EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2011, the Organization of American Historians (OAH), at the behest of the National Park Service (NPS), published *Imperiled Promise: The State of History in the National Park Service*. Among the twelve recommendations the consultants made, Finding #9 "Stewardship and Interpretation of Agency History" serves as both the purpose and need for this Special Resource Study on Human Conservation Programs at Catoctin Mountain Park. The authors charge that the
NPS, despite its vast institutional archives, considers its own story as somehow separate from the history it is mandated with preserving or interpreting. Staff and historians working at Catoctin Mountain Park have made progress in documenting the area’s history, including the NPS’s role. This study, however, brings both the area’s pre-park history and agency history together using one framework. It encourages park staff to use this framework to direct future research initiatives, preservation, and management strategies, while also enriching interpretation and public engagement.

"Human conservation" is an idea that originated in the Progressive Era at the turn of the twentieth century and loosely parallels the natural conservation movement that created the national park system during the same period. Shaped by land economists, politicians, and recreation advocates, the guiding principle behind human conservation is that human beings are a vital, national resource (like trees, soil, and water) that should and can be carefully managed to reach their highest potential. Catoctin Mountain Park serves as an important case study in charting these programs over the twentieth century from the removal of local farm families to create a park in 1936 to the opening of the nation's very first Job Corps Center in 1965 and the installation of a pilot Youth Conservation Corps camp in 1971.

State and federal officials began investigating the Catoctin Mountain area in rural Frederick County, Maryland during the throes of the Great Depression as a possible location for a Recreational Demonstration Area (RDA). Their chief aim was to retire submarginal land into a park area and resettle the local population to better farms. However, the agencies involved in the park development project never developed a plan to resettle these families, exacerbating an already difficult situation. Despite this disruption, many of these families remained in Frederick and Washington counties and continued to farm. Beginning in 1936, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) hired a number of former residents and area locals to construct the park, making it a uniquely local project. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) established a camp in 1939, which brought young men between the ages of 16 and 21 from adjacent states to provide manpower for project work. The CCC remained at Catoctin until 1941. Together with the WPA, they transformed the landscape from a collection of farmsteads and timber lots to a park complete with roads, trails, picnic areas, and three organized cabin camps. The cabin camps provided low-cost recreational opportunities to children and their families from Washington, D.C. and Baltimore. Before World War II, the Maryland League for Crippled Children, Salvation Army, Boy and Girl Scouts, and Federal Employees Council rented these cabin camps.

In January 1965, Catoctin opened the very first Job Corps Conservation Center (JCCC) in the country. Congress established the Job Corps program when it passed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This piece of legislation was key to President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty. The Job Corps program was modeled after the CCC and it is no coincidence that the Job Corps built the new center on the foundations of the old CCC camp in the area now referred to as
Round Meadow, which the NPS continues to use for various administrative functions. However, the two programs were very different. First, administrators purposely integrated the Job Corps during the Civil Rights movement, while the CCC was segregated. The CCC was primarily concerned with unemployment and conservation work. The Job Corps focused on education and vocational training, while also hoping to solve the issue of poverty in America. Administrators learned very quickly that they were poorly equipped to solve the issue of poverty. After years of heavy political pressure from Republicans, President Richard Nixon closed the Catoctin Job Corps center in 1969. The center had a profound impact on the lives of corpsmen and staff that lived and worked there, and blazed the path for the current Job Corps centers still in operation today as well as subsequent youth programs.

Only weeks after the last Job Corps staff member left, the NPS used the center for new environmental education initiatives. Inner-city children camped at the former Job Corps center in Round Meadow during the summer of 1969 and 1970 as part of the “Summer in the Parks” initiative aimed at expanding park programming to urban populations. In 1971, the NPS chose Catoctin as the site of a pilot Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) residential camp. The YCC program was open to high school boys and girls between the ages of 15 and 18 and focused on environmental education while completing much needed park maintenance work. Some of the first YCC participants testified to Congress in support of expanding the program and making it permanent, which Congress did in 1974. The Catoctin YCC continued to be a popular summer program and expanded throughout the 1970s. However, President Ronald Reagan cut YCC funding in 1980. Catoctin now receives its YCC support through a regional NPS fund. Today, the park maintains a crew of about eight student-employees that work at the park for eight weeks during the summer carrying out essential park maintenance while learning about the environment and gaining job experience.

This Special Resource Study builds upon the work of previous historians and incorporates a large amount of source material in one thematic structure. This study encourages staff at Catoctin Mountain Park to use this framework to expand stewardship of park resources and build stronger relationships with the public. It recommends invigorating existing interpretation to demonstrate how complex human relationships have transformed this natural area. The park is encouraged to partner with groups with a vested interest in this history, such as the Maryland League for People with Disabilities, Job Corps alumni, and current YCC participants through temporary exhibits, documentary projects, and anniversary events. The park should recognize the authority of these groups in telling their own stories. This study also deepens the context for the park's cultural resources and sheds light on those areas that remain to be documented, particularly the Job Corps center at Camp Round Meadow. Catoctin Mountain Park is one of the first parks to examine the War on Poverty in its history, and hopefully this study will serve as a useful model for other parks wishing to examine their own role in social reform and human conservation.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Special Resource Study has been my public history doctoral residency for Middle Tennessee State University between August 2013 and May 2014. This residency was made possible through a partnership between the National Capital Region and Catoctin Mountain Park of the National Park Service and the Public History Program at Middle Tennessee State University. My gratitude goes to Scott Bell, Chief of Resource Management at Catoctin Mountain Park, who hired me to work as a Cultural Resource Specialist for the park for a summer, during which time I read widely about cultural landscapes. I began to see the Catoctin park landscape with new eyes and inspired me to propose a version of this study to Scott and Perry Wheelock, Associate Regional Director for Resources Stewardship, Partnerships, and Science. This residency was able to get off the ground with guidance and support from Scott and Superintendent Mel Poole and National Capital Regional cultural resources staff Joy Beasley, Dean Herrin, Kathryn Smith, Catherine Dewey, Martha Tempkin, and Jennifer Talken-Spaulding. I must express special thanks to Dean Herrin, Regional Historian, for serving as my professional mentor during this residency year. I hope that this project may serve as a model to future partnerships between doctoral students and the National Park Service.

I appreciate those individuals who contributed to this research project including Park Ranger Debbie Mills and Park Carpenter Mark Hauver, as well as those that shared their personal memories: Tom McFadden, Elwood Hauver, Beatrice Stottlemyer, Clyde "Al" Maxey, Charles Riebe, and Lamar Marchese. It was honor to hear their stories.
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<tr>
<td>AAA</td>
<td>Agricultural Adjustment Act</td>
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<td>CCC</td>
<td>Civilian Conservation Corps</td>
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<tr>
<td>DOI</td>
<td>Department of Interior</td>
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<tr>
<td>FERA</td>
<td>Federal Emergency Relief Act</td>
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<td>FSA</td>
<td>Farm Security Administration</td>
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<td>JCCC</td>
<td>Job Corps Conservation Center</td>
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<td>MLCC</td>
<td>Maryland League for Crippled Children</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIRA</td>
<td>National Industrial Relief Act</td>
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<td>NRPB</td>
<td>National Resource Planning Board</td>
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<td>NPS</td>
<td>National Park Service</td>
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<td>OAH</td>
<td>Organization of American Historians</td>
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<td>OEO</td>
<td>Office of Economic Opportunity</td>
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<td>PAA</td>
<td>Playground Association of America</td>
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<td>RA</td>
<td>Resettlement Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>RDA</td>
<td>Recreational Demonstration Area</td>
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<tr>
<td>USDA</td>
<td>United States Department of Agriculture</td>
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<tr>
<td>WPA</td>
<td>Works Progress Administration</td>
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RESEARCH METHODS

Cultural landscape studies provide much of the inspiration and framework for this study. The NPS defines a cultural landscape as a geographic area, including both natural and cultural resources, associated with a historic event, activity, or person, or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values.¹ Scholars credit geographer Carl Sauer as the first person to formally study cultural landscapes. In his essay, "The Morphology of Landscape (1925)," he writes that nature is the medium, culture and time are the agents, and landscape is the product.² Since Sauer published his essay, geographers, ethnographers, anthropologists, art historians, historians, historic architects, archaeologists, and environmental scientists have further developed the field of cultural landscape studies.³

A cultural landscape study offers a holistic, interdisciplinary, systems approach that bridges natural and human-built environments. It emphasizes change over time rather than stasis and reveals complex human relationships with the environment. Material evidence of human conservation programs at Catoctin Mountain Park remains throughout the landscape and can be read as a text. I analyze these features comparing them with government records, historic

photographs, historic maps, aerals, drawings, oral histories, and archaeological evidence. For this study, I examined material at the National Archives in College Park, MD, Park Archive (documents, photographs, maps, drawings, and oral histories), Thurmont Public Library Agricultural History Collection, and Thurmont Historical Society. Digital archives have also placed relevant documents online for easy access. I also conducted six oral history interviews with those connected to human conservation programs at Catoctin.

Several key works have informed this particular study on human conservation programs. Abigail Van Slyck's study of summer camps from 1830 to 1960 provides critical insight to Camps Airy and Peniel that pre-dated Catoctin Recreational Demonstration Area and the NPS's designs for organized group camps at Camps Misty Mount, Greentop, and Hi-Catoctin during the New Deal. She masterfully links architectural design and spatial arrangement to the history of childhood development. She not only documents how these camps physically changed over time, but how they embodied larger cultural ideas that affected how campers experienced and made meanings of these places.4

Works by Phoebe Cutler, Sarah Phillips, Sara Gregg, Audrey Horning, and Neil Maher form a body of literature that provides essential context to Catoctin's New Deal period. Cutler's seminal work on the public landscape of the New Deal identifies parks as important products of conservation and social reform policy.5 Phillips asserts that New Deal reform was centered on agricultural policy, which broadens our understanding of the submarginal land program and the

farm families that lived in the proposed park area. Sara Gregg's work on the federal landscape in Appalachia during the New Deal effectively ties together the fact that conservation projects were often undertaken in coordination with rural agricultural reform. Archaeologist Audrey Horning's research on mountain families removed from Shenandoah National Park is an excellent contemporary case study. Finally, Neil Maher's investigation into the CCC looks at the social, physical, and mental development of the enrollees, the physical transformation of the landscape, and the program's impact on the modern environmental movement. He writes that CCC administrators realized that the program was an important effort in "human conservation." His work furthers our understanding of the CCC at Catoctin.

National park development during the Great Society of the 1960s is new ground for scholarship. Recent efforts have focused on evaluating New Deal and Mission 66 architecture for the National Register of Historic Places as resources reach fifty years old. Kathy Mengak, a scholar in park, recreation, and leisure, recently published a biography of NPS Director George B. Hartzog Jr., who served under President Johnson. She provides insight into how Hartzog's

10. Mission 66 was a postwar NPS initiative to expand visitor services for the agency's fiftieth anniversary. Originally intended to be a ten-year program from 1956 to 1966, the program lasted until 1972 and incorporated modernism in park architecture. The program was designed and implemented by many of those responsible for New Deal park planning, and in a sense, realizes the New Deal vision that was cut short by World War II. Planning began as early as 1945. See Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 1-15.
priorities fit within Johnson's vision for a Great Society. Hartzog expanded the system to include 69 new areas, promoted interpretive programming to serve urban areas, and hired more minorities to work in the agency. He also witnessed the creation of important legislation that impacted national park management such as the Economic Opportunity Act that, among many things, established Job Corps centers in nine national parks.

Several national park studies provided important foundational work for this present study. Barbara Kirkconnell's administrative history of Catoctin described the development of the park up until the 1980s. Kirkconnell mostly wrote from the view of the NPS, and is thin in certain parts of the narrative, such as the Job Corps and YCC. Edmund Wehrle's Historic Resource Study of Catoctin Mountain Park described the agricultural and industrial history of the park area and subsequent development into a park, but stops short of the Great Society and Job Corps program. Judith Earley's draft Cultural Landscape Report on Camp Misty Mount provided useful historical context on the Recreational Demonstration Program and analysis of the camp's architecture and design. She gave an excellent introduction into the submarginal lands program and started to hint at the idea of "human conservation," but did not explore the concept fully. Finally, the Louis Berger Group completed a four-year archaeological study of the park that documented the material evidence of farmsteads located in the park and the various associated

activities that occurred in the area such as the charcoal industry. However, the archaeologists only examined evidence of the people that lived in the area while they were there, and cannot tell us what happened to them after they left the park.

Historians who have previously written about Catoctin Mountain Park did an excellent job in describing the agricultural and industrial history of the park and the planning, land acquisition, and development of the park during the New Deal. This study seeks to expand this body of knowledge by examining the concept of "human conservation," its Progressive Era origins, its relationship to the natural conservation movement, and how park planners and administrators applied these concepts to Catoctin Mountain Park. This study reexamines the park’s New Deal origins to probe the government's attitude towards farm families living in the proposed park area, how residents perceived the park project, and what happened after they left their homes. It also tries to gain a sense of the people involved in the WPA and CCC, and what this opportunity meant to them and for those groups that enjoyed the park after it was completed. Kirkconnell only briefly addressed the Job Corps and YCC's history at the park. This study aims to deepen that knowledge and connect the programs to larger historical trends in social reform and the modern environmental movement.

CHAPTER ONE
PROGRESSIVE ROOTS OF HUMAN CONSERVATION

Introduction

"Human conservation" is a nebulous concept that originated in the Progressive Era (1890-1930) and evolved throughout the twentieth century. This chapter focuses on the term's progressive roots to better understand the concept's development up until the eve of the New Deal. The central principle of human conservation is that human beings are a vital, national resource that needs to be efficiently managed so that individuals might reach their highest potential. Three different themes contributing to human conservation emerged during the Progressive Era and had a profound influence on Catoctin's development. First, politicians framed human conservation in terms of labor saying that hard work developed individual character and human labor was vital to the nation's success and power. Second, play and recreation advocates spoke of human conservation in terms that promoted mental, physical, and spiritual growth and rejuvenation through play and recreation, particularly among children and ideally in natural settings. Finally, land economists developed the new subfield of rural sociology as they tried to understand the "human factor" in farm economics and land utilization. This group most effectively tied social reform to land and conservation policy and their ideas imbued New Deal land policy and park development. Catoctin Recreational Demonstration Area is a direct descendant of their theories.

The contemporary natural conservation movement certainly influenced the emergence and development of the human conservation concept during the early twentieth century.
American industrialization in the mid to late nineteenth century ravaged the nation's natural resources. Politician Theodore Roosevelt, naturalist John Muir, and forester Gifford Pinchot emerged as national leaders in a loose confederation of politicians, technocrats, and scientists concerned with promoting the wise use and management of soils, trees, and water for national prosperity. Their efforts yielded the creation of federal agencies, including the Forest Service in 1905 and National Park Service in 1916.

**Work as Human Conservation**

Progressive politicians and reformers touted hard work as key to developing individual character. They came at this from two different perspectives. First, the growing middle and upper class had more leisure time, which caused some to worry that the privileged would grow too "soft." Second, the influx of immigrant and wage labor raised serious questions about worker conditions, which led to efforts to end child labor, institute a forty hour work week, provide workmen's compensation, and ensure safe workplace conditions. Progressives argued that favorable working conditions would create happy and secure employees who were the backbone to the nation's economy.

On April 10, 1899, Theodore Roosevelt stood in front of the wealthy male members of the Hamilton Club in Chicago and extolled the virtues of "the strenuous life." Chicago was a booming city accumulating wealth from the railroad and other industries. It faced the pressures that many other American cities were also experiencing at that time: rapidly expanding urban

population, growing ranks of industrial workers, and influx of immigrant labor. Roosevelt was speaking directly to the men who were accumulating wealth and leisure time. Success of the nation rested on them not becoming lazy, but embracing a "vigorous" life that did not shy from challenges or hard work. Roosevelt practiced this philosophy and was an unstoppable force in the military, politics, and the environment. He embraced the reform impulse of the Progressive era. His work in natural conservation, in particular, left a lasting impact by creating national forest reserves and Yosemite National Park. Roosevelt's commitment to hardworking Americans and natural conservation would provide the building blocks of both the national park system and social reform during the Progressive Era.

Wisconsin legislator Thomas Mahon asked in a 1911 editorial: "Why not conserve ourselves?" If conservation of forests and water-powers and minerals, and conservation of property is good, why not tackle the question of the conservation of human life?" Mahon urged the Wisconsin Legislature to create an Industrial Commission to apply "science and common sense to the labor problem" to promote "human efficiency and welfare." In his opening volley, Mahon quite clearly draws inspiration from the emerging natural conservation movement, spearheaded by prominent conservationists like Gifford Pinchot and John Muir, that placed emphasis on efficient and scientific management of the nation's resources to ensure future economic prosperity. If the government could regulate natural resources, it could regulate human resources as well. His desire for a scientific commission is indicative of the era’s confidence in bureaucracy and science in solving chronic social problems. Mahon's editorial came on the heels of Wisconsin passing the Workman's Compensation Act, which helped

4. Ibid.
workers and their families after they were injured or were killed on the job. Mahon used human conservation to argue for accident prevention and safer working conditions that would not only conserve the labor force, but also create happy workers who need not fear job injuries.

Mahon's editorial appeared in *La Follette's Weekly Magazine*, published by Progressive Robert La Follette who served as Wisconsin governor from 1901 to 1906 and Senator from 1906 to 1925. The editorial came in the wake of the devastating Triangle Shirtwaist factory fire in New York on March 25, 1911, which killed nearly 150 people, half of which were adolescents and all 150 mostly female. It remains one of the deadliest workplace disasters in American history and was a significant event in labor history. The fire raised the profile of the labor reform movement that gained traction during the Progressive Era, calling national attention to workplace safety, use of female and child labor, and workman's compensation. States around the country passed labor reform laws in the wake of the tragedy, including Wisconsin. In addition to workman's compensation, the Wisconsin state legislature passed laws in 1911 to regulate factory safety, encouraged the formation of cooperatives, established a state income tax, formed a state life insurance fund, and limited working hours among women and children.

**Recreation as Human Conservation**

While some Progressive reformers advocated human conservation through labor reform for adults, another group sought to improve the quality of human resources at an early age. Middle class Americans were busy constructing a new notion of "modern childhood," which centered on a "carefree" child who joined the nonworking mother. A group of professional men

and women interested in child development were concerned about how children were spending their free time in addition to their school curriculum because they felt education in the classroom was not sufficient for character development. Rather, this group focused their efforts on organized play, parks, and summer camps aimed at mental, physical, and spiritual development and rejuvenation. They created a number of new spaces at the turn of the twentieth century that specifically catered to children's needs, such as playgrounds, summer camps, and children's rooms in libraries.  

A group formed the Playground Association of America (PAA) in 1906. They elected Theodore Roosevelt as honorary President and Jacob Riis, famed journalist of urban slums, as honorary Vice-President. The PAA was guided by the belief that playgrounds were a necessity for a child's physical, social, and moral wellbeing, and that the appropriate facilities should be provided outside of schools. The PAA worked to improve existing play areas, create quality programs, and enable good leadership. Organized sports like baseball and football, for example, became important among play advocates because they created an American pastime that still resembled Anglo-Saxon traditions in the face of massive immigration. In comparison to free play, football and baseball use rules, emphasize teamwork, and inspire leadership, which play advocates promoted to help assimilation and Americanization. These games required appropriate spaces to play and recreation advocates campaigned for municipal parks and playgrounds.

Youth summer camps also grew in popularity beginning in the 1880s among middle class families. This movement was rooted in the importance of children residing and recreating in a

7. Van Slyck, A Manufactured Wilderness, xix-xxi.
natural setting. The earliest camps began in the spirit of the back-to-nature trend and resembled residential suburbs, which aimed at correcting the moral and physical defects of urban life.¹⁰ Middle class Americans constructed notions of the modern childhood at these summer camps, and these landscapes express their anxieties about gender roles, race relations, class tensions, and modernity and its impact on children.¹¹

Some summer camps were privately owned while benevolent organizations operated others. A middle class professional or a couple (such as teachers) managed private camps as an extension of boarding school or adult social networks. Church organizations and clubs such as the Boy Scouts of America or Camp Fire Girls also organized summer camps and hired managers from a range of middle class professions. Religious-based groups, like the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), incorporated faith-based practices in its summer camp programs, while scouting groups focused on building character and citizenship. Oftentimes, camps were divided by gender. Many boys’ camps were modeled after Theodore Roosevelt's cult of the strenuous life, and boy campers were taken on long hikes and taught the importance of masculinity. Girls' camps reinforced that a woman's ultimate goal was marriage and motherhood, but camp managers were disenchanted by Victorian conventions of femininity associated with helplessness and hysteria. Instead, they wanted to mold young girls into pleasant and capable women who would be active companions to their husbands and energetic mothers. Race also played a role in these early camps. Not only were camps segregated, but they also reinforced

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¹⁰ Van Slyck, A Manufactured Wilderness, xviii.
¹¹ Ibid., xxi.
white privilege at white-only camps. The Indian motif used in camp programming is a glaring example of how white campers reinforced this privilege.\textsuperscript{12}

Summer camps were consumable spaces in which managers sought to create authentic folk experiences by romanticizing pioneer life. Camp landscape design offers a window into how camp organizers' sought to organize the natural and built environments to provide the best conditions for modern childhood. Campers lived and played in these spaces and shaped their own meaning of these places. These meanings are not only embodied in the architecture of the camp buildings, but also in the "activity spaces" where daily rituals occurred. The federal government's organized camping program in Recreational Demonstration Areas set the standard for organized camp design in the 1930s, such as Camps Misty Mount, Greentop, and Hi-Catoctin at Catoctin.\textsuperscript{13}

Two youth summer camps in the Thurmont vicinity predate the Recreational Demonstration Area. Baltimore philanthropists Aaron and Lillie Straus founded Camp Airy in 1924 to serve young Jewish immigrant boys from Baltimore (see fig. 1). During its first year, Camp Airy hosted eleven campers on sixteen acres of land. Two years later, the Strauses formed a charitable foundation with the dual mission of "rescue and relief of Jewish communities from around the world," and helping children in the Baltimore region connect to opportunities that would help them lead secure lives.\textsuperscript{14} The camp is still in operation at the edge of Catoctin Mountain Park just outside of the park's boundaries. Camp Airy is now 450 acres and hosts eight

\begin{footnotes}
\item 12. Ibid., xix-xxxvii.
\item 13. Ibid., xxxi-xxxiv.
\end{footnotes}
hundred boys each summer. Early camp programming at Camp Airy likely gave Jewish immigrant boys the opportunity to maintain their Jewish cultural identity while also introducing them to American life and helping them to build a network of like-minded individuals for adolescence and adulthood.

Figure 1. Camp Airy, founded in 1924 by Jewish philanthropists Aaron and Lillie Straus. Photographed by author, November 13, 2013.
In 1931, the Young People's Society of the Church of the Brethren sought a site in the Thurmont area for a youth summer camp (see fig. 2). They visited a primitive 5-acre tract off of Big Hunting Creek that was owned by Samuel Weybright and his wife. Initially, the Weybrights offered a ninety-nine year lease for a dollar, but ended up deeding the Brethren the land in 1937. The site had no improvements and was very rocky and had some marshes in the area. The Brethren set to work that summer building the camp, and opened it to campers in the summer of 1932.17 A contest was held that summer for naming the camp and Virgil Weimer won with

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“Peniel,” a biblical word from Genesis meaning “face of God.”

Camp Peniel was dedicated in July 1933.

Figure 3. Camp Peniel lodge circa 1940s. Courtesy of Park Archive.

Camp Peniel was co-ed and had summer sessions based on age and gender. The establishment of the park in 1936 provided a great new amenity to the camp and opportunity to interact with other campers in the park. Administrators updated the camp infrastructure on the eve of World War II to accommodate their growing number of campers. There were as many as two hundred campers at the end of the 1941 season (see fig. 3). The camp included a main lodge and small camper cabins built along the hillside. The cabins were built on stone piers. They

18. Ibid., 13.
installed showers, water fountains, and dammed the creek to create a swimming hole. The federal government forced the Church of Brethren to close Peniel shortly after making the upgrades because of wartime security.  

The Church of the Brethren reopened the camp after World War II, but attendance steadily declined in the postwar years. In the early 1950s, church board members found Camp Peniel inadequate and too rustic. The location was too far for many of its members and the rocky terrain and limited acreage prevented expansion of facilities. Brethren authorities also began to favor a new camping philosophy that focused on small group camping, which allowed maximum camper interaction with church leaders. The Brethren last used Camp Peniel in 1960, and then moved to a new camp called Woodbrook.

The NPS was able to secure the property in August 1964. The central lodge building is now park headquarters. Other cultural features are still visible in the landscape, including the stone entrance columns, a water fountain, stone piers of the camper cabins, and remnants of the dam (See fig. 4 through 8).

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22. Kirkconnell, Catoctin Mountain Park, 126.
Figure 4. Camper cabins at Camp Peniel, 1965. Courtesy of Park Archive.

Figure 5. Park Headquarters in former Camp Peniel lodge. Photographed by author April 2, 2014.
Figure 6. Camp water fountain from 1940s facilities upgrade is still extant. Photographed by author April 2, 2014.

Figure 7. Remnants of 1940s dam that formed Camp Peniel swimming hole. Photographed by author, April 2, 2014.
Camp Airy and Camp Peniel are important precedents to the organized camping program at Catoctin that developed in the New Deal. They showed RDA administrators that there was a demand for camping in the Thurmont area and that the Catoctin mountains proved to be an appropriate and popular destination among white, middle class Americans. They also highlighted the need for public camping accommodations for organizations that could not afford their own camps, especially those that served underprivileged children from Washington D.C. and Baltimore, MD.

**Rural Uplift as Human Conservation**

Land economists formed a new professional group at the turn of the twentieth century that puzzled over man's relationship to the land and its resources. Political economist Richard T.
Ely exerted an enormous influence with this group through the so-called "Wisconsin School" at the University of Wisconsin where he was a university professor. His students would go on to develop the field of agricultural economics and subfields of land utilization and rural sociology. Many, including Henry C. Taylor, C.J. Galpin, and L.C. Gray, would go on to be influential federal employees in the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA). The theories they developed and tested in Wisconsin tremendously shaped New Deal agricultural policy, including policy measures that aimed to uplift rural populations. They believed that land use planning could solve both issues of natural resource conservation and raise the standard of living among rural populations.

Richard T. Ely studied the new field of political economy in Germany, and promptly returned to the United States to teach at Johns Hopkins University from 1881 to 1892, during which time he founded the American Economic Association. He left Baltimore for the University of Wisconsin in Madison where he, John R. Commons and Henry C. Taylor (both former Ely students) taught dozens of graduate students who would go on to have prominent careers, including notable historian Frederick Jackson Turner and future president Woodrow Wilson. Ely remained at the University of Wisconsin until 1925, and finished the remainder of his career at Northwestern University where he retired in 1933. While Director of the Department of Economics in Madison, Ely was a part of a group of activist-intellectuals that embodied the "Wisconsin Idea" that academic research and training should aim at solving real world problems.23 Some of these ideas helped contribute to the basic ideas regarding human conservation and provided the inspiration for New Deal programs.

One place that Ely and his students applied their theories was the Wisconsin Cutover, a region of the state that had been logged by the timber industry in the previous decades. Ely and his students provided assistance to state administrators and land development companies to promote settlement in the cutover region for farming. They believed modern technology and farming practices could make the land productive.

Historian Robert Gough in his examination of Ely's policies and the social history of the people of the Cutover found that Ely's policies "however well-meaning, were at best paternalistic, at worst arrogant and ill-conceived, based as they were upon inaccurate or stereotyped views of the settlers and flawed by the limitations of social science methodology as it then existed." 24 Ely has been long regarded as a Progressive and member of the social gospel movement, a Progressive era effort to use Christian ethics to correct social problems, such as poverty, labor reforms, and urban slums, but Gough found that Ely grew increasingly conservative in his thinking. Ely believed that the government should only guide, not manage. He was more inclined to limit additional settlement in the Cutover rather than help those already there. To a large degree he blamed the farmers that could not subsist in the Cutover despite developers selling them poor land and surplus in the national market driving down prices of agricultural products.

Ely trained Henry C. Taylor and later hired him to teach agricultural economics at the University of Wisconsin. Many of Taylor's students went on to be important figures in the USDA and in New Deal programs, including those who created Catoctin RDA. One student, Charles Galpin, pioneered rural sociology and later became the chief of the Division of Rural Population and Life in the USDA. Galpin attended weekly seminars held by Taylor in 1910 on

the "Country Life Problem." Galpin published an article in 1919 called "The Human Side of Farm Economy" in which he considered the various factors outside of land and technology that impacted a farmer's standard of living. He asserted that without understanding the attitude of the rural farmer, county extension agents and demonstrators would have a tough time getting them to buy into the idea of farm economics. "The problem," he wrote, "of maintaining a high standard of living for American farmers and keeping intact on the land the seasoned farm population itself is a rural human problem of the greatest moment to the farmer, the public, and the rural economist." This was not just an economic issue, but "a very complicated social, human, psychological, and political problem, having to do with a class of people whose cultural, esthetic, and intellectual aspirations have hitherto been very largely postponed by one force or another, by one set of circumstances or another." Galpin showed far more empathy towards the rural population than Ely, but still struggled to understand why farmers might act against what he and others deemed their best interests and seemed to view the rural population in scientific terms.

Galpin's essay draws upon the work of economist Thomas Nixon Carver, also an Ely student and Harvard professor. The year before Galpin published his article on farm economy, Carver contributed the chapter, "Conservation of Human Resources," to Ely's book, *The Foundations of National Prosperity* (1918), which examined the issue of conservation in terms of economics. Ely wrote in his introduction that the matter of conserving resources would be nothing without human beings to benefit from them. In his chapter, Carver was concerned with "waste" labor and categorized the different types of unemployed or idle people. He believed that efficient use of these people would contribute to national prosperity. Carver's theories applied to

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the work of rural sociologists like Galpin, but would be instrumental for New Deal work relief programs.

Taylor's scholarship in agricultural economics focused largely on land use. Land economists sought to classify land based upon its potential for productivity. For example, some areas were better suited for farmland, forests, or recreation. This desire to classify land came from the realization that the frontier period of the United States had ended and land was no longer limitless. In grading areas according to their productivity, land economists created categories of "marginal," "submarginal," and "above marginal."

Lewis C. Gray, another Wisconsin graduate, became one of the most prominent land economists during the 1930s. He joined Taylor in the USDA in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (BAE), which grew in prominence within the agency. The BAE helped provide technical information to state and county extension agencies that worked with farmers on the ground. L.C. Gray became the division chief for Land Economics within the USDA and helped organize a national land utilization conference in 1931. He would go on to play an instrumental role in New Deal agricultural programs and served as the Assistant Administrator for the Land Utilization Program of the Resettlement Administration, which created Catoctin RDA.

Not all conservationists saw the utility of economics in protecting natural resources. Conservationist, forester, and wildlife ecologist Aldo Leopold, a contemporary of Ely, Taylor, Galpin, and Gray and also a University of Wisconsin-Madison Professor, could not reconcile ecology and economics. According to Qi Feng Lin, a doctoral candidate in environmental studies, Leopold's response to economics changed with his research in ecology. Leopold was very much concerned about the relationship of humans and nature in light of the country's rapid industrialization. Progressive ideas for natural conservation were rooted in both the natural
sciences and economics meaning that they focused on creating sustained yields for the markets, but were not ecologically informed. As Leopold became more aware of the importance of interdependence in ecology, he realized that it would be very difficult to convince landowners to put ecological needs ahead of making money.²⁷ Leopold's concerns provided a counterpoint to the rising influence of land economists and his ideas would reach a wider audience in the postwar environmental movement.

Ely and the University of Wisconsin were well represented in New Deal agricultural policy. Eighteen University of Wisconsin graduates worked for the USDA in 1927. In 1933, the USDA employed twenty-one Wisconsin students, but by 1939, over seventy graduates worked for USDA.²⁸ Their ideas had a huge influence on shaping Catoctin Recreational Demonstration Area, from classifying the land as "submarginal" to the removal of the local population, with the dual purpose of retiring the land for recreation and helping them move to better farms. However, Ely's legacy left weaknesses in land economics research during the interwar years that also left a mark on Catoctin. The subjective and sometimes disdainful attitude he and his followers showed towards their subjects tended to influence their investigations.²⁹

Conclusion

The basic principle of human conservation—that human beings are a vital resource that should be managed to reach their highest potential—and the three themes centered on work, recreation, and rural uplift—distinctly shaped the creation and development of Catoctin Mountain Park. Not only did they directly influence New Deal programs that created Catoctin,

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but continued to play a critical role at the park for decades to come. This chapter highlights a range of people that contributed to the idea of human conservation during the Progressive era: Presidents, legislators, university professors, technocrats, teachers, mothers, and fathers. However well intentioned these middle and upper class people may have been, their efforts were sometimes paternalistic or misinformed. Those state and federal officials involved in planning and developing Catoctin sometimes showed negative attitudes toward area residents leaving bitter feelings among the local population.
CHAPTER TWO

RESETTLEMENT, WORK, AND RECREATION AT CATOCTIN RDA

Introduction

The Great Depression devastated millions of Americans and their families when banks failed, businesses closed, families lost their savings and homes, and farmers defaulted on their mortgages. The socio-economic crisis weighed heavily on the mind of New York State Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt when he travelled to Chicago to the Democratic National Convention to accept his party's nomination for President of the United States in 1932. His speech was unprecedented—no other candidate had accepted the presidential nomination in person—and he promised Americans nothing less than "a new deal." In his acceptance speech, FDR hinted at what this new deal might be, which included, among many things, putting unemployed Americans to work through public works projects and instituting a national land policy that would retire marginal lands.¹ These measures aimed at conserving America's most important resources—its people and land.

During his administration’s first one hundred days, Roosevelt worked with Congress to pass fifteen pieces of legislation aimed at resuscitating the ailing economy and provide direct relief to the people through Keynesian economics, spending federal money to jump start the economy. Over the next nine years of the New Deal, the tough economic climate turned out to be a valuable opportunity for the fairly young National Park Service, which at the time was only

seventeen years old. New Deal programs and public works labor underwrote the expansion of the national park system and many state park systems in which the NPS provided technical assistance, guidance, and leadership. The New Deal made the NPS a true national agency and expanded its portfolio to include battlefields, historic sites, parkways, and a new type of park called Recreational Demonstration Areas. Roosevelt's New Deal program created a welfare state that was also interested in centralizing land and resource planning at the federal level. NPS administrators such as Conrad Wirth, chief land planner for the NPS and future NPS Director, had a seat at the table and a critical role in filling the New Deal’s liberal agenda in social and land reform through the implementation of projects, like the one at Catoctin, steeped in Progressive Era notions of human conservation.

In 1935, the NPS submitted its final report on a proposed park in the Catoctin and South mountains vicinity of north central Maryland. This report not only described the physical features of the area and the amount of land to be acquired, but it outlined the human conservation agenda in the project's justification. The RDA planners summarized four conditions justifying the project. First, the area was "subject to active sheet erosion" with "unproductive" soil and a "denuded" forest, making the case that the land should be classified as submarginal. Second, the report writer stated, "Not over 8 of 50 families living on the land can make a subsistence from farming." The report goes on to describe poor housing and reasons why these families were a burden to the county. Third, the area was ideal for low-cost recreational activities and was near sites of historic significance. The project area was within a fifty-five mile radius of several urban

centers, reaching a potential population of 500,000, with highways already in place nearby.\(^3\) In the next section of the report, the report writer clarified the fifth justification that park development will provide opportunities to locals in the area that were on relief.

This chapter explores how park planners used human conservation ideas to develop Catoctin Recreational Demonstration Area in three important ways: resettling local populations, putting unemployed people to work through park development, and developing organized camps for low-income urban youth. My research was informed by the work of historians Barbara Kirkconnell, Edmund Wehrle, and Judith Earley who all covered the New Deal period of Catoctin thoroughly. My research contributes to theirs by asking different questions: Did farm families living in the park area really move to better farms, as was the publicly stated intention of the Resettlement Administration? Was there a plan to resettle them, or were they left to figure it out on their own? Who actually built the park and what did the project mean in their lives? And how did the design of organized camps at Catoctin embody the human conservation ideas of Progressive reformers? What groups did these camps serve and exclude?

**Part I: Resettling the Local Population**

Agricultural America was experiencing its own hardships prior to the stock market crash of 1929 that sent the rest of the American economy into a calamitous depression. Farmers with hefty mortgages faced increasing surpluses, which drove down prices of wheat and other staples. Natural disasters, particularly drought, devastated farm businesses, and many families began to abandon property in some areas. In areas like Appalachia, industrial workers actually returned to

the family farm as businesses and banks failed. Family farms symbolized a kind of security in hard economic times that industrial work did not, but the additional stress of more people on smaller farms limited how much sustenance the land could provide. Historian Sarah Phillips effectively argued that agricultural reform lay at the heart of Roosevelt's New Deal policy as the federal government sought to raise crop prices by retiring submarginal land and resettling families living in those areas.

Frederick and Washington counties in Maryland were both predominately agricultural areas on the eve of park acquisition. Intense forest fires on Catoctin Mountain followed acute droughts in the early 1930s. The forestland had already been impacted by a chestnut blight in the early part of the twentieth century. Much of this area had been logged and clear-cut between 1770 and 1873 to make charcoal that fed the Catoctin Iron Furnace located at the foot of the mountain near the town of Thurmont. The furnace closed in 1903 and displaced a number of workers. The droughts and banking crises of the early 1930s put many area farmers in difficult financial positions, because they had no where to turn for credit to make up for drought losses. This trickled down to the scores of vulnerable landless or tenant farm laborers. Local charitable organizations were the only relief besides the goodwill of friends and family members until the state and federal government stepped in during the New Deal. The plight of the poor during the Great Depression was brought to both local and national attention as a group of World War I veterans and their families, called the Bonus Army, passed through the county after being violently forced out of Washington, D.C. by federal troops in March 1932.

5. Phillips, This Land, This Nation, 1-20.
Elwood Hauver, a young boy during the Great Depression, recalled what happened to his grandfather, Albert, who lived in the proposed park area. His grandfather was a well-known and respected community leader in the local community and even served as a Maryland state legislator. He owned stock in a Frederick bank that failed. He could not pay back the depositors and faced losing his home and farm. Elwood's father, Stanley, a hardware store owner in nearby Smithsburg, took ownership over the land so the bank would not foreclose on it. Elwood's father took care of his grandfather for the rest of his life, but the situation created tensions between Stanley and his brother, Herman.7

Frederick County's agricultural economy was supported by local chapters of the National Grange Order of the Patrons of Husbandry, a fraternal organization that advocated on behalf of farm families and their communities.8 The national organization formed in 1867 after the Civil War, and came to Maryland shortly after in 1874. The number of Grange organizations waxed and waned throughout the twentieth century, but by the Great Depression there were about seven in Frederick County. However, there was not one in the proposed park vicinity.9 Members of the Grange advocated best use of farmland and welcomed new methods and technology for farming. They advocated policies that helped farmers, and were also successful in creating rural mail routes. They worked closely with the county extension agent, who during the New Deal, would notify them of new state and federal policies that affected them.

8. The Thurmont Public Library has an Agricultural History Collection and much of the material is from local Grange organizations and Maryland Extension Agency. Mary Mannix, "Home on the Grange," The Frederick City Gazette, July 3, 2008, p. B-3.
9. Henry Shoemaker, Frederick County Extension Agent Report 1937, Thurmont Public Library, Agricultural History Collection, AG1-I-50, Box 40.
The files of Henry Shoemaker, Frederick County Extension Agent, and the state’s annual reports suggest that Frederick County farmers followed national trends in land policy during the New Deal. They participated in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) programs when it was established in 1933. They cooperated with the National Resource Board for a state Land Use Adjustment Survey. They retired submarginal lands at Catoctin for a recreation area beginning in 1935. The state started a rural sociology study in 1936. That same year, Frederick County landowners cooperated with the new Soil Conservation Service and formed a Soil Conservation District in New Market in 1937. The county established a Land Planning Committee in 1939 and Phillip Coblentz started a soil demonstration project on his farm.10

One of the first New Deal agricultural programs that benefited Frederick County farmers was the AAA Wheat Control Project. The AAA was one of the first pieces of New Deal legislation passed by Congress in 1933. Its aim was to raise prices of seven staple crops—corn, wheat, cotton, rice, peanuts, tobacco, and milk—by paying farmers to leave their lands fallow instead of planting these commodities. In July 1933, The Catoctin Clarion, the local newspaper, began publishing information about the Wheat Control Project.11 With the help of the county extension agent and undoubtedly Grange members, county farmers formed the "Wheat Production Control Association of Frederick County." Farmers grumbled at first because they blamed the extension agency for surpluses and now it was asking them to plant fewer acres of wheat.12 In the next few months, they put together 1,408 contracts, which covered 54,137 acres

10. See Maryland Extension Agency, Annual Reports 19-22 (1933 to 1936), Thurmont Public Library, Agricultural History Collection; Henry Shoemaker, Frederick County Extension Agent Annual Report, 1933, AG I-43, Box 34; Shoemaker, Annual Report 1936, AG1 I-38, Box 38; Shoemaker, Annual Report 1937, AG1 I-50, Box 40; Shoemaker, Annual Report 1939, AG1-54, Box 44.


where farmers agreed to not plant wheat where they had previously. According to the Maryland Extension Agency Annual Report, Frederick County farmers received $98,796 in benefit payments—no other Maryland county came close.¹³

**Figure 9.** Home and out building of Roy Lewis after government acquisition of Tract 18, circa 1935. Courtesy of Park Archive.

Roy Lewis owned a ninety-nine acre farm near Foxville along modern day Manahan Road. Roy and his wife Lillie lived in a two-room house with their grandson (see fig. 9). The Lewis's income was such that they could afford a farm truck, one of the few in the area.¹⁴ In 1930, Roy planted 5 acres of wheat and sold 164 bushels. In 1931, he planted 6 acres and sold 201 bushels. In 1932, he planted 6 acres again that only yielded 123 bushels for a three-year

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average of 6 acres and 163 bushels. He signed a wheat control contract in November 1933, which advised him he could plant a maximum of 5 acres and was allotted only 85 bushels of wheat for the 1934 season. Farmers could get twenty cents to the bushel.15 The Wheat Control Project was probably one of the very first federal programs to impact the farmers in the proposed park area, and is a striking irony that in just a year state and federal officials would declare this area "submarginal," meaning that production on the land was carried at a loss.

_Catoctin RDA and Submarginal Land Projects_

In the spring of 1935, land acquisition agents from the AAA approached Mr. Lewis about buying his farm for a new government project. The State of Maryland and the federal government decided that the Catoctin Mountain area was a prime candidate for the submarginal land program in which poorly productive land would be retired for recreational purposes. Dr. Thomas Symons, the Maryland Extension Service Director, began investigating potential submarginal lands in May 1934 for recreation and conservation purposes. By the fall, a study group consisting of the Land Consultant for the State of Maryland and University of Maryland representatives recommended that the Catoctin area be considered for retirement because the submarginal farms in the area posed what they considered a regional problem.16 Their ideas about submarginal land can be traced back to the land economists coming from the Wisconsin School who set about classifying land based upon its production value. They advocated regional and national land use planning to best strategize how to upgrade submarginal and marginal lands

or retire entire areas completely for forests and parks and relieve distressed populations. The depression exacerbated submarginal land issues, and in 1931, the Secretary of Agriculture convened a National Conference on Land Utilization to study these problems and make recommendations. The National Resources Planning Board (NRPB) emerged from this meeting and set to work mapping and assembling data on submarginal areas in the country. Both the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) and the Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) set aside funds to study the land issue and purchase submarginal areas for public works projects.\(^\text{17}\) In 1934, the NRPB recommended that the federal government purchase 75 million acres of submarginal farmland nationwide. According to a 1965 report on the history of the land utilization program, the federal government implemented 250 land utilization projects between 1933 and 1946 that encompassed 11.3 million acres for as little as $47.5 million, or about $4.40 an acre.\(^\text{18}\)

A small segment of the land utilization projects during this period was the Recreational Demonstration Area program administered by both USDA and the NPS.\(^\text{19}\) Initially the RDA program was part of the FERA Land Program, which was given a budget of twenty-five million dollars to purchase and develop submarginal land. FERA ran the Land Program through its Rural Resettlement Division. The Land Policy Section of the AAA was responsible for purchasing lands. The NPS share of RDA lands came to about 400,000 acres, only a small portion of the

\(^{17}\) Congress passed NIRA in 1933 to stimulate the industrial sector and create the Public Works Administration that aimed at putting people back to work. Shortly after NIRA, Congress passed FERA, which authorized grants to states for work relief programs and established a federal agency to coordinate efforts.


\(^{19}\) Earley, "Misty Mount CLR," 11-12.
submarginal land projects. However, in 1935, the RDA program became an important role in the NPS's push for developing recreational areas. In April of that year, the submarginal land activities of both FERA and AAA was consolidated under the newly established Resettlement Administration whose activities also included rural resettlement and rehabilitation. The Catoctin project experienced several changes in leadership early in its planning and development as it was first administered by the Rural Resettlement Division in 1934 and called "Maryland R-1". However, just a year later, it changed hands to the Land Utilization Division of the Resettlement Administration and was then called “LD-MD-4.” By 1936, the NPS had taken over all land purchasing and development activities. The Farm Security Administration (FSA) took over the Resettlement Administration’s activities, but never became involved in the Catoctin project.

In the early days of the project, not all government officials agreed with making the Catoctin project a recreation area. The NPS was brought in early to the project, because planners believed there would be a significant recreational component. However, a transcript of a telephone call between A.W. Manchester, Regional Director of the Land Policy Section of the AAA, and C.F. Clayton, Assistant to the Chief of the Land Policy Section, indicated that they regretted coming in at the tail end of the conversation. They believed that the project area was better suited as an agricultural demonstration project, meaning that the government would help those farmers living in the area improve their farm operations by demonstrating best practices. They tried to change the nature of the project but a meeting in February between state officials, the NPS, and Land Policy staff accepted the proposal that Catoctin would be a recreation project.

20. Ibid., 12.
to be developed under the guidance of the NPS. Sarah Phillips noted that shortly thereafter, in 1936, the new FSA (which replaced the Resettlement Administration) favored rehabilitation in place over resettlement.\textsuperscript{22}

The NPS selected Garland "Mike" Williams as the project manager to oversee development, while the Rural Resettlement Division would be responsible for purchasing land and resettling families.\textsuperscript{23} The Resettlement Administration picked up the AAA Rural Resettlement division's land acquisition responsibilities when the program was transferred in 1935. The NPS remained responsible for development, and in April 1936, finished the land acquisition for the project. The NPS was doing all of its acquisitions in that region and there was a number of misunderstandings and friction between the NPS and the Resettlement Administration.\textsuperscript{24}

\textit{Buying the Mountain}

Appraisers set to work surveying the proposed park area: compiling property descriptions, appraising the land, and contacting land owners to option the tracts. They contacted landowners, both in the area and absentee. They optioned the tracts where landowners were willing to sell, but there were unwilling landowners and also tenants who did not own the property where they lived. In a letter dated May 5, 1935, C.F. Clayton, Assistant to the Chief Land Policy Section AAA, wrote to the Frederick County extension agent, Henry Shoemaker, explaining that the federal government would not be using condemnation to acquire land for the

\textsuperscript{22} Phillips, \textit{This Land, This Nation}, 143.
\textsuperscript{23} "Memorandum of Agreement Concerning Catoctin Area in Maryland," February 1, 1935, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry P-100, RDA Program Files, 1934-1947, Stack 150, Row 35, Shelf 27, Compartment 34, Box 60, 601 Land Acquisition 1935-37 Folder.
\textsuperscript{24} Dorothy Beck to Resettlement Administration, Letter, April 30, 1936, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry P-100, RDA Program Files, 1934-1947, Stack 150, Row 35, Shelf 27, Compartment 34, Box 60, 601 Land Acquisition 1935-37 Folder.
Catoctin project because the submarginal lands program was supposed to be voluntary. The only time condemnation could be used was when the chain of title for a piece of property was so convoluted that only condemnation proceedings would ensure that the proper land owner(s) could be identified. This did become necessary in 1938 to resolve the chain of title for 135 acres. The federal government filed suit and summoned forty-five defendants.

The records indicate that the NPS acquisition team had to force the hand of a number of landowners that did not want to sell when it came to tracts deemed most desirable for development. The Regional Projects Manager submitted a list of twenty-one tracts that had been appraised but needed options so development could begin. The federal government could not start work on land that it did not own. Some options were delayed for a variety of reasons, but then there were several landowners unwilling to sell. Victor Brown, for instance, did not want to sell his 28 acres, appraised for $1,950. All other tracts around him had been purchased so the land acquisition team needed his land to complete federal ownership of the area. Land acquisition agents indicated that they might be able to get it for $2,500. Stanley Hauver also owned a number of tracts they wished to acquire, however, they found that Stanley disagreed with the government policies and was unwilling to sell. They thought that Stanley was involved in a bank that failed, so that they could get the land that way. Actually, Stanley’s father Albert had issues with the bank, which is why Stanley took ownership of the property. The NPS worked with other banks, such as Thurmont Bank, to identify those landowners whose land was near to

being foreclosed and could be purchased. Bank President Birely, for example, wrote to NPS officials saying that Reuben A. Fox and Joseph Willard's mortgages were in default and owed a substantial amount in accumulated interest. The acquisition team acquired these properties as well.28

**Local Opposition**

Members of the Hauver family were openly opposed to the park project and wielded considerable influence in the local community. The elderly Albert Hauver had served as a state legislator and wrote to Congressman David Lewis expressing his dissatisfaction for the park project. Congressman Lewis wrote to Land Policy Section of the USDA in March 1935. Park planners met with Mr. Hauver and found him to be an intelligent man and thought they left him feeling more favorable towards the project. However, the acquisition team found one of Albert's sons, Herman, to pose the biggest threat to the park project. Herman was a mail carrier and had a route around the proposed park area. Park planners sought to take action against Herman because he was a federal employee, but as it turned out, Herman's brother had taken the civil service test and given Herman the mail route. Nevertheless, Catoctin manager and NPS employee Mike Williams was able to secure a letter from Herman in April 1935 saying he understood the park project and supported the effort. However, several months later in November 1935, a petition was sent to the Land Policy Section of the USDA from twenty-seven landowners and taxpayers in Frederick County opposing the park project (see Appendix A). 29 The petitioners did not cite

29. Congressman David Lewis to Land Policy Section USDA, Letter, March 20, 1935, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry P-100, RDA Program Files, 1934-1947, Stack 150, Row 35, Shelf 27, Compartment 34, Box 60, 601 Land Acquisition 1935-37 Folder; L.C. Gray to Lewis,
any specific reason for why they opposed the project, although Elwood Hauver, nephew of Herman and grandson of Albert, indicated in an interview that the people involved in the petition formed a very close-knit community. Their families had been in the area for generations and many attended the same church. Elwood believed they felt a strong attachment to the place. A.W. Manchester, Regional Director of the Resettlement Administration's Land Utilization Division, dismissed the petition, saying:

As in practically every other Project you will find certain individuals or small, organized groups who are antagonistic to changes of any nature. These groups are always in the minority and fail to represent the true feelings of the majority of the people concerned. Not one of the group of petition signers objecting to the Catoctin Project lives in the purchase area of this Project.

Elwood admitted that his uncle Herman was largely opposed to change in general and even opposed the introduction of electricity in the area and the relocation of Route 77 through his property.

Tension between landowners resistant to sell and the acquisition team came to a head in May 1936. William Renner, a forest warden in the Foxville fire tower, reported that fires were set early in the morning of May 2 in one hour intervals on Tracts 237, 116, and 16. WPA and CCC enrollees from Greenbrier and Frederick City Watershed camps suppressed the flames. E.M. Lisle wrote the following in a memorandum about the incident:

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30. Sirna, "Interview with Elwood Hauver."
32. Sirna, "Interview with Elwood Hauver."
On a recent visit to the Washington Office, in connection with a discussion of the general development plan on our Catoctin Area, it was mentioned that there was a certain class of people living close to our area which, for some reason or other, had it in for the Government and would not hesitate to set fires on properties which have been accepted for purchase by the United States Government.33

Park authorities launched an investigation, targeting three young men that lived in the area: Atley Smith, Roy Willard, and Allen Willard. Roy was the twenty-two year old son of George A. Willard, one of the petitioners that opposed the Catoctin project. The investigator believed Roy was responsible and even said in the questioning: "Your father has been using a lot of propaganda against this Resettlement Organization and so have you." To which Roy responded: "My father might, but I'm not interested."34 All three boys denied being involved. They were arrested, but soon released because of insufficient evidence. However, George Willard's testimony reveals quite clearly his feelings towards the Resettlement project:

Mr. Dougherty, you don't understand this thing. These fellows didn't set those fires; but, the Government—if you call it that—I don't; I call it Russia—they came along here and wanted to get all of our land and they fooled some people and some people signed a waiver to let them have it and they have not paid them one cent; but, they took it and they have cut it up as soon as they got it. Now they aren't going to pay it; they have it under lease for five years. They came after me and wanted me to agree to sell my farm and they suggested if we could not agree that they would appoint two men and I appoint one, and what they would say would be final in reference to the price and I told them no. I have been raised on this mountain and I am one of the first Fire Wardens and I am still one of them, and I fought these fires; but, these fellows are mad because we won't sell them our land.35

33. E.M. Lisle and Herbert Evison, Memorandum, "RDP--Fire in the area, Catoctin, LD--MD-4," May 16, 1936, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry P-100, RDA Program Files, 1934-1947, Stack 150, Row 35, Shelf 27, Compartment 34, Box 61, 901 Privileges and Permits Folder.
34. Detective Dougherty, Report, "Fires on Catoctin Mountains," May 12, 1936, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry P-100, RDA Program Files, 1934-1947, Stack 150, Row 35, Shelf 27, Compartment 34, Box 61, 901 Privileges and Permits Folder.
35. Ibid.
George Willard seemed to avoid Detective Dougherty's questioning and continued to comment on the Resettlement Administration and the work relief program:

They call it a resettlement and I call it a 're-robbery'. I have money and I have earned it and as long as you have this relief on, there will always be hungry people in these mountains, but there never were any hungry ones there before relief, and who is going to pay for it I don't know; but, they now will not work and the mountain will keep them all.36

Displacement Anxieties

Oral histories indicate that removal was a painful, disruptive process for some residents. Beatrice Stottlemyer, secretary for Catoctin RDA and the first employee, remembered farmers coming into the RDA office, not wanting to leave their farms. She recalled feeling very bad for them and did not think they were any worse off than other farmers in the county.37 In an oral history taken by YCC corpsmembers in the early 1970s, George Willhide recollected the federal government's dislocation of mountain families: "It's a shame, tore my soul, it was a lovely home, they destroyed...We had land up there and them people there had lovely farms and potatoes, ground, and all like that."38

Particular stress was placed on people who did not own property, but were tenants, like Clyde and Virginia Kendall. Virginia recalled that she and Clyde were newly married and she was pregnant when the federal government forced them out of their residence in the proposed park area, which she called the "Krist place," but was likely part of Reuben McAfee's property (see fig. 10). Clyde had a job with the WPA working in the park. "So Clyde and I stayed there, they got pretty rank. They notified us that they were coming the next day to tear the house down.

36. Ibid.
77. Angela Sirna, “Interview with Beatrice Stottlemyer,” Audio, January 12, 2014, Author’s Notes.
So here we didn't have a cent of money, and no place to go."39 She continued that she went to Tracy Delaughter who lived on a farm adjacent to the Lutheran church, about moving into an old school building on his property. Her son, George, was born shortly after Virginia and Clyde moved. She recalled,

I went there just like a poor kid that was threwed out without a friend. I said, 'Mr. Delaughter, you got this old school house up here. Could Clyde and I move in it?' He said that ain't fit. That just ain't fit. You and the baby and Clyde would freeze to death, when it comes fall. If we can get enough tin to put a roof on and partition it off—he said you can have it, if this is what you want.40

Virginia paints a rather traumatic picture of being displaced from her home. Other local residents remembered the land acquisition process as being unfair and the federal government greedy for "taking" lands. It should be noted that the government, although at times coercive, did not condemn lands that did not already have willing sellers. The condemnation process was only undertaken at Catoctin when it was necessary to sort out property ownership.

Figure 10. Reuben A. Fox Farm, circa 1930s. The Kendalls were one of

39. "Interview with Clyde and Virginia Kendall," Transcript, N.D., Park Archive, Oral History Collection, 41.
40. "Interview with Clyde and Virginia Kendall," 41.
three families living on Fox’s property when the government acquired his property. Source: Louis Berger Archaeology Report (2011).

It is fair to ask, however, if the federal government (particularly the Resettlement Administration) did anything to help residents relocate to better farms. The local Thurmont newspaper quoted former Ely student L.C. Gray saying, “Families who are selling their land to the Government will be aided, if necessary, in finding better farms elsewhere.”

Resettlement

New Deal community and resettlement programs were some of the most controversial of the New Deal. The Subsistence Homestead Program headed by M.L. Wilson first created planned communities to relocate stranded farmers and industrial workers. This program was absorbed by an independent agency created by Roosevelt in 1935 called the Resettlement Administration. This new agency also absorbed FERA's rural projects, FERA's rural rehabilitation division, and two of L.C. Gray's planning offices: the Land Planning Section of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Land Policy Section of the AAA. Rexford Tugwell, an agricultural economist and part of Roosevelt's "brain trust," administered the agency, which had three divisions: the Land Utilization Division, Resettlement Division, and Rural Rehabilitation Division. The proposal for the Catoctin project occurred while it was part of the Land Policy Section of the AAA, but most of the land acquisition occurred under the Land Utilization Division of the Resettlement Administration. Then, the NPS finished the remainder of the acquisition and all of the park development. It appears that this quick succession of

41. “Catoctin Project is Approved; Plans are Okayed to Purchase 10,000 Acres,” Catoctin Clarion, October 18, 1935, p.1.
42. Phillips, This Land, This Nation, 120.
administering agencies meant that the actual resettlement of families fell to the wayside, even though it was the expressed purpose of the project to help area farmers living on poor land move to better farms. No plan for this resettlement can be found in the records, although there are references that a plan was needed.

The final report for the proposed Catoctin RDA included sections pertaining to the socio-economic make-up of the families within the proposed boundary and indicated the possible number of families that would require resettlement, rehabilitation, or direct relief. Park planners stated that fifty families were included in the maximum 15,000-acre park boundary, but only half lived in the 5,476-acre primary area. Five families in the primary area and sixteen in the maximum area were on relief. Planners believed that twenty families in the maximum area would relocate themselves, while nine would do so from the primary area. But thirty families in the maximum area and sixteen in the primary required "Resettlement and Rehabilitation." Three in the primary area and six in the maximum area would need "direct relief." However, at the time of the report, there were no plans for resettlement currently underway. In another part of the proposal, park planners indicated that it was the responsibility of the Maryland Relief Administration to resettle "stranded" families and they had done nothing up until that point.43

Historian Paul Conkin demonstrated that projects under the Land Policy Section of the AAA, which the Catoctin project was at the time of the proposal, were often placed completely in the hands of states to resettle dislocated farmers.44 Maryland formed a Rural Rehabilitation

Corporation, but it never got off the ground to help displaced Foxville residents. The Maryland Extension Agency wrote cryptically in its 1935 Annual Report that the agency had been enlisted by the State Department of Rural Rehabilitation to help resettle farmers in the state, but the extension agency had been very conservative in its efforts. That June, the Comptroller General ruled that rural rehabilitation should be the federal government's responsibility, not the states', and so the Resettlement Administration became responsible in June 1935 for rehabilitation efforts. The Farm Security Administration (FSA) replaced the Resettlement Administration in 1936, after the NPS took complete control over the Catoctin project. There is no indication that the FSA helped Catoctin farmers find better farms, but the 1940 Hauvers District census lists Kenneth Wagaman working as a field worker for the agency showing there was at least some presence in the area (see Appendix C).

47. Oppenheimer, "The Development of the Rural Rehabilitation Loan Program," 479-82.
Catoctin project manager Williams was not completely aloof to the plight of park residents. In April 1937, he requested a Special Use Permit for Isaiah "Ike" Smith, a lifetime resident, to use his farm dwellings, including the springhouse, and harvest crops in the 1937 season (see fig. 11). Smith helped survey teams to locate property boundaries without pay early in the park planning process. He was later hired by the federal government to work as night watchman in the Round Meadow area then called the "Central Administration Group" from September 1936 to April 15, 1937. Williams wrote:

When the property was optioned the owner was promised work on the project and assistance from the Resettlement Administration in relocating on a more productive farm...The Resettlement farm project proposed for this section was abandoned last summer and as it is almost impossible for a farmer to find a suitable place to locate at this season of the year he and his large family would be in a very bad situation if forced off the property within the next few months.
Crops in the ground now could not be worked and harvested advantageously if he had to dispose of his team and live several miles from the project.48

No other references have been found to this "resettlement farm project," although Williams was asked to help survey tracts for a project nearby in Pennsylvania called the Cumberland Valley Homesteads Project. If there was such a project in the works, it may have been similar to what was going on in Virginia at Shenandoah National Park, in which the state of Virginia moved hundreds of residents from inside the new park boundaries to planned communities just outside the park.49 The Shenandoah Homesteads program was first initiated by the Subsistence Homesteads Program before the Resettlement Administration and received negative publicity in 1936 when park residents chose not to move to these new communities. Virginia Senator Harry Byrd campaigned against the Resettlement Administration in 1937 when he discovered the high costs of the project.50 The experiences at Shenandoah in addition to other issues in community development may have discouraged planners at Catoctin from pursuing a resettlement community.

Still, the Resettlement and Rural Rehabilitation divisions of the Resettlement Administration could have helped Catoctin families find new places to live, but there is no evidence that this happened. Instead, it may be that Resettlement Administration and NPS simply intended that these dislocated workers would move into industrial work and relieve the surplus of farm workers. This would be more in line with Rexford Tugwell's goal of permanent agricultural reform, which could only be achieved when low-income farmers moved into permanent

49. Horning, In the Shadow of Ragged Mountain, 5.
50. Conkin, Tomorrow a New World, 163-64.
industrial work.\textsuperscript{51} It appears, however, that many families remained in Washington and Frederick counties after they left the park.\textsuperscript{52} The question still remains of whether they moved to better farms.

Land acquisition records, the 1930 and 1940 censuses, and oral histories provide a rough picture of the number of families that became dislocated by the park project (see Appendix B). About thirty-five families on properties owned by thirty different landowners eventually had to leave their homes. It is impossible to know the exact families that lived on each property, because most of these records do not list tenants. Census records from the 1930s note that the majority of the owners with homes on their property were white and were farmers. Most remained farmers in the 1940 census. Those families that moved remained close by in Frederick and Washington counties. For example, the Charles Allen Brown and Earl Brown families both bought property north of the park along Friends Creek Road. Roy Lewis bought a farm in Lewistown, but was still working for the WPA in 1940. However, the records do not indicate whether or not they moved to "better farms." Census takers in 1940 do give estimated values of their homes, which may be compared to how much they sold their previous homes to the government, but these values should be used with caution since census takers were not appraisers.

Some Catoctin farmers did leave agriculture after selling their property to the government. Stanley G. Brown, son of Earl, sold his property and worked as a caretaker at Fort Ritchie making $1,200 a year. Elbra O. Brown was listed in the 1930 census as a thirty-six year old truck farmer living in Ringgold. After selling his Catoctin land, he rented a house in

\textsuperscript{51} Conkin, \textit{Tomorrow a New World}, 153.
\textsuperscript{52} Sirna, "Interview with Elwood Hauver;" "Interview with Clyde and Virginia Kendall."
Smithsburg and worked as a painter at the Fairchild Aircraft plant in Hagerstown for $500 a year.

It appears that Rexford Tugwell's hope for permanent social reform fell flat in the Catoctin Mountains since many dislocated residents returned to farming in the local area and there was no real assistance from the state or federal government. The park development project disrupted families living in the area, prompting many to leave their long-time homes that some had strong attachments to, leaving bitter feelings for decades to come. However, more concrete data is needed to truly assess the legacy of the resettlement program. In the meantime, evidence of agriculture remains in the park through stone walls, monoculture fields, and remnants of agricultural features, particularly in the Walnut Springs area, Browns Farm Trail, and the recently acquired Braestrup property.

**Part II: Relief Work**

On the second day of the New Year, 1936, a group of workers from local relief rolls began transforming the Catoctin landscape from a patchwork of fields, homesteads, orchards, and timberland into a park. They started first at Roy Lewis's farm where they carved out the park's Central Administration Group. Ten percent of Frederick County's population was on relief the month before, down from nearly twenty percent in 1934.\(^5^3\) That same month, December 1935, the NPS began cooperating with a new federal agency: the Works Progress Administration (WPA).\(^5^4\) The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of April 8, 1935, created the new agency

\(^{53}\) Harry Greenstein, *Maryland Emergency Relief Program: From April, 1933, through December, 1935* (Baltimore: Board of State Aid and Charities, 1936).

that is mostly remembered for its art and writers' projects, including the now iconic posters of park landscapes. In 1936, however, the WPA allocated $9,000,000 to the NPS for various projects, including the development of federal-recreational projects such as the project at Catoctin.\textsuperscript{55} The WPA found its labor pool in the surrounding area, and in fact, hired several former park residents. Three years later, in 1939, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) arrived at Catoctin and laid the foundation for a camp on top of Roy Lewis's newly fallow fields, expanding the Central Administration Area.\textsuperscript{56} The CCC brought in males, 18 to 25 years old, from outside the region and put them to work on conservation projects. Congress passed the Emergency Conservation Work Act in March 1933, and Roosevelt issued the Executive Order that created the CCC. The CCC remained at Catoctin until November 1942. Both the WPA and CCC embodied the ideals of human conservation, particularly the idea that work created better citizens and consumers, especially when done in nature.

\textit{Works Progress Administration}

The Catoctin RDA project was a uniquely local project because of the usage of WPA labor. The CCC is most often credited for New Deal park development, which is certainly understandable since the program is responsible for creating many national parks and entire state systems, like in Texas and South Carolina. However, right from the outset, Catoctin park planners intended to use local labor to fulfill a goal of the RDA program. They considered building a camp for transient workers, but decided to bring in workers within "hauling

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{56} The area referred to as the Central Administration Area has been alternatively referred to as the Central Garage Unit, Central Service Group, and Area Service Group. Today, the area is called Round Meadow.
distance." Earley states that Land Utilization Division made special exemptions so that the project could hire non-relief workers. Most of the workers came from the immediate area, but a group of WPA workers from Woodsboro, Maryland, wrote a letter complaining that they had to travel forty miles on the back of a cattle truck in the cold. The WPA hired some former park residents to work on the project, including Alvy Smith and Hampton Wolf. The records do not provide a full list of those that labored on the project, but 1940 census records and project records provide a partial view (see Appendix C). Most of those that the WPA hired to work on the park project were white males who were usually heads of households and/or had dependents. They varied in age from eighteen to seventy-seven year old Samuel Bussard who was hired to work as a carpenter for the park project.

The accident report of Glen Wagaman gives us a partial view of the tight kinship network among the local residents working on the Catoctin project for the WPA. Wagaman grew up along Foxville-Deerfield Road and his father, William, sold land to the government for the park. Glen was around twenty-eight years old and still living with his father at the time of the accident. The incident occurred after lunch on February 4, 1941, when Glen hitched a ride from the property of Harry Willhide where a crew was loading stone from a wall back along County Road (now Manahan Road) to the stone crusher set up near Central Administration Area. He fell out of the vehicle and was struck by the two-ton Dodge dump truck.


The driver, Charles Weddle, took Wagaman to the nearby home of William J. Willhide, which according to Mike Williams was only one hundred feet away, just outside of the park boundary. Willhide was chopping wood and witnessed the incident. Wagaman died later that evening at Frederick City Hospital. The NPS officials and investigators said that Wagaman was not working at the time, and thus the government was not responsible for workmen's compensation. Their investigation uncovered that Glen had gone home for lunch since he lived nearby and was intoxicated when he returned. The foreman at the stone crusher, Sherman Kline of Smithsburg, testified that Wagaman had been drinking and he ordered him off the job. Wagaman made his way to the stone loading crew being supervised by Harry Kline, also of Smithsburg, and Kline noticed that Wagaman had been drinking and ordered him to stop. That is when he got into Weddle's truck. Shortly after Wagaman's death, his father, Roger Wolfe, and Peter Bussard vouched that Glen was not intoxicated and was still on the job so that the family might receive Glen's workman's compensation. However, Project Manager Williams dismissed Wolfe, who was Wagaman's brother-in-law, and Bussard. Bussard worked as a foreman, but was seventy-eight or seventy-nine years old by Williams’s estimation. He also noted that Bussard was a close family friend and neighbor to the elder Wagaman and "any statement would naturally favor Wagaman."

This accident investigation reveals that many WPA workers lived near the project area and knew each other very well. It also indicates some tension between federal officials and the local population.

The *Catoctin Clarion* reported on January 3, 1936, that fifty-five men were transferred from a road project "and all persons in the area who optioned and leased lands to the

61. Williams to Omar Crothers, Jr., Letter, April 21, 1941, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry P-100, RDA Program Files, 1934-1947, Stack 150, Row 35, Shelf 27, Compartment 34, Box 59, 303-13 Accidents Gene Wagaman Folder.
government" had started work on the Catoctin project. "While the present force is not great it is expected that in the near future it will be increased as necessary until it virtually absorbs all the available relief labor in the vicinity of Thurmont."\(^{62}\) By April that year, the newspaper reported that the force was three hundred strong as the workers built thirty miles of foot trails, reduced fire hazards on 1,500 acres, and constructed picnic facilities.\(^{63}\) In April, WPA workers set up a sawmill just a few hundred yards away from the Central Administration Group (see fig. 12). They hauled blighted chestnut and other downed hardwoods from Tracts 1, 2, 4, 16, 84, 91, and 96 and cut them down at the sawmill to be used in the construction of the park's structures.

![Image](image.jpg)  

**Figure 12.** Log yard near Central Administrative Group, circa 1930s. Courtesy of Park Archive.

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The WPA built nearly all the park structures over the course of three and a half years, including the Camps Misty Mount, Greentop, and Hi-Catoctin, core buildings in the Central Administration Group (including Administrative Office, Tool House, Garage and Repair Shop, Oil House, Men's and Women's Latrines, Storage Building, Oil Storage Building, and Equipment Storage Shed), a day use area along Route 15, and the Blue Blazes Contact Station (see fig. 13 through 18). Park architect A.R. Vanston utilized the popular park rustic style and prescribed log construction in his designs for the first camps at Catoctin distinguishing it from other RDA's built by the CCC that used frame construction. The WPA provided the skilled labor and local building knowledge to do this work and also completed a substantial amount of stonework.

Figure 13. Central Administration Group, now Round Meadow, late 1930s. Courtesy of Park Archive.

Figure 14. View looking west across the Central Administration Group before CCC’s arrival, circa 1936-1939. Roy Lewis’s fallow fields are still visible. Courtesy of Park Archive.

Figure 15. Eight-bay garage built by WPA, circa 1930s. Courtesy of Park Archive.
Figure 16. Administration Office built by WPA for Catoctin RDA. Photographed by author, April 2, 2014.

Figure 17. Blacksmith Shop built by WPA for Catoctin RDA. Photographed by author, April 2, 2014.
In February 1936, the NPS authorized the "obliteration" of seven farmsteads. Likely former property owners or neighbors were responsible for razing homes and various outbuildings that had once housed family, friends, or acquaintances, and deconstructing miles of stone walls that once separated pastureland and crops. Not all the farmsteads were removed at once. Some property owners, like Ike Smith, and project workers received special use permits to live in dwellings and even plant gardens up until about 1940. While some stone walls were disassembled, crushed, and used for park roads, many sections of stone wall remain in the park today. Farms can be further discerned by monoculture of black locust or other species that

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66. Williams, Memorandum, "Special Use Permits, Catoctin, LD-MD-4," January 20, 1938, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry P-100, RDA Program Files, 1934-1947, Stack 150, Row 35, Shelf 27, Compartment 34, Box 60, 601 Lands Part II Folder.
reclaimed fallow fields and the random fruit tree standing as a long lost witness to the area’s thriving fruit industry.

**Civilian Conservation Corps**

"For the first time in the lives of many of the enrollees of the company who hail from the industrial sections of Pennsylvania, they are able to step out of their doors and gaze upon some scenery which will make almost anyone stop and say: 'Hey, isn't that beautiful'?"67 This was the opening line to an article in the inaugural edition of the Catoctin CCC camp newspaper, *The Mountaineer*, and points to an essential element to the underlying human conservation philosophy of young men laboring in nature. The conservation efforts and social history of the CCC have been widely written about and remain popular in American memory as a successful New Deal program that put young men to work creating recreational opportunities for the masses. Recently, historian Neil Maher probed the relationship between the environmental conservation that the CCC practiced, thereby transforming the landscape, and the physical, mental, and moral transformation that the enrollees themselves went through. He argued that during the Progressive Era, concern for human resources was separate from the conservation movement’s interest in trees, soil, and water, but the CCC began integrating the two concerns.68 While I believe that Progressive land economists did make the connection years before the CCC, I do agree that this new program was able to integrate the two very well in one cohesive program.

CCC administrators were little concerned at first for the social and educational welfare of the boys that enrolled in the program believing their primary responsibility was providing work

opportunities to reprieve the unemployment situation. By 1936, however, CCC administrators realized that they were making an important "social investment with a high yield." Robert Fechner, a national labor union leader before Roosevelt named him CCC Director, wrote in the 1936 Annual Report:

   The record of the Emergency Conservation Work program during the past 3 years demonstrate that it is the kind of agency which is able to combine character building, physical development, and work training functions, which are of vital importance to young men, together with a useful program of public work of value to the country at large.69

   Around the same time CCC started focusing on recreational development in an effort to provide opportunities for physical, mental, and spiritual rejuvenation, particularly for urban dwellers. At last, by the late 1930s, the CCC program had moved towards a "total conservation" model, which Maher described as a new brand of planning that included concerns for human resources, ecological balance, and wilderness values.

   After recounting the accomplishments of the CCC in 1939, Fechner wrote what a shame it would have been if all the energy of these thousands of youths went unutilized, harkening back to Thomas Nixon Carver’s theory of idleness as waste.

   Over this period these youngsters have put in hundreds of millions of man-days of work on conservation projects. Had it not been for the CCC this huge supply of human energy as represented by the hundreds of thousands of youths who have labored in the CCC would have gone to waste. Such waste of human resources staggers the imagination.70


The *Catoctin Clarion* announced to local residents in March 1939 that the CCC was coming to Catoctin Mountain. Residents were already familiar with the program, since the CCC established two camps in Frederick County shortly after the program was created in 1933, including a camp that built Greenbrier State Park and another assigned to the Frederick City Watershed. The newspaper assured readers that the new camp at Catoctin would not interrupt WPA work, which was 291 men strong at the time, perhaps indicating that a CCC camp had not been allocated sooner so as not to take away from local relief labor. According to Wehrle, park planners hoped to have a CCC camp by 1936, but funding cuts and preference for local relief workers put plans on hold. WPA workers completed many projects originally intended for the CCC to complete.

The WPA had constructed the majority of the park infrastructure at Catoctin by the time of the CCC’s arrival. However, between April 1939 and November 1941, the CCC left its own mark on the Catoctin landscape. Using mostly unskilled labor, they constructed a bathhouse, the custodian's dwelling and two "Andirondak-style" trail shelters. They installed power lines, sewer systems, telephone lines, water fountains, water systems, retaining walls, and a pump house. They developed the Catoctin Furnace and Manor area into a day use area and constructed a picnic shelter with two stone chimneys and then graded and seeded the area. They assisted the WPA with roadwork, and they improved the parking area at the Central Administration Group by relaying a dry stacked stone wall, constructing a bumper rail around the area, and trimming

73. For more on the superintendent’s residence, see Rebecca Cybularz, “Catoctin Mountain Park Quarters 1 Superintendent’s Residence, Garage, and Permanent Masonry Landscape Historic Structure Report,” National Park Service, June 2013.
out undergrowth (see fig. 19 and 20). They undertook some ephemeral conservation projects, including planting old farm and charcoal roads and fields. For instance, they planted Ike Smith's former fields with red maple and pitch pine. Project records indicate that the naturalist recommended another type of species, but the park procured the pine saplings from the Soil Conservation Service privileging economy over appropriateness. Ironically, the stand of pine remains in the park making it easier to discern where Ike Smith's fields used to be (see fig. 21).

![Figure 19](image.jpg)

**Figure 19.** Portion of stone walkway built by CCC leading to former parking area. Photographed by author, April 2, 2014.

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75. Williams to Regional Director, Memorandum, January 9, 1939, Park Archive, Planting and Reforestation Projects 1936-1941; William H. Wagner, "Sketch of Planting at Ike Smith's," April 19-20, 1939.
Figure 20. Dry stacked stone wall, part of Roy Lewis’s farm and re-laid by CCC. Photographed by author, April 2, 2014.

Figure 21. “Sketch of Planting at Ike Smith’s,” drawn by William Wagaman on April 28, 1939. Courtesy of Park Archive.
The CCC enrollees made their home in the Central Administration Group, now known as Round Meadow. While the Department of Labor was responsible for recruiting young men for the CCC and the NPS and USDA supervised project work, Roosevelt put the Army in charge of constructing camp facilities, administering camp life, and instilling order and morale. Roosevelt chose the Army because of its organizational capacity to mobilize large groups quickly. The paramilitary influence can be seen in the uniforms that CCC enrollees wore and language used throughout CCC life (e.g. "Enrollment," "enlistment," "commander," and "KP"). It can also be seen in camp architecture and spatial organization of the Catoctin CCC camp.

CCC Company 1374 lived a "Daniel Boone existence" when it first arrived at Catoctin in April 1939. See Appendix D for a list of the first corpsmen and staff at Camp Catoctin. Corpsmen slept in Army issued canvas tents—four men to a tent (see fig. 22 and 23). Jack King, a CCC Company 1374 alumnus, recalled that each tent had a potbelly stove and folding army cots and the canvas would leak during a rainstorm. King also recalled the rudimentary kitchen and eating area:

The mess tent was a kind of lean-to, a tarpaulin hung over the coal cook stoves and it would sway in the breeze leaning this way and that. Fresh water was tank trucked up to us and put into canvas tit-bags hung next to the mess tent. We ate out of Army mess kits, then dipped them into scalding hot water for sanitation. The scene that King describes is similar to an army in the field and demonstrated the need for semi-permanent dwellings, such as barracks and dining halls.

Figure 22. CCC tents at Camp Catoctin, photographed by Jack King. Courtesy of Park Archive.

Figure 23. CCC mess tent, photographed by Jack King. Courtesy of Park Archive.
The first priority for Company 1374 was to construct the camp. In July 1939, the boys moved from the tents into a series of four fifty-man barracks (20’x165”) located in a field just below the tool shed. The barracks were portable wood frame construction, typical of later CCC camps as opposed to "rigid" framing used in earlier camps. The barracks also had indoor latrines unlike most other camps. King recalled, "Life in these new barracks was more human as we could shower with hot water every day, compared to our tent city where mud was an every day experience." The company proceeded to construct a 20’x110’ mess hall with a 20’x30’ kitchen addition, 20’x100’ recreation hall, 20’x70’ administration building, 20’x40’ officer's quarters, a 20’x30’ infirmary, foreman's quarters, oil house, and three garages. The company also created an impressive 20’x130’ educational building that camp investigator Ross Abare rated as "superior." These were all standard buildings used in camps all over the country. The buildings were heated by coal stoves, used well water and septic tanks, and were connected to the local electrical system. The camp had a 10’x25’ central heating plant and 500-gallon hot water heater for laundry. The CCC finished camp construction by September 15, 1939, and changed its designation from SP-MD-7 to NP-3 on October 1 (see fig. 24 through 27).

82. Ross Abare, "Camp Inspection Report NP-3," February 3, 1941, NARA, Record Group 35, Entry-115 (Pi-11), CCC Camp Inspection Reports, Stack 530, Row 65, Compartment 25, Shelf 3, Box 94, Maryland NP-3 Thurmont Formerly SP-7 Folder.
83. Davidson and Jacobs, "CCC in NCR Report," 47.
Figure 24. View looking northeast of CCC barracks, photographed by Jack King, 1939. Courtesy of Park Archive.

Figure 25. View of Camp Catoctin. Courtesy of Park Archive.
Figure 26. View of Camp Catoctin looking southwest. Courtesy of Park Archive.

Figure 27. Drawing of Central Administration Group, 1941. Source: National Archives.
Figure 28. CCC Company 1374 in front of Camp Catoctin. Courtesy of Park Archive.

Figure 29. CCC enrollees of Company 1374 holding flag, photograph by Jack King. Courtesy of Park Archive.
From the tent city to the semi-permanent wood frame buildings, the CCC camp was arranged in a paramilitary layout that emphasized the CCC enrollee’s primary role: to work (see fig. 28). The camp was located downgrade from the NPS’s administration and maintenance buildings keeping the CCC and WPA and NPS employees somewhat separate and dividing the Central Administration Group between skilled and unskilled labor. CCC camp spaces also reinforced secondary goals of education, physical development, and citizenship. The CCC program emphasized masculinity because administrators felt enrollees were feminized by the unemployment crisis of the depression. Many corpsmen physically changed, putting on weight and developing muscles, through manual labor and eating three meals a day. The educational programs offered in camps helped them learn and grow mentally. Further, the discipline of camp life and working in nature taught them how to become better men, conservationists, and citizen-
consumers (see fig. 29). This was reinforced by the camp architecture, spatial organization, and setting, which stood in stark contrast to the organic layout of the organized cabin camps they helped construct (see fig. 30).

The experiences of CCC alumni in conservation and memories of camp life stayed with many of them throughout their lives and proved to be an important influence after World War II. They were part of the “Greatest Generation” that lasted through the Great Depression and fought in World War II. The moniker of “Greatest Generation” may also refer to the “Greatest Generation in Conservation,” as well. CCC alumni influenced the development of local, state, and government environmental and youth program initiatives, including the Job Corps and YCC, which all sought to replicate the success of the CCC. They organized themselves into a national alumni association further perpetuating the popular memory of the agency. CCC Company 1374 alumnus Jack King wrote to the park about commemorating the CCC at the park with a plaque or a memorial and was very upset when he was denied that opportunity for the fiftieth anniversary of the park. He wrote that the hard work of the CCC had been "overlooked" and was "overdue."

In recent years, the park celebrates the park's CCC's history, but sometimes at the expense of the efforts of the WPA.

**Part III: Recreation**

NPS planners and New Deal workers manufactured a new kind of wilderness in the Catoctin Mountains. In a sense, they tried to rewind the clock and depict America on the edge of the frontier and progress. The penultimate reason for the Catoctin RDA project was to provide

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85. King to Jim Voigt, Letter, September 20, 1986, Park Archive, CCC Alumni Jack King Correspondence Folder.
children and their families from Baltimore and Washington, D.C. affordable camping opportunities. Conrad Wirth, then Assistant Director of NPS, in his essay, "The National Aspect of Recreation," wrote, "Our job concerns not only conservation of natural resources, but conservation of human resources. The greatest resource of any nation is its human wealth, and in the conservation of the human wealth recreation plays a major part." NPS architects designed a new model of organized camping that was replicated throughout the dozens of RDA parks established throughout the country. WPA and CCC workers built three organized camps at Catoctin that were used by various groups between 1936 and 1941.

**Organized Camp Design**

Private groups in the late nineteenth century first built summer camps as an ad-hoc collection of temporary, rustic dwellings in the rural landscape, oftentimes on borrowed or rented land. In the 1910s, summer camps tended to mimic military encampments with tents surrounding a parade ground area or in long rows called "company streets." In the 1920s, the military layout trend waned in favor of more permanent buildings in which the landscape was center stage. Camp architecture began to overtly integrate rustic architecture in an attempt to portray a historical setting, such as through the use of log construction and Adirondack lean-tos. The 1930s gave way to the unit plan and master plan spearheaded by NPS architects at thirty-four of forty-three RDAs. Julian Salomon, an RDA camp planning consultant, recalled in an interview:

> There surely never was a time before that when so many well-trained, experienced, architects, landscape architects, and engineers had an opportunity to play with anything as small and unimportant as a children's camp so that naturally

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all of these people tremendous contributions and all kinds of new ideas were developed. The Camps built were far in advance of their times. 88

The most significant feature of RDA camps was their use of the unit plan, which placed camp structures in a decentralized arrangement in a manner similar to the neighborhood unit promoted at the time by the Federal Housing Administration. 89 Architects were inspired by the new field of child play and its concern for identifying phases of human development. They separated the camp in age-based units, which usually consisted of a lodge surrounded by four to eight tents or cabins. All units shared common buildings, including dining hall, infirmary, craft house, pool or lake, and other recreational facilities. Landscape architects, then, were concerned with carefully placing native trees and vegetation around the facilities in order to "naturalize" the area and reinforce separation between units. Circulation patterns meandered around the camp to prevent automobile traffic and emphasize isolation. The form, placement, and materials of the buildings took their cue from the park rustic style developed by Herbert Maier and his NPS architects that emphasized older construction techniques and use of local materials to better blend in with the natural surroundings. 90 NPS architects developed a number of designs and plans that were codified in Albert Goode's seminal three-volume portfolio of park and recreation structures to expedite all the New Deal park development projects. Part III was devoted primarily to organized camps, and includes drawings of a unit latrine, unit lodge, Camp Misty Mount dining hall, and camper cabin built at Catoctin among his examples. These plans and drawings set the standard for middle-class camping for years to come. 91

88. Quoted in Ibid., 30-31.
89. Ibid., 31.
90. Ibid., 32.
Camps Misty Mount, Greentop and Hi-Catoctin fit well within the prescribed architectural and landscape design. They were assembled on a unit plan layout with central lodges surrounded by clusters of camper cabins nestled into the mountain's landscape. The WPA constructed the buildings using local materials, primarily chestnut and stone. Each camp has a dining hall, infirmary, craft building, swimming pool, bathroom facilities, and campfire circle. The cabins and lodges remained primitive without electricity or running water but the dining hall was modernized to provide the necessary amenities to feed a crowd of campers in a healthful and sanitary manner.\(^2\) Each unit had access to bathrooms to maintain cleanly habits among campers. Fields were kept open for recreational pursuits and organized play. Camp Misty Mount was completed by 1936, Camp Greentop a year later in 1937, and Camp Hi-Catoctin in the winter of 1938 and 1939.

Groups serving working class or underprivileged children were eager for the federal government to finish the RDA camp projects. Building summer camps on their own was a costly endeavor, including purchasing or leasing the land, building the infrastructure, purchasing supplies, and hiring year-long management. State or federal-owned organized camps provided state of the art facilities and equipment that could be leased for a reasonable rate on a yearly basis. Organizations could hire their own staff and implement their own programming, whether it was religious or civic-focused.

**Maryland League for Crippled Children**

The NPS selected the Maryland League for Crippled Children to be the first organization to use Camp Misty Mount when WPA workers completed the camp in 1936. A Baltimore group

\(^2\) The park later installed electricity in the cabins.
founded the League in 1927 to provide a statewide service to children with disabilities. At the beginning of the century, a committee of women under the Baltimore Section of the Council of Jewish Women cared for Baltimore children with disabilities. By 1926, specialists published studies showing that children with disabilities lacked educational facilities and a general lack of public support. The newly formed League had five goals: first, to locate all the handicapped children in the state; second, help their physical rehabilitation; third, to provide for their education through the public school system; fourth, to provide for their vocational training; and fifth, place them in remunerative work.93 In the first ten years, the League set about establishing better access to health care, providing physical therapy, procuring braces, bettering educational opportunities, and fundraising. In 1934, a League committee worked with the Resettlement Administration, NPS, and Catoctin Project Manager Mike Williams to secure a summer camp for children with disabilities. The committee believed that the long summer vacation from school was a sizable gap in treatment for most disabled children. Upon a doctor's recommendation, a child could continue to receive physical therapy, heliotherapy, and recreation at the camp with financial support from local communities. In 1936, there were only twenty-four similar camps in the United States and three in Canada. There were no other camps for handicapped children in Maryland and the committee and NPS hoped that this one might serve as a model for others.94

The League spent the first summer at Camp Misty Mount, but moved to Camp Greentop when it was completed in 1937. The League found the terrain at Camp Misty Mount too difficult


for children with disabilities. League camp staff members worked with the park to make modest modifications to the camp design at Camp Greentop to better serve the children’s needs.

In the first few summer camping seasons at Catoctin, park officials placed emphasis on the health qualities of the camps, particularly those used by the League. The local newspaper, for example, referred to them as "health camps." This stemmed from the Victorian preference for Fresh Air camps, which derived from their belief in the salubrious qualities of nature. However, these ideas began to crumble in the 1910s and 1920s. The new field of public health cautioned against bringing together groups of people for extended periods of time for fear of transmitting communicable diseases like tuberculosis or polio. In the 1930s and 1940s, child psychology shifted concerns away from issues impacting all children toward more specific behavioral problems caused by "unscientific parenting."

The League's efforts at Camp Greentop not only expose changing attitudes towards health and child psychology at summer camps, but also demonstrate how organizations evolved to meet campers with special needs. From 1927 to the early 1940s, the League focused its organizational efforts on children with physical disabilities, primarily polio patients (see fig. 31). Doctors recommended children for the Greentop program if they felt they were most deserving of "health, recreation, and character building, or social adjustment." The League was slightly ahead of other summer camps in the field of child psychology because staff believed that

98. Ibid.
children with disabilities were "spoiled" by extended hospital stays and by their parents. More so than other summer camps, the League ensured that Camp Greentop was fully staffed with professional personal and health care specialists. They instituted a training program very early on for camp personnel. The training program in 1939, for example, focused on camp organization, administration, pedagogy, and physical therapy. However, camp administrators soon saw the need to provide summer camp opportunities for those that were deaf or blind. In 1940, the League became one of the first organizations to recognize the need for occupational and physical therapy for those with cerebral palsy. Today, the League, now called the League for People with Disabilities, serves children and adults with a range of physical and mental disabilities.

Figure 31. Photo page of Maryland League for Crippled Children campers at Camp Greentop from the League’s 1939 Annual Report. Source: National Archives.

Other User Groups

Other organizations jumped at the chance to rent Catoctin's modern camping facilities at Camps Misty Mount and Hi-Catoctin, while the League continued to use Greentop. The local
Salvation Army had been renting a farm for a few years near Romney, West Virginia for its Young People's Camp and found it "far from satisfactory" because it only had a dining room, dormitory, and a barn. However, they found the facilities at Camp Misty Mount "ideal in every respect." They used Camp Misty Mount four consecutive years from 1938 to 1941 and instituted programming that integrated recreational camp activities with the Christian principles that supported the Salvation Army's work. Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts groups in Washington and Frederick counties in Maryland rented out camps Hi-Catoctin and Misty Mount in intervals of two weeks. The Welfare and Recreation Association of Public Buildings and Grounds, soon renamed the Federal Camp Council, rented Hi-Catoctin for three consecutive summers from 1939 to 1941 (see fig. 32). The purpose of Camp Hi-Catoctin to the organization was "to meet the needs of Federal employees and their families for low-cost vacations in an organized camp where they may find a wholesome program of recreation and beautiful surroundings and a chance for rest and relaxation." 105

Exclusion of African Americans

All these groups utilized the camps to further their yearlong initiatives, but they notably excluded African Americans. The NPS did not institute segregation as an agency policy, but followed state law and customs. There were few camps for African Americans in the south, including Maryland. In fact, nearby Chopawamsic RDA in Virginia (now Prince William Forest Park) was the first RDA in the south to have an African American camp. However, this camp was purposefully kept separate from white camps in the park.¹⁰⁶

Despite Jim Crow customs in the state, Maryland citizens took on an aggressive letter writing campaign in 1939 to support the establishment of a separate camp at Catoctin for African Americans.

American children with disabilities similar to the one at Camp Greentop.\textsuperscript{107} NPS planners and administrators sympathized with the request, but the state of Maryland was in the middle of a recreational study and NPS planners wanted to wait for the state's recommendations.\textsuperscript{108} State planner J.B. McGovern wrote that the state study team was in the process of recommending camping facilities for African Americans nearer to these populations along the Eastern Shore or southern Maryland. If no suitable location could be found in those areas, the state and NPS might consider creating an area at Catoctin. However, he does not mention the needs of African American children with disabilities. The Maryland State Planning Board published its report on the state's recreation areas in September 1940. The fourth recommendation of the report stipulated that African Americans needed recreational areas, but only cited one example of where existing park facilities might be expanded to accommodate them and it was not Catoctin RDA. The report does not mention the recreational needs of handicapped children of color.\textsuperscript{109}

There is evidence that the NPS began planning a fourth camp at Catoctin RDA (Camp 4-G) in 1938 that could have been used for African American campers, but according to Kirkconnell it was slated to be an all-girls camp.\textsuperscript{110} Wehrle noted that in the 1940 Catoctin RDA master plan staff recommended a "comprehensive development outline for Negro use."\textsuperscript{111}

\textsuperscript{107} One example of many is Paul Beisser to Cammerer, Letter, May 5, 1939 found in NARA, Record Group 79, Entry P-100, RDA Program Files, 1934-1947, Stack 150, Row 35, Shelf 27, Compartment 34, Box 61, 621 Construction Projects Folder.
\textsuperscript{108} J.B. McGovern to Region I Director, Memorandum, May 23, 1939, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry P-100, RDA Program Files, 1934-1947, Stack 150, Row 35, Shelf 27, Compartment 34, Box 61, 621 Construction Projects Folder; Sidney S. Kennedy to Mr. Johnston, Memorandum, May 23, 1939; H.K. Roberts to Regional Director, Memorandum, May 26, 1939.
\textsuperscript{110} Kirkconnell, \textit{Catoctin Mountain Park}, 41
Progress was halted with the end of New Deal funds and the beginning of World War II. African Americans were excluded from the park until the 1950s when Maryland parks were desegregated.

**Shangri-La and Decline of Summer Camps at Catoctin**

World War II fundamentally altered the organization camping program at Catoctin that the park was unable to recover in the postwar era. In the spring of 1942, the government abruptly closed Catoctin RDA and revoked summer camping permits. Officials instructed the League and Salvation Army to remove their equipment with little indication if they would be able to use the camps in the future. Roosevelt chose Camp Hi-Catoctin for his new Presidential Retreat and workers set to transforming the camp into "Shangri-La." The military took over the RDA and even compelled the Brethren to close Camp Peniel. The war years brought soldiers, sailors, and spies to the mountain as they trained or recuperated. The federal government did not open the park or the camps to the public until the 1947 season. The League gratefully returned to Camp Greentop from their temporary camp at Hopewell Furnace, which had subpar facilities. Camp Hi-Catoctin was no longer available to the public or as a low-cost camping option for federal employees. The Salvation Army inquired about returning to Campy Misty Mount in 1946, but did not return when the park reopened in 1947. Girl Scouts from the surrounding area remained the primary user of Camp Misty Mount for the next decade. Again, they used the camp in two week intervals and not nearly as long as some of the pre-war groups. By 1960, summer camps

112. The Presidential Retreat was first known as Camp Three and then Camp Hi-Catoctin. When President Roosevelt chose the site for his new Presidential Retreat, it was called Shangri-La. Later, President Eisenhower changed the name to Camp David, which it is commonly referred to. At the request of the NPS, I will refer to the site as the Presidential Retreat.

113. Earley, "Misty Mount CLR."
declined because parents began placing their children in camps that taught special skills or day camps. The day camps were often a summertime substitution for day care centers for school-age children.\textsuperscript{114} This may help explain why Camp Misty Mount lessened in popularity among organizations, prompting park administrators to begin renting out cabin units to individual families. As a counterpoint to Misty Mount and most other summer camps of its generation, Camp Greentop has been continuously used by the League since the park reopened in 1946 and recently celebrated its 75\textsuperscript{th} anniversary there.

**Conclusion**

Catoctin RDA was one project in a quilt of New Deal agricultural land and reform initiatives in the region aimed at helping farmers, providing employment opportunities, conserving natural resources, and creating recreation areas. Human conservation shaped Catoctin's New Deal landscape from the removal of local populations to the use of relief labor in creating a park retreat for low-income children and their families. "Demonstration" is the operative word in "Recreational Demonstration Area." Park planners intended Catoctin to be a model for conservation, proper land use, and recreation. These intentions are embodied in the farmstead remnants scattered around the park, picnic areas, roads, trails, Round Meadow, Camp Misty Mount, and Camp Greentop. They also remain in the memories of former residents and their families, WPA workers, CCC enrollees, and the thousands of campers that have spent their summer vacations in the park.

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\textsuperscript{114} Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness*, xxvii.
CHAPTER THREE  
CATOCTIN AND THE WAR ON POVERTY

Introduction

Thirty years after Roy Lewis sold his farm to the federal government and the CCC boys set up camp in the fallow fields, a fresh group of young men took up residence in Catoctin’s Central Administration Group to toil in nature, learn basic educational skills, and become better citizens. President Lyndon B. Johnson declared a War on Poverty in January 1964, and one of the first skirmishes occurred at Catoctin Mountain Park. The new Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and NPS rehabilitated the old CCC camp at Catoctin for the nation’s first Job Corps program. The Catoctin Job Corps Conservation Center (JCCC) welcomed young men from Appalachia and inner cities to receive job training while doing conservation work. The program targeted those especially vulnerable because they had dropped out of school and were at the bottom of the economic ladder. Job Corps staff taught these men reading and math skills and conducted vocational training from 1965 to 1969. Meanwhile, they worked, studied, and lived under intense scrutiny from high-level program administrators, prominent politicians, and a curious media who used Catoctin's progress or failure as a measuring stick for the entire War on Poverty. President Richard Nixon closed many of the conservation centers in 1969, including Catoctin, ending this brief, but very important chapter in human conservation at the park.

Interlude

The NPS mostly suspended human conservation programs at Catoctin during the Second World War when the military took over the park. British sailors and American Marines briefly
used Camp Misty Mount, Camp Greentop, and the former CCC camp in the Central Administration Group for rest and rehabilitation in 1941 and again in 1944. In the intervening years, the military used camp facilities to provide security for President Roosevelt's Presidential Retreat and to train Office of Strategic Service (OSS) recruits. The OSS briefly took over the CCC camp at Round Meadow for its camp headquarters, which it designated B-5, while it used Camp Greentop for most of its training exercises. The Army Corps of Engineers made some improvements at B-5 by adding hot water, flush toilets, improved the water supply and waste disposal system, and added a walk-in refrigerator to the mess hall.¹

Campers and visitors returned to Catoctin in 1947, making it a place of recreation and leisure once again. The 1950s brought important changes to the park including a significant transfer of land to the state of Maryland, a change in leadership, and new capital improvements. First, the NPS transferred the area south of Route 77 to the state of Maryland in 1954 to create Cunningham Falls State Park. State officials had been clamoring for the entire RDA to be absorbed into the state park system, which was the NPS's original intention. Most RDAs were turned over to the states, but just a few remained with the NPS. The federal government was reluctant to relinquish control of Catoctin because of the new Presidential Retreat. The federal government kept the northern half of the park to serve as a buffer to the Presidential Retreat. Then, in 1957, Park Manager Mike Williams retired after twenty-two years of service. Williams guided the park's creation during the 1930s and served as its steward during World War II. His

retirement marked the end of an era. From 1956 to 1966, the NPS waged a capital improvements campaign called "Mission 66" that sought to upgrade visitor services at parks throughout the system. The NPS used Mission 66 funds to replace the dining hall at Camp Greentop before the 1957 camping season after the original New Deal structure burned. The NPS also built the Poplar Grove and Owens Creek campgrounds and Owens Creek Picnic Area. The Poplar Grove campground, finished in 1958 and located along Manahan Road, fulfilled a project planned in the New Deal RDA master plan, while the Owens Creek projects were Mission 66 designs built between 1964 and 1965. The NPS also constructed an addition to Catoctin's Blue Blazes visitor center in 1964. The park finally purchased Camp Peniel from the Church of the Brethren in August 1964, which included nineteen and half acres, an auditorium, dining hall, and nine cabins. The Navy established a mobile home housing unit (later named Foxville Gardens) adjacent to the Central Administration Group sometime during this period for servicemen working at the Presidential Retreat.\(^2\)

### The Great Society and National Parks

The Great Society refers to the set of domestic policies set forth by Johnson during his administration from 1963 to 1969 that focused on ending poverty and racial inequality in America and raising the quality-of-life of all Americans through improved education, environmental protection, and investment in cities. Johnson, previously Senate Majority Leader and Vice-President, ascended to the presidency after the assassination of John F. Kennedy in November 1963. Using his incredible political acumen, Johnson used Kennedy's death to push through liberal legislation aimed to end poverty and racial injustice in the country, namely the Civil Rights and Economic Opportunity Acts, which may be considered the high-water mark for

\(^2\) Kirkconnell, *Catoctin Mountain Park*, 111-26
liberalism in the twentieth century. The liberal consensus soon shattered, however, as marginalized groups such as African Americans, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and women became disillusioned with liberal policy home and abroad, particularly the controversial Vietnam War. Activists and educators emerged as the New Left, which further polarized the country as longtime Democrats moved to the middle. Johnson decided not to seek reelection in 1968.³

George B. Hartzog Jr. replaced Conrad Wirth as NPS director in January 1964. Hartzog had the daunting task of filling the shoes of the man that had such a significant impact on many local, state, and national parks. Trained as a landscape architect, Conard Wirth coordinated NPS CCC activities during the 1930s and played an instrumental role in the Park, Parkway, and Recreational Study. As NPS director, he spearheaded the Mission 66 program, a billion dollar program that updated visitor services at parks across the entire system. Hartzog had to craft a vision for the NPS that distinguished himself from Wirth and that fit into Johnson's vision for a Great Society. He had to do this on the heels of Mission 66, the biggest capital campaign in the NPS since the New Deal. Hartzog wrote a memo to Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall on his long-range plan he called, "The Road to the Future." He wrote, "It must be a program which contains: A concern for preserving the beauty of the natural landscape and the character of urban environments; an effort to enhance the educational experience of young people; an obligation to share our experience in the field of conservation with people of this and other nations."⁴ Hartzog proposed completing the national park system; developing a plan for the National Capital Parks

system that helped beautify the city; providing support service to state parks and outdoor recreation programs; and developing parks as educational centers for history and ecology. During his time as NPS director, Hartzog expanded the NPS system with an additional sixty-nine units, promoted interpretive programming to serve urban areas, and hired more minorities to work in the agency.⁵

Congress passed key laws during Johnson's administration and Hartzog's tenure that had a profound impact on NPS management. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 created a variety of programs that found their way to national parks, including the Job Corps, Volunteers In Service to America (VISTA), College Work-Study, and Neighborhood Youth Corps. In 1963, Wirth assigned Hartzog to a special task force that helped ensure the passage of the Wilderness Act in 1964. This law required the NPS to evaluate all of its roadless areas for wilderness areas.⁶ Hartzog also supported NPS historian Ronald Lee's efforts to pass the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, which reaffirmed the NPS's role as the leader in American historic preservation.⁷

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A War on Poverty

During his State of the Union address in January 1964, Johnson declared a domestic War on Poverty, prompting the NPS to renew its human conservation efforts. Several influential works brought the issue of poverty to American consciousness while the country was experiencing unprecedented prosperity. John Kenneth Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* (1958) highlighted the waste of American consumer culture and indifference to public needs. Michael Harrington documented the prevalence of poverty in the U.S. in *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (1962), in which he described a "culture of poverty." He saw clusters of disadvantaged people with similar social and psychological characteristics. He found that people were not poor just because they lacked resources, but because they held a value system that perpetuated poverty. He blamed this value system for stifling ambition and upward mobility.

These works led to the "rediscovery of poverty" in postwar America, even though poverty never really went away after the Great Depression as New Deal liberals had hoped. One liberal solution to poverty at the time was removing the impoverished from their material circumstances to a better environment and new opportunities—like working in national parks and forests.

The Economic Opportunity Act was the ammunition for fighting a War on Poverty. The law created the Office of Economic Opportunity and Johnson tapped Sargent Shriver to head the new agency. Shriver was widely known for creating the popular Peace Corps program and was also married to President Kennedy's sister, Eunice. Johnson wanted to capitalize upon the success of the Peace Corps, while also bringing in an important member of Kennedy's staff into his administration to help build his credibility among liberals who distrusted him. The Economic

Opportunity Act created many important programs aimed at ending poverty in America, including the Job Corps, VISTA, Head Start, Neighborhood Youth Corps, College Work-Study, and Community Action Programs.

The Job Corps

"The Job Corps, part of the Poverty Program, is the immediate concern of the National Park Service," stressed an agency memo in May 1964.10 Before the Economic Opportunity Act even passed Congress, NPS employees scrambled to identify suitable locations for Job Corps centers. Fortunately, they had already completed some of this preliminary work a few years earlier when Senator Hubert Humphrey tried to pass a Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) bill in 1959. The bill passed the Senate but the House did not consider it.11 Evidently, the NPS was still hopeful that Congress would create an YCC program because they prepared camp data in 1963.12 Many of the proposed YCC sites were former CCC camps, and were later selected for the Job Corps, including Catoctin. Criteria for the first Job Corps centers were that they had to be located on federal lands, could be activated by October 1, 1964, and could accommodate up to one hundred people.13 It’s not certain who first proposed Catoctin, but the park fit the bill.

Transforming Catoctin's Central Administration Group

On May 15, 1964, Lawrence Cook, the NPS Job Corps Coordinator accompanied by George Gowans and Ken Goslin (NPS), Dwight Rettie and Allan Dakan (Interior), and Colonel

12. Stratton, “Planning the War on Poverty.”
13. Ibid.
John Carley (President's Committee on Economic Opportunity) all took a helicopter flight from Washington, D.C. to Catoctin. They met with Superintendent Paul Webb, who gave them a tour of the site they described as "the Maintenance Area (near...Trailer housing unit)." They noted that the site seemed suitable and would not pose too much conflict with normal park activities. They quickly estimated that by using government surplus and "mobile home demonstration structures" the camp could be up and running for $80,000. The NPS Director named Catoctin the top DOI priority by June 5. There was definite competition between the USDA and NPS to open the first camp. NPS officials told the OEO that Catoctin would be ready to house forty-five to fifty people by July 1, and offered it as a "Poverty Program Training Facility" or "show place" within easy commuting distance of DC for OEO officials. The NPS planners figured that even if the Job Corps Program fell through there would at least be a new recreation camp for the park.

During the May 15 site visit, the group noted the existing conditions of the site. They found the two-story storage building, and wrote that all the utilities were in that building. The rest of the building could be used as barracks or for training. The park used the space

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15. Cook, Confidential Memorandum on Job Corps Developments, May 28, 1964, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 6, D22 Memorandum May 1964 to June 1965 Folder.
16. Ibid.
periodically for meetings. The group estimated it would take $20,000 to make the building usable. They surveyed an eight-bay garage building with a new roof and found it structurally sound. They recommended that it be turned into a new dining hall and kitchen for about $23,000. On that trip, the group felt that there were plenty of remaining buildings to serve as workshops for job training and offices. The group determined that if the site would be used as a Job Corps center, all the NPS and OEO would need to do is erect mobile homes to expand the capacity to 100 people. They would also have to modify some of the existing utilities to support that number of people.  

After the May 15 survey, Udall ordered that staff "go all out to get the Camp built as soon as possible." Park staff began upgrading utilities for a fifty-man training center and one hundred-man camp. The Economic Opportunity bill became law on August 20, 1964. By late October, the NPS had converted the two-story storage building into a barracks that could hold fifty men (see fig. 33 and 34). Workers also made a dramatic conversion of the eight-bay garage into a dining hall and kitchen (see fig. 35 through 37). Magnolia Mobile Homes Company installed six trailers for staff housing and had a remaining six left to be connected (see fig. 38). The Job Corps officer noted that Catoctin still needed additional barracks for fifty more men and needed two buildings for recreation and education, but recommended that Camp Greentop be used until more permanent facilities could be constructed. The Job Corps also required three additional trailers, an office building, dispensary, work project building, and a warehouse. The

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19. Ibid.
estimated total for these additional facilities was $230,000, an amount much higher than previously quoted in May (see fig. 39).  

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Figure 34. Building shown in previous figure rehabbed for Job Corps dormitory in 1964. Renamed “Dogwood.” Courtesy of Park Archives.

Figure 35. Workers pouring concrete floors, rehabbing former New Deal garage into Job Corps dining hall, 1964. Source: Park Archive.
Figure 36. Round Meadow Dining Hall. Photographed by author, April 2, 2014.

Figure 37. Inside dining hall, showing original garage timbers demarcating bays. Photographed by author, April 2, 2014.
Figure 38. Magnolia Trailer Home housed Job Corps staff and their families. Courtesy of Park Archive.

Figure 39. Sketch of proposed Job Corps center drawn by George Gowans on October 27, 1964. Courtesy of Park Archive.
The 1964 presidential election temporarily put Job Corps plans on hold in early November, but Hartzog ordered the construction of the remaining facilities to be contracted out immediately and there was a push to have the center finished by December 31 so that it could be activated by January 7, 1965. The OEO had selected Catoctin in October as the first center to open. The USDA opened its first center just two weeks later. Udall regarded the selection of Camp Catoctin as the first center "as a major honor of the highest significance." He directed that "no stone should be left unturned to fulfill the time-table and requirements which this honor and opportunity afford." 22

The center was ninety-five percent complete by January 4, 1965. Contractors finished foundation work, sewer lines, and water lines. They had completed eighty-five percent of the site's grading, sixty percent of the roads, and forty percent of the sidewalks. Workers constructed temporary sidewalks for Job Corps staff training that began in late-December 1964. Electrical was mostly complete. The Job Corps and the NPS decided to replace the CCC maintenance shop with a new, brick building in its same footprint (see fig. 40). They also constructed a new administration building adjacent to the rehabilitated dining hall (see fig. 41). Minor work remained for the new maintenance shop and administrative building in January. 23 The education and recreational buildings had not been started.

Figure 40. Maintenance shop constructed in 1964 for Job Corps on top of footprint of New Deal maintenance shop. Photographed by author, April 2, 2014.

Figure 41. Job Corps administration office, 1965. Courtesy of Park Archive.
The CCC Legacy and the Job Corps Conservation Program

It is with little coincidence that Catoctin was chosen because of its association with the CCC. Even in 1964, Americans had positive associations with the conservation New Deal programs that created state and national parks. Johnson had fond memories as administrator for Texas's National Youth Administration during the New Deal and those experiences made creating programs like the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps an easy decision. Initially, those behind the Job Corps hoped to capitalize on the CCC's popularity by modeling the new program after the 1930s model. Similarly, the Job Corps was jointly administered by various agencies. The DOI and USDA resumed their role of identifying and supervising projects, while the Department of Labor (DOL) again helped in enrollee selection. The OEO took responsibility for administering the camps instead of the Army.

Figure 42. CCC and Job Corps wooden plaques located in Blue Blazes Visitor Center. Photographed by author, April 2, 2014.

It is more than symbolic that the OEO and NPS would construct the very first Job Corps center on the foundations of an old CCC camp. Enrollees also appropriated a CCC logo for their own use. This logo shows a ladder with an arrow pointing up, indicating upward economic mobility (see fig. 42). Enrollees also wore uniforms similar to the CCC and participated in similar recreational activities like team sports and circulating a camp newsletter.

The resemblance to the CCC was only superficial, however. Christopher Weeks, a former OEO staff member who wrote about the Job Corps’ first two years in a book called Job Corps: Dollars and Drop Outs, explained that the OEO’s aspirations to surpass the success of the CCC were quickly chastened.²⁵ Job Corps administrators noted that there were many similarities between their program and the CCC, but realized that the two programs were very different. First, the CCC program was first and foremost an employment program and served young men from all walks of life—some with high school and college training. The Job Corps was primarily a training program and thus targeted young men that were dropouts from poor families, many with less than a grade school education.²⁶ The emphasis on education was underscored by the appointment of Otis Singletary as the first Job Corps director. Singletary was a trained history professor that was serving as Chancellor of the University of North Carolina (UNCG) at Greensboro when Shriver tapped him for the Job Corps hoping to model the program after the university system. President Johnson wanted these centers to be more than camps for the

²⁶. Luis Gastellum, "Outline of Items to Cover in Coordinators Meeting," January 1965, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 1, A40 Conferences and Meetings Folder.
underprivileged, but to be "new educational institutions, comparable in innovation to the landgrant colleges." 27 Singletary agreed to a two-year leave of absence from UNCG.28

Changes in postwar society are reflected in the Job Corps program. Job Corps centers were purposefully integrated, while CCC camps were segregated. Administrators also devised three different types of centers: conservation, urban, and women's centers. Conservation centers were most similar to the CCC, by taking young men into rural, often isolated areas in national parks or forests, and putting them to work doing conservation projects. The urban centers were obviously situated near places with high population density and had different types of work projects. As the Job Corps program developed, some conservation center graduates were sent to urban centers for further training. Congresswoman Edith Green from Oregon advocated early on that young women be included in the Job Corps program. Shriver agreed to open a select number of facilities for women, but none of these centers were conservation-oriented, because administrators felt that work was not suitable for young women.29

Secretary of the Interior Udall and Sargent Shriver butted heads over the purpose of the conservation centers. Udall was a big supporter for the YCC idea and believed that they could duplicate Roosevelt's CCC and perhaps even more successfully. Shriver's staff was more oriented towards the urban centers and wanted to call the conservation camps "Job Corps Rural Centers." Udall was adamant that conservation was kept in the name and the OEO reluctantly acquiesced. Udall reflected:

27. Quoted in Weeks, Job Corps, 83.
These urban kids and ghetto kids and deprived kids, there's no better experience for any man than to get in the out-of-doors and get acquainted with how you do things with your hands. You have a feeling you're building things. All you have to do is go and see these kids and the pride they'd take and there's something visible there they've done—build a wall or cleaned out a forest or whatever it is.\(^\text{30}\)

Udall was generally dissatisfied with Interior's relationship with the OEO. He felt that the emphasis on education unnecessarily drove up costs of conservation centers, making them the most expensive to operate because they were so remote. He believed the high cost persuaded the Nixon administration to close most of these centers.\(^\text{31}\) This was just the beginning of a tenuous and confusing relationship between Interior staff and the Job Corps. Center directors at national parks, for example, were OEO employees but had to coordinate with park superintendents; while some superintendents felt that they should manage the Job Corps centers. This varied from center to center, but Catoctin JCCC Director Clyde "Al" Maxey remembered having a contentious relationship with Catoctin Park Superintendent Paul Webb.\(^\text{32}\)

**Staffing Catoctin**

The OEO and NPS activated Catoctin JCCC on January 7, 1964, although they started staff training at the center in December. The NPS made a concerted effort to find internal candidates to operate these centers. Lawrence Cook told NPS managers, "We don't want ‘outsiders’ running it in our parks," emphasizing the importance of using NPS people to fill key


\(^{32}\) Sirna, "Interview with Clyde A. Maxey," Phone Interview, January 21, 2014, Author’s Notes.
positions, particularly the center director.\textsuperscript{33} A special "Director's Screening Committee" came together in June 1964 and started screening seventy-five candidates for the center director positions.\textsuperscript{34} The first five center directors were chosen in late-September 1964. In a hurried letter to update them on the program's progress, NPS Poverty Program Coordinator Lawrence Cook, ended the note saying, "I'm not sure that you have been officially informed, but the Secretary has approved your designation as Camp Director."\textsuperscript{35} This remark gives a small indication how extremely fluid the program development was in the summer and fall of 1964. Administrators selected Al Maxey, a park ranger at Yellowstone, as one of the first center directors (see fig. 43). At the time, he had little idea which center he would be sent to. He received his assignment to Catoctin on January 7, 1965, the day the center was activated. Administrators named Paul Wilber as Deputy Director of Education and Leon Iracks as Deputy Director of Work Programs.\textsuperscript{36}

Maxey spent most of his youth in Colorado and earned bachelor's and master's degrees in forestry from Colorado State University. He started his career in the NPS as a fireguard and then worked his way up to a seasonal ranger position at Rocky Mountain National Park. The NPS hired him in his first permanent position at Aztec Ruins National Monument in the early 1950s. He thought he would never find a permanent position because he had worked as a seasonal for so

\begin{footnotes}
\item[33] Cook to Regional Job Corps Coordinators, Memorandum, “Weekly Notes Concerning Poverty Program,” July 2, 1964, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 6, D22 Memorandum May 1964 to June 1965.
\item[34] Cook, Memorandum, "War on Poverty—Job Corps," June 5, 1965, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 6, D22 Memorandum May 1964 to June 1965.
\item[35] Cook, Memorandum, September 24, 1964, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 6, D22 Employment and Personnel Folder.
\item[36] Harry Shooshan, Memorandum, "Assignment of Key Staff to Job Corps Centers," January 7, 1965, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 6, D22 Employment and Personnel Folder.
\end{footnotes}
long. By the time Job Corps administrators were scrambling to find center directors, Maxey was the superintendent at Big Hole National Battlefield. Shortly thereafter, he relocated to Yellowstone National Park. While at Yellowstone, Luis Gastellum, NPS coordinator for the Job Corps and former employee at Yellowstone, asked Maxey to come to training in the middle of winter. Maxey was intrigued by the Job Corps position because he thought it might be a "useful program." He recalled that he was not the first choice as the center director for Catoctin. Administrators originally chose an African American man, but he resigned when he learned his teenage daughter was pregnant. That was just the beginning to Catoctin's chronic staffing issues.

Figure 43. Photograph of Clyde A. Maxey while at Job Corps training at Catoctin, featured in The Evening Star, December 28, 1964. Source: National Archives.

37. Sirna, "Interview with Maxey."
Philip Shandler, a newspaper reporter with the Associated Press, interviewed the first key staff the OEO chose to work at Catoctin. Leon Iracks was the first Deputy Director of Work Programs. He was an African American civil engineer that grew up poor in South Carolina. He entered into the NPS and was at Glacier National Park before being sent to Job Corps training at Catoctin. In the interview, Iracks said the best way of helping a poor boy was teaching him how to read, "the most basic skill to make a living." Deputy Director of Education, Paul Wilber, a white gym teacher from Massachusetts, talked to Shandler about the importance of instilling confidence in a young man. Neither Iracks nor Wilber stayed in their positions for very long at Catoctin. In fact, Wilber never started. Maxey later recalled that Iracks was a poor choice to direct work projects because he could only drive automatic and could not operate heavy machinery. Iracks left Catoctin before March 1965. Some job recruits arrived at Catoctin and literally turned around and went home, as was the case for a man named O'Hare who became disinterested in a teaching position.

Charles Riebe did not find Catoctin JCCC the most hospitable place when he arrived for training that winter. He left the Western Regional Office in San Francisco where he worked as an engineer for the NPS to come to Job Corps staff training. The OEO and NPS selected him as the first director of the Great Onyx Job Corps Center at Mammoth Cave National Park in Kentucky.

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40. Belva Brandon, Notes from Telephone Call from Bob Klioski, February 2, 1965, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 10, D22 Catoctin 1964 to April 1965.
which was still under construction at the time. He recalled Catoctin being a cold, muddy mess and the training did little to prepare him for what he faced as a center administrator.41

By March 1965, after the center was formally dedicated, Catoctin still had vacancies in key positions, including Directors of Work Programs and Education, nurse, and landscape architect (or "technician"). Troy Weaver, a former Harlem Globetrotter, was the first center counselor, but was later dismissed.42 However, Job Corps administrators did manage to hire several teachers, foremen, and resident workers. The Job Corps soon tapped Warner Cheeks, a local Sabillasville teacher, to fill a teaching position and quickly promoted him to be coordinator of corpsmen activities. Donald Wadase was hired later in the year as Deputy Director of Work and remained at Catoctin for several years before transferring to another center. Bill Whalen joined the staff later that year as the counselor. The Job Corps counselor position was similar to the CCC “educational advisor” position, but had a much more defined role that put the counselor almost on equal footing as the center director. The Job Corps program was an excellent way to speed advancement through the ranks of the NPS. Whalen, for example, left his position at Catoctin to work in the regional office and eventually became the director of the NPS from 1977 to 1980.43

41. Sirna, "Interview with Charles Riebe," Phone Interview, January 23, 2014, Author's Notes.
42. NPS, Memorandum, "Staffing of Job Corps Center, Catoctin Mountain Park," March 4, 1965, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 10, D22 Catoctin 1964 to April 1965; and Sirna, Interview with Maxey.
43. Whalen had posts in the National Capital Region and Yosemite before becoming Superintendent of Golden Gate National Recreational Area. His short tenure was marked by President Carter's designation of Alaskan wilderness areas. However, Congress removed him from his position because of issues with park concessioners. See National Park Service History Program, "Directors of the National Park Service: Bill Whalen," National Park Service, http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/hisnps/NPSHistory/directors.htm (accessed April 13, 2014).
The staff that remained at Catoctin had a tough job ahead of them as they were expected to do nothing less than win the war on poverty in America. Job Corps administrators revived the rhetoric of human conservation and the idea that hard work would make a person a better citizen-consumer particularly when this work was done in nature. The goal of the Job Corps program was "the improvement of the physical, mental, and moral strength of our young people—the greatest resource of our Nation." NPS officials reemphasized this sentiment in memo circulated among top NPS officials in 1965: "Our greatest resources are contained in human beings."

The First Thirty

The first thirty Job Corps enrollees arrived at Catoctin on January 15, 1965, in ankle deep snow. Christopher Weeks wrote that on that day all the theories about poverty were over. "Now suddenly here were thirty genuine products of poverty." These boys were painfully aware of their situation and felt that the Job Corps was their "last chance" at a successful future. One of the first corpsmen proposed that the motto for Catoctin should be "Your Last Chance."

The press reported that eleven of the boys were from Baltimore and nineteen were from Virginia and Kentucky, reflecting liberal concerns for poverty in urban areas and in remote areas of Appalachia. Job Corps administrators described the ideal corpsmen candidates:

Young men, between the ages of 16 through 21, uneducated (usually will not have graduated from high school), of average intelligence, of poor environment, who wish to accept the challenges and opportunities offered by the work-training

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44. Job Corps, "Questions and Answers," September 1, 1964, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 10, D22 Catoctin 1964 to April 1965 Folder.
45. "Our greatest resources are contained in human beings," May 3, 1965, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 1, A3815 General (Community & Public Relations) Folder.
46. Weeks, Job Corps, 197.
47. Ibid., 3-4.
program. They must be of sufficient emotional and mental stability, and physical condition so as not to be a hazard to themselves or others.\textsuperscript{48}

Initial plans stipulated that enrollees could not have a criminal record to put local communities' anxiety at ease that they would not have a group of delinquents in their backyards. The enrollees, however, would be placed in centers no more than two hundred miles away, although that stipulation was often disregarded. Initially, the Job Corps program recommended that enrollees stay in the program until they became proficient in basic reading, writing, and math and acquired a trade skill, sometime between six months and two years.

Job Corps administrators put the first thirty enrollees through a series of tests on reading, math, general IQ, and aptitude. They were then divided into groups of ten. One group remained at Catoctin, while another group went to the new Ouachita Job Corps Center in Arkansas and the last went to the new Winslow Job Corps Center in Arizona.

**Racial Balance**

The OEO and NPS were very conscious of race in selection of center staff and enrollees in the wake of the Civil Rights Act passed in 1964. Initially, the Catoctin Center had two African Americans on staff in the Teacher and Counselor positions. A minority survey showed that the OEO recommended both people and the center asked them for names of friends and acquaintances for other positions. Only one of eighteen resident workers was African American,

\textsuperscript{48} Job Corps, "Questions and Answers."
however.\textsuperscript{49} NPS instructed to aggressively recruit minorities as a "goal," not simply "inviting them."\textsuperscript{50}

Shriver may have been aware of segregation issues during the CCC era when African Americans were limited to a number of CCC positions available to them. He made it clear that there would be no quota system in the Job Corps. However, in the months before Catoctin was activated, Job Corps administrators were thinking about levels of race distribution.

(\textit{Unofficially as yet}) the thinking is that not more than 30\% of the enrollees in any one camp will be from the same ethnic group. No enrollee will be sent to a camp within 200 miles of home. Also not more than two enrollees from the same city block will be placed in a camp.\textsuperscript{51}

Enrollees were probably evenly distributed when they were first sent to Catoctin and other centers, but this balance was disrupted when enrollees dropped out or transferred. At Catoctin, this racial disparity drew the attention of the local community. Unlike later centers that were activated, the NPS and Job Corps were secretive about opening the Job Corps at Catoctin and did not make an announcement until September 1964 after the first phase of construction was over. Maxey and other center personnel staff recalled that people from the community "counted heads" as enrollees arrived at the center to make sure there were not too many African

\textsuperscript{49} Luis Gastellum, "Minority Group Information: Catoctin (revised)," April 6, 1965, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 6, D22 Employment and Personnel Folder.

\textsuperscript{50} L.F. Cook to Regional Job Corps Coordinators, Memorandum, "Weekly information concerning Job Corps," NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 6, D22 Memorandum May 1964 to June 1965.

\textsuperscript{51} Cook, Memorandum, "Weekly information concerning Job Corps," August 14, 1964, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 6, D22 Memorandum May 1964 to June 1965 Folder.
Americans or other minorities at the center. The Job Corps began making regular reports of racial distribution. The following April 1965 account highlights the community's concern:

The actual count now is a total of 75; 38 listed as white and 37 as negro. However, of the 38 white, 4 of them are Spanish-American and are darker than the negroes. Mr. Webb says the local people can't tell the difference between the negroes and the Spanish-Americans. He says the local mayor and the mayor at Smithsburg have both mentioned to him that they have heard rumors about the discrepancy according to the promise of 30% from OEO.

**Sexuality**

The Job Corps had little tolerance for staff and corpsmen exhibiting "homosexual tendencies." Maxey recalled an administrative assistant that lost his job because of accusations. Catoctin staff gave a young enrollee a medical discharge for being homosexual and referred him to Vocational Rehabilitation to "overcome his problem." Jack Wheat noted that the young man had a low IQ. Another corpsmen was also dismissed from Catoctin for being gay. This young man had been in the Job Corps for seven months and Catoctin was his second center. Wheat noticed that the young man’s peers had rejected him and center life was very unpleasant for the boy. "We feel the residential living with one hundred other young men is a poor environment for [him]. In addition, we are not equipped to handle problems of this nature."

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52. Sirna, "Interview with Maxey;" Sirna, "Interview with Lamar Marchese," Phone Interview, January 15, 2014, Author's Notes.
Center Dedication

Despite ongoing construction, staff shortages, tensions with the local community, and enrollees already beginning to drop out, the Catoctin Job Corps Conservation Center was formally dedicated on February 27, 1965. The guest list was long and included top government officials in Washington, D.C., NPS superintendents, local community leaders, and representatives from local schools. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, Office of Economic Opportunity Director Sargent Shriver, and Job Corps Director Otis Singletary were all in attendance and gave remarks. In his speech, Udall made clear connections between the Job Corps and its New Deal predecessor and its importance in natural and human conservation. The event offered plenty of photo opportunities for the press including a notable shot of Udall, Shriver, and enrollees raising the flag at the new center (see fig. 44).

56. "Invitation to the Job Corp Dedication," 1965, Park Archive, Job Corps Dedication Folder.
Early Problems

The first six months at the Catoctin center were tumultuous and nearly forty percent of the enrollees dropped out. Al Maxey recalled that Catoctin was a terrible location for a center because of the proximity to the Presidential Retreat. The camp itself was directly next door to navy housing, and he recalled worrying about the boys creating mischief with the navy personnel and their families, like playing “knock and ditch,” when someone would knock on the door and run away. Additionally center staff was constantly dealing with the press and official and unofficial visitors, which took attention away from enrollees. Staff was overburdened and did not

59. Sirna, "Interview with Maxey."
have time for adequate training. Also, the center had five different Deputy Directors of Education during the first five months.\textsuperscript{60}

In addition to these factors Maxey's successor Jack Wheat blamed program screeners for using poor judgment when selecting enrollees:

We have worked with and helped retardates, defective delinquents, homosexuals, schizophrenics, paranoids, and many others with psychotic disorders. We have seen our drop-out rate go down from 45 per cent to 25 per cent, but we realize this is due only to the use of more sophisticated approaches in handling and caring for the new Enrollees.\textsuperscript{61}

He continued to describe how the number of non-readers jumped from twenty percent to thirty-two percent. Rural white boys from Appalachia dropped out at a higher rate, especially those that were mentally or physically "weak," because the African American urban boys overwhelmed them. Wheat also could not understand why Catoctin received boys from Oregon who had never been away from home before. They would have a better chance at adjustment at a center much closer to home.\textsuperscript{62}

Three hundred ninety-nine enrollees arrived at Catoctin over the first eighteen months. Forty had transferred in from other urban or conservation centers. One hundred and two transferred out. Seven left because of disciplinary charges. Seven more went AWOL. Job Corps

\textsuperscript{60} "Catoctin Job Corps Center, 1965-1966," N.D., Park Archive, Job Corps Proposals and Published Information Folder.

\textsuperscript{61} Jack Wheat, Memorandum, "Caliber of Enrollees and Poor Judgment on Part of Screeners and Enrollee Selection Division," April 7, 1966, Park Archive, Job Corps January to June 1966 Reading File Folder.

\textsuperscript{62} Wheat, Memorandum, "Caliber of Enrollees and Poor Judgment on Part of Screeners and Enrollee Selection Division."
administrators discharged seven because of medical reasons. However, one hundred sixty-five enrollees resigned while only twenty-four graduated in the first eighteen months. ⁶³

Job Corps administrators were shocked that any enrollee would want to leave the bright opportunities of the Job Corps for what they considered a negative environment. Boys left for a variety of reasons, much like their CCC predecessors. Some did not like the work or location. Others were lonely and homesick. Center counselor Bill Whalen wrote to boys’ parents imploring them to encourage their children to stay in the Job Corps, often patronizing them and saying that the Job Corps was their "last chance." ⁶⁴ Here begins a fracture in the poverty theory in which liberals believed they could solve poverty by removing impoverished people from their material environment and give them the resources to succeed. However, that line of thought neglected the powerful pull of family, culture, kinship, and community that would cause someone to return home to a negative environment.

**Corpsmen Training**

When young men arrived at the Job Corps center, they were considered enrollees. After a month they graduated to corpsmen status. They received food, clothing, lodging, thirty dollars per month living allowance, medical, and fifty dollars per month in savings that would be paid on termination as readjustment allowance. A corpsman could be promoted to Specialist and

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⁶⁴. William Whalen to Mr. and Mrs. Felix Rivera, June 10, 1966, Park Archive, Job Corps January to June 1966 Reading File Folder.
Senior Specialist according to good behavior and progress. For each promotion a corpsmen received a five-dollar raise.65

In the beginning of the Catoctin JCCC, enrollees' days were divided between education classes for half a day and then work projects in the other half. This worked for the most part when they worked on finishing the center's infrastructure. This model failed when they began working on projects elsewhere in the park or at other locations. In June 1965, the center switched to a one-day work, one-day education schedule. Center Director Maxey recommended that the Job Corps conservation program be modified so that trainees would undergo a vigorous academic and vocational training for six months and then they can graduate up to a Conservationist Trainee for up to two years, focusing on environmental and recreational development.66 The Job Corps never implemented this recommendation.

Enrollees were divided into reading and math classes based upon their skill level. Many came to the center illiterate.67 The center also offered classes in typewriting, bookkeeping, health, and driver's education. Driver's education classes were clearly the most popular, but for a while the state of Maryland would not accredit the program.68

67. Wheat complained once that six of nine new arrivals were non-readers. Wheat, "Caliber of Enrollees and Poor Judgement on Part of Screeners and Enrollee Selection Division."
68. Paul Fout to Clifton Luber, Letter, December 7, 1967, Park Archive, Job Corps Files, Job Corps 1967 Correspondence Folder.
Work Projects

Park Superintendent Mentzer stated in May 1969 that in the previous twenty-one months the corpsmen at Catoctin completed over seven hundred thousand dollars worth of work in the park and surrounding area at a cost of nearly one million dollars to the government. NPS staff and center foremen developed initial projects for the corpsmen around completing the center, including underpinning the trailers and pouring sidewalks. They also developed a sign-making program where corpsmen constructed signs for Catoctin, Cunningham Falls State Park, and other National Parks in the area. This work was appropriate for the winter months. Corpsmen also built nearly two hundred picnic tables for Catoctin and other parks. Since Job Corps Center had taken over the Central Administration Group, the corpsmen built a new maintenance facility near Camp Misty Mount (see fig. 45). They also helped construct new buildings in the center area, namely the gymnasium (see fig. 46). They learned how to build retaining walls, including the one along the Round Meadow parking area (see fig. 47). Job Corps corpsmen built a playground in Thurmont for a local migrant camp.

**Figure 45.** Job Corpsmen built new maintenance building for the park. Photographed by author, April 2, 2014.

**Figure 46.** Job Corpsmen helped build this gymnasium for the Catoctin JCCC. Photographed by author, April 2, 2014.
The rehabilitation of Camp Peniel was the big project the NPS had slated for the Job Corps—a project they intended to keep the center busy for several years. The NPS had purchased the camp from the Church of the Brethren several years before. When Superintendent Webb oversaw the purchase of the property he envisioned using the camp as a third organized group camp. However, Wayne Miller, Special Assistant to Director Hartzog, suggested to new Superintendent Frank Mentzer to adapt Peniel to use as a National Environmental Education Conference and Resource Center. With this new direction, top NPS officials were eager to keep the project moving and visible to demonstrate the usefulness of the nation's first JCCC.


71. Robert Kloske to Assistant to Regional Director, Memorandum, “Renovation of Camp Peniel Structure, Catoctin Mountain Park,” June 7, 1965, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 9, D22 National Capital Folder.
Corpsmen set to work razing most of the buildings, including the camper cabins (see fig. 48). They rehabilitated the main building and closed off the front porch (see fig. 49 and 50). The sudden closure of the Job Corps program in 1969 also squashed Mentzer's dream for an environmental center. Eventually, the NPS finished the work at Peniel, which now serves as the park's headquarters.

Figure 48. Job Corpsmen razing cabins at Camp Peniel. Photographed by Burchard in fall 1965. Courtesy of Park Archive.
Figure 49. Job Corpsmen working inside main Camp Peniel building. Photographed by Donald Wadase, March 1966. Courtesy of Park Archive.

Figure 50. Job Corpsmen finishing rehab of main Camp Peniel building in 1966. Courtesy of Park Archive.
In 1966, NPS Regional Director Thomas Sutton Jett hired twenty-five corpsmen from conservation centers to work in Washington, D.C. maintaining the parks and landscapes around the nation's capital.\textsuperscript{72} This program aimed directly to put the best Job Corps enrollees in a visible place doing work so that the public, government staff, and elected officials could see the direct benefits of the program. The emphasis on beautification dovetailed into Lady Bird Johnson's efforts to clean up Washington, D.C. Michael Janifer and David Fortune of Catoctin were selected for "Project Beauty."\textsuperscript{73}

**Center Life**

The enrollees stayed in three dormitories with three to five boys to a room. Each dorm was staffed with resident workers and VISTA volunteers. The first winter at the center was difficult because there was no indoor recreation space for the boys. The Job Corps soon added an education and recreation building, but that remained insufficient. Finally, in 1967, the Job Corps constructed a gymnasium, which seemed to help the morale situation. Over time, center staff, particularly the VISTA workers, developed a broad recreation program. They played organized sports such as basketball and baseball. There were billiards and a television set. The center had a library and a camp newsletter. VISTA workers planned field trips and dances.

**VISTA and Work-Study Programs at Catoctin**

Catoctin suffered from a chronic staffing shortage. In 1967, the ceiling was set at twenty-eight staff members, four short of the initial thirty-two positions. The NPS Assistant Regional

\textsuperscript{72} Thomas Sutton Jett, Memorandum, “Recommendation for Job Corps Graduates,” April 12, 1966, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 9, D22 National Capital Folder.

\textsuperscript{73} Office of Economic Opportunity, Press Release, "Job Corpsmen in Project Beauty," May 6, 1966, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 9, D22 National Capital Folder.
Director appealed on behalf of Catoctin and argued that the center would be unable to implement new programs without a full staff, which would cripple center morale and cause corpsmen to dropout or transfer. The center expended $15,500 to pay overtime wages that year just to cover programs already in place. The OEO could not allocate additional funds for Catoctin’s staff while it was facing pressure from Congress. Center directors, even before the 1967 personnel ceiling, attempted to make up for staff shortages by taking advantage of new programs created by the Economic Opportunity Act, including VISTA volunteers and the new College-Work Study Program.

![VISTA volunteer Lamar Marchese, 1965. Courtesy of Lamar Marchese.](image)

**Figure 51.** VISTA volunteer Lamar Marchese, 1965. Courtesy of Lamar Marchese.

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74. W.S. Bahlman to Director, Memorandum, “Appeal of Personnel Ceiling at Catoctin Job Corps Center,” May 4, 1967, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 4, A6423 Personnel Ceilings and Staff Folder.
Lamar Marchese arrived at Catoctin in March 1965 with two other VISTA volunteers, William "Tex" Arnold and Ed Nungesser (see fig. 51). They were graduates from the very first class of VISTA volunteers. Lamar was fresh out of college—only twenty-one years old—when he answered the call to be a foot soldier in the war on poverty. He was influenced by the activism and optimism of the 1960s and was inspired by President Kennedy's call for action. He completed his training in January in St. Petersburg, Florida with twenty-two other volunteers. He and his colleagues had six weeks of classroom training, assigned readings, and temporary field placements. Lady Bird Johnson gave the keynote address at his graduation, and Lamar was touched by her remark that this group would know better than anyone else that we are "all brothers" in this war on poverty. The VISTA graduates did not have any input in their placement. Marchese, Arnold, and Nungesser made their way to Catoctin in March. A native of Florida, Marchese first experienced snow during his time at Catoctin. His training, which focused mostly on poverty in America, did not really prepare him for his work in Maryland.

The VISTA workers were intermediaries between center staff and the corpsmen, which was the cause of some tension. Lamar and the other VISTAs lived in the dorms with the corpsmen and got to know them very well. They would pick them up from the bus station when they arrived and Lamar remarked how many of them had never been in such a rural place with so many trees. They organized various recreational activities for the men, and often took them to Hagerstown for a day of leave. They usually dropped the African American boys at the local YMCA in an African American neighborhood. Lamar recalled the corpsmen's excitement when

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he took them to buy their civilian clothes and their reaction when the staff took them to a fancy restaurant in Hagerstown for some reward. Lamar wrote at the time:

I am a guidance counselor and a teacher, den mother, referee and confidant. I am a newspaper reporter, editor, and printer. I am a public relations man, chauffeur, and pawn shop owner. I am also a scribe, medic, friend, buddy, and informer. I'm the low man on the totem pole, but the buck stops with me. I'm the middle man between Corpsman and staff, between staff and staff, and between Corpsmen and Corpsmen. Center staff put VISTA workers in tenuous positions by expecting them to inform staff of corpsmen behavior. Marchese pointed out that they were much closer in age to the corpsmen than the staff and spend time living with them. This pressure may have trickled down from higher-level Job Corps administrators who were concerned with staff's attitude towards discipline. A March 1965 report stated: "A permissive atmosphere created in the centers is not conducive to an efficient operation organization....The permissive atmosphere that has prevailed in the first three centers activated in the Interior Department has caused damage to morale and established a precedent that was hard to overcome." Discipline was a major concern at Job Corps centers throughout the nation. A riot broke out at the Job Corps Center in Kentucky a few months later when a white and black corpsman got into a fight in the cafeteria and the altercation grew to fifty corpsmen. Catoctin center staff put a fines system in place for disciplinary action and a review board, which seemed to be effective. However, there were instances of intoxication and fights in the center as well as when the boys were on liberty in Hagerstown. These instances did not reach the severity of Breckenridge.

76. Ibid.
Wheat created a partnership with St. Joseph's College in nearby Emmitsburg, Maryland to hire a number of student teachers through the College-Work Study Program to supplement the center's teaching staff. The students, primarily female, worked for fourteen weeks over the summer and were paid two dollars an hour, of which the Job Corps paid twenty percent. Maxey recalled that the teachers, especially those directing the Work-Study teachers, "were the real heroes of Catoctin." They stuck it out while other staff members moved on. Subsequent directors at Catoctin continued this partnership.

**Saul Haymond, Corpsman and Artist**

One of these teachers from St. Joseph’s noticed the artistic talent of one particular corpsmen, Saul Haymond. Saul is an African American man, born in 1947 on a plantation near Ebenezer, Mississippi. He became interested in art at a young age when he received a mail order book showing pictures of Renaissance painters and began tracing them in the red Mississippi clay. He next started drawing on feed sacks using charcoal from the fireplace, but his father often burned the drawings for kindling. Saul managed to buy a watercolor set and began to experiment with color under his family's house away from his father's disapproving eyes. At the age of 17, Saul joined the Job Corps and arrived at Catoctin in 1965. There he was able to take some painting classes and one of the teachers arranged for him to have his first public exhibition at St. Joseph's in December 1976. A reviewer from the *Frederick Post* described Haymond's exhibit:

"vivid colors, a strong sense of design, and imaginative compositions dominate the canvases."

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81. Sirna, "Interview with Maxey."
Saul captured the attention of Sargent Shriver. Saul either gave him one of his paintings or Shriver purchased it. Shriver was so impressed with Mr. Haymond that he mentioned him in two speeches talking about the Job Corps, including an address he made to the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) Conference in Baton Rouge Louisiana on April 11, 1967, and another speech just a few days later to Operation African Crossroads. His remarks about Saul in both speeches were mostly the same. He described how Saul was unhealthy and uneducated when he came into the Job Corps, but the program had opened many new opportunities for him. At the AFL-CIO meeting, he brought along one of Saul's paintings—one of several hanging in the OEO in Washington, D.C.—that he pointed to while he talked about Saul's journey:

The boy's name is Saul Haymond and he lives at 220 Lane Drive, right here in town, with 12 brothers and sisters. Two years ago, Saul Haymond had dropped out of school. He was reading at the second grade level; he was doing arithmetic at the third grade level. He could add two and two, but he couldn't multiply two times two. He could subtract three from six, but couldn't divide three into six. He was 20 pounds underweight. His teeth were full of cavities and they hurt, from abscesses. He never brushed them. His clothes didn't fit very well. He spoke slowly. He stayed home most of the time. He had no job, very little education, no hope nothing. He was doomed to lead a life of poverty.

Now the tragic thing is that there are a million-and-a-half young men and women like Saul Haymond in the United States—right now while we're sitting in this auditorium. But Saul Haymond from Baton Rouge, Louisiana was one of the lucky ones. He walked down the street and saw a poster for Job Corps.

Today Saul Haymond is 20 pounds heavier than he was 18 months ago. He had to have five teeth pulled and he got them pulled. He's had six cavities filled. He's got a new suit and it fits him. He's moved from the second grade in reading through the 8th grade in one year. Six grades. He's gone from third grade arithmetic

through seventh grade arithmetic—five grades in one year. He has been selected by his teacher as the foreman of a workshop in design—the design of advertisements and posters for America's parks. He tutors and advises new youngsters when they come to the Job Corps Center. He's been offered two jobs—one at $2.50 and one at $2.80 an hour.

That painting is something he did in his spare time. I just happened to bump into him in the lobby, and he said this: He's not sure right now, but he told me he was going to take one of those two jobs. And when he does, he's going off the welfare rolls of Louisiana. He's going off the taxpayer's back. He's going off the list of unemployed. He's going to go from a liability to an asset for his family, for his State, for his country, and for his fellow man. He'll be out of poverty, and with the help of the AFL-CIO, he'll get good wages forever.  

Job Corps under Attack

Shriver was under tremendous political pressure in 1967 to prove the Job Corps’ success in the shadow of high desertion rates, escalating program costs, and the Breckenridge riot. The program was costly and one of the frequent criticisms was that it was more expensive to send a young person to the Job Corps than Harvard. Shriver rebuked this accusation in a Senate subcommittee hearing in 1967 saying that it costs $6,900 to train a Job Corps enrollee and $10,670 to send someone to Harvard for a year. The Johnson administration was under fire and the liberal consensus was fracturing as liberal activists moved to the New Left and protested domestic and foreign policies, particularly the Vietnam War. City riots and other violence prompted many Democrats to move to the middle. Historian Gareth Davies argued that another shift occurred during this period towards the idea of poverty. Since the Progressive Era, social reform attitudes toward the poor were opportunity-centered, meaning that they advocated that poor people work for any benefits or assistance. The War on Poverty, Civil Rights movements for African Americans, Native Americans, and Latinos, and the women's movement all pointed

84. Shriver, "Speech by Sargent Shriver before the AFL-CIO Convention."
towards structural issues that prevented the poor from taking advantage of these work opportunities. They advocated creating an income floor to support the poor, now referred to as "entitlement" benefits. The Job Corps program was created with job training in mind but was then caught in this political shift.  

Unsurprisingly, the Job Corps did not eradicate poverty in time for the mid-term elections. Congress curtailed the Job Corps program by reducing its funding. Unfortunately, Catoctin seemed to be the measuring stick in this War on Poverty. Its status as the first center and its proximity to Washington, D.C. meant that center staff and enrollees lived in an environment of intense scrutiny. High-ranking officials, media, and unofficial visitors frequently came to Catoctin absorbing much of the staff's time and enrollees' focus. The OEO sponsored a fifteen-minute film with the first thirty enrollees that served as promotional material around the country after the Breckenridge riot. Officials and the press took great interest in Catoctin's retention rates and any little sign that the program might be in trouble or be a success, which helps explain the motive and significance behind Shriver using Saul Haymond as an example of the program's success.


Demise of the Conservation Centers

In January 1967, NPS director Hartzog tried to have all NPS JCCC transferred under agency control and recommended that Catoctin be first. Secretary of the Interior Udall and NPS Director Hartzog were unhappy with the OEO's performance during its first two years in operating the Job Corps program. The OEO retained administrative control until 1969 when Johnson's Republican successor, Richard Nixon, dissolved the OEO and transferred responsibility to the Department of Labor. Nixon closed fifty-nine centers, including most of the NPS sites. The NPS did not make any recommendations for center closures in 1969, because administrators felt that the NPS centers were performing better than the USFS. However, the ax fell on Catoctin in April 1969 much to the dissatisfaction of Maryland officials, including Senator Joseph Tydings who described the closure as "tragic" and a "waste." The next month, the state of Maryland expressed interest in taking over Catoctin JCCC as an extension to the Baltimore urban Job Corps center. These efforts failed, and center staff struggled to find placements for the sixteen corpsmen that remained there in late May 1969.

91. Belva Brandon, "Talk with Ralph Conroy, Associate Director, JCCC," May 1, 1969, NARA, Record Group 79, Entry-148, Job Corps Program Files, Stack 570, Row C, Compartment 73, Shelf 7, Box 2, A40 Conferences and Meetings folder; Belva Brandon, "Program Committee Meeting 1pm," April 8, 1969.
92. "Hope Still Appears Dim for Catoctin Job Corps Camp."
Only three Job Corps centers originally associated with National Parks remain in operation today: Harpers Ferry, Great Onyx, and Oconaluftee.\(^93\) For a short period of time, private companies operated the centers, but eventually the USFS took over administration. The NPS was not interested in becoming involved in the Job Corps program again.\(^94\)

**Catoctin JCCC Legacy**

Approximately 1,015 enrollees passed through Catoctin JCCC from 1964 to 1969.\(^95\) The NPS does not have a complete record of these men, nor have any idea of where they went after they left and if their lives were improved because of the Job Corps (see Appendix D). Job Corps graduates have not formed an alumni network like their CCC predecessors. However, with the fiftieth anniversary approaching in 2015, some of those involved in the Catoctin JCCC have started to come forward. The first center director Al Maxey, now eighty-eight years old, retired from the NPS and currently owns a ranch in Colorado. The NPS transferred him to a center in Oklahoma in July 1965 after being at Catoctin only six months to train new Job Corps staff. Although Catoctin experienced many problems in its first year, it was a model that paved the way for future centers, including those in operation today. He feels that he achieved some small measure of success with those enrollees who were committed to attaining reading, math, and vocational skills.\(^96\)

Lamar Marchese left Catoctin in January 1966 after his year commitment in VISTA. He recalled a small group of corpsmen who called themselves the “Wolf Pack” that started together and made considerable progress during his time there (see fig. 52). Lamar married his wife in

\(^{93}\) Harpers Ferry Job Corps Center is now located outside NPS property.  
\(^{94}\) Sirna, "Interview with Charles Riebe," Phone Interview, March 10, 2014, Author's Notes.  
\(^{95}\) "Hope Still Appears Dim for Catoctin Job Corps Camp."  
\(^{96}\) Sirna, "Interview with Maxey."
Florida and then returned to nearby Harpers Ferry Job Corps Center as a teacher. He went on to work with a tribal Head Start program in Florida and later founded Nevada Public Radio.\textsuperscript{97}


Saul Haymond eventually returned to Mississippi where he worked as a farm laborer. He retired in 2004 and returned to his art full-time. He received several accolades including fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation and Mississippi Arts Council. Saul has mentioned

\textsuperscript{97} Marchese, "Member of First VISTA Class Reflects on Lifetime of Service;" Sirna, Interview with Marchese.
his time in the Job Corps several times in interviews about his art, indicating that this was a very important life experience for him and impacted his art.98

The Catoctin Job Corps Center was an important War on Poverty program that left a noticeable imprint on the park's landscape. Catoctin faced many problems in the beginning—including high drop out rates, disciplinary issues, staff shortages, and funding cuts—but the lessons learned there paved the way for future centers and youth programs, including those Job Corps centers still in operation today and future youth programs. Today, you can see the legacy of the War on Poverty in the Job Corps buildings left at Catoctin, including the dining hall, administration office, and gymnasium, as well as work projects throughout the park, like Camp Peniel and the maintenance shop.

CHAPTER FOUR
CATOCTIN, YOUTH PROGRAMMING, AND MODERN ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

Introduction

Job Corps staff had hardly closed the doors at the center at Round Meadow before the NPS started new youth programming for the vacant complex (see fig. 53). Catoctin remained at the leading edge of human conservation, youth programming, and environmental education. Since the mid-1950s, park staff worked with teachers from Washington and Frederick County schools to experiment with outdoor experiential learning. The Outdoor School program became an institution for nearly forty years at the park. In July and August of 1969, the NPS decided to take this programming a step further with the Washington, D.C. Summer-in-the-Parks program, which brought inner city children to Catoctin. This was part of NPS Director George Hartzog's effort to create interpretive programming designed to get urban residents out to their nation's parks. In 1971, the NPS designated Catoctin as a pilot site for the Youth Conservation Corps (YCC), a residential work program modeled loosely after the CCC. The YCC remains at the park today, providing employment opportunities for local high school students in conservation work while also completing essential park maintenance and conservation projects. It seems that program administrators were cautious after the Job Corps' experience and were eager to incorporate the ideas of the modern environmental movement.
The experiences of the ill-fated Job Corps program seemed to chasten NPS administrators. They decided to pursue programs aimed at a slightly younger audience in smaller pilot programs. They wanted to maintain diversity in these programs, but they did not want to draw solely from low-income families. They were no longer primarily concerned with job or vocational training. They decided to instead focus on the new field of environmental education and getting adolescents interested in understanding ecology and the impact of humans on the environment.
Modern Environmental Movement

The modern environmental movement gained traction in the late-1960s and early-1970s. It differed from the Progressive Era conservation movement because it emerged as a grassroots campaign rather than the agenda of technocrats, politicians, and scientists. Modern environmentalists emphasized ecological integrity and quality of life concerns, rather than maximizing production of natural resources commodities like timber. They focused their efforts, among many things, on clean air and water, wilderness areas, and endangered species.¹

Congress passed important environmental legislation during both the Johnson and Nixon administrations, including the Wilderness Act of 1964, Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968, and National Environmental Policy Act of 1970. These policies had an enormous impact on how the NPS managed its natural resources. The agency itself came under fire from environmentalists for not implementing ecologically sound practices. Most notably, the 1963 report on "Wildlife Management in the National Parks" (known as the Leopold Report after the report's principal author, A. Starker Leopold), recommended a series of ecosystem management principles.²

Adding to the movement's momentum was a growing concern among Americans about global population growth and limits on the earth's resources. A July 1968 New York Times article warned that population growth might "plunge the world into hopeless poverty and chaos."³ This pervasive anxiety led to what historian Thomas Robertson refers to as a "Malthusian moment."

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or a brief period in time that Americans became concerned with limiting the earth's population so as not to exceed the global carrying capacity. This cultural moment influenced seemingly unrelated issues including international affairs, race relations, and the women's movement as Americans became concerned with Third World poverty and liberalizing access to birth control. The "moment" ended after about ten years, but the youth programs at Catoctin during this period reveal some of these impulses, including the inclusion of young women in conservation projects and emphasis on environmental education.

**D.C. Summer in the Parks Program at Camp Round Meadow**

"Round Meadow is Now: Catoctin Job Corps is Past," a *Frederick News Post* reporter announced on July 1, 1969, after the closing of the anti-poverty program at midnight. The center would not remain empty for long. The next week a group of school children from Washington, D.C. arrived for a new summer camp exclusively for inner city youth between ten and thirteen years old. This program was the first of its kind in the NPS and was part of a larger effort in the National Capital Parks called "Summer in the Parks." The National Park Foundation even contributed food for the campers. Community and church organizations recommended children for the program. Superintendent Mentzer expressed his desire for the program to show these children "how they fit into nature." Mentzer served as an important impetus in environmental and cultural resource initiatives during his tenure as Catoctin’s superintendent from 1968 to 1972.

The Washington D.C. "Summer in the Parks" program had started the previous year in 1968 when Congress appropriated $575,000. Coordinated by the NPS, this program aimed at making the most of the district's many parks. In 1969, with an appropriation of $400,000, the

4. Ibid., 8.
Summer in the Parks program offered community events at local parks, special city-wide events, surprise field trips for eight hundred children, and midday concerts and exhibits in the city's downtown area. They also sent sixty boys and girls to Camp Round Meadow for weeklong camping trips in July and August.

Industrial designer Russel Wilson originally pitched the idea of “Summer in the Parks” to NPS Director Hartzog in 1968. He noticed that the city's beautification efforts, spearheaded by Lady Bird Johnson, were not reaching the area's African American communities. In April 1968, Washington, D.C. riots ravaged the city following the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. King's death ignited already heated feelings of African Americans and other minorities. The assassination spurred riots in several U.S. cities, and federal troops were called into Washington to quell the violence. The Summer in the Parks program was significant in this context because it aimed to make people feel safe and appreciate their city again. It also incorporated more inclusive programming such as African American cultural arts performances that appealed to black activists.

Hartzog had been interested in expanding park interpretation in urban areas ever since becoming the director. In 1958, the NPS appointed him superintendent of the Jefferson Expansion National Memorial Historic Site, home of the Gateway Arch in St. Louis. He resigned from the NPS to manage Downtown St. Louis until Johnson hired him as director in 1964.

When he became director, he sought to bring minorities into the NPS workforce and looked for innovative programs that gelled with Johnson's vision for a Great Society.  

The director of the National Capital Region hired Tom McFadden to start an inner-city program. McFadden had been working with the Boy Scouts in the early 1960s, taking inner-city boys to a camp on the Chesapeake Bay. While working with the National Capital Region he used his connections with the Boy Scouts and also reached out to the YMCA and other groups to set up a program. For one activity, he took children to the C&O Canal, which "scared the hell out them." He explained that they were not used to being in nature and often did not see beyond a two-block radius from where they lived, went to school, and played. In 1971, he managed to convince the regional director to purchase the decommissioned Lightship 116 "Chesapeake" for a youth program. He created a program for city children that taught them boating skills and environmental education by sailing up and down the Potomac River. They collected water samples and saw how polluted the river was during that time. The Lightship "Chesapeake" became a very popular program, one that President Richard Nixon fully supported. It was an important element of the Summer in the Parks program. McFadden managed the program for four years until the regional director promoted him to be the new superintendent at Catoctin Mountain Park in 1975.

The Summer in the Parks camping program at Catoctin was so successful in the summer of 1969 that the NPS decided to lengthen it to include weekends in September. During the 1970 camping season, the NPS gave Catoctin a $75,000 budget for a cultural arts camp that featured


9. Sirna, "Interview with Tom McFadden," Phone Interview, November 25, 2014, Author's Notes; Sirna, "Interview with Tom McFadden," Audio, December 12, 2014, Author's Notes.
professional dancers, musicians, and actors with education backgrounds. The camp held three sessions, each lasting three weeks. All sessions had about sixty children in attendance. Camp counselors recalled that some children were scared to be in the woods the first few nights. Another child was quoted saying the thing he liked most about camp was the clean air: "No pollution! No pollution whatsoever! The air looks fresh!"

YCC Pilot Program at Catoctin

Several politicians tried to revive the CCC after World War II. Senator Hubert Humphrey proposed a YCC bill in 1957 and 1959. The bills passed the Senate with support of Senators Henry Jackson and Lyndon Johnson, but died in the House of Representatives. Four years later, the same men incorporated the YCC program into a broader National Youth Program that had the support from the Kennedy Administration, Secretary of the Interior Udall, and Attorney General Robert Kennedy. However, racial politics split the Democratic Party and this initiative also failed. President Johnson put the YCC initiative aside after Kennedy's assassination in favor of the Job Corps program and its role in the fight on poverty in the United States. Once the Job Corps' brief stint in conservation ended in 1969, the YCC idea was brought to Congress again.

Senator Jackson found Lloyd Meeds (D-Washington) as an ally in the House of Representatives when Meeds was elected in 1964. Meeds campaigned on conservation and education and had been impressed with the progress made in Washington's own youth conservation program established in 1960. Governor Aker, who worked for the Job Corps and Youth Programs Office in the Department of the Interior, helped develop the YCC as it began to

take shape. He and Denny Miller, assistant to Senator Jackson, decided to focus on the educational component so that they would not have to pay students for full-time work. This would then allow the program to reach a broader constituency. Jackson introduced his bill to the Senate on February 18, 1969, and it was passed June 24, 1969. During this time, the bill was modified to be limited to a three-year pilot program with an annual budget of $3.5 million, and the Department of Labor was excluded from an administrative role because Labor staff doubted the effectiveness of the program. It took an additional thirteen months for the House to pass the bill. President Nixon initially opposed the bill because the Department of Labor did not support it, but decided to sign the bill into law on August 13, 1970. The Departments of Agriculture and Interior both received funding to coordinate the program. Historian David Nye asserts that the administrators for both departments already had experience working together on programs like the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps, which meant the YCC pilot program was better organized and had a better chance of success.

YCC administrators quickly set to work choosing sixty-four locations for campsites, allocating supplies and equipment, and establishing procedures. One of the last things they did was prepare the environmental education component. The very first Earth Day was held the year before on April 22, 1970—a massive grassroots demonstration in which twenty million participants worldwide showed their commitment to environmental protection. Congress passed the National Environmental Education Act of 1970 (Public Law 91-516) that authorized the creation of an Office of Environmental Education in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (funded through 1975); National Advisory Council for environmental education;

13. Ibid.
and domestics grants program.\textsuperscript{15} The law defined Environmental Education as "the educational process dealing with man's relationship with his natural and man-made surroundings and includes the relation of population, pollution, resource allocation and depletion, conservation, transportation, technology, and urban and rural planning to the total human environment."\textsuperscript{16} YCC administrators purchased environmental literature for the camps, including works by Henry David Thoreau, Aldo Leopold, Rachel Carson, Barry Commoner, Paul Ehrlich, and the National Audubon Society. They also developed a booklet, "Environmental Education in the YCC," which included lesson plans and worksheets although it was up to the individual instructor to create the curriculum. They advised instructors on the general areas to be covered during the summer as recommended by the University of Michigan.\textsuperscript{17}

There were over 100,000 applicants for 2,676 positions for the first year of the pilot program.\textsuperscript{18} In March 1971, Superintendent Mentzer announced that Catoctin Mountain Park would host fifty of those positions at Camp Round Meadow. The camp would be evenly distributed between males and females. Most of these students were picked from the local population for the eight-week long camp that would essentially amount to a "basic environmental education course."\textsuperscript{19} That first summer there were actually twenty-six girls and twenty-four boys, all between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Six were African American. Approximately half of

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\textsuperscript{16} Quoted in "Youth Conservation Corps Source Book for Environmental Awareness: People and Natural Resources," Department of Interior and Department of Agriculture, Summer 1975, Park Archive, YCC Catoctin General Information Folder.
\textsuperscript{17} Nye, The History of the Youth Conservation Corps, 27.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 28.
\textsuperscript{19} Bruce Winters, "Maryland Youths to Get Campsite," The Baltimore Sun, March 8, 1971, Park Archive, YCC Catoctin Newspaper Articles Folder.
\end{flushleft}
the group came from rural areas in Frederick County, while the other half lived in more urban areas. The family incomes of these children ranged from $8,000 to over $25,000 a year.  

That first summer, YCC students engaged in a variety of activities, including researching and restoring the vertical sawmill in Owens Creek Campground (called Project 71), building a hiking trail in the northern section of the park, creating a seventeen-mile long snowmobile-bridle path, improving Poplar Grove Primitive Camp, assisting park operations, and constructing a fire circle at Camp Round Meadow. The camp also formed a "Research Team" to examine "the many facets of the story of man's use of the Catoctin Mountain as a resource." The mill restoration project and research initiative were part of a larger effort by Mentzer to creating a history program at Catoctin Mountain Park. Each student picked two projects that both lasted for four weeks. They were given another week to assist in park operations.

The park held three environmental seminars throughout that first summer for the YCC students. From July 8 to 11, the students studied the ecology of the Chesapeake Bay and visited the Solomons Biological Lab, Maryland Academy of Science, Calvert Cliffs Atomic Power Plant, Bethlehem Steel Plant, Back River Sewage Treatment Plant, and Baltimore Harbor. On July 20 to August 2, the YCC students studied seashore ecology at Cape Henlopen and Assateague Island National Seashore. The objective was to "study the chain of life in an unsophisticated environment" and the students gained insights into land use management and mismanagement. Finally, on August 6 to 7, the YCC students explored Western Maryland to study geology, biology, and conservation. They tested the waters near a paper plant on the

21. YCC Open House and Dedication Pamphlet, August 5, 1971, Park Archive, YCC Catoctin General Information Folder.
Potomac River and studied a strip mine area to understand man's relationship to the environment.  

Paul Lamberston, a social studies teacher at Catoctin High School, served as the first YCC Center Director at Camp Round Meadow. He accompanied thirty of his YCC students to Washington, D.C. in October 1971, just a few short months after the first summer season. He and two of the students, Nancy Coghan of Frederick and Richard Love of Thurmont, testified in favor of the YCC in front of the Senate Committee on the Interior and Insular Affairs. The committee was considering a bill that proposed expanding the YCC budget from $2.5 million to $150 million and increasing the participation from 2,000 to 100,000 students. The Nixon administration still criticized the program for being too expensive (as much as $1,000 for each student) and did not think a lot of work could be accomplished in eight weeks. The committee decided to finish out the three-year pilot period before expanding the program.  

The NPS operated ten YCC camps serving four hundred students with a budget of $400,000. Eight camps were residential that first summer: Catoctin, Delaware Water Gap, Everglades, Grand Canyon, Great Smoky Mountains, Mount Rainier, Olympic, and Rocky Mountain. The other two camps were non-residential programs at Harpers Ferry and National Capital Parks-East. The agency estimated that the YCC programs completed $1,762,000 worth of work and "almost paid for itself."  

Each camp had different organizations and some were not co-ed. Bill Dyer, staff assistant for the YCC program, said that the co-ed camps were superior after that first summer. Dyer noted that most of the problems stemmed from lack of technical

22. YCC Open House and Dedication Pamphlet.
assistance by the NPS on projects and insufficient materials. Ninety-six percent of the students completed the eight-week program and there were no major disciplinary issues. In fact, Dyer claimed, "We anticipated everything from sex to mayhem, but virtually nothing happened."\(^{25}\)

**Figure 54.** “Equality for All.” *The Frederick Post*, July 20, 1971, draws attention to YCC girls cutting down trees with boys at Catoctin. Courtesy of Park Archive.

In the first weeks of the YCC program and during the hearing, both the media and politicians seemed interested in how the young ladies of the YCC were participating in the program. In July 1971, *The Frederick Post* included a picture of girls working alongside boys at

\(^{25}\) Ibid., 2.
Catoctin cutting down a tree. The caption read "EQUALITY FOR WOMEN—Women are truly liberated at the YCC camp" (see fig. 54). Chairman Henry Jackson during the 1971 hearings responded to Cheryl Sisco, a sixteen year old YCC participant from West Virginia about her story of helping boys cut up trees: "That sounds like women's lib. Did you do the same work generally that the boys were doing?"26 Cisco answered yes, and that they did not make it any easier on the girls. These comments from both the print media and politicians indicate a sense of uneasiness about the progress of the women's movement, which had made significant strides by that point. Jackson's own wife, for example, said in 1975 when he was running for president that she never gave women's lib much thought. It turned her off at first, but she appreciated that housewives were not treated as second-class citizens.27 The inclusion of girls into the YCC indicates the pervasiveness of the women's movement in an era that was also accompanied by negative connotations of "women's liberation."28

Catoctin continued to participate in the YCC pilot program for the next two summers. Jim Shafer replaced Lambertson as YCC Director and his staff grew to include an assistant director, environmental education specialist, resident counselor, work leaders, clerk, swimming specialist, evening elective coordinator, evening elective specialist, and youth leaders. During 1972, work projects included researching property titles and creating a land acquisition map of the park, documenting old trails and building new roads, researching local folklore, and starting

an oral history project with former residents. In 1973, YCC students worked on trails, repaired spring boxes, built Adirondack-style shelters and latrines, lined the tailrace of the sawmill at Owens Creek Campground, helped with erosion control, and constructed bridges at Cunningham Falls State Park. The estimated value of the work was $60,000, slightly more than the cost of camp operation. However, there were only forty YCC participants that year.

**Expanding the YCC Program**

Congress decided to expand the YCC program in 1974 and make it permanent after the pilot phases ended. The University of Michigan conducted pre- and post-camp testing throughout the pilot phase, the findings of which demonstrated to Congress that the program increased environmental awareness and helped social attitudes. With the additional funding, the state of Maryland established seven new day camps that year that were operated by the Maryland Department of Natural Resources. Catoctin ranked first the next summer in corps member program satisfaction among all state and federal camps.

YCC program participation nationwide increased from 3,510 in 1973 to 9,813 in 1974. The program peaked in 1978 with 46,000 corps members. Over the initial ten-year period, 213,300 participated in the program. The Catoctin program continued to grow throughout the

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1970s in a similar fashion. Denise Turner, a resident counselor in 1980, had been with the Catoctin YCC for nine of the first ten years. She recalled how the camp grew from thirty-five workers to one hundred. That summer in 1980, the park had sixty-six campers. During this period, corps members and staff established a routine of work during the day, evening activities, and field trips on the weekends. Corps members received three hundred dollars for the summer. For the most part it seemed that program staff was happy to let corps members work group living issues out among themselves, and even allowed them to negotiate rules like later bedtimes.

During the 1970s, the YCC was very productive in park maintenance. General work projects included painting buildings, small construction projects such as the Poplar Grove pavilion, and general clean up in visitor areas. Year after year, crews toiled to maintain the park’s extensive trail network.


35. Work projects in 1974 included: study and rebuild rock dams in creeks, construct fire rings, paint conference room, gym painting and improvements, revitalize infirmary, paint craft center restrooms, Poplar Grove clean up and pavilion construction, paint inside Visitor’s Center, construct Adirondack shelter, bridge construction at Cunningham Falls and Camp Misty Mount, boundary clearing, create Camp Peniel drainage ditch, repair rain shelters, stain buildings and bridges, clear road culverts, and recondition craft center. Work projects in 1976 included: construct storage shed at Round Meadow, install picnic fire grills at Chestnut and Owens Creek, ball field parking area and trail, construct pavilion at Poplar Grove II, construct rail fence at visitors center, stream clearing and dam fill project at Fort Ritchie, staining buildings, dead tree removal at camps Misty Mount and Greentop, construct retaining walls for new culverts, remove crushed stone near roadways, remove fill by administrative office, paint comfort stations at Owens Creek, strip gym floor, paint gym classrooms, paint interior of YCC warehouse, paint interior of living quarters, and trail work at Greenbelt Park. In 1978, project work included: protective firewood shed behind fire cache, staining Camp Greentop buildings and hand rails, salt and stone storage shed behind fire cache, replace roof over trailer at Round Meadow, building extension over southwest corner of fire cache, paint windows and trim of dining hall, paint comfort station, paint exterior of administration building, build ten park gates, stream rehabilitation, blacksmith shop floor, diversion ditch from swimming pool to Dining Hall at Greentop, paint doors of maintenance shop at Round Meadow, repair and replace all signposts in the park, paint exterior of residence number four. Jim Shafer to YCC Staff, Memorandum, "Work learning project, corps government, and trip information," March 17, 1974, Park Archive,
The YCC Program at Catoctin Today

Under President Reagan’s administration, Congress cut funding for the YCC program in 1980, but both the Departments of Agriculture and Interior tried to fund the YCC program with their own budgets. They had to cut back the programs and Catoctin down-sized from a residential camp with nearly one hundred corps members at its height to a much smaller non-residential program. Despite cutbacks, Catoctin was the second largest YCC camp in 1986 with fifty-six corps members that summer. Catoctin Mountain Park still hires a crew every summer often led by a seasonal ranger who may have come through the program in high school. In the past decade, the park usually had eight positions, although one year there was only six. There are always more applications than there are positions, usually twenty-five to thirty applicants. More boys than girls apply, but the park is still mandated to award the positions equally among the two. They are mostly local students since they have to travel to the park every day, although some have travelled as far away as Rockville, MD. They work for eight weeks, just like their predecessors, but they earn an hourly rate of $7.25, the current minimum wage for the state of Maryland. The press release for 2014 employment states that enrollees from previous summers may not be considered unless there are not enough new applicants. Furthermore, new corps members will be selected from a drawing to ensure equal opportunity among the applicants. This


year's crew is scheduled to monitoring fish populations, monitoring gypsy moth, exotic plant control and removal, trail maintenance and construction, and painting projects.\footnote{38}

CONCLUSION

This study highlights the complex relationships humans have towards nature at Catoctin Mountain Park and how the National Park Service has manipulated that interaction through human conservation programs. New Deal agencies initiated a series of human conservation programs that have shaped almost every facet of the park from the very reason for its creation to the labor that shaped the landscape and how various visitor groups experience this manufactured wilderness. Park planners may have had the best of intentions, but their decisions have left a conflicted legacy on the landscape. Families that moved from their farms may have benefited from the park’s creation, but it meant that some individuals had to leave homes with which they felt a deep attachment. The creation of the park disrupted and scattered their community that many relied upon in tough economic times. Several of these former residents were hired by the government through the Works Progress Administration to physically transform the park. Local people completed most of the park infrastructure, but the Civilian Conservation Corps receives much of the credit. The CCC remains popular in public memory for training a whole generation of men in environmental conservation and inspired a whole host of youth conservation programs. Catoctin was the leader for several of these programs, including the Job Corps (1965 to 1969) and Youth Conservation Corps (1971 to present). Both scholars and the public consider the Job Corps political failure for not meeting its goal of diminishing poverty in America, but they have made little effort to evaluate its legacy on a local or individual level. The NPS established a highly successful YCC pilot program in 1971. The YCC program struggles for funding today when demand still far outweighs the number of positions available.
RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations build upon current cultural resources initiatives. They are separated into broad themes with specific projects listed as suggestions. These suggestions range from park-level implementation to service-wide. This Special Resource Study may serve as a model for other parks wishing to research their own social reform history.

1) Interpretive Framework

*Imperiled Promise* Finding I notes that there is an intellectual and bureaucratic divide between interpreters and NPS historians that hobbles the effectiveness of history interpretation. A similar divide is in place at Catoctin Mountain Park although there is no historian on staff. Resource staff must work with interpreters to convey this information to frontline interpreters who interact with the public on a daily basis.

This study calls for a reworking of the park's current interpretive framework. Currently, park interpretation treats pre-park occupation, WPA and CCC, park recreation, and history of environmental conservation and education as separate stories with little overlap. The story of human conservation at Catoctin brings all these stories together in a rich, complicated narrative and adds another dimension to the park’s association to the Presidential Retreat and foreign diplomacy. Park interpreters should show visitors and school groups the complex human relationships with the park landscape. Visitors should not take the natural environment at face value, but be prompted to think about the park's complicated legacy and how they fit into that story.

Shenandoah National Park deals with similar issues surrounding its New Deal history and has recently started to revise its interpretation, which may be a useful model to park administrators.

Suggested Projects:
- Integrate human conservation theme into long range interpretive plan
- New interpretive exhibit using the theme of human conservation
- Include discussions of social reform in ranger programs
- Interpretive material on Job Corps Center and possible wayside at Round Meadow
2) Civic Engagement

*Imperiled Promise* Finding 12 calls for the NPS to use history for creative platforms in civic engagement. In exploring its own past efforts in social reform, the park should reach out to groups, such as the League, former campers, Job Corps and YCC alumni, and descendants of former residents, and invite them to explore this history together.

**Suggested Projects:**
- Oral history project with campers, Job Corps, Outdoor School, and YCC alumni (currently underway)
- Temporary exhibit or similar project co-created with League on history of Camp Greentop
- Special projects with school groups

3) Contextualizing, Identifying, and Documenting Cultural Resources

New Deal cultural resources have been documented fairly well and listed on the National Register of Historic Places. This study provides additional context to these sources. It also sheds light on cultural resources previously overlooked, most notably Camp Peniel and Round Meadow. The park will need to evaluate the Job Corps structures beginning in 2015 when they reach fifty years old to determine their eligibility for the National Register. Dining Hall and Gymnasium will likely need Historic Structure Reports, and the entire Round Meadow area should have a Cultural Landscape Inventory. The park should also identify and document structures built by the Job Corps in other parts of the park, such as Building 150 (Maintenance Shop).

**Suggested Projects** (currently listed in the park’s Cultural Needs Assessment):
- Determination of Eligibility for Round Meadow Dining Hall, Administration Building, Gymnasium, Laundry Room, Warehouse, and Stone Wall
- Cultural Landscape Inventory of Camp Peniel
- Cultural Landscape Inventory of Round Meadow
- Historic Structure Report for Round Meadow Dining Hall
- Historic Structure Report for Round Meadow Gymnasium

4) Documenting and Interpreting the War on Poverty

The NPS has yet to examine the impact of War on Poverty on the national park landscape. The NPS operated nine Job Corps centers between 1965 and 1969. My research indicates that some centers have been repurposed and dozens of buildings still exist. Catoctin provides a tremendous
opportunity to start to evaluate its legacy by looking at the Job Corps program there and documenting the program's impact on the landscape. On a national-level, the NPS should undertake a larger theme study on the War on Poverty/Great Society in the National Parks and a Multi-Property Nomination for its Job Corps centers.

As indicated in Appendix E, hundreds of corpsmen passed through this one center in just four short years, but very little is known about any of them. The NPS should consider undertaking an ethnographic study of those that participated in the Job Corps in National Parks. Job Corps alumni are now in their late sixties/early seventies and should be contacted for oral history interviews. The NPS should consider marking the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the center in January 2015 (or the anniversary of the center’s dedication in late February).

Suggested Projects:
• Ethnographic Study of Job Corps in National Parks
• Job Corps Oral History Project
• Job Corps Alumni Events
• Job Corps 50th Anniversary Celebration
• Saul Haymond Artist-in-Residence
• Great Society and War on Poverty in the National Parks Thematic Study
• Job Corps Multi-Property Nomination
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  Record Group 96
  Record Group 114

Thurmont Historical Society, Thurmont, Maryland

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  Agricultural History Collection

Digital Collections

Ancestry.com

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Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library and Archives
  Oral History Collection

Thurmont Historical Society
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United States Agricultural Library
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Books and Reports


Articles


**Newspapers**

*Catoctin Clarion*

*Catoctin Enterprise*

*Washington Post*

*New York Times*

*Frederick News Post*

*Holmes County Herald*

*The Nashua Telegraph*

**Speeches**


Secondary Sources

Books


**Articles**


NPS Reports


APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPT OF PETITION

"We, the undersigned real estate owners and tax payers of Frederick County, owning lands in the region of the proposed Catoctin Recreational Demonstration Project, Maryland R-1, do hereby object to the acquisition of land by the Government through the Department of Agriculture for the purposes set forth in the Policy and Objectives Bulletin, issues by said department."

Catherine E. Brown
Grover A. Buhrman
Ulysses S. Toms
Ira R. Pryor
Margaret E. Wolfe
Roy O. Smith
Mellie M. Smith
A. R. Brandenburg
Estelle Brandenburg
A. W. Hauver
Geo. W. Hauver
Glen K. Willard
Clifford D. Willard
Celia A. Toms

George A. Willard
S. H. Buhrman
Harry S. Burhman
Ora R. Willard
Walter A. Brown
John W. Brown
Joseph Toms
Martin L. Dulpher
Edwin D. Lewis
Clarence N. Willard
Annie M. Willard
A.L. Hauver
## APPENDIX B

### TABLE OF PARK FAMILIES

Information abstracted from park files and census data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tract Number</th>
<th>Land Owner</th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
<th>Dwelling Type and Age</th>
<th>Next Location</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A.J. Barnes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Slab Shack, 10 years old (Government acquired June 15, 1937)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Irving A. Fox</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Frame house, 28 years old (May 27, 1937)</td>
<td>Fox continued to live along Foxville-Deerfield Road. Tenants unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Roy E. Lewis</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Frame house, 22 years old (November 6, 1936)</td>
<td>Bought a farm in Lewistown, but employed by WPA in 1940.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Charles R.V. Fox</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Frame house, 25 years old (June 16, 1937; removed 1938)</td>
<td>Unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Charles Winfield</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Frame house, 15 years old (January 30, 1937)</td>
<td>Moved to a farm on Mount Zion Road.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Hampton Wolf</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Frame house, 22 years old (June 15, 1937)</td>
<td>Moved to a farm along New State Road. Worked as a carpenter for WPA in 1940.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Farmers and Merchants</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Frame house, 20 years old</td>
<td>Unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Bank</td>
<td>Family Size</td>
<td>House Type</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Keller Moser</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>House, 30 years old</td>
<td>(March 12, 1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Thurmont Bank</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>House, 28 years old</td>
<td>(October 19, 1939)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Ivie Brooks</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Frame house, 20</td>
<td>years old (October 27, 1939)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92 (a-d)</td>
<td>C.H. Brown</td>
<td>3 families (18 people)</td>
<td>Frame, 20 years old; Frame, 22 years old; Frame, 10 years old (December 23, 1937 and August 4, 1938)</td>
<td>Unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>Rueben A. Fox</td>
<td>3 families (9 people)</td>
<td>2 frame houses, 30 years old (August 28, 1937)</td>
<td>Reuben died in 1939. Tenant couple Clyde and Virginia Kendall moved nearby. Clyde worked for WPA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>Joseph E. Willard</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Frame house, 40 years old (July 21, 1938)</td>
<td>Bought farm in nearby Ringgold, MD. Home valued at $1200.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>Alvy R. Smith</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Frame house, 41 years old (October 26, 1939)</td>
<td>Bought farm on Hollow Road. Home valued at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Year of Home</td>
<td>Date of Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Addison Wolf</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>House burned in 1934 (January 17, 1939)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>Elmer Wolf</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Frame, 35 years old (July 19, 1938)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>Jackson Wolf</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Frame, 38 years old (October 26, 1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Albert Brown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Frame, 45 years old (February 2, 1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>Charles Allen Brown</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Frame, 20 years old (October 27, 1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Walter J. Shatzer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Log and frame house, 50 years old (July 21, 1938)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Michael Wilhide</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Frame, 30 years old (June 15, 1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>Earl Brown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Frame house, 30 years old (February 2, 1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Stanley Brown</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Frame and log house, 9 years old (January 30, 1937)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>Victor Brown</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Frame and log house, 25 years old</td>
<td>Lived along Foxville-Deerfield Road and was post master. Home valued at $2000. Was a farmer in 1930.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Karl M. Brown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>House burned in 1934 (October 27, 1936)</td>
<td>Karl Brown owned a farm along Foxville-Deerfield Road. Home valued at $800 and had lodger working for park.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>Clemmie Fox</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Log and frame, 30 years old (March 27, 1937)</td>
<td>Not sure if Clemmie was living at this property or renting elsewhere, according to census material. She was renting a place along Foxville-Deerfield in 1940 with no listed occupation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>James B. Fox</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Frame, 15 years old (October 26, 1937)</td>
<td>Died in 1938.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>Frederick County Realty</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Log house, 10 years (June 21, 1938)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>George W. Flohr</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Log and frame house, 50 years old (June 15,</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>Financial Year</td>
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<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>Peoples Liquidating Company</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Frame, 50 years old (April 30, 1937)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>Steve Oris</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>House burned 1933 (July 26, 1937)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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APPENDIX C
HAUVERS DISTRICT WORK RELIEF


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Weeks Unemployed</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Location</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry Warner</td>
<td></td>
<td>Soil Conservationist</td>
<td>USDA</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>Summit Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alvie Smith</td>
<td></td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>Park Project</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>$365</td>
<td>Hollow Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roy Stottlemeyer</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>Reforestation</td>
<td></td>
<td>$200</td>
<td>New Bethel Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren Stottlemeyer</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>Reforestation</td>
<td></td>
<td>$200</td>
<td>New Bethel Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lawrence Wolf</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>CCC Project</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>$650</td>
<td>New Bethel Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvey E. Pryor</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Stone Quarry</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>$480</td>
<td>New Bethel Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenneth Wagaman</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Field Worker</td>
<td>US Farm Security</td>
<td></td>
<td>$945</td>
<td>Frederick Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ralph B. Working</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>Park—Federal</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>$370</td>
<td>Friends Creek Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guernon Working</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Road Work</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>$258</td>
<td>Tressler Hill Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Kindle</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Night Watchman</td>
<td>WPA Project</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>$480</td>
<td>Route 81</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allen Pryor</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Truck Driver</td>
<td>WPA Project</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>$1840</td>
<td>Deerfield Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glenn</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>WPA</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>$150</td>
<td>Deerfield</td>
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<td>Wagaman</td>
<td>Road Construction</td>
<td>Road</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chester Wilhide</td>
<td>31 Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Road Construction 38</td>
<td>Deerfield Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel Kindle</td>
<td>56 Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Project 40 $200</td>
<td>Deerfield-Foxville Road</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Truman Wolfe</td>
<td>30 Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Project 39 $424</td>
<td>Foxville Road</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fred Hays</td>
<td>29 Carpenter</td>
<td>WPA Building Project 17 $594</td>
<td>Foxville-Garfield Road</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Marshall Moser</td>
<td>37 Laborer</td>
<td>Road Construction 39 $340</td>
<td>Foxville-Garfield Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ralph Kuhn</td>
<td>22 Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Road Construction 18 $988</td>
<td>New Road</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bernard Kuhn</td>
<td>28 Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Road Construction 18 $360</td>
<td>Smithsburg Road</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Raymond Kline</td>
<td>24 Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Road Construction 12 $250</td>
<td>Wolfs-ville Road</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Draper</td>
<td>22 Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Sewer Project 36 $300</td>
<td>Garfield Road</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Draper</td>
<td>44 Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Project 36 $300</td>
<td>Garfield Road</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dison Linton</td>
<td>26 Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Road Construction 16 $125</td>
<td>Mount Zion Road</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennard Smith</td>
<td>22 Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Sewer 38 $48</td>
<td>Mount Zion</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td>Project</td>
<td>Project Number</td>
<td>Pay</td>
<td>Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Howard Delauter</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Sewer Project, Patrol</td>
<td>52</td>
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<td>Mount Zion Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Otha Stottlemyer</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Patrol Duty</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>$500</td>
<td>Mount Zion Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Omer Weagley</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Sewer Project</td>
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<td>$400</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clyde Kendall</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Helper</td>
<td>WPA Project Work</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>$430</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ross Flaugher</td>
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<td>State Camp Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>George N. Wolfe</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td>CCC Camp</td>
<td></td>
<td>$1545</td>
<td>Deerfield -Foxville Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles A. Toms</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Road Construction</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>$195</td>
<td>Foxville Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles Duncan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>Road Construction</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>$400</td>
<td>Foxville Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lester A. Smith</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>NPS Work</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>Foxville Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roscoe Duncan</td>
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<td>WPA Road Construction</td>
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<td>Hampton Wolfe</td>
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<td>200</td>
<td>$700</td>
<td>New State Road</td>
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<td>Hiram Wolfe</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>NYA Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Kuhn</td>
<td>51</td>
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<td>WPA Timber</td>
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<td>New State Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<td>Payment</td>
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<td>Harry Swope</td>
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<td>Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Plumbing Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clyde Brown</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Fireman</td>
<td>WPA Saw Mill</td>
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<td>New State Road</td>
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<td>Morris Brown</td>
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<td>Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Road Construction</td>
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<td>New Road</td>
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<td>Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Road Construction</td>
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<td>Milford Emory</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Park Project</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leo Lewis</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Gate Keeper</td>
<td>WPA Park Project</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>$200</td>
<td>Thurmont Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samuel P. Bussard</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>WPA Park Project</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>Park Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nicholas Green</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Janitor</td>
<td>WPA General Office</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>$260</td>
<td>Park Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>John W. Fox</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>WPA Park Project</td>
<td></td>
<td>$506</td>
<td>Sabillas-ville</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harold Hammond</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>[CCC] Superintendent</td>
<td>NPS</td>
<td></td>
<td>$1905</td>
<td>Sabillas-ville</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D

CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS PARTICIPANTS

Camp Catoctin, Company 1374, Camp NP-3-MD, Partial List. Names abstracted from camp newspapers and company yearbook. Source: Park Archive.

May 1939 Camp Newsletter
Jacob J. Miller, 1st Lt., Engineer-Reserves, Commanding Officer
James T. Greene, 1st Lt., Infantry-Reserves, Adjutant
Bernard G. Harless, Educational Advisor
H.D. Hammond, Superintendent
Clarke, Senior Foreman
Heffner, Foreman
Mevlia Fike, Leader
Ernest George, Leader
Ferd Gillen, Leader
Claude King, Leader
Bud Grayson, Leader
John Kenneally, Leader
Rhoe Sheets, Leader
Robert Sherman, Leader
Edward Zimmerman
Joseph Pavlik, Assistant Leader
Lewis Donatelli, Assistant Leader
Leonard Glogoski, Assistant Leader
Frank J. Austin, Assistant Leader
George Adams, Assistant Leader
John P. Kapcsos, Assistant Leader

William Abbott
Paul Alexander
Daniel Balionis
George Balia
Orland Barca
Warren Bare
Oscar Barnett
Charles W. Baum
Orian Bauz
George Bivens
Theodore Borek
Jacbon Brady
Stewart Brodman

Harry Broomal
George Burke
Daniel Butzer
Harry Caldwell
Arthur Carr
Steve Cibrin
Donald Clark
Thomas Gleckner
Richard Cleminson
Wayne Coen
Joseph Condy
Eugene Costello
Irving Cupp
Bernard Dally
Raymond Danizzewski
Ralph Della Veccha
Albert Dewald
Roman J. DeBardino
Walter Diethrich
Paul DiMaio
Daniel Donovan
Lee Dunham
Micahel Eagle
Michael Evanega
Paul Farfarilla
John Feeley
Stanley Filous
Francis Finn
Joseph Fleming
Harry Fox
Steve Francis
Joseph Fratrick
John Freeman
Joseph Geiger
Stanley Glebocki
George Godfrey
Lawrence Graffius
Frank Grego
Bernard Gorney
Raymond Green
Walter Gryzwinski
Andrew Gulassa
Stanley Halkewis
Edmond Harr
Curtis Hartensteine
Francis Hartmann
Robert Herd
Lawrence Hein
Walter Hinnerschitz
Joseph Hixoa
George Holonick
Joseph Hracs
Dewey Hudson
John Hulick
Robert Hurley
John Iwansoki
Tonay Issaco
Elmer Jackson
Walter Kania
Walter Kachinski
Theodore Kaczorowski
John Kalina
Joseph Karen
Paul Masarda
Chester Kelly
Robert Kemmerling
Thomas Keim
Jack King
John Kitt
Thomas Klimko
Delmar Kock
John Koch
John Kodak
Michael Kokla
Michael Koretska
Vincent Kowaleski
Chester Kozak
George Krick
Karl Krize
Andrew Kroll
George Kohn
Joseph Landolph
Stewart Lash
Raymond LeDonne
Carl Loehrig
Richard Loux
Clarence McCallum
James McCarty
Harry McElwee
John McGonagle
Anthony Maddaloni
Mathew Makowieki
Stanley Malek
Nicholas Mammarella
Doughlad Manning
Jerome Marini
John Mastahuba
Andrew Matsko
Andrew Matta
Andrew Matvay
John Meszaros
Norman Messner
Joseph Mihalko
Nick Miller
Frank Mitchell
List from "CCC Pictorial Review" Circa 1940-1941

Alden F. Church, 2nd Lt, Infantry-Reserve, Company Commander
Ralph J. Wyman, 2nd Lt., Infantry-Reserve, Subaltern
Bernard G. Harless, Educational Adviser
H.D. Hammond, Project Superintendent
A.S. Gernand, Junior Foreman
W.H. Wagner, Senior Foreman
G.D. Paxson, Foreman
J.R. Joy, Foreman
George N. Wolf, Mechanic
C.H. Ridgeley, Tool Keeper
C.B. Clark, Senior Foreman

Joseph Rapone  
Paule Stewart  
Peter Noto  
Stanley Rubin  
Paul Metzger  
Joseph Yaskoweach  
Joseph Negrello  
Edward Kurecian  
Robert Williams  
Arthur Lomas  
Mark Straub  
Joseph Swiderksi  
Edward McKeen  
Joseph Valenteen  
Charles Spicer  
Nicholas Mattio  
Earl Wright  
Michael Twarden  
Stephen Romaneski  
Francis Logrip  
William Malast  
John Przekop  
Joseph Scheel  
Joseph Myers  
John Turchin  
George Westich  
John Casey  
Claude King  
Woodie Kuhn  
Charles Rodgers  
James McGinley  
Joe Liningter  

Joe Valaitis  
Mike Lesko  
Joe O'Donnell  
Joseph Wysocki  
Clarence Dukauskas  
Edward Medvedik  
Joseph Lasata  
Richard Hardiman  
Joseph Schweyer  
Rhoe Sheets  
Joseph Weresczack  

John Monohan  
Edwin Rybarski  
Anothony Medori  
John Utz  
John McLoughlin  
Roy MacIntyre  
Harry Reichner  
Raymond Taylor  
Andrew Scrppens  
David Swanek Joseph Lechnanik  
Howard Milton Elvin Olson  
Joseph Kosiba  
Peter Skintek  
Raymond Kline  
Steve Burcik  
Joseph Martin  
Tony Wence  
Elmer McDowell  
George Wolak  
David Lowe  
Edward Langan  
Paul Langan Fred Rosselli  
Robert Morro  
Dominic Sileta  
Leonard Yankelunas  
Joseph Wojchiechowski  
Alex Scott  
Edward Rudzinki  
James Owen  
Michael Petrocik  
Henry Przbyszewski  
Edward Rzemyk  
Robert Leidel  
William McIntosh  
Walker Shisko  
John McDowell  
Ksawery Wolk  
Theodore Pucylowski  
Steve Wanyo  
John Kodeck  
Albert DeWald  
Matthew Penkala  
William McHale  
Vincent J. Petti  
Marvin E. Smith
## APPENDIX E

### JOB CORPS PARTICIPANTS

**Catoctin Job Corps Center Participants December 1964 to 1969**

Names were abstracted from newspaper clippings, camp newsletters, reports, oral histories, and other material from the National Archives and park archive. This partial list is organized by month and does not indicate how long a person stayed at Catoctin. Some may have stayed only a day, although other names that are repeated throughout the list indicating that they were at Catoctin for a longer period of time. Staff member titles are noted when available. Some of these position titles changed over time because of new duties, promotions, renaming, or person doing the reporting. It is also noted when staff members transferred to other Job Corps Centers or administration.

### December 1964
- Clyde A. Maxey (Center Director)
- Leon Iracks (Deputy Director of Work)
- Paul Wilber (Deputy Director of Education)
- V.A. Shearer (Cook)
- Warner Cheeks (Elementary Teacher)
- Maurice Robinson (Elementary Teacher)
- E.T. Weaver (Counselor)
- C.J. Fitzgerald (Recreation Leader & Counselor)
- J.G. Giller (Recreation Leader & Counselor)
- R.S. Kaiser (Recreation Leader & Counselor)
- J.M. Nye (Recreation Leader & Counselor)
- F.A. O’Brien (Recreation Leader & Counselor)
- V.M. Calhoun (Information Receptionist)

### January 1965
- Clyde A. Maxey (Center Director)
- Stermell “Gil” Bledsoe (Deputy Director of Education, to Report In March)
- J.R Carbaugh (Foreman III)
- J.D. Braithwaite (Foreman II)
- J. B. Troxell (Foreman I)
- R. J. Thomas (Foreman I)
- J.R. Weddle (Foreman I)
- T. L. Becraft, Sr. (Foreman I)
- Lawrence Morton (Administrative Officer)
- J.R. Williams (Clerk)
- Janis Lock (Nurse)
- Silas Jackson (Nursing Assistant)
- R. Sill (Cook Foreman)
- D.E. Warthen (Cook)
- M.C. Hessong (Cook)
- H. Q. Buhrman (Cook)
- J.R. Harbaugh (Cook)
- Palmer (Deputy Director of Work)
- Henry Epps
- Maurice Robinson (Teacher)
- Leon Iracks (Deputy Director of Work)
- Pete Herron
- Gregory Ratliff
- Donald Mullins

### February 1965
- V.A. Shearer (Cook)
- Warner Cheeks (Elementary Teacher)
- Maurice Robinson (Elementary Teacher)
- E.T. Weaver (Counselor)
- C.J. Fitzgerald (Recreation Leader & Counselor)
- J.G. Giller (Recreation Leader & Counselor)
- R.S. Kaiser (Recreation Leader & Counselor)
- J.M. Nye (Recreation Leader & Counselor)
- F.A. O’Brien (Recreation Leader & Counselor)
- V.M. Calhoun (Information Receptionist)
Harvey Perryman
Warner Cheeks (Teacher)
Clarence Rice (Being considered for Catoctin)
Robert Collier
Ronald Evans
James Martin
Richard Conklin
Robert Wise

March 1965
Marine Gunnery Sargent Sam Griffiths (Physical Fitness Volunteer)
Nicholas Tano
Lamar Marchese (VISTA)
William “Tex” Arnold (VISTA)
Ed Nungesser (VISTA)
Wayne Holbrook
Dave Meadows
Donald Mullins
James Blackmon
Raymond Arrington
Ray Martin
Samuel Lane
Carl Denby
John Butler
Troy Weaver (Staff)
Richard Tyndall
Glen Scott
Gil Beldsoe (Deputy Director of Education)
J. Michael Nye
Edmond Dillbeck
Paul Hunter
James Juillebratt
Sanford Jennings
Eugene Hicks
Stanley Birdwell
James King
Roger Drake
Emanuel Lee Huff
James Gorman
Jess Chapman
Carl Hall

August Jones
Roland Bufford
Donald Cooper
Ray Esquibel
Joe Esquibel
Patricio de Leon
Jim Derry (Resident Worker)
Clyde A. Maxey (Center Director)
Robert Dandridge (Cook)
Willie Brintley (Cook)
William Dukes (Cook)
Peter Brown
William Wheeler
Bill Keefer
James Lee
Nelson Glass
Bobby Dandridge
Ronald Bradford
Henry Johnson
Leon Hayman
Ronald Baker
Clyde Melton
R.T. Grady
Robert Austin
Richard Conklin
Ronald Evans
Harvey Perryman
Eddie Cox
Donald Kramer
Donald Absher
David Parks
Teddy Howard
Vernis Thibodeaux
Calvin Thibideaux
Roy Bergeron
Oliver Little
James Truesdale
Ardie Grady
Garland Sample
Ronald Ardoin
Robert Sheetz
John Ray
Charles Fitzgerald (Resident Worker)

April 1965
May 1965

- Henry L. “Tuffie” Epps
- Richard S. “Pee We” Sherrill
- Frank Menefee
- Les Garcia
- Billy Tucker
- Mike Phillips
- Steve Pylypiw
- James Juellaratt
- Mike Banks
- Wayne Holbrook
- Stanley Birdwell
- Ed Dillbeck
- Roland Bufford
- Sam Lane
- Al Astronskas (VISTA)
- Daniel Adams
- James Gorman
- Donald Cooper
- Stan Ostrowski
- Angel Santa
- Peter Brown
- Stan Sexton
- Carl Denby
- Henry Jackson
- William Hemmen
- James King
- Bob Dandridge
- James Seth
- Eugene Hicks
- Jim Juelleratt
- Ken Fleming
- Al Astronkas
- Stan Sexton
- Steve Banks
- Willie Brintley
- John Butler
- Pete Herron
- Carl Hall
- Kenneth Fleming
- Ray Esquibel
- Herman Singleton
- Dave Fortune
- Clyde A. Maxey (Center Director)
- James Blackman
- Henry Johnson
- Mike Dunn
- Robert Harvey
- Orville Rhyne
- Roger Schoensee
- Edward Wilholt
- Robert Whitehead
- Larry Bosman
- Freddie Greer
- Harry Bengston
- George Davis
- Lyndon Wilbright
- Ed Nungesser (VISTA)
- Lamar Marchese (VISTA)
- William “Tex” Arnold (VISTA)
- Henry Epps
- James Justice
- Peter Brown
- Steve Pylypiw
- Les Garcia
- Dave Meadows
- John Autry
- Stan Ostrowski
- William Madison
- Slim Ratliffe
- Robert Collier
- Ronald Baker
- Sarge Griffiths
- Chuck Cater (Staff)
- Jess Chapman (Staff)
- Ronald Baker (Staff)
- Leon Hayman
- Howard Nicholson
- Clarence Rice (Training for Centersville Job Corps Center)
- William Whalen (Training for Wellfleet Job Corps Center)

June 1965

- William “Tex” Arnold (VISTA)
- Lamar Marchese (VISTA)
- Ed Nungesser (VISTA)
- Willie Hill
- Roy Hurley
- Ralph Jackson
- Carl Johnson
Paul Johnson
Richard Pierce
Hernal Vanderpool
David Stephens
Gil Bledsoe (Transferred to Jacob’s Creek Job Corps Center)
Dr. Hill (Deputy Director of Education)
Donald Wadase (Staff)
Troy Weaver (Staff)
Jack Wheat (Deputy Director of Work Temporary)

**July 1965**
Fred Beaver
Angel Santa
Edmund Dillbeck
Gregory Ratliffe
Bill Clark
William Donaldson (Director of Recreation)
Peter Brown
Earl White
Robert Willoughby
William Turner
Carl Thompson
Curtis Strickland
Benjamin Shoemaker
Calvin Schidtke
Thomas Rose
Dennis Palwowicz
George Morris
Herman Moore
Joseph Miller
Charles Lewis
Jeroy Jones
Steven Huber
Michael Hardin
Sam Gregory
Robert Greenwood
John Dennis
William Clark
Joseph Butler
Donald Biggi
Frederick Beaver
Larry Zettler

**August 1965**
Jack Wheat (Center Director)
Nelson Glass
Ed Richardson
Slim Ratcliffe
James King
Eugene Hicks
James Lee
Peter Brown
Lamar Marchese (VISTA)

**September 1965**
Chuck Carter
Paul Nagy
Ringel (Staff)
Warner Cheeks (Staff)
Don Wadase (Staff)
Rudy Meares (Staff)
October 1965
Jack Amiot
John Horkey
John Ellis
Charles Goble
Lamar Marchese (VISTA)
Daryl Aldrich
Bryan Benoit
Barry Berger
Francis Cavanaugh
Samuel Crate
George Furs
Floyd Goodjohn
James Grace
Michael Janifer
Robert Knight
Wester Loggins
Arthur Roche
David Smith
Edward Walsh
Chuck Carter (Resident Worker)
Mike Nye (Resident Worker)
Jim Derry (Resident Worker)
Rudy Meares (Resident Worker)
Ken Handy (Resident Worker)
Bud Green (Resident Worker)
James King
William Donaldson (Staff)
Preston Frazier
Johnnie Flowers
Sam Gregory
Dave Fortune
Gene Mullins
John Cantone
Ronald Carter
Mike Phillips
James Pittman
Stan Sexton
Dennis McNeal

November 1965
Maurice Robinson (Staff)
Warner Cheeks (Staff)
William “Tex” Arnold (VISTA)
Bill Donaldson (Recreation Specialist)
Martin Ringel
Ronald Carter
Francis Cavanagh
Charles Goble
Thomas Melvin
Joseph Pile
Arthur Roche
Cleveland Thompson
Orland Williams
Eddie Walsh
Gene Mullins (Cook)
Jack Wheat (Center Director)
Mike Hardin
Henry Johnson
Dave Fortune
Marilynn Smithers (Secretary)
Johnny Flowers
“Smokey” Fielder
George Uganst
Orville Rhynes
William Whalen (Staff)

January 1966
Lewis Jackson Williams
John Richard Weddle
James Balkovitz
Ronald Benjamin
Stanley Bernstein
William Brown
Ralph Cruz
Lessie Diggs
Walter Fitzgerald
Robert Hale
Landon Irby
Thomas Kelley
Floyd Nicholson
Dennis Miller
William Brown
John Horkey
Warner Cheeks (Corpsmen Activities Supervisor)
Maurice Robinson (Education Supervisor)
Rudolph Meares (Corpsmen Assistant Supervisor)
Dennis McNeal
Clarence Sage Frost
Jack Wheat (Center Director)
Roger Warren (Secretary)
Lawrence Morton (Administrative Officer)
James Williams (Clerk)
Silas Jackson (Medic)
Robert Sill (Cook)
Margaret Sigler (Cook)
Virginia Shearer (Cook)
David Warthon (Cook)
Henry Buhrman (Cook)
Joseph Harbaugh (Cook)
Donald Wadase (Work Program Officer)
Dr. Leo Hill (Corpsmen Supervisor and Education Officer)
Michael Tolliver (Recreation Specialist)
Berlin Green (Resident Youth Worker)
Kenneth Handy (Resident Youth Worker)
Jimmy Nye (Resident Youth Worker)
James Derry (Resident Youth Worker)
Paul Fout (Resident Youth Worker)
Ed Like (Resident Youth Worker)
Martin Ringel (Teacher)
William Whalen (Counselor)
Charles Goble
James Balkovitz
John Washington
Steve Huber
Ronald Benjamin
George Unangst
Ernest Williams
Thuron Thomas

February 1966
Joseph Butler
Charles Oushick
Tommy Duran
Ed Like (Resident Worker)
Bill Donaldson (Recreation Specialist)
Charles Carter (Resident Leader)
John Ellis
Roy Howes
Thomas Kelley
Jimmy Kelly
James Lamie
Steve Pylypiw
David Scheib
Stanley Sexton
Joseph Butler
Jerry Hill
Lewis Williams
David Simmons
Dennis Miller
Pete Young (Mechanic)
James Carbaugh (Work Leader)
James Troxell (Work Leader)
John Weddle (Work Leader)
Charles Hetzer (Work Leader)
Richard Timmons (Work Leader)
Thomas Becraft (Work Leader)
Clarence Frost
John Tomlinson
Orlando Harden
Ed Dillbeck
Gordon Dauphinee
Allen Combs

March 1966
Bryan Benoit
Michael Bradford
Clinton Ewell
Clinton Foreman
John Gaynor
Samuel Gordon
Roger Jones
Harvey Peters
David Tyner
Joseph Butler
Lee Roy Arnold
Tommy Duran
Arthur Green
Rex Cheeseman
Phillip Roux
Robert Ruel
Paul Johnson
Gene Mullins
Billy Joe Culwell
Alexander Lukneik
Wade Smith
Allen Turner
Johnny Tutton
Charles Damron (Staff)

April 1966
Charles Coggin (Assistant Leaders)
Harry Bengston (Assistant Leaders)
James Gilmore (Assistant Leaders)
John Gosnell (Assistant Leaders)
Ronald Benjamin
Albert Briley
John Cantone
Warren Chase
David Cline
Willie Foster
Landon Irby
Henry Johnson
Paul Johnson
Gary Kendall
Daniel Kimball
Gene Mullins
Orville Rhyne
Garland Spivey
Kenneth Crowe
Thomas Whitaker
B. Tucker
John Young
Charles Oushick
Dennis Miller

May 1966
Lloyd Brown
Allen Combs
Phillip Baca
James Richard Williams (Supply Clerk)
Patrick Fosgate
Johnny Gosnell
Amos Brown
Billy Joe Culwell
Curtis Dillard
Lester Ellis
Dave Fortune
Arthur Green  
Michael Janifer  
Randal Lawson  
James Love  
Alexander Lukasik  
Dennis McNeal  
Miguel Ortiz  
Stanley Ostrowski  
Dennis Shelton  
Wade Smith  
Johnny Tutton  
Andrew Urquidez  
Martin Wade  
William Watts  
John Wilkerson  
John Young  
Kenneth Knight  
Rita Ann Remavege (Work Study)  
Dorothy Hemler (Work Study)  
Mary O’Brian (Work Study)

June 1966
Lawrence C. Morton  
(Administrative Officer)  
John Rivera  
Patrick Bakley  
Tommy Whitaker  
Carl Allen  
Lester Ellis  
David Fortune  
Sabrinto Estorga  
Frank Cantrell  
David Williams  
David Peyton  
Charles Young

July 1966
Eugene Eisenbise (Deputy Director of Education)  
Loren Howk  
William Whalen (Counselor)  
David Ayers  
Dennis McNeal  
Leo Brouillet  
Moses Mason

August 1966
Ronald B. Johnson  
Daniel L. Mulligan  
Stanley Thomas  
Charles Sigler  
Jaret B. Loggins  
Hector R. Andrini  
Eldon B. Dunn  
Larry Lopez  
Ben Mangum  
James L. Wilkerson  
Mitchell L Baker  
Kenneth D. White  
Frank Johnson  
Thomas L. Sudler
Milton F. Champlin
William W. King
Ronald Schenck
Dale Bryant
Albert Hollis
Tyrone Johnson
Thomas Rose
Billy Tucker
Frank Patterson
Stanley Clarke
Paul Fout (Drivers Education Instructor)
Bernard Cannon (Drowned)
Jim Derry (Staff)
Joseph Trout
Michael Clayton
David Ayers
Robert Bassler
William Brown
John Carson
James Collins
Liston Eslinger
Johnny Gosnell
Jewell Gray
Cyde Green, Jr.
Elmer Hornbrook
Franklin Menefee
Robert Miller
Alvin Nesbitt
Floyd Nicholson
Robert Richardson
John Rudy
David Simmons
George Unangst
Charles Young
Lessie Diggs

**September 1966**
Willie Hill
Jaret Loggins
Johnny Stevens
Ronnie Stith
Wintson Scott
Leonard Cyrus
Frank Patterson
Lloyd Brown

**October 1966**
Jonathon Burch
Stanley Clark
Steve Zegel (VISTA)
Sherman Norfleet
Francisco Rey
Gary Miller
Clyde Brand
Saul Haymond
Michael Tolliver (Recreation Specialist)
Charles Scott
Keith Kindsvogel
James Oller
Warren Coffman
Jimmie Donnell
Charles Coles

Thomas Ware (Instructor)
Bruce Robinson (Vocational Instructor)
Mitchell Lewis Baker
Robert Bowers
Tyrone Johnson
Francisco Rey
Billy Tucker
Raphael William
Charles Allen
Marion Beasley
John Bennett
Murray Bradley
Clyde Brand
Lloyd Brown
Dale Bryant
Jonathon Burch
Ernest Cardwell
Samuel Catholic
Stanley Clarke
John Covington
Kenneth Crowe
Cyrus Leonard
Gordon Dauphinee
Larry Davis
William Dixon
Lewellyn Dye
Barryman Good
Don Goodrich
Saul Haymond
Woodrow Hicks
Albert Hollis
John Horkey
Jonathon Ivey
Ralph Jackson
James Kent
Jaret Loggins
Raymond Love
Dennis Miller
Gary Miller
Daniel Mulligan
Sherman Norfleet
Danny Olive
Frank Patterson
Charles Sigler
Napoleon Smith
Donald Stacy
John Stevens
Ronnie Stith
James Sutton
Clarence Thomas
Stanley Thomas
Daniel Todack
Allen Turner
Hermel Vanderpool
Edward Walsh
Dewey Wiggins
Henry Widley
Hector Andrini
Willie Armstrong
Harry Bengston
Eddie Blue
Jimmie Donnell
Richard Dunleavy
David Gaither
David Kanode
Ben Bangum II
Dwayne Moore
Raymond Reynolds
Joe Stovall
James Wilkerson
Leonard Garcia

Ernest Cardwell
Edward Glover
Tyrone Johnson
Samuel Catholic
Dan Todack
Ed Walsh
Frank Patterson
Clyde Brand
Larry Fiedler
James Sutton
Saul Haymond
Patrick Payne
Russell Stamper

December 1966
Edward Glover
Tyrone Johnson
Danny Olive
Napoleon Smith
Jonathon Ivey
Robert Henry
John Covington
Jerome Lewis
Robert Bassler
Thomas Patterson

January 1967
Orlando Cutchember
Harold Leon Jones
Jerome Shade
Mike Phillips
Arnold Baker
Eldon Dunn
David Sleet
Jack Lundy
Onzie Turner
Robert Henry
James Lyons
Clinton Richardson
Steve Harris
Milton Simpson
Earl Price
Clifton Brooks
Stanley Harring
Robert Fox
Bennie Burton

November 1966
Clifton Smith  Stanley Clarke
Jonathon Burch  Edwin Crone
Warren Coffman  James Farrington
Gordon Dauphinee  Larry Fiedler
Arthur Davis  Leo Geddie
Henry Epps  James Haywood
Shelton Foreman  Stanely Herring
Edward Glover  Woodrow Hicks
Frank Johnson  Jackie Lundy
Tyrone Johnson  Victor Moore
Raymond Love  Sherman Norfleet
James Pendleton  James Plummer
Patrick Payne  David Sleet
Ronald Schenck  Ronnie Stith
Charles Scott  Thomas Sudler
Russell Stamper  Dana Tenney
Billy Tucker  Daniel Todack
Alan Weinstein  Onzie Turner
Dewey Wiggins  David Walker
Francisco Rey  Hector Andrini
Joe Lewis Stovall
Andrew Urguidez

February 1967
Henry Epps  Richard Timmins (Corps Foreman)
Vernon Holland  Donald Wadase (Deputy Director of Work)
Lee Brooks  William Bell
William Wardell  Kenneth Brown
Charles Thurman  Wilson Clayton
John Allan Taylor  Larry Horn
Gregory Ratliffe  Abraham King
Kemper Lewis  Gary Miller
Richard Sherrill  Dingus Stanley
Hermel Vanderpool  Kenneth Crowe
Lawrence Fiedler  Willie Coggins (VISTA)
Thomas Marple  T. Bruce Robinson (Counselor)
Harold Leon Jones

March 1967
John Bailey  Ed Walsh
William Baker  Charles Young
Robert Bowers  Dennis Miller
James Arthur Boyce  Berry Good
Eddie Brodie  David Fortune
James Brookes  Lloyd Brown
Albert Clark

182
Cherry Brickhouse
Dale Bryant
Wayne Burke
Kelvin Chambers
Joseph Clark
Michael Coleman
Thomas Coles
Johnnie Collins
John Covington
Kenneth Crowe
Charles Deese
Kenneth Ellis
James Ebnsals
Charles Coggin
Thurman Hargrove
Robert Henry
James Hicks
Jerry Hoke
James Kent
Calvin Keys
Abraham King
Harold Jones
Danny Lewis
Kenneth Lynch
Dennis Miller
Earl Price
William Rice
Charlie Russell
Samuel Sartin
Clifton Smith
Jimmy Smith
Donald Stacy
John Stevens
George Stevenson
Ronald Trueheart
Hermel Vanderpool
Kenneth White
James Williams
Raphael Williams
Henry Windley

June 1967
Ronald Eggleston
Samuel Catholic
John Davis
Terry Searfoss

Jerome Shade
Herman Boone
Roger Coplon
Norman Holden
Bertie McNeill
Davis Turner
David Greiser
Donald Lloyd
Eugene Eisenbise (Transferred to Chicago)

July 1967
Jack Wheat (Transferred to Oconaluftee)
Carl Reynolds (Center Director)
Allen Gayden

August 1967
Michael Ahern
John Davis
Kenneth Lewis
Terry Lee Seafoss
Herman Boone

September 1967
Carl Reynolds (Center Director)
Donald Wadase (Deputy Director of Work)
Clarence Rice (Principal Teacher)
Jack Peck (Vocational Coordinator)
Thomas B. Robinson (Counselor)
Warner Cheeks (Corpsmen Supervisor)
Lawrence Morton (Transferred to Cumberland Gap)

November 1967
Carl Reynolds (Center Director)
Bruce Robinson (Counselor)
R. Williams (Inv. Mgr.)
E. Toms (Clerk)
M. Kropp (Clerk-typist)
S. Jackson (Assistant Nurse)
R. Penwell (Supervisory Clerk)
D. Worthen (Cook)
M. Sigler (Cook)
J. Harbaugh (Cook)
H. Burman (Cook)
Warner Cheeks (Corpsman Supervisor)
K. Handby (Recreation Specialist)
E. Likes (Assistant Corpsmen Supervisor)
T. Beecraft (Residential Worker)
F. Nobles (Residential Worker)
P. Moser (Residential Worker)
Donald Wadase (Deputy Director of Work)
J. Troxell (Foreman I)
C. Hetzer (Foreman I)
J. Price (Foreman I)
R. Timmons (Foreman I)
J. Weddle (Foreman I)
W. Dildine (Foreman II)
Clarence Rice (Principle Teacher)
J. Peck (Industrial Arts Teacher)
P. Munson (Center Teacher)
P. Fout (Training Instructor)
E. Summers (Center Teacher)
R. Ayers (Center Teacher)
James Southerly
Linville Shuttles
Linwood Harris
Orlando Cutchember
Willie Williams
Robert Winfrey
Herbert Whitaker
Robert Walker
Irving Vinson
David Vick
William Thompson
William Tracy
Michael Summers
Joseph Sullivan
Leonard Sing
Gary Richards
Earl Redmond
Columbus Neal
Garnett Moore

Thomas Mangol
Kenneth McGuffin
Larry Mahan
Wathen Liver
Kenneth Lewis
David Grubbs
Tom Garrison
Donald Fiolek
Terry Frayer
Lowell Davidison
Gregory Christensen
Mark Brown
Joseph Blowe
David Blaski
Robert Adams
Robert Allenworth
Jeremiah Taylor
Edward Walsit
Clayton Wilson
Algeria Dunmore
Calvin Bradshaw
Clifton Brook
Allen Gayden
Michael Mahan
Napoleon Smith
Robert Fox
Roy Hines
James Whitney
Bill Slone
Herbert Shirey
McClelland Locklear
Michael Dudley
Johnnie Brewington
Isaiah Walker
Dingus Stanley
James Scott
Otto Nash
Arthur Martello
Kenneth Lynch
Otis Killebrew
Harrison Feltner
David Brown
Michael Ahern
Dexter Brewer
Larry Horn
Lowel Walker
Jerome Shade
Dee Mart Music
Preston Johnson
Norman Holden
James Hicks
Kenneth Brown
Archie Leary
Wyatt Davis
Lawrence Brooks
Carroll Grant
Eldon Dunn
John Davis
William Bell
Bertie McNeill
Kenneth Restly
Jerry Warren
William Walker
Stephen Harris
Gerald Hayford
Larry Kiper
Bruce Mack
John Horkey
Donald Hill
Jimmie Cutwright
Tommy Brown
J.T. Baily
Robert Williams

John Peck (Instructor)
Eunice Summers (Teacher)
Paul Fout (Teacher)
Richard Williams (Inventory Manager)
Kenneth Handy (Recreation Specialist)
Silas Jackson (Assistant Nurse)
Roger Penwell (Supply Clerk)
Tom Becraft (Resident Youth Worker)
Frank Nobles (Resident Youth Worker)
William Yingling (Resident Youth Worker)
Charles Joyce (Resident Youth Worker)
James Smith (Resident Youth Worker)
Esther Toms (Secretary)
Mari Lou Kropp (Typist-Clerk)
Dave Warthen (Cook)
William Dildine (Cook)
Charlie Hetzer (Foreman)
Joseph Price (Foreman)
Richard Timmons (Foreman)
James Troxell (Foreman)
John Weddle (Foreman)
Henry Buhrman (Cook)
Joseph Hargaugh (Cook)
Margaret Sigler (Cook)

November 1967
Gary Bach

December 1967
Carl Reynolds (Transferred to Harpers Ferry)
Glenn Hill (Center Director)
Warner Cheeks (Corpsmen Supervisor)
Elwood Like (Administrative Officer)
Clarence Rice (Principal Teacher)
Donald Wadase (Deputy Director for Work)
Bruce Robinson (Counselor)
Robert Ayers (Teacher)
Paul Munson (Teacher)

Samuel Booker
Tom Welch
James R. Williams (Safety Officer)
Roger Penwell (Mail Clerk)
Warner Cheeks (Corpsmen Welfare Officer)
Frank Nobles (Theater Officer)
Donald Wadase (Transferred to Acadia)

January 1968

February 1968
Alex Garner
David McLean
Stander Wyche
Milford Mathes
Larry Latson
David Barnhouse
Ted McDowell
William Smith
James Duncan
Bobby Cook
Lewis Lake
Ronald Schaffer
Richard Brown
Larry Walker
Tyrone Martinez
Murray Bradley
Chester Turner
John Kopshina
Johnny Simmons
Willie Moore
Clarence Brown
Junius McIntyre
Thomas Marple
Daniel Barnhouse
Bobby Smith
Roy Newingham
Adolphins Olds
Darrell Skaggs
William Hawkins
Lewis Lake
Tom Welch
Ronald Johnson
Saul Haymond
Wallace Clary
Sharon Brown
Frank Nobles
Eunice Summmers (Teacher)
Ed Ayers (Teacher)
Bob Lull (Teacher)
Paul Munson (Teacher)
David McClean
Ralph McCotter
Howard Everette
Donnell Smith
Art Sullivan
John Johnson
Chester Turner

Mike Moore
Lewter Vinson
Ted Lenzy
Dave Warthen (Cook)
Robert Collier
David McLean
Larry Latson
Daniel Barnhouse
Harold Barnhouse
George Pulliam
James White
John Wimbush
Robert Artis
John Simmons
Chester Turner
Bulford Byrd
Bobby Smith
James Corbett
Curtis Snyder
Douglas Johnson
James May
Joseph Baine
Charles Pumphrey
Macktoy Hawks
Henry Fulgam
Clarence Brown
Adolphus Olds
John Wimbush
Leroy Wimbush
Joe Johnson
Murray Bradley
Elmer Staton
James Brown
Michael Moore
Jimmy Duncan
Alex Cross
Lewis Lake
Mitchel Baker

March 1968
William Tracy
Gary Workman
Allen Turner
John Harkey
Jimmy Cutrigh
Linwood Boggs  
Jimmy Hutchins  
Larry Anderson  
Clinton Richardson  
Earl Redmond  
James Southerly  
Terry Frayer  
Michael Wright  
Michael Summers  
Linwood Harris  
Kenneth Lewis  
James Scott  
Joseph Watkins  
Columbus Neal  
William Thompson  
James McHenry  
William Walker  
Harold Ramsey  
Ronnie Workman  
Jack Shields  
Mark Brown  
Lance Workman  
Douglas Johnson  
Steve Long  
Carl Williams  
Robert Spencer  
Terry Searfoss  
Jerry South  
Miguel Ortiz  
Tommy Smith  
Samuel Booker  
Raymond Westfall  
Arthur Sullivan  
Robert Allensworth Jr.  
Jowes Leroy Clark  
Jerry Lanier  
Hampton Ingram  
Lewis Lake  
Perry Bailey  
Joseph Johnson  
Marion Beasley  
Larry Latson  
Ernest Bolden  
John Johnson  
Sherron Brown  
Randolph Amos

James Millner  
Harris Crump  
Richard Brown  
Willie Moore  
James Womack  
Robert Adkins  
William Killebrew  
John Woods  
Donnell Smith  
Heqekia Godette  
William Shepherd  
Ronald Johnson  
James Brown

April 1968

Glenn Hill (Center Director)  
Dale Sipes (Deputy Director for Work)  
Wallace Clary  
William Williamson  
Gordon Taylor  
Ronald Shaeffer  
Saul Haymond  
Ted Lenzy  
Alex Cross  
Jonathon Johnson  
Lawrence McKinnon  
Robert Collier  
Mark Yeager  
David Starks  
John Simmons  
Paul Thompson  
John Thomas  
Ollie Wing

May 1968

Glenn Hill (Center Director)  
Clarence Rice (Education Supervisor)  
Warner Cheeks (Corpsmen Supervisor)  
Dale Sipes (Works Programs Officer)  
Kenneth Handy (Acting Recreation Specialist)
John Peck (Vocational Coordinator)
Bruce Robinson (Guidance Counselor)
James Troxell (Work Leader)
Roger Penwell (Resident Worker)
Richard Williams (Inventory Manager)
Paul Fout (Instructor)
George Lake
Thomas Martin
Buford Byrd
Marshall Travis
Oscar Tates
Stanley Kedrowski
Arthur Tinsley
Aaron Davis
Allen Ransome
Austin Eckert
Carl Reed
James Clifton
James Wansley
Robert Hamilton
Paul Gregory
George Wright
Richard Davis
Timothy Daniels
Frank Murphy
Fulton Marshall
Sam Shawley
William Smith
Donnell Smith
Larry Davis
Ronald Johnson
Eddie O’Neal
Clarence Brown
Muford Mathes

Elwood Like (Administrative Officer)
John Peck (Industrial Arts Instructor)
Paul Munson (Teacher)
Kenneth Handy (Recreation Specialist)
Eunice Summers (Teacher)
Paul Fout (Teacher)
Frank Nobles (Assistant Corpsmen Supervisor)
J.R. Williams (Supply Specialist)
James Troxell (Enrollee Work Supervisor)
John Weddle (Enrollee Work Supervisor)
Richard Timmons (Enrollee Work Supervisor)
Silas Jackson (Assistant Nurse)
Thomas Becraft (Resident Youth Worker)
Roger Penwell (Resident Youth Worker)
William Yingling (Resident Youth Worker)
Willie Powell (Resident Youth Worker)
James Smith (Resident Youth Worker)
Esther Toms (Secretary)
Mari Lou Kropp (Clerk-Typist)
David Warthen (Cook)
William Dildine (Foreman)
Charlie Hetzer (Foreman)
Joseph Price (Foreman)
Henry Buhrman (Cook)
Joseph Harbaugh (Cook)
Margaret Siger (Cook)
Ronald Johnson
Frank Murphy
Fulton Marshall
Samuel Shawley
Larry Davis
Eddie O’Neal
William Smith
Donnell Smith

June 1968
Glenn Hill (Center Director)
Dale Sipes (Deputy Director for Work)
Warner Cheeks (Corpsmen Supervisor)
Clarence Rice (Teacher)
Bruce Robinson (Counselor)
Howard Smith
Steve Mays
Tom Becraft
Melvin Webb
Robert Johnson
Stander Wyche
Leroy Wimbush
Ollie Seaberry
James Young
Reco Rogers
Oliver Campbell
Earl Barnhouse
Curtis Snyder
Michael Moore
Bob Britton
Harold Barnhouse
James Revels
Demous Northington
James White
Vincent Smith
Daniel Barnhouse
David Barnhouse
Harold Barnhouse
Tommy Duncan
John Fox
Macktoy Hawks
Robert Jones
George Patterson
Darrell Skaggs
McArthur Staton
Tom Welch
William Hawkins
Ted McDowell
Alexander Garner
Julius McIntyre
Hezekia Goddette
Robert Digman
Ken Schrock
Chas Pumphrey
Thomas Martin
Jerry Campbell
Roy Newingham
Stander Wyche
Arnold Alexander
Frank Nobles (Corpsman
Council Adviser)

July 1968
Lynn Shorb (Work-Study)
Kathryn Fitz (Work-Study)
Julie Neighbors (Work-Study)
Sarah Trout (Work-Study)
Grover Barham (Washington Office
Educational Specialist)
Bill Whalen (Washington Office
Enrollee Activities Specialist)
Glenn Hill (Center Director)
Dale Sipes (Deputy Director for
Work)
Clarence Rice (Principal
Teacher)
Elwood Like (Administrative
Officer)
Warner Cheeks (Corpsman
Supervisor)
Bruce Robinson (Counselor)
John Peck (Vocational
Coordinator)
J.R. Williams (Safety Officer)
Jimmy McCombs
Norbert Muskelly
Louis Puozzi
Chesley Price
Edward Owens
Larry Sheppard
George Otey
Robert Vincent
Homer Townsend
Tony Townsend
John Hutchinson
Daniel Birch
Andrew Johnson
Tom Pitts, Jr.
David Barnhouse
Daniel Barnhouse
Earl Barnhouse
Harold Barnhouse
Macktoy Hawkes
James Young
Clarence Brown
Darrell Skaggs
Reco Rogers
Tommy Duncan
Curtis Snyder
Milford Mathes
Charles Pumphrey
George Patterson
Robert Jones
Howard Everette
Robert Dignan
Kenneth Schrock
Jerry Campbell
Leroy Wimbush
William Smith
John Fox
Donnell Smith
Thomas Martin
Stander Wyche
James Whitt
Thomas Welch
Roy Newingham
MacArthur Staton

August 1968
Glenn Hill (Center Director)
Bruce Robinson (Counselor)
Kenneth Handy (Recreation Specialist)
Warner Cheeks (Corpsmen Supervisor)
Preston Williams
Curtis Vaughan
Roger Vaughan
Roger Edwards
Robert Kornegay
Ronald Williams
Glenn Faulks
Joseph Bowen
Kenneth Glover
Robert Hitch
Jessie Johnson
Cleveland Dixon
Keith Church
Willie Brown
Donald Williams
Robert Hughes
Robert McConathy
Clayton Gregg
Aaron Anderson

James Herring
Barry Sheaffer
Russell Campbell
James May
George Pulliam
Pelmer Miller
John Edens
Douglas Wainwright
Ralph McCotter
George Lake

September 1968
Robert Freeman
James Williams
Sherman McLendon
Ernest Pope
William Womble
Clifford Womble
Aaron Crump
Bill Johnson
Albert Porter
Norman Dale Moles
Darryl David Massey
Howard Wright
George Wright
Frederick Miller
John Callahan
Johnny Minor
James Chesson
William Gray

October 1968
Glenn Hill (Center Director)
Dale Sipes (Deputy Director of Work)
Clarence Rice (Principal Teacher)
Jack Peck (Staff)
Frank Nobles (Center Civil Rights Coordinator)
Kenneth Handy (Training Instructor transferred to Acadia)
Lee Pegram
William Goodwyn
Carol Spencer
Alywin Desper
Edward Collins
Alvin Taylor
Jimmy Manley
Elbert Ford
Ellis Barwell
Thomas Ballard
Calvin Mixon
Donald Ollier
Charles Smith
Joseph Bridges
William French
Larry Graham
Eugene Hunter
James Chumney
Martin Gamble
Alonza Clayborne
Ray Robinson
William Carroll
James Clarke
James Frye
Otis Sledon
Eddie Hampton
James Warner
Posie Hale
Emery Cameron
William Abel
James White
Larry Walker
Ted McDowell
Harding Smalls
Adolphus Olds
James White
Joe Baine
Bufford Byrd
Leroy McCoy
Randy Parker
Dave Bowman
Rex Tackett
John Hutchinson
John Locust
Chester Turner
Melvin Webb
Robert Jones
Randy Whitaker
James Anthony
Harding Smalls

Hezekiah Godette
David McClean
James Corbett
Bob Smalley
Robert Jones
Albert Porter
Herbert Gamble
Rylan Graham
Joe Bridges
Robert Gray

November 1968
Donald Mack
William Hurd
William Abel
Willie Alexander
Kenneth Anderson
James Anthony
Joseph Baine
Thomas Ballard
Ellie Barnwell
Daniel Birch
David Bowman
Joseph Bridges
James Brooks
David Bullock
Buford Byrd, Jr.
John Callahan
Emery Cameron
Oliver Campbell
James Chumley
James Clark
Alonza Clayborne
Bobby Cook
James Corbett
Larry Crandell
Dwane Crawley
Aaron Crump
Rondall Dean
Eddie Drayton
Roger Edwards
Glenn Faulks
Elbert Ford
Robert Freeman
William French
James Frye
Herbert Gamble, Jr.  
Martin Gamble  
Hezekiah Godette  
Larry Graham  
Rylan Graham  
Robert Gray  
Thomas Green  
Clayton Gregg  
Posie Hale  
Eddie Hampton  
Robert Hitch  
Eugene Hunter, Jr.  
John Hutchinson  
Andrew Johnson  
Bill Johnson  
Robert Jones  
Robert Kornegay  
Clifford Landis  
Frank Lewis  
Bobby Little  
John Locust  
Lamont Lucas  
Robert McConathy  
Leroy McCoy  
Theodore McDowell  
David McLean  
Sherman McLendon, Jr.  
James Manley  
Darry Massey  
Stephen Mays  
Dallas Miller  
Frederick Miller  
Johinnie Minor  
Lawrence Minor  
Calvin Mixon  
Richard Morgan  
Norbert Muskelley  
Adolphus Olds  
Randolph Parker  
Hayward Phillips  
Ernest Pope  
Albert Porter  
James Revels  
Ray Robinson  
Thomas Rodriguez  
Shelton Rook  
Alton Roundtree  
Otis Seldon  
Larry Sharpe  
Larry Sheppard  
Bobby Smalley  
Harding Smalls  
Charles Smith  
Vincent Smith  
Rex Tackett  
Leroy Thompson  
Homer Townsend  
Chester Turner  
Curtis Vaughan  
Robert Vincent  
Lewter Vinson  
Larry Walker  
James Warner  
Eugene Webb  
Melvin Webb  
James White  
Randolph Whittaker  
Donald Williams  
James Williams  
Julius Williams  
Preston Williams  
Ronald Williams  
William Womble  
George Wright  
Howard Wright, Jr.

December 1968

Glenn Hill (Center Director)  
Jack Peck (Vocational Coordinator)  
Clarence Rice (Principal Teacher)  
Paul Fout (Training Instructor)  
Bruce Robinson (Corpsmen Supervisor)  
Thomas Westmorland (Counselor)  
Willie Coggins (VISTA)  
William Abel  
Buford Byrd  
Stephen Byrd  
Randolph Whittaker
Alvin Taylor
Donald Mack
Robert Gray
David Bowman
Emery Cameron
Robert Pettry
Robert Cromartie
Robert Driver
Robert Vincent
George Brown
William Carroll
Alonza Clayborne
Kenneth Denson
Jackson Drumgoole
Roger Edwards
William Goodwyn
Rylan Graham
Ernest Hill, Jr.
Willard Hurd
Bill Johnson
David Jones
Robert Jones
Frank Lewis
Lawrence Minor
Lee Pegram
Charles Porter
Melvin Reese
James Revels
Ray Robinson
Shelton Rook
Larry Sharpe
Charles Smith
Vincent Smith
Carol Spencer
James Warner
Jerry Warner
Randolph Whittaker
Jerome Williams
Howard Wright
George Wright
Ellis Barnwell
Joseph Bridges
James Corbett
Billy Cotton
Larry Crandall
Elbert Ford

William French
Larry Graham
Leroy McCoy
Sherman McLendon
David McClean
Randolph Parker
Bobby Porter
Chesley Price
James Satchel
Thomas Smith
Curtis Vaughan
Lewter Vinson
James Williams
Julius Williams, Jr.
James Boothe
James Clark
Dwane Crawley
Thomas Dodson
Paul Finnegan
Martin Gamble
Clayton Gregg
Roger Grooms
Andrew Johnson
Donald Oller
Dennis Robbins
Bobby Smalley
Leroy Thompson
James Warner
Melvin Webb
James White
Isiah Aiken
Homer Townsend
Tony Townsend
Otis Seldon
James Brooks
James Frye
Lamont Lucas
Ronald Stoner
David Albert
Joseph Baine
Samuel Blackwell
Willis Booker
David Bowman
James Brown
Woodrow Clark
John Dorsey
January 1969
William Abel
Donald Williams
Alton Roundrea
Jospeh Baine
William Smith
Robert Carmartie
George Warfield
Harvey Smith
George Thompson
Bobby Porter
Buck Burns
James Kelly

February 1969
William Griffin
David Albert
Isiah Aikens
Ronald Stoner
Willis Booker
Ronald Johnson
John Dorsey
George Hamilton
Cilly Cotton
Ernest Hill
William Smith
Richard Parks
William Clayton
Jerry Warner
Kenneth Denson

March 1969
Joseph Glenn
Billy Cotton
George Hamilton

April 1969
Roger Shaffer
Roger Grooms
Thomas Smith
Lonnie Marsh
Jay Gensemer
Dennis Robbins
Paul Finnegan
Ernest Whitten
Stephen Tyler
Jackson Drumgoole
George Brown
Dwight Wallace
James Satchel
Jacob Knight
John Elliott
Thomas Dodson
Teddy Lee Riffle
Robert Petty
Moses Scriven
Burman Tull
James Allen

May 1969
Thomas Westmoreland (Center Counselor)
Emory Cameron
Adolfus Olds
APPENDIX F

YOUTH CONSERVATION CORPS PARTICIPANTS

Catoctin Youth Conservation Corps Participants from 1971 to 1974

Below is a partial list of Youth Conservation Corps participants at Catoctin Mountain Park abstracted from newspaper clippings and park files. The list is organized by year. Most of the names are of local people, not those from other parts of Maryland, particularly Baltimore. Sometimes the names are organized by area high school.

1971
Walkersville:
   Joan Daily
   Danny Bourland
   Betsy Merchant
   Barbara Von Gunter
   Gary Hunt
   John Gray
   Cat Selchmann
   Laura Williams
   Mike Smith
   Cheryl Hildebrand
   Chris Hauk
   Sandra Stephen

Linganore:
   Ethel Thompson

Catoctin:
   Mike Mackley
   Jeff Walter
   Dick Love
   Bonnie Orndorff

Thomas Johnson:
   Roxanne Longstreth
   Aileen Palmer
   Nancy Croghan
   Carolyn Roney

Middletown:
   H. Anne Schley
   Sharon Barkboll
   Tom Monroe
   John Grossnickle

Brunswick:
   Dona Sylvain
   Terry Heffner

Kevin Anders
Mark Sylvain
Frederick County Community College:
   Jeff Stookey

1972
Corps members:
   Charles Colby (Thurmont)
   Carl Clevenger (Frederick)
   Carla White (Frederick)
   Regina Martin (Thurmont)
   Dana Frushour (Wolfsville)
   Denise Turner (Frederick)

Staff:
   James Shafer—Program Officer
   Ronald Koski—Work Coordinator
   Sandra Bednarcsyk—Group Living Specialist
   Gary Gysberts—Environmental Educator
   Larry Rickard—Work Leader
   Dolan Hubbard—Work Leader
   James M. Holton—Work Leader
   Elizabeth J. Holton—Work Leader
   Lucinda Newby—Work Leader
   Paul Lambertson—Camp Director
   Lawrence C. Shaffert—Camp Clerk
Christina Hauk—Youth Leaders
Avadna Coghill—Youth Leaders
Roderick Korte—Youth Leaders
Cheryl Hilderbrand –Youth Leaders

1973
Corps members:
Governor Thomas:
   Richard Andrews
   Thomas Dapper
   William duBell
   Bruce Gordon
   Michael Cross
   Marc McPharson
   Pamela Thackton
Linganore:
   Charles Burgess
   Stanley Savage
   Lynn Pasley
Frederick:
   Lily Ambush
   Brenda Ambush
   Joanne Cleveland
   Cheryl Hildebrand
   Edith Huggins
   Lynn Reilly
   Ann Wallace
Catoctin:
   Gary Davis
   Steve Love
   Susan Love
   Susan Moser
   Debra Startzman
   Cathy Ann Wivell
Middletown:
   Gary Barkdoll
   Stephen Fogle
   Benjy Koops
Brunswick:
   David Herber
   Carter Van Waes
   Deborah Boone

David House
Frederick Community College:
   Mary Madsen
   Denise Turner
Walkersville:
   Sherry Ramsburg
   Suzanne Wade

1974:
Corps members:
Brunswick:
   Mel Fravel
Catoctin:
   Gary Davis
   Keith Kneer
   Mike Meredith
   Becky Trout
   Dan Twigg
Frederick:
   Joanne
   Cleveland
Linganore:
   Bob Browning
Middletown:
   Gary Barkdoll
   Steve Castle
St. Joseph:
   Vince Cuseo
Governor Thomas
Johnson:
   Sandy Bowen
   Jim Dove
   Bill duBell
   Joanne Floyd
   Mary Anna Rice
   Steve
   Rosensweig
Walkersville:
   Terri Lamb

Staff:
   Jim Shafer—YCC Director
   Warner Cheeks—Outdoor School,
   Assistant Director
Jack Umbel—Work Coordinator
Larry Hauver—Elective Coordinator and Resident Counselor
Charles Lambert—Earth and Space Science Laboratory, Group Leader
Gary Ritchie—Craft Specialist

1980
Corps members:
Celia Wissler (Patuxent River)
Lisa Tucker (Glendale)
Paul Laurenzann
Angie Scott (Mitchellville)
Chris Gentry (Bowie)

Staff:
Phil Martin—YCC Director
Denise Turner—Resident Counselor

1986
Corps members:
Terrie Weaver (Frederick)
Joanie Raymond
Shawn Erwin (Catoctin)
Tim Beard (Frederick Community College)
Jenny Best (Catoctin)
Shelly Wangness (Catoctin)
Julie (Keyton)
Kathy Haines
Dorothy Mantz

Staff:
Jack Harbaugh—Seasonal Ranger