG 4, MCR, WACC, Tucson.

³⁵¹ Hugh M. Miller, “Memorandum for the Director,” 29 April 1940, Official Correspondence, Folder 9, Box 1, AC, CNM, ARG 4, MCR, WACC, Tucson.

³⁵² Hugh M. Miller, “Memorandum for the Regional Director,” 6 March 1940, 200- Administration & Personnel, Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

. . . was stained and waxed.”³⁵³ Adjacent to the dwelling, construction was initiated of a 500-gallon underground fuel oil storage tank, in order to “permit elimination of unsightly oil drums in the vicinity of each residence.”³⁵⁴ Finally, in late March, Company 828 applied the building’s finishing touches--stone steps, bitumen walks, and extensive landscaping.³⁵⁵ Success was not as discernible with the construction of the oil house and the combined power house and laundry. Located in the headquarters’ utility area, enrollees were faced with the “difficulty in finding suitable building rock.”³⁵⁶ As a result, throughout February and March work progressed at an extremely slow pace. Nonetheless, in late May, the “concrete roof . . . [was] poured” for the oil house, and Hugh M. Miller, acting superintendent of the Southwestern Monuments field office, reported that the two buildings would “be completed, adequately finished, and the area cleaned up . . . a day or two in advance of May 31.”³⁵⁷ Enrollees also rushed to completion a series of other projects, including the construction of a 20,000-gallon concrete water reservoir; the installation of several new telephone lines; the addition of a new monument entrance sign and gate; the obliteration of several trails and two roads utilized by the CCC camp; miscellaneous backsloping, grading, and drainage work; the completion of handmade furniture for Tumacacori National Monument; and finally, an exhaustive and “extensive planting and dressing up . . . [of the] monument.”³⁵⁸

³⁵³ “Weekly Report of Activities of Assistant Landscape Architect Charles E. Krueger, February 12-17 Inc.,” undated, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and “Weekly Report of Activities of Assistant Landscape Architect Charles E. Krueger, March 18-25 Inc.,” undated, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁵⁴ Hugh M. Miller, “Memorandum for the Files,” 19 March 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁵⁵ “Weekly Report of Activities of Assistant Landscape Architect Charles E. Krueger, March 18-25 Inc.,” undated, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and Charles E. Krueger, “Weekly Report of Activities,” 5 June 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁵⁶ “Weekly Report of Activities of Assistant Landscape Architect Charles E. Krueger, February 12-17 Inc.,” undated, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁵⁷ Hugh M. Miller, “Memorandum for the Files,” 21 May 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and “Weekly Report of Activities of Assistant Landscape Architect Charles E. Krueger, March 18-25 Inc.,” undated, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁵⁸ “Weekly Report of Activities of Assistant Landscape Architect Charles E. Krueger, March 18-25 Inc.,” undated, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and Charles E. Krueger, “Weekly Report of Activities,” 5 June 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

At Massai Point, enrollees from Camp NP-9-A worked to complete the finishing touches of the scenic orientation station. Unfortunately, a field inspection of the structure, conducted on 16 January 1940, found some serious flaws: “Stonework on the orientation station is poor. The walls are not plumb and the structure as a whole leaves a great deal to be desired.”³⁵⁹ As a result, enrollees from Company 828 began rebuilding sections of the orientation station in early 1940. The buildings steps were lengthened to “provide wider tread and a better relationship between tread and riser”; its lumber beams, consisting of one-by-fours, were replaced with two-by-fours; and the flagstone terrace was entirely relaid.³⁶⁰ By late May, the “final coat of tar and gravel . . . [was] placed on the roof,” exterior woodwork was stained, and display cases and cabinets were installed.³⁶¹ An effort was also initiated to reclaim the scenic view from the orientation station; three picnic tables, several fireplaces, and an underground waste container were relocated to a “more suitable” location closer to the Massai Point parking area.³⁶² Finally, a stone guardrail was constructed around the parking area, and “the iron pipe rail” on the stone rostrum, originally installed in July 1934 as part of the Labor Day preparations, was removed.³⁶³ In preparation for the termination of NP-9-A, the enrollees and foremen stationed at the Casa Grande side camp were “returned to . . . [Chiricahua National Monument on] January 6th.”³⁶⁴ It was decided by the NPS, however, that the work program at Casa Grande National Monument would continue with a “detail of enrollees from . . . [another] active camp.”³⁶⁵ Finally, in Coronado National Forest, fire presuppression activities were discontinued by Company 828 on 31 May 1940, but not before, a “five to six acre fire . . . on the neighboring Coronado National Forest” was

³⁵⁹ Charles E. Krueger, “Weekly Report of Activities,” 16 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁶⁰ Charles E. Krueger, “Weekly Report of Activities,” 16 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁶¹ Charles E. Krueger, “Weekly Report of Activities,” 5 June 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁶² Jerome C. Miller, “Field Report: Plans and Design Division,” 16 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁶³ “Weekly Report of Activities of Assistant Landscape Architect Charles E. Krueger, March 4-9 Inc.,” undated, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁶⁴ “Record of Inspection,” 10 January 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁶⁵ Hugh M. Miller, “Memorandum for the Director,” 29 April 1940, Official Correspondence, Folder 9, Box 1, AC, CNM, ARG 4, MCR, WACC, Tucson.

discovered by Camp NP-9-A “lookouts . . . [f]irst.”³⁶⁶ On Wednesday, 5 June 1940, Edwin F. Knagge, project superintendent; Victor Schulman, senior foreman; and Charles E. Krueger, assistant landscape architect, conducted a final review and inspection of the field work. Finding Chiricahua National Monument “in general . . . [in] a very good appearance,” preparations turned immediately towards Company 828’s departure.³⁶⁷

With all work projects complete, supervising personnel at Camp NP-9-A worked feverishly to complete a massive inventory of supplies and equipment. All CCC material, including enrollee barracks, hand tools, heavy equipment, instruction manuals, kitchen and mess buildings, officer quarters, reading material, recreational and sports equipment, supply sheds, trucks, and even pack animals, needed to be evaluated, inventoried, and prepared for transfer.³⁶⁸ With this documentation, the War Department then determined what items were necessary for war mobilization. For example, prefabricated buildings often became the foundation of new military bases and airfields, and after Pearl Harbor, CCC buildings were utilized by the Army for Japanese internment camps.³⁶⁹ Materials not requested for national security or defense could then be transferred to federal agencies, state and local governments, or community groups. For Company 828, however, an exception was made. In 1934, when Camp NM-2-A was first established, it was placed on a section of property owned by Edward M. and Lillian E. Riggs of Faraway Ranch, not the federal government. Although leased by the Riggses “without cost,” a bargain was also apparently struck, whereby, upon camp termination, the government would provide either “a substantial rental” structure, the remaining camp buildings, or restore the premises to its original condition.³⁷⁰ After conducting a thorough investigation of salvage operations and campsite restoration costs in mid-June, twenty-

³⁶⁶ Frank L. Fish to Hugh M. Miller, 24 May 1940, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

³⁶⁷ Charles E. Krueger, “Weekly Report of Activities,” 5 June 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁶⁸ Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service*, 36.

³⁶⁹ Area Conservationist to E. V. Romney, 27 April 1942, Camps-Parent, Box 1, Consolidated Camp Records, 1935-1942, Records Relating to Civilian Conservation Camps, 1933-1942, RG 114 Records of the Soil Conservation Service, National Archives - Pacific Southwest Region, Laguna Niguel, CA.

³⁷⁰ Ed M. Riggs and Lillian E. Riggs to Commanding Officer, 13 March 1940, 200- Administration & Personnel, Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver and “Form 3-2,” 9 May 1934, Chiricahua National Monument 1934 (4 of 4), Box 74, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

four buildings at Camp NP-9-A were offered to the Riggsses, “as complete payment of all claims against the Government.”³⁷¹

By mid-June, other camp equipment, including gasoline engines, generators, portable ice boxes, kitchen and mess tables, ranges, stoves, barrack heaters, fire buckets, and a water pump, were removed from Camp NP-9-A by the War Department.³⁷² Company strength soon grew to include 192 men, of which thirty-five were Army personnel transferred specifically to assist with the “termination of the camp.”³⁷³ By the end of June, the remaining company supplies, including machinery, tools, rations, and miscellaneous material, were prepared for their transfer to Arches National Monument, and the camp’s portable school house was dismantled and moved to a CCC camp (F-10-A) near Portal, Arizona.³⁷⁴ Finally, on 13 June 1940, enrollees at Camp NP-9-A were advised to prepare to “depart . . . for F-60-C.”³⁷⁵ Company 828 was moving not to Arches National Monument, nor to Grand Canyon National Park, but to Colorado. Over the next week and a half, a convoy of trucks arrived at Camp NP-9-A and transported the “enrollees and equipment” to Willcox and then out of the state.³⁷⁶ Unlike its arrival, no ceremony or formal service marked its departure, although it was noted that “camp personnel . . . are all very anxious to see that every detail is taken care of in the best way possible.”³⁷⁷ In July, Frank L. Fish, Chiricahua National Monument custodian, took a one-month leave of absence, a well-needed break after several weeks of extremely hard work. Upon his return, he read the monthly narrative report prepared in his absence by Edwin C. Alberts: “This month marks the final steps in closing out the Chiricahua camp. On July 6 a convoy under direction of Mr. Flaherty arrived to complete the transfer of

³⁷¹ Hugh M. Miller, “Memorandum for the Regional Director,” 29 April 1940, 600- Lands, Buildings, Roads & Trails, Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁷² Claude B. Conley, “Memorandum for the Director,” 600- Lands, Buildings, Roads & Trails, Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁷³ “Record of Inspection,” 23 May 1940, 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁷⁴ Frank L. Fish to Hugh M. Miller, 26 June 1940, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

³⁷⁵ Telegram from Gordon to Hugh M. Miller, 13 June 1940, 200- Administration & Personnel, Box 76, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

³⁷⁶ Frank L. Fish to Hugh M. Miller, 26 June 1940, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

³⁷⁷ Luis A. Gastellum, “Memorandum for Superintendent,” 204- Inspections, Box 75, CRCNM, RG 79, NPS, NARA, Denver.

equipment to the Arches camp. . . . [O]n the evening of the next day, July 7, the convoy departed. The camp buildings have been disposed of in a satisfactory manner, and the Chiricahua Camp is no more.”³⁷⁸ Company 828’s remarkable six-year stay at Chiricahua National Monument had ended.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

How then do we judge the history of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) at Chiricahua National Monument? Obviously it was a benefit. The enrollees of Company 828 brought numerous improvements to Chiricahua National Monument, Coronado National Forest, and Casa Grande Ruins National Monument. The CCC came to Chiricahua National Monument as a result of the Great Depression, and specifically, due to the efforts of Rex Rice, a local Douglas booster. The camp’s earliest days were spent preparing for a Labor Day celebration--an extravagant jubilee held at Massai Point. However, the enrollees, the majority of whom were from Arizona and Texas, also worked throughout Chiricahua National Monument and Coronado National Forest. Typical projects included campground improvements, the construction of ranger stations, trail construction, and assisting in fire suppression. By 1935 the CCC had reached the height of its activity, and more than fifty CCC camps were located throughout Arizona. Nonetheless, staff changes and supply problems began to plague Camp NM-2-A; more threatening, enrollees suffered from disease and serious work-related injuries. Recreational improvements continued, and by 1937, a fire lookout was constructed on Sugarloaf Mountain, campground facilities at Bonita Canyon were nearly complete, and the monument’s headquarters area was being radically improved. In 1938, an improving economy and international turmoil began to weaken the CCC. Yet Camp NM-2-A would also face its biggest challenge, the addition of a side camp at Casa Grande National Monument. Work projects and improvements continued, but by 1940 the camp was terminated.

³⁷⁸ Edwin C. Alberts to Hugh M. Miller, 25 July 1940, SN, 1938-58, DD-FTR, VFN 2, CNM, ACC 362-1, CNM, Willcox.

In Arizona, nearly 42,000 men served with the CCC between 1933 and 1942. Throughout the United States, approximately 2.5 million men were enrolled during its nine-year existence.³⁷⁹ The work relief agency had extraordinary success--it created jobs, stimulated a weakened economy, and provided much needed resource development. In Chiricahua National Monument, Coronado National Forest, and Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, approximately two dozen buildings and numerous other structures were constructed. One of the most popular New Deal agencies, the CCC contributed to an increase in national park and monument visitation; initiated a renewed emphasis in the natural environment; and brought a “new era” of recreational development to the National Park Service. When the Second World War began, the CCC also played a distinctive role in defense mobilization and war preparation. Although never established as a permanent conservation agency, its legacy remains.

³⁷⁹ Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, v.

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