The Civilian Conservation Corps at Acadia National Park

Prepared for Acadia National Park

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Preface

> *And my mother was washing dishes in the sink in the kitchen. And all of a sudden she sees this great big army truck goes in – it was one with a covered back on it – and saw that behind that were some more trucks, more trucks, people on them, men on them. She said, what is going on? All she could think of was that we were being taken over by somebody. . . . Right up the Long Pond Road . . . and you know [the alders] are very full and hang out over the road. So these trucks just brushed all these little bushes. So anyway, a little bit later, my two brothers came home from school, and she said, "I don't know what moved in, but something." She says, "You boys be very careful." But of course boys have to find out what's going on. So into the pond they went. . . . And so, when they got in, it was probably about a quarter of a mile from here. There was, they were cutting down trees and clearing the land, setting up . . . and all these big tents, because those men lived in tents all that summer. . . . And every day the boys went in, and the people in the kitchen would give them something to eat. Other guys would tease them.[1]

That was in June of 1933. For the next nine years, the Civilian Conservation Corps would be a constant presence on Mount Desert Island, where it and several other New Deal agencies would play a critical role in the early development of Acadia National Park. The following pages contain a report on the Corps and its activities on the island between 1933 and 1942. Three camps operated in the area during those years: two were located on MDI (one on and one off of park property) and were officially designated National Park Camps. The third camp was situated in Ellsworth, and though designated a State Park Camp, much of its work consisted of clean-up projects along the approach roads to the National Park.

The report is based on three primary sources of information. First, there are approximately forty-five hours of interviews conducted with twenty-six former enrollees at the Acadia camps, and with a handful of local residents who, like Mrs. Tuttle, remember the camps and the CCC presence in their communities. Several informants who worked on

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[1] Interview with Lurline [Soukup] Tuttle, NA 2651, C1932-A, pp. 1-2.

special crews in the CCC proved to be valuable sources of information on some of the more detailed work undertaken by the CCC. As is inevitable with oral testimony at this late date, the details of time and place are not always recalled perfectly, but the informants nonetheless provided good insights into work technique, as well as vivid recollections of camp life. Through the report, direct quotes from the interviews are identified by an asterisk (*) at the head of the quote, as in the above example. Readers should bear in mind that the quotes represent our informants' spoken, not their written, word. The original recordings are housed in the Northeast Archives of Folklore and Oral History at the University of Maine. Copies are deposited in the William Otis Sawtelle Collections and Research Center at Acadia National Park headquarters in Bar Harbor.

Second, researchers reviewed the National Park Service records regarding the work of the CCC and other New Deal agencies, which are housed at the regional branch of the National Archives Record Administration (NARA) in Waltham, MA (RG 79, 17 boxes). Approximately 4,500 pages of documents were photocopied and reviewed during the course of the research. The third primary source consists of approximately 1200 contemporary photographs. The great majority of them, contained in the NARA reports, were taken by project supervisors to give senior officials in Washington an accurate indication of the outcomes of the CCC efforts. Over a hundred additional photographs were contributed by informants, along other memorabilia – certificates, posters, flyers, camp newspapers, etc. – from their days in the CCC. These materials were scanned and the originals returned to their owners. Large format negatives (4" x 5") were made of photographs borrowed from informants. We have also been able to review a number of the "newspapers" produced by the

camps (some of which we were able to scan), as well as reports in the local media regarding CCC activities.

The NARA records contain better descriptions of work proposed and completed in the earlier years of the CCC programs. This appears to be less a matter of complacency or lassitude than of practicality. As the Emergency Works programs built up a working rhythm, there was less need for administrators to explain in detail what was – or what should be – happening on the ground. The same applies to the photographic evidence. About 80% of the images in NARA holdings document work accomplished in the first three years of the CCC program. Late in 1935, reporting procedures changed, and only on occasion were photographs included with job completion reports after that date. It should also be noted that both the documentary and photo-documentary records tend to stress the effect of the work, its appearance, rather than the actual work technique.

The first four sections of the report provide an overview of the history of the camps, and the general nature of life in the camps. The remaining sections take a closer look at the diverse work programs undertaken by the CCC at Acadia National Park.

The authors would like to extend special thanks to the men and women who so willingly and engagingly shared their memories with us. We hope the report stands as a fitting tribute to their experience and achievement.

The New Deal and Acadia National Park

1.1 Political Beginnings

After taking office in the winter of 1933, Franklin Roosevelt moved quickly to establish a number of public works initiatives, opening the New Deal era. In a message to Congress on March 21, he called for the creation of a Civilian Conservation Corps, declaring that with prompt action 250,000 men could be put to work by early summer.[1] Congress responded with the passage on March 31 of "An Act for the Relief of Unemployment through the Performance of Useful Public Work and for other Purposes."[2] Five days later, the president issued "Executive Order 6101" creating an Emergency Conservation Work program and naming Robert Fechner its director.[3] Although the order contained few specifics, representatives from cooperating departments had met at the White House on April 3 to

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[1] Nixon 1957, 1: 143; Salmond 1967: 12. This appears to be the first public use of the term "Civilian Conservation Corps," though the idea for such a body had been presented by Roosevelt during the Democratic National Convention the previous summer (Salmond 1967: 8; Paige 1985: 4). The term "civilian Conservation Corps" [sic] first occurs in Roosevelt's papers in a memo dated March 14, 1933, to the heads of the Departments of War, Labor, Agriculture, and the Interior, asking them to plan for such a program (Nixon 1957, 1: 138).

[2] Public, No. 5, 73rd Congress, S. 598; citations to the this legislation often label it the Emergency Conservation Work Act. This and other key documents were routinely reprinted in the annual director's reports of the ECW/CCC; see also Paige1985: 162-64, and Schlenker, Wetherington, and Wilkins 1988: 145-46. The following pages offer a boilerplate overview of political developments that affected the Civilian Conservation Corps and the authors of this report make no pretense to having exhaustively covered the voluminous New Deal literature. Works consulted include Badger 1989, Leuchtenburg 1963, Nixon 1957, Olson 1985, Sargent 1981, Schlesinger 1959, Venn 1998. For general histories of the CCC, see Merrill 1981, Otis, et al 1986, and Salmond 1967. Paige (1985) focuses on the National Park Service's role in the program. CCC histories specific to Maine include McGuire 1966, and Schlenker, Wetherington, and Wilkins 1988. In addition, there are numerous popular histories, memoirs, and commentaries by former enrollees, including Butler 1934, Draves 1992, Ermentrout 1982, Hill 1990, Jernberg 1941, Lacy 1976, and Symon 1982.

[3] Rpt. in Paige 1985: 165-66; Schlenker, Wetherington, and Wilkins 1988: 146-47.

hammer out a number of significant details, including the agency's administrative structure, the make-up of its Advisory Council, age limits for enrollees, rates of remuneration, and the method of pay distribution. Officially the new program was called "Emergency Conservation Work" (ECW), but from the beginning it was better known by the president's original name for it: the Civilian Conservation Corps, routinely shortened to the "CCC," or as many former enrollees call it, "the CCs." Emergency Conservation Work remained the official designation until June 28, 1937, when Congress passed "An Act to Establish a Civilian Conservation Corps" as an independent body.[4] It was one of the most successful programs of the New Deal and allegedly the president's favorite.

The CCC was not created out of thin air. During the Hoover administration, there had been proposals to employ men on conservation projects, and California, Pennsylvania, New York, Washington, and other states implemented make-work forestry projects for the express purpose of reducing unemployment.[5] At the federal level, securing cooperation among essential agencies proved to be a stumbling block, and committees vetting the proposals failed to agree on whether to hire a large number of men for a brief time – some wanted to hire two million men for a few months – or to employ a much smaller number on a more or less permanent basis. Roosevelt initially wanted to enroll half a million men but settled for half that number to get the camps up and running as quickly as possible.[6]

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[4] U. S. Public Law, No. 163, 75th Congress, Chapter 383; rpt. Paige1985: 172-77, and Schlenker, Wetherington, and Wilkins 1988: 147-50.

[5] Paige 1985: 3-6.

[6] Salmond 1967: 10-12.

Administratively, the CCC was a many-headed creature, involving the Departments of Labor, Agriculture, the Interior, and War (as it then was). Special camps for World War I veterans and for Native Americans later brought the Administration of Veterans' Affairs and the Office of Indian Affairs into the mix. Senior representatives from each agency comprised an ECW Advisory Committee, chaired by Fechner. Labor had responsibility for recruitment, which it carried out in consultation with state and local relief offices across the country. Due to the emphasis on conservation, general administration of work programs fell primarily to Agriculture and the Interior, and even though local site managers took care of project planning and implementation, supervisors in Washington carefully vetted every proposal. The Department of War, specifically the Army, was essential because planners realized it was the only federal body that could transport, feed, clothe, and house a quarter of a million men. Army involvement led predictably to concerns about militarizing the nation's youth, concerns that were aggravated by the rise of totalitarian regimes in Europe. Opponents compared the CCC with Soviet work camps or pointed to a similar German program that often appeared in Nazi propaganda, even though it had been created during the Weimar Republic.[7] In practice, the CCC retained only some military formalities, mostly for the sake of orderliness and efficiency, and camps operated under relaxed rules.

Regardless of one's outlook on large government programs, one can't help but be impressed by the scope and complexity of the CCC, especially given the rapidity with which it was implemented. It was the largest peacetime mobilization in American history and more complex than the mobilization of troops at the outset of the Spanish-American War in 1898,

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[7] Salmond 1967: 5-6, 85-86, 114-120, and 202-207.

which involved a comparable number of men.[8] As Fechner himself noted, in its first 27 months the CCC "selected, enrolled, clothed, fed, moved to camp and in many cases transported home" a force eight times larger than the standing Army.[9] Ultimately, more than 2,800 CCC camps were established around the country, 28 of them in Maine.[10] CCC operations in the state were headquartered at Fort Williams near Portland. Maine along with northern New Hampshire comprised the First District within the First Corps Area, which covered all the New England states, with headquarters in Fort Devens, MA.

1.2 Establishing the Camps

Administrators at Acadia, who were among the first to apply for a CCC company, learned on April 22 that the Eagle Lake site was among the first fifty "reforestation camps" announced by Fechner.[11] On May 22, a construction contingent from the 138th CCC Company, based at Fort Devens, arrived at the McFarland Hill campsite (current site of Acadia National Park headquarters), followed on May 25 by the permanent company of Maine enrollees. Woods operations began on May 29.[12] A camp on the west side of the

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[8] *Bar Harbor Times*, June 7, 1933, p.6.

[9] Fechner 1935: 8.

[10] Fechner 1935: 4; Schlenker, Wetherington, and Wilkins 1988: 32.

[11] Paige 1985: 13, and *Bar Harbor Times*, April 26, 1933, p.1.

[12] *Bar Harbor Times*, May 24, 1933, p. 1, and May 31, 1933, p.1; S. D. Conner, "Narrative Report of Fourth Enrollment Period, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," October 1, 1934 to March 31, 1935, p. 1, RG 79, Box 1, Folder 1, and "Narrative Report of Fifth Enrollment Period, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," 1935, RG 79, Box 3.

island had been announced by May 24, but its location just south of Great Pond on property belonging to Benjamin Worcester, was not confirmed until May 30. Men arrived on June 1 and began woods work on June 5.[13] On June 6, Washington announced a "highway beautification" project for the approach roads to Acadia, which was to be accomplished using ECW labor.[14] That led to a third camp for the area, which was established on July 1 at Ellsworth on Beckwith Hill, just off the Ellsworth-Bar Harbor Road.[15] The state governor had been a significant force behind the founding of the camp, and by way of acknowledgment the enrollees elected to rename their site Camp Governor Brann, apparently the only one named for a state governor.[16] Each of the MDI-area camps housed a maximum of 200 men, which was the standard across the country. A proposal to make one of the Acadia sites a "demonstration camp" was scrubbed even before the camps were officially established.[17]

The arrival of the CCC was generally well-received downeast and elsewhere in the state, but not everyone was immediately receptive to the camps or their personnel. Some

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[13] Reginald Ingalls, "Report Covering the First Enrollment Period, May 29 - Sept. 30, 1933, Great Pond Camp, N. P. 2," RG 79, Box 2; and "Monthly and Period Narrative Reports, First and Second Enrollment Periods, June 17, 1933 to March 31, 1934, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," RG 79, Box 2.

[14] *Bar Harbor Times*, June 7, 1933, p. 1.

[15] E. E. Smith, "First Bi-Monthly Progress Report, 1104th Co., C.C.C., Ellsworth - Bar Harbor Roadside Development, June 29 - July 15, Inc. 1933," RG 79, Box 1, Folder 2; see also documents in folder "Camp Establishment, 1933-1937, SP-1," RG 79, Box 4.

[16] *Bar Harbor Times*, July 12, 1933, p. 1; *Ellsworth American*, July 19, 1933, pp. 1 and 8.

[17] Horace M. Albright to Robert Fechner, May 16, 1933, in folder "NP-1 Camp Establishment," RG 79, Box 4.

townspeople – especially the fathers of daughters – were uncertain about all the young men wondering their streets. Lurline [Soukup] Tuttle described her father as "worried":

> *He said, "Two hundred young men within a quarter of a mile of the house," he said, "I don't know." But he sat me down and he said, "If anyone ever bothers you, you scream," and he said, "You know where to kick," and he said, "I'll guarantee they'll, they'll let you go." . . . I never had any trouble. No one ever, as many times as these men were here at the house, not one of them ever made a false move to me or said anything out of the way. It was all good family fun that we had.[18]

Some Bar Harbor residents had similar reactions:

> *Well, there was all this talk about all these boys would be coming in to a camp up on Eagle Lake Road. And everybody wondered just how it was going to affect the town, how these boys were going to be. . . . Of course, us girls was all wondering what they were going to look like. But we were told to keep away from them. But, no, they all seemed to be a very good bunch. . . . I remember when they first came into town. We were going down Main Street here, and the park office used to be right down here on the corner where the YMCA is now. And I remember a truckload of these boys were brought there. Of course the driver didn't know where the camp was. The camp was out of town, up on the Eagle Lake Road. And I can remember that truckload of boys. I don't remember any of them, who was in there at the time, but I know we were all excited. We went home, and we were all told, "Well, you just stay right around here." . . . [My brothers] didn't want me anywhere near them. They said if they see one of these boys talking to me, they would answer to them. But once they met them, things quieted down.[19]

Similar reservations were voiced by at least a few summer people. Cecil Barret wrote to fellow patrician Franklin Roosevelt expecting a sympathetic response. "Dear Franklin," he began, and after suggesting that a resort town was not the best place for a relief camp, he moved on to his principal concern: "As I understand that they are not in any way controlled but are entirely at liberty to come and go outside of work hours, their presence so close to Bar

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[18] Interview with Lurline [Soukup] Tuttle, NA 2651, C1932-B, p. 12.

[19] Interview with Eleanor Raynes, NA 2664, C1953-A, pp. 3-5.

Harbor is going to introduce unpleasant possibilities with the young daughters of the summer residents who are in the habit of motoring around alone freely." The answer to Barret's letter came not from his friend Franklin but from NPS Director, Horace M. Albright, who, in the president's name, resoundingly rejected Barret's assumptions:

> The young men being sent to these camps have been selected with great care and the camps are being supervised carefully by Army officers. . . . It would wreck the whole relief plan if every community were to take the viewpoint that the young men of these camps were undesirable characters. The President takes exactly the opposite position, that is, that the young men are fine young men out of work but eager to earn money and eager to be at work.[20]

Concern and resentment lingered for some time. In 1935, summer resident John J. O'Brien of Seal Cove, wrote to Stephen Early, Roosevelt's press secretary, summarizing a dinner conversation with guests who were "bitter opponents of the President":

> I must confess that poor judgement has been used in putting these boys to work immediately on paths and trails which place them in full sight of these summer residents. . . . It does appear as though [the enrollees] were piddling their time away and accomplishing very little. But even that would be all right if other things were also right. A widely known educator who was at the table stated positively that since these camps came to the island, illegitimate children have increased in numbers greatly, that drunkenness has also increased and that the Bar Harbor police have had a lot of trouble with the members of the camps. . . . I have believed in the camps because of seeing them in the western mountains where the boys are too far away from centers to get into trouble. I have felt a bit uneasy about them on this island. I have seen them for two summers as I drove between here and Bar Harbor and it is evident that a few men could have accomplished as much in a few weeks as whole truck loads of these boys have done in two summers.[21]

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[20] Barret to Roosevelt, May 19, 1933, and Albright to Barret [copy], June 6, 1933, RG 79, Box 1.

[21] O'Brien to Early, August 8, 1935, G. B. Dorr Papers, Historical Letters, Box 2, Folder 2, Sawtelle Archives, Acadia National Park.

MDI, he added, was "exactly like a stage" and "the setting and the actors should be of the finest," and he concluded that the island's CCC companies should be "show camps." This letter garnered separate responses from the Bar Harbor Chief of Police and the superintendent of the Eagle Lake camp. Both argued forcefully that the allegations were not supported by either town's arrest records or the Park's work progress reports.[22]

The local press was supportive and appreciative of the men and the work they accomplished, at least during the early years of the program. It ran articles on political and social news relating to the camps and was particularly attentive to CCC sporting activities. It even published solicitations for used furnishings to outfit the camp recreation halls. The actual work programs were less well covered, although a lengthy article submitted by the Southwest Harbor correspondent in 1936 detailed the many contributions that the CCC had made not only to the Park but to the local community as well.[23] Press interest waned, however, in later years. Stories about the CCC rarely appear in the *Bar Harbor Times* after about 1938, and even the Corps' work on the Fabri monument was not acknowledged in the *Time*'s lengthy coverage of the unveiling.[24] Announcement of the closing of the 158th Company (Southwest Harbor) in 1940 warranted a brief story, but the actual departure of the men received nothing more than a short paragraph in the "Personal and Social Bits" section.[25]

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[22] Abbott to Dorr, August 29, 1935, and Conner to Dorr, August 29, 1935, G. B. Dorr Papers, Historical Letters, Box 2, Folder 2, Sawtelle Archives, Acadia National Park.

[23] *Bar Harbor Times*, March 13, 1936, p. 7.

[24] *Bar Harbor Times*, August 24, 1939, pp. 1 and 4, and August 31, 1939, pp. 1 and 4.

[25] *Bar Harbor Times*, March 14, 1940, pp. 1 and 4, and April 4, 1940, p. 6.

The Mount Desert Island sites were designated National Park camps. The Eagle Lake or McFarland camp was National Park camp one (NP-1) in Maine; its men comprised the 154th CCC Company. The Great Pond or Southwest Harbor camp, NP-2, was home to the 158th CCC Company. The Ellsworth Camp had to be designated a State Park camp (SP-1) because it was not on federally-owned land.[26] Its work operations, however, were managed by Acadia in cooperation with a number of civic groups, such as the American Legion and a steering committee that included, among others, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Henry Morgenthau, Sr., Edsel Ford, and Mrs. William Procter.[27] Initially manned by the 1104th Company, made up almost entirely of men from Massachusetts, the Ellsworth camp later became home to the 193rd Company, which transferred from Millinocket in the fall of 1935.

The camps were sometimes distinguished by the kind of work they performed. As Arthur Studer, a truck driver at the Ellsworth camp, explained:

> *We worked on the roads and the other two camps worked on the mountain and the trees around. So there was a camp in Southwest Harbor and a camp in Bar Harbor. They were tree army. We didn't go working against them and they didn't work against us or we didn't work together.[28]

Accordingly, references to the Acadia "forestry camps" generally indicate the two camps on MDI (even though they did much more than forestry work). Ellsworth, a "roadside

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[26] Conrad L. Wirth to George B. Dorr, undated (circa July 3, 1933), in folder "Camp Establishment, 1933-1937, SP-1," RG 79, Box 4. The same condition applied to NP-2, although National Park officials were unaware of that fact. See correspondence between John S. Bowen, CCC Liaison Officer in Boston, and Acadia supervisors, in folder "Camp Establishment, 1933-1939, NP-2," RG 79, Box 4.

[27] *Bar Harbor Times*, June 7, 1933, p.1.

[28] Interview with Arthur Studer, NA 2639, C1922-A, p.9.

beautification" camp, worked almost exclusively on projects along the Ellsworth to Bar Harbor Road or along secondary roads all over the island. Since much of the roadside beautification involved private property, permission had to be secured from land owners before the work could even begin. Local officials wisely engaged the help of civic partners to go door-to-door to get the releases signed. As the camp superintendent reported:

> In the early stages of the work it was very difficult to obtain these signatures (for easements). During the winter, however, the local granges and chambers of commerce cooperated with the National Park Service with very gratifying results . . . . Local interest in roadside improvement work is constantly increasing. Garden clubs and chambers of commerce have expressed great appreciation of the results of the work being done.[29]

Ultimately, only three of three hundred private owners refused to sign the easement waivers.

In addition to projects in and around the park, the Acadia CCC carried out work at a number of remote sites or side camps. Men from the Ellsworth camp, for example, helped construct fish rearing pools at the federal hatchery in Orland, and they worked on forestry and landscape projects at Fort Knox, Green Lake, the Black Estate in Ellsworth, and on the Schoodic Peninsula.[30] Periodically, the National Park Service was called on to supervise the work of other CCC companies: summer work conducted at Baxter State Park between 1934

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[29] E. E. Smith, "Monthly Progress Report, 1104th Co. CCC, Ellsworth-Bar Harbor Roadside Development," August 1-31, 1933; "Narrative Report for October, 1933, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1"; "Acadia National Park, Narrative Report for March, 1934, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1," March 31, 1934; "Narrative Report, Second Enrollment Period, CCC Camp Governor Brann, Ellsworth, Maine," October 1, 1933 to April 1, 1934; "Narrative Report, Third Enrollment Period, Maine State Park, Camp No. 1, Ellsworth, Maine," April 1, 1934 to July 1, 1934, RG 79, Box 1.

[30] Sidecamp reports are usually included in the narrative reports submitted by project superintendents and in the reports of the park's landscape architect.

and 1935 by companies from Alfred and Millinocket, came under NPS supervision,[31] and Acadia staff reported on work at Camden Hills State Park (Co. 1130, camp SP-4).

The first project superintendents at the Acadia camps were Solon D. Conner (NP-1), Reginald Ingalls (NP-2), and E. Emerson Smith (SP-1). Smith left in April of 1934 and was replaced by Patrick Boylan. In the early years, the camp superintendents wrote – often with input from the field supervisors – the narrative reports on the progress of the work and the state of crews. It is through their eyes that we see most of what happened at the three Acadia camps. Conner was a thorough and thoughtful reporter; Ingalls was strong on project detail but offered little reflection on the overall program; Smith was somewhere in between. Boylan, like Conner, tended to give detailed reports on the projects and the effectiveness of the crews. Unfortunately for historians, the narrative reports were discontinued in 1935, largely because of the amount of supervisory time they consumed.[32] (Later work reports, which generally lack the descriptive detail and photographic support of earlier documents, were prepared by the park's landscape architect, Benjamin Breeze).

The military was responsible for the general administration of the camps, which included construction and maintenance, clothing and victualing, allocation of work assignments, and supervision of enrollees while they were in camp.[33] Military staff tended to be reservists rather than active duty officers, and they occupied a relatively small number of

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[31] McGuire 1966: 117; Schlenker, Wetherington, and Wilkins 1988: 34 and 142; Paige 1985: app. C. The extent of Acadia's involvement with Baxter projects is not reflected in park reports.

[32] Hoak 2000: 5.

[33] Dearborn (1936: 230-243) gives a detailed account of the Army's CCC operations.

positions: camp commander and assistant commander, a mess steward, and cooks. Initially, non-commissioned officers were assigned to clerical and supply positions, but early on these functions were taken over by enrollees.[34] The military also supervised educational programs in the CCC, although it was standard practice to draw educational advisers from a pool of unemployed teachers recommended by the Office of Education within the Department of the Interior. Army physicians and chaplains were sometimes assigned to camps, especially at the outset, but it became more common to contract the services of local doctors and ministers.

When the first groups of CCC enrollees left for their assigned camps, they arrived at empty fields and lived in tents until permanent barracks were constructed. John Parsons recalled his first months at the Eagle Lake camp:

> *Well, inside [the tents], as I recall, there were eight, eight bunks, I think, that was a squad number. And we had a stove right in the center with the smoke pipe going up through the center of the tent. And they were reasonably comfortable. We had folding beds to sleep on. . . . Regular army cots; you've seen them, probably. And those were furnished for everybody. Plenty of blankets and so on. . . . [U]ntil they got the mess hall underway to the point where they could use it -- that was one of the first buildings they put the effort into – we'd go from the tent to the eating tent and get our meals. Wash our dishes outside. Three different buckets, I think it was, we washed them in. . . . We got through. I think we had one tent fire, one tent burn down, due, of course, to the fire in the stove in the center of the [tent].[35]

Walter Woods had a similar experience at Southwest Harbor:

> *Well, the thing, when we got there, just trees. And we had to get them trees cut back and get our camp set up. . . . [T]hey, they took us, I guess it was by truck if I remember right -- not a bus but by truck -- and we got there in the afternoon. We had, we had to cut quite a big piece of wood that fall, awful big trees. And we had to pick our own tents and everything. I can't remember

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[34] Paige 1985: 53.

[35] Interview with John Parsons, NA 2545, C1927-B, p. 15.

> [how many men were there], but there was quite a bunch. There was, oh, probably, there must have been better than a hundred . . . . [W]e were sleeping in tents for quite a while before we got that building built and stuff, you know. . . . [W]e was inside the bunk room before the cold weather.[36]

The Mount Desert area camps differed in their general layout,[37] but the principal buildings – the mess hall, barracks, recreation and education buildings, and administrative offices – conformed to a fairly standard design, measuring 20 feet wide by 80 to 120 feet in length, depending on function.[38] They were all-wood structures with an open interior; tar paper was the only exterior covering. One of our informant referred to the design as a "Butler Hut,"[39] a common military structure used prior to the widespread adoption of Quonset Huts during World War II. Informants who had been in more than one CCC outfit recognized a certain sameness to the overall look: *"You could tell it was a CC camp. . . . It was green. It was green."[40]

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[36] Interview with Walter Woods, NA 2641, C1924-A, p. 9-10.

[37] See Figures 7 through 22 in the first photo section of this report. Acadia assistant superintendent Benjamin Hadley later complained about the "hodge podge" layout of the McFarland camp, where the buildings were situated "in echelon" rather than square. He added that the camp "intrudes itself unfortunately into the view of the mountains from the highway which crosses McFarland's Hill" (Hadley to Capt. C. C. Tuttle, January 28, 1937, in folder "NP-1 Camp Establishment," RG 79, Box 4).

[38] Lists giving exact dimensions for all buildings at NP-1 and NP-2, dated February 21, 1938, can be found in folder "NP-1 Camp Establishment," RG 79, Box 4. Paige (1985: 71-72) gives a generic account of structures in a typical CCC camp, though his most detailed information applies to camps constructed or reconstructed after August 1939.

[39] Interview with Damien Blanchette, NA 2662, C1950-A, p. 10. This is probably a generic application of a corporate name. The Butler Manufacturing Co., of Kansas City, MO, was founded in 1901 and rose to national prominence as a supplier of prefabricated metal buildings for the military during the First World War ("Century of Excellence" 2001: 3).

[40] Interview with Damien Blanchette, NA 2662, C1950-B, p. 32.

The rapid implementation of the CCC program was not without its difficulties. During the first summer, there was a clear need to establish the camps as quickly as possible, and at at the Southwest Harbor camp that work appears to have proceeded smoothly. Superintendent Ingalls' reports show that after clearing three acres, the company had built the mess hall and barracks by mid July and completed all camp construction by the end of August. By the end of the first enrollment period, the company had even managed to improve 1.5 miles of the Long Pond Road, carry out pine blister rust control on nearly 1,500 acres, and construct trout rearing pools along the lower part of Cold Brook (work on the latter job failed and would have to redone). Moreover, it was the camp with the fewest enrollees. Ingalls' sole complaint, noted at the close of his first report, was that "We are handicapped by a shortage of tools and equipment." The lack appears to have been quickly addressed to his satisfaction.[41]

The other two camps, by contrast, had difficulty getting their operations up and running. Because Army commanders scheduled work assignments, they were able to assign scores of men to camp construction in order to have permanent structures ready by fall. Project superintendents and park administrators complained, but they accepted there was little they could do about it. At the McFarland Camp in the third week of June, 182 men were employed on camp construction leaving only 12 men available for woods work. About half the men were turned over to conservation work the following week, but the remainder were expected to be tied up for at least another week. When the situation failed to improve in

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[41] See "Monthly and Narrative Reports, First and Second Enrollment Periods, June 17, 1933 to March 31, 1934, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," RG 79, Box 2.

July, superintendent Conner abandoned all but one woods project, making as many men as possible available for camp construction just to get the task out of the way. "With this in mind," he reported, "the supervisory force has been used in camp, first because they would expediate the work and second because there was nothing else for them to do."[42] Similar complaints were levied by superintendent Smith at the Ellsworth Camp, which was established a month after the other two sites. There, additional local labor had to be hired to complete the camp buildings by the end of the first enrollment period.[43]

Winterized barracks, of course, had to be ready by fall. (At the McFarland Camp, the Army was concerned that the barracks, which had to be built on raised posts to accommodate sloping terrain, would be uninhabitable in winter and that the water supply would freeze in cold weather.[44]) All the same, construction at NP-1 and SP-1 kept a large contingent of men from conservation work until late in the summer, leaving barely a month to make headway on conservation projects for the first enrollment period. The frustration of supervisors is understandable, and there is a palpable sense of relief in second period reports when all but maintenance and mess crews were released to work on park projects.

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[42] S. D. Conner, "Report, 154th Co., C.C.C., Acadia National Park, Period June 18 - June 30, 1933,"(see table of "Camp Personnel"), and "Report, 154th Co., C.C.C., Acadia National Park, Period July 1 to July 15, 1933," RG 79, Box 1, Folder 3; the quote is from the "Summary" section.

[43] E. E. Smith, "Acadia National Park, Narrative Report for August, 1933, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1," September 1, 1933, and "Acadia National Park, Narrative Report for September, 1933, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1," October 1, 1933, RG 79, Box 1, Folder 2. See especially the "Daily Distribution of Men" tables contained in these reports.

[44] A. E. Demaray to George B. Dorr, August 24, 1933, plus attachments, in folder "NP-1 Camp Establishment," RG 79, Box 4.

CCC camps were intended to house a full complement of 200 enrollees, but those numbers were not always realized. Under-enrollment was a chronic problem for the Great Pond Camp during the first period. Its ranks never rose above 152 in the summer of 1933, and periodically they fell below a hundred, which included men detailed to camp construction. The numbers stabilized at around 145 through most of July, tapering off to 130 in August. After Labor Day, well over half the men remained out of camp for the entire week, and for the rest of the month there was only one day when the number of men reporting for work climbed above 100 (103 on September 15).[45]

In camp records, under-enrollment is most noticeable at the beginning and end of enrollment periods as men either dropped out early or accepted other jobs. Superintendents faced with labor shortages might have to wait some time before replacements restored the ranks to full strength. At the end of September, 1933, 97 men left the Ellsworth camp, and the superintendent did not see a full slate of new recruits until October 20.[46] Arthur Studer, who entered the Ellsworth camp that fall, noted that *"It was up and running by then, but it

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[45] See, Reginald Ingalls, "Report Covering the First Enrollment Period, May 29 - Sept. 30, 1933, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," and "Monthly and Period Narrative Reports, First and Second Enrollment Periods, June 17, 1933 to March 31, 1934, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," RG 79, Box 2.

[46] E. E. Smith, "Acadia National Park, Narrative Report for September 1933, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1," October 1, 1933, p. 3, and "Acadia National Park, Narrative Report for October, 1933, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1," October 31, 1933, p. 1, both in RG 79, Box 2. For similar replacement lags, see G. B. Gordon and Patrick Boylan, "Narrative Report, First Quarter, Third Enrollment Period, April 1, 1934 to July 1, 1934, Maine State Park Camp No. 1, Ellsworth, Maine," p. 2, and S. D. Conner, "Narrative Report, 4th Enrollment Period, October 1, 1934 to March 31, 1935, McFarland Field Camp, NP-2," pp. 21-22.

didn't have the whole crew there."[47] In April of 1936, at the beginning of the seventh period, Acadia's landscape architect, Benjamin Breeze, reported total enrollment figures of 125 men for NP-1 and 132 men for both NP-2 and SP-1. By May 20, the numbers had climbed to only 141, 138, and 160 respectively for the three camps.[48] More often, camps appear to have operated at between 85 and 95 percent capacity. Records show occasional instances of over enrollment, but only for brief periods: the Ellsworth camp had an average total enrollment of 231 during August 1933,[49] and in January and February of 1935, the McFarland camp had as many as 211 men.[50]

Given the size of the CCC as a national project and speed with which it was launched, there were bound to be problems. Robert Fechner was perhaps cognizant of these issues when he toured the three Acadia camps in September of 1933, for he made no substantive comment on the condition of the camps, at least nothing the *Bar Harbor Times* deigned to reprint.[51] Yet, there were bright spots. Following the initial general inspection of the camps that fall, NP-2 was named the second best camp in the CCC First District.[52]

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[47] Interview with Arthur Studer, NA 2639, C1922-A, p. 4-5

[48] Robert Patterson to Thomas C. Vint, April 16, 1936, and Benjamin Breeze to Thomas C. Vint, May 20, 1936, in folder "Report to Chief Architect 1936," RG 79, Box 16.

[49] "Daily Distribution of Men, Period August 1-31 Inc.," in E. E. Smith, "Monthly Progress Report, 1104th C.C.C, Ellsworth-Bar Harbor Roadside Development, Period August 1-31 Inc.," September 5, 1933, RG 79, Box 1.

[50] S. D. Conner, "Narrative Report, 4th Enrollment Period, October 1, 1934 to March 31, 1935, McFarland Field Camp, NP-2, n.d., pp. 24-25.

[51] *Bar Harbor Times*, September 13, 1933, p. 1.

[52] *Bar Harbor Times*, October 18, 1933, pp. 1 and 7; February 21, 1934, pp. 1 and 5.

1.3 Developments in New Deal Policies and Programs

Historians conventionally speak of a "first" and "second" New Deal, the first spanning the years from1933-35, and the second from 1935 to America's entry into World War II.[53] Policy and program changes were many and stemmed from a variety of factors, so they are not easily summarized. Broadly speaking, the emphasis during the first period was on "emergency relief," which meant doing as much as possible to aid destitute families and offer work to the unemployed. The federal government quickly became saturated with economic recovery programs, of which the ECW was only one. Other key relief agencies included the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the Civil Works Administration (CWA), the Public Works Administration (PWA), the Resettlement Administration (RA), and the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Those having the greatest effect on *early* work programs, in addition to the ECW, were the FERA, its offshoot, the CWA, and the PWA.

The FERA, which was directed by Harry Hopkins, one of Roosevelt's most influential advisors, worked in partnership with local relief agencies to administer direct payments to needy families. The economic exigencies of 1933 did not make this sort of relief any less stigmatizing for those who received it or any more popular with fiscal conservatives. From the start, it was clear that *work* relief programs, like the ECW, were more viable politically both in Congress and among the electorate. In the fall of 1933, Hopkins launched the CWA to hire men to work on public projects, much like the CCC, except that CWA crews worked

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[53] Schlesinger 1960: 211-443; Leuchtenburg 1963: 143-166; Olson 1985: 194 and 444-45; Badger 1989: 94 ff.

in their home towns or communities nearby, so camps were not involved. Acadia National Park benefitted from the program, receiving a force of more than 500 men to work on forestry and road projects at Beech Mountain, Seawall, Ocean Drive, Park Headquarters (then in downtown Bar Harbor), Echo Lake, Schoodic Peninsula, and other sites. It was the first New Deal agency to work at Schoodic. CWA workers, older and on the whole more experienced than CCC enrollees, were reported to be very effective.[54] In fact, at least one Acadia supervisor, Landscape Architect, George Gordon, stated his preference for the CWA very clearly. "About 98 per cent of the latter," he wrote, "had had a lifetime of woods experience. Few of the C. C. C. members had 'ever seen an axe' before coming to camp."[55] The CWA program, however, failed to receive popular support. In an effort to alleviate the stigma attached to government relief programs, Hopkins insisted that CWA workers be paid competitive wages. As a result, the program was expensive, and reports that some workers left low paying jobs in the private sector to join CWA projects only fueled conservative opposition. A few highly publicized patronage scandals further tarnished the program's reputation. It terminated in March 1934 having lasted barely six months.[56]

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[54] G. B. Gordon and P. J. Boylan, Appendix to "Narrative Report, Second Enrollment Period, C.C.C, Camp Governor Brann, Ellsworth, Maine, October 1, 1933 to April 1, 1934," RG 79, Box 1; G. B. Gordon, "Summary and Description of Work Accomplished by Civil Works Administration, December 10, 1933 to January 25, 1934"; and "Report of Civil Works Administration Projects Carried out in Acadia National Park, December 1, 1933 to March 1934," RG 79, Box 3.

[55] Gordon, "Summary and Description of the Work Accomplished by the Civil Works Administration, December 10, 1933 to January 25, 1934," RG 79, Box 4.

[56] Leuchtenburg 1963: 121-124; Olson 1985: 83-84; Badger 1989: 197-200.

The Public Works Administration was chaired by Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes. A dedicated public servant, Ickes turned Interior into a smoothly functioning bureaucracy. But due in part to his tendency to micro-manage, programs were so slow to develop that in his first six months on the job he spent only $110 million of a $3.3 billion budget.[57] The PWA funded large projects that were technically demanding or required heavy outlays for materials. In that respect, it differed conspicuously from the CCC, the CWA, and the WPA, which generally hired large numbers of workers for projects that could be completed with basic tools and materials. At Acadia, the PWA funded highway construction projects in conjunction with the Bureau of Public Roads and its successor the Public Roads Administration, and it supplied some skilled labor on construction projects.

By the spring of 1935, public and congressional reaction had more or less determined the fate of these early relief programs. Fiscal conservatives inside and outside the Democratic Party – and including the president – had put a quick end to the CWA. The FERA, indelibly associated with government handouts and local patronage, was phased out by the 74th Congress. The passage of the Social Security Act in August instituted unemployment insurance, disability, and retirement pensions, but direct relief again became a local responsibility. The PWA carried on, in many respects very successfully, but it never attained the near legendary profile that some other programs came to enjoy. The need for work relief programs, however, remained strong. In May, Congress passed the monumental Emergency Appropriations Relief Act, which, among other things, approved the creation of the WPA, with Hopkins as its director. The new agency was much more wide ranging than

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[57] Badger 1989: 83.

its predecessor, the CWA, in that its programs employed artists, actors, musicians, writers, scholars, educators, and public health workers, in addition to skilled and unskilled laborers. The creative/scholarly programs built on the success of a Public Works of Art Project, which ran on an experimental basis under the CWA and carried on as separate FERA initiative after the spring of 1934. Through the latter program, artist Edgar Hegh worked out of the Bar Harbor CCC camp from July 1934 to September 1935[58] and produced a number of works depicting CCC work and life in the camps. One of his canvases, "Sawing Wood in Winter," is now part of the Smithsonian collection.[59]

Another spinoff of FERA programing would have important implications for recreational areas all over the country, including national parks. The Resettlement Administration, which began life as the FERA Land Program in 1934,[60] was charged with assessing and, where feasible, purchasing "submarginal" lands that were incapable of producing income for the owners. In 1935, management of the program shifted to the Department of Agriculture with Rexford G. Tugwell as its director. Aimed primarily at destitute farmers in the south and southwest, it also benefitted farmers in the hardscrabble

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[58] "Narrative Report for October, November, December, 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1; supplemental reports indicate that a "camp artist" was also active at NP-1 from May 1936 to March 1937. No details are provided. (See, Park Project No. 66, in B. L. Hadley, "ECW Monthly Progress and Cost Reports," RG 79, Box 3.)

[59] Olson 1985: 170 and 400; Smithsonian American Art Museum, "Have a Question?" (Online Catalog), August 16, 2007, http://americanart.si.edu/search/search_artworks1.cfm? StartRow=1&ConID= 2147&format=short (catalog reference 1965.18.91); see also Joyce J. Jackson, Fine Artist Research, July 21, 2008, http://www.fineartistresearch.com/hegh.html.

[60] Olson 1985: 177 and 419; Merrill 1981: 29-30; the program was launched by Executive Order 6452, which Roosevelt signed on December 28, 1933 (Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-35: 33).

districts of New England. Purchased lands were turned over to states and townships for development as "Recreation Demonstration Projects," or RDPs, using WPA and CCC labor, but the program also allowed national parks and forests to annex adjacent properties.

One history of the CCC lists Maine as one of eight states that profited greatly from the RA program,[61] and Acadia was a substantial beneficiary. A 1935 proposal drafted by park administrators identified 8,000 acres of submarginal land available for purchase in the townships of Tremont, Mount Desert, and Southwest Harbor, including lands on Bartlett, Tinker, and Baker Islands. Waterfront properties, valued at $50 per acre, were considered too expensive and were largely excluded from the acquisition proposal (although the desirability of Baker Island, which the authors felt could "purchased for 'a song'," was clearly highlighted). Woodlands and marshlands were more affordable at $10 per acre. Under the proposal, property owners would retain their homesteads and enough land for a garden. Other lands, most of which had been cleared of marketable logs, would be turned over to the park, with allowances for harvesting any timber or pulp wood that might still be on the property. (This meant that stumpage value would not have to be added to the purchase price.) Park officials also hoped to acquire an additional 3,000 acres on the Schoodic Peninsula.[62] The *Bar Harbor Times* announced early in 1936 that roughly 5,000 acres had been optioned by the government, representing 95% of the lands likely to be acquired by Acadia through the

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[61] Merrill 1981: 29-30.

[62] "Preliminary Investigation Report, Tremont Submarginal Area, Mount Desert Island, Maine," 1935, RG 79, Box 3; see also, Reports to the Chief Architect, 1936 through 1938, Box 16.

program.[63] By 1940, a total of 5,636.38 acres had be acquired.[64] An inventory of the lands purchased has not been located, but a comparison of the 1931 and 1945 USGS maps shows significant acquisitions on the west side of the island, including Pretty Marsh; lands between Hodgdon and Great Ponds; the northwest slope of Bernard Mt.; much of what is now the Perpendicular Trail on Mansell Mt.; and a large tract extending from the southeast shore of Seal Cove Pond, through lands drained by Lurvey and Marshall Brooks, Big Heath, and incorporating a stretch of coastline from Seawall Pond to Bass Harbor Head. On Schoodic Peninsula, the park acquired small parcels of land around Mosquito Harbor, and the western shore of Wonsqeak Harbor. None of the island properties appear to have been involved. The Resettlement Administration may not account for all the acquisitions,[65] but it clearly helped the park expand its boundaries during the Depression. The purchases were accompanied by funds for RDP development, the most notable of which was the Seawall Campground. Clarence Dow, project manager, and Robert Coe, landscape architect, spearheaded the RDP programs at Acadia.

Like all New Deal agencies, the ECW came under review in the spring of 1935. By comparison to some of its counterparts, the CCC was an unequivocal success and enjoyed

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[63] "Development of Sub-Marginal Lands under W.P.A. to Help Island," *Bar Harbor Times*, February 14, 1936, p. 1; see also Dorr 1948: 42-43.

[64] Benjamin Hadley to Regional NPS Director, April 18, 1940, Camp Files, Camp Applications, RG 79, Box 4.

[65] A parcel of land around Seawall Pond belonged to the park prior to 1931, and lands around Western Mountain held by the Hancock County Trustees of Public Reservations were available for park use ("Proposed Work Program, Fifth Enrollment Period, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," March 1935, see notes for Project 23).

broad support from politicians and the general public. The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act extended the ECW for another two years, and the president announced that the program would be expanded to include as many as 600,000 men. In September 1935, the CCC reached its highwater mark with national enrollment of 502,000 men in 2,514 camps. As the nation went, so went Maine, which reached its highest enrollment two months later with 3,425 men in 19 camps.[66]

Many aspects of CCC operations remained constant throughout the New Deal era, while others were subject to periodic revision. Formal enrollment periods ran for six months, from April to September and October to March; in all, eighteen and a half enrollment cycles between May 1933 and July 1942 constitute the history of the CCC. Enrollees usually entered at the beginning of an enrollment period but could be accepted at other times. A number of our informants entered immediately after high school graduation, and so July was often reported to us as a starting date. With resignations, transfers, and desertions, there was always a trickle of men in and out of the camps. The original plan called for men to serve only one six-month stint, but in August of 1933 the rules changed to allow for a full year of service. To facilitate expansion in 1935, the term limit was raised to eighteen months, and then to two years when the CCC became an independent agency in 1937. Ages of eligibility also varied. The initial age limits, 18-25, were changed to between 17 and 28 in 1935, again to boost numbers. Those limits were reduced to between 17 and 23 by the CCC Act of 1937, and in the face of discipline and desertion problems in the late thirties, it became CCC policy

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[66] Salmond 1967: 63; McGuire 1966: 40.

to accept 17 year-old applicants only when enrollment quotas fell short.[67] Even the stipulation that enrollees come from families on relief was not always a requirement. Before 1935, it was desirable but not mandatory, and after 1939 the restriction was lifted altogether.

These policy changes reflect in part an administrative desire to expand a successful program. At another level, they reflect on-going debates within the ECW Advisory Council and elsewhere in Roosevelt's Administration about what the CCC was expected to accomplish and whom it was supposed to serve. For some, including Fechner, it was primarily a work relief program to tide families through the Depression, but others saw it as an opportunity to shape young lives, regardless of their economic circumstances, and to perform essential conservation work. Lastly and perhaps most decisively, there were political pressures to reign in what were acknowledged to be expensive programs. Roosevelt tried to enforce a policy of reduction after 1935 in an effort to cut spending, and even after the Democrats' decisive victory in 1936, conservative forces in both parties increasingly opposed New Deal programs, declaring that the need for emergency relief had passed.[68] Despite such claims, a sharp economic downturn in 1937 underscored the continued necessity of relief programs. Some camps slated for closure were allowed to remain open, and Congress also voted to make the Civilian Conservation Corps an independent agency. It did not, however,

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[67] Salmond 1967: 30, 47, 59, 155, and 181-185; U. S. Public Law, No. 163, 75th Congress, Chapter 383; rpt. Paige1985: 172-77, and Schlenker, Wetherington, and Wilkins 1988: 147-150. According to numbers compiled in 1936, fewer than 10% of enrollees were over the age of 23, and 75% were under 21 (Civilian Conservation Corps 1936: 23).

[68] Salmond 1967: 170-171; Badger 1989: 245-298.

make the CCC a permanent agency, as had been widely expected, and its reluctance to do so almost certainly resulted from a growing political resistance to New Deal programs.

1.4 The CCC at Acadia after 1935

The much-touted expansion of the CCC might have opened up new opportunities at Acadia, but it was so short lived that its effects were minimal. Despite plans for a fourth Acadia camp on the Schoodic Peninsula, George Dorr was reluctant move forward until he had a better idea of what the submarginal land purchases would mean for the park.[69] By the time the purchase details were sorted out, the opportunity to expand had passed. (Side camps operated periodically at Schoodic, but it was never home to a permanent CCC unit.) The first change of note came in the fall of 1935, when the 1104th Company at Ellsworth was replaced by the 193rd Company, which transferred from an abandoned camp in Millinocket. The reason for the change is not spelled out in camp documents, but the 1104th Company had a problematic history. Made up primarily of men from urban areas in Massachusetts, it was plagued by a high attrition rate and a reputation for low productivity.

This period also saw the reorganization of planning and reporting procedures. CCC project superintendents continued to manage work programs at each camp, but in order to streamline operations and ensure consistent work methods, all government agencies working on conservation and development projects in the park coordination came under the direction of Benjamin Breeze and an assistant, Robert Patterson. After coming to Acadia in the spring of 1933 as a junior landscape architect, Breeze designed many of the projects undertaken by

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[69] Dorr to Col. W. P. Ennis, February 3, 1935, RG 79, Box 4.

the Eagle Lake and Southwest Harbor camps and quickly developed a reputation for high quality work. He replaced George B. Gordon as Acadia's assistant landscape architect in the fall of of 1935, and as early as June 1936, he also took on reporting responsibilities for RDP and CCC work at Camden Hills State Park, which had been acquired through a Resettlement Administration purchase.[70] When RDP crews at Camden were let go in July 1937, Breeze became the project coordinator for the CCC work that continued there [71] Not only did Breeze and his staff contend with many different projects and work forces, they did so in an environment that was not conducive to complex planning. Due to the political uncertainty of the CCC and other New Deal programs, project planners never knew from one enrollment period to the next what resources, if any, would be at their disposal. On the one hand, they had to plan projects that would keep a large number of men employed; on the other, they didn't want to have the landscape dotted with half-finished projects should a camp or the entire program be eliminated on short notice.

As the decade wore on, CCC activity started to wind down, although the need for the program remained strong in Maine throughout the Depression. McGuire's history of the corps in Maine notes that in the spring of 1939, applicants outnumbered available positions by a ratio of 3:1, and that over 500 additional positions had to be created to meet demand.[72]

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[70] "Narrative Report, Maine State Park Camp #1, August - September, 1935," RG 79, Box 2; *Bar Harbor Times*, February 21, 1934, pp. 1 and 5;

[71] Benjamin Breeze to Thomas Vint, Chief Architect, June 10, 1936; Herbert Evison to Edouard Dubé, August 10, 1937; and "Monthly Narrative Report to Chief Architect," June 21 to July 20, 1937, both in RG 79, Box 16.

[72] McGuire 1966, 46.

Nonetheless, story of the CCC after 1936 is largely one of retrenchment and decline. The Ellsworth camp was the first Acadia unit to disband. Having narrowly escaped closure in January of 1936, it finally ceased operations on June 30, 1937.[73] Again, a fourth camp rumored for Schoodic failed to materialize, and the men from the Brann camp were either discharged or sent to other camps, principally Eagle Lake or Camden Hills. For the remaining camps, the years 1937 to 1942 saw a number of major construction and development projects: the Black Woods and Seawall campgrounds, Pretty Marsh and Oak Hill picnic areas, the Sieur de Monts and Thunder Hole visitor facilities, as well as ongoing forestry work and trail and road construction. On these later projects, CCC crews often collaborated with WPA and PWA crews, whose ranks contributed much of the skilled labor needed on complex construction jobs. After 1935, one of the most active agencies at Acadia was the Bureau of Public Roads. Its Acadia Roads and Trails program rerouted existing roads and constructed new ones, creating a manageable system of roads that provided access to all areas of the parks.

Work reports filed by Breeze during the latter years of the program show a steady depletion of resources and personnel, along with good deal of administrative reshuffling and increasing frustration on the part of planners and project managers. Personnel losses included key members of Breeze's design and engineering team, and in December 1940 he felt obliged to complain not only about his workload but also his ability to maintain project

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[73] See A. E. Demaray to Dorr, December 13, 1935, and several items of correspondence relative to the final closure in June 1937, in folder "Camp Establishment, 1933-1937, SP-1," RG 79, Box 4.

schedules.[74] The Great Pond camp, which had been threatened with closure as early as October of 1938, was temporarily disbanded on March 25, 1940. Congressional pressure, however, led to the reestablishment of a handful of camps, including NP-2. By that time, supervisory resources at Acadia were stretched so thin that senior park officials actually opposed the reopening of the camp. In a forthright memo to senior NPS administrators, assistant superintendent Hadley argued that the park could only manage enough projects to justify one CCC camp and one WPA crew, and he flatly declared that "we will not agree to have NP-2 re-occupied."[75] Despite the protests, NP-2 reopened as CCC Company 2140 on July 19, 1940, with Patrick Boylan as superintendent. It was understood that the camp would close permanently on April 1,1941.

The CCC camp at Camden Hills disappears from Breeze's reports in March 1939 and reappears a year later as camp NP-3. The company formally disbanded on August 8, 1941, but the site continued to operate as a side camp of NP-1 with a crew of 20 to 25 men. In February of 1942, another contingent from the McFarland camp was seconded to a side camp in St. Albans, VT, where they remained until May. These side camps drew valuable manpower away from Acadia National Park projects at a time when enrollments were already very low. Declining company numbers had been noticed by our informants as early as 1940:

> *[L]ate in the summer of 1940 and early '41, [men] were going into the service. Volunteering. Enlisting. The numbers went down. When I first went

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[74] Benjamin Breeze, "Monthly Narrative Report to Regional Landscape Architect," November 21 to December 20, 1940, p. 6, RG 79, Box 17.

[75] Benjamin Hadley, "Memorandum for the Director," May 14, 1940, RG 79, Box 5; see also folder, "Camp Establishment, NP-2," RG 79, Box 4, and various items of correspondence written between March and May of 1940, RG 79, Box 5.

> there in June, 1940, I don't know what the head count was, but it certainly had gone down by the end of 1940, in that six month period from June to December '40, and then even more so in the beginning of '41. And when I left there in [September] of '41, gee, I think the population, the total population of the [Bar Harbor] camp, maybe, was less than a hundred.[76]

Over the spring and summer of 1941, Breeze reported that NP-1 camp enrollment had fallen as low as 110 men, of which only 50-60 were being made available for work on park projects (overhead and AWOLs accounted for the rest). There was a slight increase in August due to transfers from camps that were closing elsewhere in the state, but once NP-1 was required to supply men for other side camps, any gains were cancelled out. Enrollment numbers and company productivity continued to slide over the fall and winter.

Once the United States entered World War II, there was no justification for maintaining programs that kept able-bodied men from active service. In 1942, only three CCC units were left in Maine: the headquarters in Fort Williams, a camp in Wesley, and the McFarland camp.[77] Almost immediately following the attack on Pearl Harbor, and well before official announcement of the end of the CCC came in late June, sites in and around Acadia were made ready for military use.[78] In January 1942, CCC crews converted the Summit Tavern on Cadillac Mountain into quarters for Army use, and they trucked sand up the hill to make sure that the road could be kept open during the winter. One of the final tasks undertaken by CCC crews at Acadia was to completely reconstruct the buildings at the

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[76] Interview with Roy Doak, NA 2663, C1952-A, p. 18.

[77] Schlenker, Wetherington, and Wilkins 1988: 35.

[78] Benjamin Breeze, "Monthly Narrative Reports to Regional Landscape Architect," and "Memoranda to the Regional Chief of Planning," January to July 1942, RG 79, Box 17.

Section 1 Appendix: Tables

Table 1.1: New Deal Programs Affecting Acadia Works Projects (source: Olson 1985)

Programs of the "First New Deal," 1933-35	**Acronym**	**Dates of Operation**
Emergency Conservation Work (CCC)	ECW	Apr. 1933-June 1937
Federal Emergency Relief Administration (Included the FERA Land Program, forerunner of the Resettlement Administration, and it extended arts programs after the cancellation of the CWA)	FERA	May 1933-May 1935
Public Works Administration	PWA	June 1933-June1941
Civil Works Administration (public works initiative within FERA)	CWA	Nov. 1933-Mar. 1934
Public Works of Art Project (part of the CWA)	PWAP	1933-1934
Programs of the "Second New Deal," 1935-42	**Acronym**	**Dates of Operation**
Works Progress Administration (later Works Projects Administration)	WPA	May 1935-1942
Civilian Conservation Corps	CCC	June 1937-July 1942
Bureau of Public Roads (later the Public Roads Administration)	BPR (PRA)	
Resettlement Administration (functions absorbed by the Farm Security Administration)	RA	1935-1937
Recreation Demonstration Projects (development arm of the Resettlement Administration)	RDP	
"Federal One" Arts Programs: Federal Art Project Federal Writers' Project	 FAP FWP	 1935 thru WWII 1935-1943

Table 1.2: Key Federal Legislation and Congressional Acts Affecting the Civilian Conservation Corps

(Minor bills and amendments not listed. For detailed administrative and legislative histories, see Salmond 1967 and Paige 1985; Nixon 1957 reproduces Roosevelt's papers and other important New Deal documents.)

Date	Legislation / Report	Citation	Impact
3/31/1933	An Act for the Relief of Unemployment through the Performance of Useful Public Work and for other Purposes.	Public Law, No. 5, 73rd Congress, S. 598.	Authorized funding for conservation work aimed at reducing youth unemployment.
4/5/1933		Executive Order No. 6101.	Created the ECW, and appointed Robert Fechner its director.
4/8/1935	Emergency Relief Appropriations Act, 1935.	Public Resolution, No. 11, 74th Congress, H. J. Res. 117.	Authorized funding for ECW and other agencies through June 1937. $5 billion disbursement allowed for dramatic expansion of CCC program. WPA established through this legislation.
6/28/1937	An Act to Establish a Civilian Conservation Corps, and for Other Purposes.	Public Law, No. 163, 75th Congress, S. 319.	Formally changed name from Emergency Conservation Work to Civilian Conservation Corps. Followed hearings on whether to make the CCC a permanent agency. Contrary to expectation, no such provision was incorporated in the Act.
8/7/1939	An Act to Establish a Civilian Conservation Corps, and for Other Purposes, as Amended.	Public Law, No. 326, 76th Congress, S. 1253.	Authorized funding for the CCC through July 1, 1943.
12/24/1941	Preliminary Report of the Joint Committee on the Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures.	77th Congress, 1st Session, Doc. 152.	Recommended abolition of the CCC after July 1, 1942. Congressional hearings followed on the fate of the CCC.
6/5/1942	House Vote on CCC Appropriations.	Congressional Record, 77th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 88, pt. 4, pp. 4927-4940.	Following the recommendation of its Committee on Appropriations, the House of Representatives voted 158-151 against further funding for the CCC.
6/30/1942	Senate Vote on CCC Appropriations.	Congressional Record, 77th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 88, pt. 4, pp. 5789.	On June 26, a Senate vote on CCC appropriations returned 32 in favor, 32 against, and 32 abstentions. VP Henry Wallace cast a deciding vote in favor of the CCC, but continued opposition in the House and adverse editorial comment led the Senate to reverse its position (Salmond 1967: 217).

Table 1.3: CCC Camps and Companies Affiliated with Acadia National Park, 1933-1942.

Camp Name	Camp No.	CCC Co.	Project Superintendents	Announced	Start Date	End Date	Comments
Eagle Lake / McFarland	NP-1 NP-1	138 154	S. D. Conner Reginald Ingalls P. J. Boylan[79]	4/22/1933	5/22/1933 5/25/1933	Late June 1933 7/23/1942	Construction unit from Fort Devens, MA.
Great Pond / Southwest Harbor	NP-2 NP-2	158 2140	Reginald Ingalls[80] P. J. Boylan J. T. Atwood	ca. 5/24/1933	6/1/1933 7/19/1940	3/25/1940 3/31/1941	
Ellsworth / Gov. Brann	SP-1 SP-1	1104 193	E.E. Smith P. J. Boylan P. J. Boylan	6/6/1933	7/1/1933 11/1/1935	10/31/1935 6/30/1937	
Baxter State Park	SP-2 SP-3	130 1123	?		6/1/1934 6/1935	10/15/1934 8/1935	Designations and dates based on Paige 1985: app. 3. and Schlenker, Wetherington, and Wilkins 1988: pp. 34 and 142-143.
Camden Hills	SP-4 NP-3	1130 1130	Newell. H. Foster ?		4/1/1935 2/1/1940	2/28/1939 8/8/1941	Dates based on Resident Architect's reports, RG 79, Box 17; Paige 1985: app. 3. Between 8/41 and 7/42, Camden Hills operated as a side camp of NP-1.

[79] The list of project superintendents is probably incomplete. Boylan was superintendent of NP-1 in February 1940 (see camp collage in Dougherty's photo files), but he is specifically named in telegrams announcing the reinstatement of NP-2 in July of the same year. It isn't clear who would have replaced him at NP-1, or whether he, like Ingalls (see note 77), was superintendent for both camps.

[80] Ingalls was Project Superintendent for both NP-1 and NP-2 in the spring of 1937 (see Civilian Conservation Corps 1937: 30, 54, and 64; also, list of attendees at Fire School Conference, April 2, 1937, RG 79, Box 15). Prior to his death in the summer of 1940, he had been operating his own business for a few years (*Bar Harbor Times*, August 1, 1940, pp. 1 and 4), so his tenure as superintendent at Bar Harbor would appear to have been relatively brief.

Enrollment and Camp Life

2.1 Depression Conditions

Men[1] in the Acadia camps came from many walks of life. If most were the sons of farmers, lumbermen, and mill workers, that largely reflects the demographics of a predominantly rural state. Urban middle-class families were represented, too. The majority were Maine residents,[2] but two companies – the 1104th Co. at Ellsworth between 1933 and 1935 and the 2140th Co. at Southwest Harbor from 1940 to 1941– were made up of men from urban areas in Massachusetts. Some enrollees came from old-stock Yankee homes; others were Franco-Americans for whom English was a second language.[3] Some, as a result of poverty or having lost a parent, had been working to support themselves and their families for some time. Many had finished high school, while others had dropped out much earlier, either to work or because the upper grades were not available locally.[4] Regardless of circumstance, enrollees and their families found much-needed relief in the CCC.

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[1] The CCC was solely for men. A few women's camps were operated by the WPA, but none by the CCC (Badger1989: 205-207).

[2] The CCC First District Annual for 1937 lists 128 men in the 154th Company and 137 men in the 158th; only four were from out-of-state, all of them from Massachusetts (Civilian Conservation Corps 1937: 54 and 64).

[3] Some informants thought there were a disproportionate number of Franco-Americans in the camps, and asserted that that demographic was hardest hit by the Depression. According to the Franco-American Center at the University of Maine, people of French ancestry make up about 30% of Maine's population. That figure is consistent with the number of French surnames on camp rosters in the 1937 First District Annual (Civilian Conservation Corps 1937: 54 and 64). However, over half the junior enrollees at Camden Hills in 1940 had French surnames ("Menu and Roster, Christmas 1940, Company 1130, C.C.C," courtesy of Damien Blanchette).

[4] Just over half of our informants (14 of 26) completed high school; only one had college experience prior to joining the CCC. Five had a grade eight education or lower.

In more recent decades, Depression tales have become an iconic form of American folk narrative. Common and conventional, they can ring hollow for later generations looking back across a buffer of relative economic security, and for whom tales of acute hardship seem to demand a measure of suspended disbelief. The testimony of our informants reveals a diverse range of experiences. There is a popular belief that people in rural Maine were spared the worst effects of the Depression. Only marginally attached to the capitalist economy prior to the crash, they were accustomed to hardscrabble lives of semi-subsistence farming supplemented by hunting, fishing, and woods work. Life is said to have changed for them little during the thirties. This viewpoint is reflected in some comments from our informants:

> *Well, they didn't know any different, you know? We never had much anyway. I think [my father] hauled gravel some for the WPA. That was a work project. And, of course, farmed. And they ate off the farm. Lived off the farm, more or less. It was tough, I know that.[5]

> *So we had, we had about 20 acres of land, so he always had a garden, and kept, kept things – so it wasn't as far as food was concerned. It was no problem. And of course, at that time, the money problem was probably more of a thing like that, you know. There was quite hard times in those times. But I guess that was the biggest effect there on us. . . . We had plenty to eat and [my father] was always busy at something.[6]

Traditionally, rural households in Maine relied on multiple sources of income, often in seasonal rotation, for economic survival. Rather than being tied to the fortunes of a single industry, the local work force could apply a broad range of skills in a variety of enterprises:

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[5] Interview with Webster Fox, NA 2660, C1947-A, p. 2.

[6] Interview with Russell Olson, NA 2654, C1936-A, pp. 2-3.

> *I had worked on the usual things in a small town. I drove the town gravel truck and I worked in the woods and we worked on the roads and we cut bushes by the roads, and, no training, it was all manual labor type things except the truck driving. . . . Well, I worked on a, with some fellows from Watson that were up in Horseshoe Pond up there, and near Baker Mountain. . . east of Moosehead Lake. I spent the winter in there with a trap line, and snowshoed around and did trapping for them. And they were, you know . . . times when there was no cash involved and if you could furnish your food then you were happy to get a job doing that.[7]

They also responded when novel opportunities presented themselves:

> *[D]uring the time that I was going to school in the summers, I dove for metals, for different metals in the Saco River, to try to earn extra money, which I did pretty well. . . . I'm talking about heavy metals, like pieces of scrap metal, like angle iron and stuff like that, castings, which the Saco Lowell people sometimes threw out the window rather than have to account for it, in other words. And where they fell is where I found them, and I [sold them] to the local metals people. And I found railroad tracks in the Saco River.[8]

> *Well, when I was growing up, I ate a lot of apples, I'll tell you that. I'd go steal apples off the neighbors because there was no dinner. And sometimes I'd got off early in the morning and I wouldn't get back until dark. But I'd eat on the way because there's always a turnip patch or something. You could have a turnip for dinner if you wanted to take and peel it. I always had a jackknife, ever since I was a little squirt. So I'd eat at a pea patch, eat peas. Wonder I ain't got shot, but that's all right [laughs]. I made sure there wasn't anyone around before I did it.[9]

It would be a mistake, though, to minimize the hardship experienced by state residents. An informant who reported that *"I don't think there was a time when we ever went without food," also recounted the following:

> *There was two [public wells] . . . on that particular street that I lived on . . . and people on that street had to maintain the pumps. It was all hand pumped.

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[7] Interview with Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1929-A, pp. 2 and 5.

[8] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-A, p. 5.

[9] Interview with Vernon Wardwell, NA 2658, C1944-A, p. 8.

> In the winter time, when I had to haul water for the cattle, for the cows, and the animals to the, to the stable, and it was almost half a mile, we had barrels on a sled hauling that to the stables and to furnish it to the cow. And we had a garden. And when Dad was home, in summer time he was home. Winter time he was in the woods. And we subsisted on that garden. We were able to draw butter, lard, flour especially, rice, from the surplus. Clothing was the same way. Dad couldn't afford to buy shoes, [but] the towns people, the select men, would issue clothing, like surplus field boots, army field boots. If we were fortunate, we could get a pair of leggings. In the winter time, we enjoyed that. And pants, trousers, shirts, army shirts. It was all surplus. And we would keep warm with that. All that Dad had to [provide] was the number of child[ren], sign the paper, and as long as you remember what size. . . . For the table, we ate what we could. But many times, what was given to us, again, like I say, surplus. I saw all that going on as I was growing up. And I couldn't see that Dad could afford for me to go to high school.[10]

Others reported similar conditions:

> *I had one brother that worked in the mill and the other brother was closer to my age. And so we worked in boarding homes because the mother wasn't able to support us as far as putting us through school. And I had one brother that worked in the mill and also on the bridges and different construction jobs. And then the brother next to me worked his way in the high school and to further his education on a farm in Newport. And I was on a farm in Hermon. So we more or less were out working our own, providing our own way when we were quite young. Fourteen and fifteen.[11]

> *I was two years old when [my father] died. My mother was a housewife at that time. And after he died, after a year she decided to move to Lewiston because there was work here. A lot of people from Northern Maine and Canada had moved down here to work in the mill. . . . Because up there, there's no work for a woman unless you go and pick potatoes in the fall. . . . So moving here she would get a job in a textile mill, which she did. That's all there was here. Textiles and shoe. . . . And I thought I'd go to high school, but at that time, in 1937, we needed as much money as we could get. That's why I didn't go to high school. . . . It was more important to try to earn money to

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[10] Interview with Damien Blanchette, NA 2662, C1950-A, pp. 3-4.

[11] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1905-A, p. 5.

help your parents than to further your education. Because you didn't know if further down the line it would hurt you. You didn't know that.[12]

*Well, I only went, I went one term in high school and that was it. Because I had quit to go to work because I had to help support my mother. . . . I worked on the golf course down in Brooklyn and two or three places down there for nothing, really [laughs]. But a few bucks, few bucks.[13]

*People worked for the city, the town, they had jobs. They were getting along fine. But the people were caught in the middle. . . . [T]hey had a shoe factory there. That closed up. They had a fertilizer factory. That closed up. They'd go up to Canada, work in the mill in Canada, but if there come a lay off, the Americans were the first ones to get laid off. And those guys would go out in the woods. They didn't have insulated boots like they got today and insulated clothes. They had old gum rubbers with water in them, leak, and old clothes. Old army clothes, whatever they could get. Terrible. They were some hard times. When they'd get the good times, they'd sure forget about the hard times. Can you imagine raising kids down there? Some of them. Gee, the old houses, drafty old houses they lived in. They couldn't afford to fix them up. Their little gardens. Try to make a few cucumbers or tomatoes. That's Washington County.[14]

*You know, we went to bed hungry. Like, it was normal, I guess. . . . Oh yes. It wasn't easy, I guess. You know, I was young, of course. But I remember.[15]

*[My father] had terrific problems because, we all did. And the whole family got together and tried to, anyway we could do, to get something to live on, you know? And it was a tough time. No question about it. Because we used to dig clams and all this sort of stuff. . . . In those days we dug them for fifty cents a bushel. And that was, we almost froze to death going out there and digging them in the middle of the winter and everything else. But it was some way to make a living. It was rough during the Depression. No question. . . . All of the people in North Sullivan around the area that we lived in, they were in the same problem. You couldn't find a job, you couldn't get, you know, you couldn't get enough to live on, and everything else. And we went out and cut

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[12] Interview with Thomas Desjardins, NA 2652, C1933-A, pp. 1-3.

[13] Interview with Walter Woods, NA 2641, C1924-A, p. 6.

[14] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1909-B, p. 38.

[15] Interview with Ulysses "Ted" Morin, NA 2661, C1948-A, p. 2.

> wood in the woods. Sometime on somebody else's land, anything that was close, to keep warm. . . . And God! I've gone out there on the flats and dug clams, and your hands would freeze, you know? Digging down into that mud to get those clams out and everything else. By the time you got back to your car, your hands would be froze on to the clams, and this and that and everything else. And you'd have to get the car going, get it warmed up, so you'd get some heat from it to thaw your hands out so you could let loose of the clams. Oh my God, you can't believe it. That was the old days. Fifty cents a bushel for clams![16]

> *Well, back in those days it was going from one job to another, mostly. And my father was born in the country on a farm and he decided he wanted a farm. So he bought one in Etna, Maine. And we lived there, well, I'm going to say from the time I was five until I was eleven. And my father planted potatoes. And that fall he couldn't move 'em. So we lost everything. Lost the farm. . . . . The bottom fell out of the market. He couldn't sell them. He had to borrow money to buy fertilizer and seed. When it came time to harvest, he left them in the ground. There was no market for them. So we lost everything. The bank foreclosed on the farm.[17]

As manufacturing, farming, lumbering, fishing, and tourism all fell victim to the Depression, local charities and relief agencies were unable to meet the demand. The relief problem was compounded by a strong tradition of independence in the state:

> *[D]uring the Roosevelt administration, I believe they passed out cheese and other surplus products from somewhere. And my father would never take it. And sometimes I'd bring it up and give it to him, put it inside the house, and he'd, he'd be very upset with it. But he'd, after a while, probably take it.[18]

Not only were private citizens reluctant to ask for or accept help, but as the standard textbook on Maine history explains, "The [Republican] Gardiner administration refused to ask for federal Reconstruction Finance Corporation funds to help the unemployed and simply

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[16] Interview with Harvey Ober, NA 2656, C1942-A, pp. 3 and 28.

[17] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1921-A, pp. 1-2.

[18] Interview with Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1929-A, p. 10.

ignored the $1.6 million allocated to Maine for public works jobs on highway construction." When Mainers elected Democrat Louis J. Brann governor in 1932, the state "turned to the federal government, albeit reluctantly, to answer the Depression decade's desperate needs."[19] Despite this, Mainers continued to vote against Roosevelt and the New Deal in the next four presidential elections (in fact, Maine and Vermont were the only states to vote against the president in 1936[20]). Dissatisfaction with some programs was part of the reason, ". . . but more significantly, Maine's voting behavior reflected characteristic attitudes toward federal welfare programs and deficits."[21]

Nonetheless, when the Department of Labor allocated 1,600 CCC placements to Maine residents in the spring of 1933, prospective enrollees began showing up at the recruiting center in Bangor several days before the selection procedure was formally announced on April 17.[22] By mid May, enrollees from around the state were arriving at First District headquarters at Fort Williams for assessment and training. Mirroring a view held in many parts of the country, Mainers regarded the CCC as a job rather than charity, and in contrast to other relief programs that came out of the New Deal, the CCC would be very popular in Maine.[23] *"I'll tell you one thing," said Claude Beaupre who grew up in poverty in Caribou, "that Roosevelt made the best thing he ever done in the world. And boy, if it

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[19] Judd, et al., 1995: 514.

[20] Badger 1989: 245.

[21] Judd, et al., 1995: 506.

[22] McGuire 1966: 21.

[23] Judd, et al., 1995: 517

wouldn't have been for him, we wouldn't be doing what we're doing now. He got a lot of us guys off the street."[24] Vernon Wardwell was also unequivocal in his praise: "I'll tell you, it was a blessing. I think it was the best place, thing, that Roosevelt ever did. . . ."[25] More than sixty years after leaving the CCC, Linwood Robshaw still kept a framed photograph of Roosevelt on his desk.

2.2 Induction

Former enrollees describe the induction process as straightforward, quick, and even informal. Some years, applicants were required to demonstrate need, and yet virtually none of our interviewees recall this part of the process. Many do recall having to apply through their selectmen, who, in small communities, would likely be acquainted with the circumstances of most families, which may have obviated or greatly reduced the need for detailed explanations. Even an informant from Portland was encouraged to apply by a local recruiter who happened to be a family friend.[26]

Maine enrollees were inducted through two reception centers, one in Bangor and one in Portland, after which they were transferred to Army posts at Fort Williams or Fort Preble, both in the Portland area:

> ***Parsons:** And I did, as many other young men did, I get all the information I need, and I went down to Fort Williams in Portland, and did my initial training, you might say, with the Army.. . .

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[24] Interview with Claude Beaupre, NA 2666, C1955-A, p. 3.

[25] Interview with Vernon Wardwell, NA 2658, C1944-B, p. 35.

[26] Interview with John MacLeod, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 3.

> ***Moreira:** [I]n Portland, what did they make you do?
>
> ***Parsons:** Well, I guess [they were] just finding out, the army finding out, who you were, what you were, what you could do, perhaps. And a little training to work you up, condition you. Not for long. I guess it was maybe a week, something like that. And it was then that we packed up our big tents and set up housekeeping there at Bar Harbor.[27]

The training period (which as Parson's comments suggest was mainly for evaluation) was phased out by the end of the first year, and by the time Lester Hartford applied in 1935 the induction process had been simplified:

> *I went right there to the town office in the town of Leeds to apply, and from then on, I got notice to appear in Portland, Fort Williams. At first we had to go into the federal building in Portland, and then we went from there to Fort Williams. Got our [physical] examination at Fort Williams, then we went out to Portland and got our uniforms. . . . Then we came back to Fort Williams, late that afternoon, and we had our supper there. Then names come out on the board to where we was going to go. My name, I remember, comes out for Southwest Harbor. And I said, "Southwest Harbor, where is that?" I didn't know. And somebody says it's an island off the coast. . . . [T]hree days from the time I applied, I was in the camp down there.[28]

Those who enrolled late in the program describe a very simple procedure that could often be completed within one day:

> *Well, when I went to Bangor, I stayed, I stayed at the YMCA. I think it was a buck. They give you a bar of soap and a towel and a place to sleep that night. Next morning I went down to the recruiting office, which was the one they used for the Army. . . . So they gave us a physical, and that was it. That night, we were in Bar Harbor, Maine.[29]
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> *It was in July. I remember that. I asked the local office here if I could sign up. He says we just closed the office. You can go to Bangor. They just opened,

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[27] Interview with John Parsons, NA 2545, C1927-B, pp. 12-13.

[28] Interview with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1923-A, p. 3-4 and C1957-A, p. 4.

[29] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-A, p. 8.

> and they need people to sign up. So I took the bus, went to Bangor. And I signed up, I had a physical, and passed. And I was lucky, and he said, told me to get on that bus, you're leaving at one o'clock. They didn't tell you where. So we left. And we rode till we got to Bar Harbor.[30]

Rapid inductions meant that families might wait days or even weeks before a postcard arrived from the CCC informing them of their son's whereabouts (see Figures 26 and 27). Ideally, applicants could be sent anywhere in the country. When Damien Blanchette signed up with two other applicants from Caribou, he ended up in Southwest Harbor, the second was sent to Alfred, ME, and the third went to Wyoming.[31] For the most part, enrollees had little say over their ultimate destination:

> ***Wardwell:** And the next morning we wound up with cold cereal to eat, and get on the truck and they went down the line to so many people and said, you're going to Bar Harbor, and the other, said you're going to Alfred. And I said, "Can I swap and go to Alfred. It's closer to home." He says, "You'll go where I tell you to go, and that's the end of it."[32]
>
> ***Dudley:** Were you given any choice of location or were you just told where you were going?
>
> ***Wardwell:** Well, they just put us on the train.[33]

On rare occasions, a personal connection might help:

> *I could have come to Camden, because the fellow that processed me . . . I knew him . . . . He was a Rockland boy. And he processed me and wanted to know where I wanted to go, and I says, "I don't want to go to Camden." I says, "send me somewhere else." . . . Camden was next door. I mean, that's eight

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[30] Interview with Thomas Desjardins, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 4.

[31] Interview with Damien Blanchette, NA 2662, C1950-A, p. 6.

[32] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-A, p. 10.

[33] Interview with Vernon Wardwell, NA 2658, C1944-A, p. 5.

miles from home, and I just wanted to be away. . . . So he sent me down to Southwest Harbor.[34]

2.3 Adjusting to Camp Life

Once enrolled, most men adjusted to their new surroundings after a brief settling-in period:

> *[T]hose first two [weeks] I was up there, boy, I was ready to walk home. Lonesome? Jesus, wasn't I lonesome! I was about ready to hitchhike home and get right the heck away from there. But I stuck with it. And I got over it, the guy says. And boy there were some awful long days.[35]

> *Well, the first week you didn't go far. You stayed around camp, you went to work at your job that was assigned to you. You looked around, you could see the big mountain, Cadillac. It was impressive. We were close to the lake. That was impressive. A nice, clean lake, but you couldn't swim in it. It was drinking water. And lot of forest. So you took a walk. In the forest, there was a road that went into the forest, went around the island, almost. Which is the carriage road. And that's what you did. The first two weeks. Then you got acquainted with the town. Saturday night, you jumped in the truck and they took you to town. Went to a movie, and you walk around town. It was a pretty nice town.[36]

> *I was complete stranger when I got there. It didn't take long, though. . . . [W]e met someone from, someone from Fort Kent, here I come from Stockholm, and there's someone there from Fort Kent, but I didn't know him. Or someone, perhaps, from Saint John. Or Eagle Lake. Or Winterville. Or Caribou, perhaps. . . . Well, it was, it was a good experience. It was a good feeling because you just felt you were among friends. . . . I felt that they were in the same boat as I was in, see? I was a stranger to them as they were strangers to me. And all of a sudden, by talking, we had something in common. We played baseball, and we played guitar, or we did something or

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[34] Interview with Merrill Morang, NA 2627, C1910-A, p. 4.

[35] Interview with Claude Beaupre, NA 2666, C1955-A, p. 12.

[36] Interview with Thomas Desjardins, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 6.

> other the same. It would be some little bit of boxing, a little bit of wrestling. And hey![37]

Some adjustments were more difficult than others. The most common complaints among our informants were learning to co-exist with barrack-mates and adapting to camp regimen:

> *I think the biggest adjustment mostly is to get along with people in my barracks. You know, there's 50 of us in one barracks. We've never congregated like that before. We didn't know anybody. We didn't know their habits or anything else. We didn't know what to expect from them. So we just tried to be as friendly as possible, and don't step on anybody's toes, that's all. You never know what's going to happen. Because we didn't know how the other people were. It was probably the same as me. Never been with anybody or not, even though some people in our barracks were there six months before I even got there, so they got used to that, residence in that barracks.[38]

> *But getting to understand how other people were, you know, how they lived, because they were different than I was. They spoke French, but they spoke a different French than I did. And not only that, but they kept more to themselves at first. And the thing is, that was one of the things that I had to adjust to was to learn their way of doing, more than they had to learn mine.[39]

Those who were slow to conform, or whose idiosyncracies stood out, were subject to occasional pranks:

> *Well, you learned to be one of the boys pretty fast. You couldn't be very much different and survive, I don't think, without some kind of hassle.[40]

> *[T]here was always the smart Alec in the camp, you know, that wants to upset your cot or do something. So, we straightened that out pretty quick.[41]

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[37] Interview with Damien Blanchette, NA 2662, C1950-A, p. 11.

[38] Interview with John McLeod, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 6.

[39] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-A, p. 8; Provencher grew up in southern Maine, whereas most Francos in the camps came from Aroostook County.

[40] Interview with Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1929-A, pp. 12-13.

[41] Interview with Walter Woods, NA 2641, C1924-A, p. 10.

> *You'd find a guy that would do something wrong, you'd try to square him away. We had one guy that he would go to sleep at night and you couldn't wake him up in the morning. Almost impossible to wake him up. So one night when he went to sleep, about five or six of us picked his bed up and carried him clear out way down in the deep snow and set him down out there. Of course, the barracks weren't cold at night and everything. But the morning he came up there dragging one of those blankets behind him. [laughs][42]

The same informant also reported:

> *We had a guy that used to go in there, in the barracks, at night, and he'd strip off naked and he'd say, "Whooooo!" and he'd hit himself on the chest, naked, and he'd make a run and he'd head for his cot. He would have the blankets pulled up and he would slide right down into it. Every night! So I said we've got to do something about that. So we had had a, a day when they had in the mess hall, all this damn Jell-O. And they had Jell-O by the tons left over. So I got a whole big bunch of that Jell-O and I put it in his bed very carefully. [laughs] And he got back there naked, "Whoooooo!" shoom! Oh dear, oh dear, oh dear. You can imagine how quick he came out of that bed, you know! He had Jell-O clear up under his neck! After that, every time he went to bed at night he would double check his bed.[43]

On the job, "fool's errands" played on a new recruit's eagerness to do his part, but at the same time they highlighted his lack of knowledge about the work process: one young enrollee spent half a day looking for a "rock stretcher" before someone "put him wise."[44] On one occasion, a foreman disciplined an inattentive enrollee by lobbing a stick of dynamite at him. Unaware that the explosive was harmless unless primed, the enrollee passed out from fright.[45]

Leveling behaviors that suppress individualism and encourage conformity are common in small communities and other settings where people live in close quarters. Even

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[42] Interview with Harvey Ober, NA 2656, C1942-A, p. 9.

[43] Interview with Harvey Ober, NA 2656, C1942-A, p. 8.

[44] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1926-A, p. 1.

[45] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1926-A, p. 1.

positive accomplishments, if they drew attention to an individual, could give rise to a certain amount of teasing:

> *[W]e opened the door of our own barracks, it was the first one we come too, big cloud of smoke comes pouring out of the barracks. "Oh my God.," I says, "hey, drop the load, you run and get help," I says, "I know where the fire extinguisher is." And I got inside and I could hardly see anything. I got the fire extinguisher, found out where the fire was, and it was just starting to go up on the corner. It wasn't very big, but was really starting. I knocked it down with a fire extinguisher . . . . [T]he bed was the thing that started the fire. I threw that out, it was close to the double doors and I threw that out in the snow and I got the fire out, and by this time, oh Christ, the, there was everybody but the Ellsworth fire department. . . . [E]verybody came, and by God, they had shovels, rakes, God knows what else, whatever they thought they might need. And the captain and a whole gang of them and they were all running in. What happened, what happened? And I says, "I don't know what happened," I says, "the damn place was on fire . . . ." Well, I never lived that down for a long time in the camp. Every time we went into the mess hall, you know, clang clang on the plates and "Woooooo! Here's the fire department," you know. It was crazy, you know, and that's the way it goes.[46]

Mild hazing was not discouraged; in fact, the CCC handbook advised enrollees to take a good-natured view of pranks, to give and take in turn.[47] When one former enrollee complained to Congressman Ralph Brewster about, among other things, "'degrading' initiation practices," a camp inspector who looked into the matter reported that the charges stemmed from the enrollee's own "priggishness."[48] Disputes between individuals were often settled by boxing matches, usually under the watchful eye of an officer:

> *But we had a great guy leading us down there. . . . I can't remember his name, but he was a captain in the army, and a wonderful guy. And if you got in a fight or anything, with anybody, or anybody got in a fight, he'd call us all

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[46] Interview with Thomas Thornton, NA 3323, C2462-A, p. 8.

[47] Dearborn 1936: 217.

[48] Hoak 2000: 2-3.

> out and we'd make a great big circle and hold hands, and put them both in there and let them fight it out. The best man wins. . . . And boy, he stopped that foolishness.[49]

Predictably, friendship groups tended to form within barracks, and a general practice of assigning barrack-mates to the same work crews further reinforced the ties. A number of informants reported having a relatively stable but small circle of friends in the CCC:

> *[T]here's about 200 guys to a camp, so you didn't get to know all of them. You, you, you only knew probably the ones in your barrack. . . . And you was more or less familiar with them because you lived with them, you bunked with them, you went to eat with them, and you worked with them. And then, as I say, the other barracks, they did the same thing. Only they, they worked in their section and you worked in yours.[50]

> *You normally tried to sit at the same [mess table] all the time with a certain group. It seemed to be, in the camp, well, certain groups more or less kind of stayed with a group rather than changing and eating at another table.[51]

> *You know, there was four barracks, there was four different barracks. . . . I worked in the office, so I can recognize a lot of these names. I used to make the payroll and everything like that. Anybody else probably wouldn't know the guy in the next barracks. They more or less chum together, too. And they were probably on the same work gang, too.[52]

While learning to fit in was a challenge for some, more informants commented on the difficulty of adapting to camp regimen. ECW procedure set routine for all camps: reveille, dress, and clean barracks at 6:30; breakfast at 7:30; leave for the work site at 8:00; lunch,

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[49] Interview with Walter Woods, NA 2641, C1924-A, p. 8; see also, Interviews with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1957-B, pp. 38-39, Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1929-B, p. 21, and Eugene Paradis, Old Town Museum Oral History Project, pp. 6-7.

[50] Interview with Merrill Morang, NA 2627, C1910-A, p. 9.

[51] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1905-B, p. 29.

[52] Interview with Ron Dougherty, NA 2626, C1941-A, p. 73.

12:00 to 1:00; the workday ended at 4:00; after that, the men were free until supper at 5:00 or 5:30; evening classes, for those interested, were held from 6:00 to 8:00; otherwise, men were on their own until lights-out between 10:00 and 10:30.[53] The weekday schedule varied little. Saturdays were free unless foul weather had kept men in camp during the week:

> *You had to work five days. And if it rained one day during the week, you worked Saturday. If it rained two days, well, lucky you. You had two days off because of rain; the government lost a day's work.[54]

Weekend leave was easily obtainable, although a certain number of men were kept in camp for emergencies:

> *[There] was a stand-by duty. In other words, you would be confined to the camp for the weekend in case there was a forest fire or any other urgent needs. . . . [T]hey wouldn't let all of the camp leave to go home or to go on leave in the Bar Harbor or whatever at the time. There were so many always in the camp.[55]

The schedule was not demanding, but it required some adaptation nonetheless:

> *[The biggest adjustment was] . . . being responsible for everything and answering to somebody if you wasn't responsible. Everything was on a, on a time schedule. In other words you couldn't get up at eight or nine o'clock in the morning. You were up at a certain time. I think it was like six o'clock was reveille, and that was probably the hardest adjustment, was getting into the routine of how the camp worked.[56]

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[53] Civilian Conservation Corps 1937: 3. Education programs and recreational activities are treated in separate chapters below.

[54] Interview with Thomas Desjardin, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 8.

[55] Intervies with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1905-B, p. 41; see also C1905-A, p. 17.

[56] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1905-A, p. 17; see also, interviews with Wesley Gray, NA 2625, C1907-A, pp. 6-7; Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1923-A, p. 7, and Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1921-A, p. 5.

> *One friend of mine was in just a short time. . . . He only stayed six months. He didn't like the regimentation.[57]

Most of those who objected to the routine probably felt constrained by it, but at least one informant had trouble coping with the amount of free time built into the schedule:

> * But gee, you take like me, and [at home] you have to get up at four o'clock in the morning and work til pretty near six that night. Every day. And when I went to this goddarn camp, I was lost. I had so cussed much time on my hands. Man, they were on me because they used to start working at eight thirty in the morning, eight o'clock in the morning, get done at three thirty. Jesus, look at the long evening! Man, I'll tell you, I got a long day. And that's why I got lonesome. . . . And I even took off one night. I was going to go home. I said, to heck with this. I'm going to get the heck out of here. And I walked about three miles. And then I put two and two together and I said I guess I better go back. If they catch up with me, they'll give me hell. So I went back. And here I am.[58]

ECW rules permitted an enrollee to leave at any time in order to accept another job, an understandable provision given the nature of the program. Some men, however, simply decided the CCC wasn't for them and left, with or without informing anyone. Consequences appear to have been minimal:

> "Some liked it and some didn't, that's all. And if they didn't like it, they went over the hill."[59]

> *[W]hen a new group would come in . . . lots of times they would get up in the morning and there would be several fellas gone. They used to call it "going over the hill." And they would get fed up with it and leave. But they didn't do anything.[60]

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[57] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1921-A, p. 4.

[58] Interview with Claude Beaupre, NA 2666, C1955-A, pp. 12-13.

[59] Interview with Arthur Studer, NA 2639, C1922-A, p. 4-5.

[60] Interview with Russell Olson, NA 2654, C1936-A, p. 15.

Specific numbers are not recorded in camp documents, but one occasionally finds references to resignations and AWOLs being a problem. There was a perception, expressed both in camp records and by our informants, that the men least likely to adapt well to camp life and to woods work were those from urban areas. As Linwood Robshaw explained:

> *Sometimes we'd get a city boy that never knew what the country was, and it would take a while to teach him that he was in the country and had to live that way. . . . The people that lived in the country or on farms or something like that never had any trouble with it. The only people we ever . . . I ever had any trouble with came from, I think it was, Waterville, Maine.[61]

During the winter of 1935, ten men left the Ellsworth camp together because it was "too cold to work in the woods." Yet Superintendent Boylan saw it differently:

> Temperatures were above zero at the time, and the rank and file of the men were in no way disturbed. It is significant that the boys who resigned were all from one section of a city in southern Maine, and that no "country bred" personnel had any complaint to make regarding weather conditions, which were much better than during the same period last year.[62]

2.4 Influence of the Military

Much of the regimentation in the CCC reflected common military practice, and our informants certainly noted the similarities:

> *[Y]our rules and regulations, everything was almost identical, as far as keeping your bunk looking right and your shoes shined and everything else was almost the same. . . . If you had to talk to a camp commander or one of

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[61] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1921-A, p. 8.

[62] "Narrative Report, December 1, 1934 to February 1, 1935, Maine State Park Camp No. 1, Camp Governor Brann, Ellsworth, Maine," p. 2, RG 79, Box 2.

> his assistants . . . you just didn't barge into their office. You had to go through channels. . . . But it was so much like military, almost like a duplicate.[63]
>
> *[L]ife at the camp was the same as living in an army barracks with the exception that we didn't have any guns or ammunition or anything like that.[64]
>
> *Well, I thought I was in the Army, you know, pretty much.[65]

The CCC, however, dispensed with many familiar military protocols:

> *There was no saluting, no, but you said "sir." You treated them with respect. I mean, there was no saluting because you weren't in the army, this was all volunteer. . . . They treated us with respect and we did the same to them.[66]
>
> *We never had any close order drills. We got up in the morning and raise the flag. We all had to be, you know, with a uniform on, go out there and raise the flag in the morning. . . . And at night, retreat. We'd have to be there, but there was no close order drills like probably some camps have. We didn't have any at all.[67]

Discipline was much less rigorous than in the military:

> *[D]own at Fort Williams, they told us down there, they said, "You don't have to pay any attention to these officers or nobody here, because you're not in the army." And so we didn't.[68]
>
> *You know, I spent quite a bit of time in the military. The discipline that, normally, the Army or military would require was not the type of military requirement that they asked for in the CCCs. The only thing they used it for was . . . to have order to be able to handle the people. When you have people in a proper position, then you can walk down the line and divide them into

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[63] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1905-B, p. 37

[64] Interview with Wesley Gray, NA 2625, C1907-A, p. 6

[65] Interview with Webster Fox, NA 2660, C1947-A, p. 4.

[66] Interview with Merrill Morang, NA 2627, C1910-A, pp. 19-20

[67] Interview with John MacLeod, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 6.

[68] Interview with Walter Woods, NA 2641, C1924-B, p. 17.

> whatever groups that you want to, rather than have them just scattered. . . . But the only time you answered role call was in the morning, just to make sure that you were there.[69]
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> *[I]f . . . you didn't get hauled back in time or something like that, you were AWOL, you know, "absent without leave." And they could fine you for that or give you a lot of extra, extra duties, and things like that. . . . I went to a basketball tournament, and I didn't make it back. But they were pretty good. They didn't fine me; I just had to work in the kitchen there for a few hours. . . . Not like the Army.[70]

ECW rules expressly forbade any project or training that could be characterized as "military." Therefore, enrollees were not given weapons training or drill instruction, nor did they build fortifications or other military structures (though they did build roads and provide other support functions around military installations, such as the radio stations at Seawall and Schoodic). These rules remained in place even after war broke out in Europe. In the last years of the program, however, the government strongly encouraged work programs and training that would provide men with skills of military value. That included construction, surveying and mapping, the use of explosives, radio communications, mechanical and driving skills, first aid, cooking, clerical skills, and many others.[71] Enrollees were also allowed to participate in National Defense training programs offered through state and local vocational departments.[72]

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[69] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-A, pp. 13-14.

[70] Interview with Russell Olson, NA 2654, C1936-A, p. 15.

[71] McGuire 1966, 49; Salmond 1967, 193-198; Paige 1985: 31.

[72] See E. M. Lisle, Acting Regional Director (CCC), Memorandum to National Park Superintendents, et al, re. National Defense Training, May 13, 1941, RG 79, Box 15; see also CCC Advisory Council, "CCC Training Plan," May 26, 1941, in the same folder.

Overall, our informants gave a positive assessment of the military leadership at the Acadia camps, with some allowance for differences in personality or administrative style:

> *I thought they were all right. I didn't see anything wrong with them. They were always fair, honest. There was no cranky ones that I know . . . . I think that [Lt.] Desrosiers, he was very strict. He was a cavalry officer, or infantry officer. He was strict. I think Newell Peavey, Mr. Peavey, was well liked and he was more lenient. . . . He, he was a great man to assign duties to people. He never took everything on his own shoulders. Desrosiers was the type of guy that he carried the burden of everything. But Lt. Cmdr. Peavey was, in my mind, he was a very nice guy, and he put a lot of trust in his people.[73]

> *It's a good thing they had military rules there, because everybody noticed. It could be a second lieutenant, or a first lieutenant, or a captain in the army. Anyway, it was from the army staff, and it was run army-style. . . . I thought it was good because I always liked military life. . . . I always wanted things to be . . . run just right, and the wise guys put in their place. And they treated everybody the same, and that was a good thing about it.[74]

Only two informants reported instances of direct conflict with military supervisors, and one of those incidents happened at a camp elsewhere in the state.[75] On the whole, the CCC embodied many of the positive features of military life – camaraderie, secure living arrangements, regimen (for those who liked it and a lot did), and an active lifestyle – and few, if any, of the negative features. That may go a long way toward explaining our informants' overwhelming enthusiasm for the program.

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[73] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-B, p. 40.

[74] Interview with Francis Laverdier, NA 2650, C1931-A, p. 12.

[75] Interview with Claude Beaupre, NA 2666, C1955-B, p. 36, and interview with Walter Woods, NA 2641, C1924-A, p. 13; Paige (1985: 92) cites a separate incident in which Maine enrollees "rebelled" because they objected to being transferred to out-of-state camps.

2.5 Ratings and Pay Scales

The basic rank in the CCC, "junior enrollee," was paid $30 per month, of which $25 was sent home. For many families, the money was an indispensable part of the household budget, especially if they had more than one son in the program:

> *Yes, my brother was in the CC. We were both in the CC. It helped my mother very well. Fifty dollars a month was a big help.[76]

> *The boys went in the CCs, they got thirty bucks a month, twenty-five went home and they got five dollars. Well, that saved a lot of families. Some of them were lucky, had two boys in the camp, they were getting fifty bucks a month. But, I didn't have a job. I just went down and made an application for it, and at that time they were taking people like me that didn't have jobs, 'cause they knew if I didn't have a job, I'd probably wind up on the welfare roles anyway. So it was a smart thing to do.[77]

Some families, especially those in rural areas who owned their own homes and could provide some necessities through domestic production, were able to bank a good deal of the money:

> *You know, of course now, in '38, '37, my mother was a saver. Would you believe it? She saved all my money. That twenty-five dollars a month, she would save it. Of course, I don't know this. But I think it was in 1938, the last part of '38, she, you know, I told you she was moving in town? She was moving to town. They got this house, anyway. Six room house. Garage. The lot wasn't that big, but, you know, nice little home. No cellar. But she bought the house with my money. She put it in my name.[78]

> *Well at the time I was quite enthused about it because it meant clothing, three square meals a day and the fact that I could send 25 dollars a month home to my parents. So to me it was the only opportunity available and I always learned, I was taught to obey orders and to be that kind of a guy, so I got along good in the CCC camp. . .. And a good part [money] of that was

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[76] Interview with Thomas Desjardins, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 4.

[77] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-A, p. 6.

[78] Interview with Ulysses "Ted" Morin, NA 2661, C1948-A, p. 38.

> going home to my parents. In fact, my brother and I bought a farm for my mother and father while we were in there.[79]

Another informant was slightly disappointed that his parents spent the money, as he had hoped to buy a car with it after his discharge.[80]

The five remaining dollars were all that the enrollee had to meet personal expenses for the month, but most felt that a little went a long way:

> *That was my spending money for a month. But in those days, you could buy cigarettes for ten cents a pack. You could buy cold drinks for a nickel. And you get chocolate bars for a nickel. And today, they're out of sight.[81]

> *Well, you bought your own cigarettes and stuff and toothpaste, like that. Shaving cream. That's about all. Any personal needs you bought. Postage stamps, envelopes, paper. It lasted you a month. . . . I forget what the movies were. They weren't very high. They were under a quarter anyway. . . .[82]

With perhaps a little sharing here and there:

> *You know cigarettes cost 10¢ a pack, and 8¢ once in a while. But boy, all you had to do was light up a cigarette and you'd hear, "Butts, butts, butts, butts!" And everybody knew where they were on the butt, right down the line, and if you got in the line in between, and it wasn't your turn, you weren't the guy that was next, man, you could get yourself into a boxing match real quick [laughs]. . . . And you'd hear, "Don't heat it up, you son-of-a-bitch, you're heating it up!" [laughs] Guy trying to get the last puff, and then they'd have a toothpick. [Mimics cigarette stuck on the end of the toothpick and sucks.][83]

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[79] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1921-A, p. 4.

[80] Interview with Vernon Wardwell, NA 2658, C1944-B, p. 35.

[81] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-A, p. 6.

[82] Interview with Arthur Studer, NA 2639, C1922-B, p. 30.

[83] Interview with Eugene Paradis, Old Town Museum Oral History Project, p. 9.

Camps also had an internal credit system that allowed enrollees to draw against the following month's stipend:

> *[Y]ou could get some canteen tickets. Just like we use, perhaps, MasterCard today, or any credit card. And at the end of the month, well, you had to pay that, that little ticket.[84]

> *I used to make the payrolls out and pay day they'd only get the five bucks. But they had to sign the payroll and the mother, father, whoever it was, the name was right there and the address. That's where Uncle Sam sent it, the check. We didn't touch that. All we handled was the five dollars a month. We used to go down to the bank, I remember going to Bar Harbor, go down and make the payroll. And if they owed any money, it was taken out right there. If they owed any canteen money, like, they had these "chips," they called them, if you need it you could get probably 50 cents worth of chips or something like that for a candy bar or maybe a pack of [cigarettes].[85]

And there were always opportunists among the enrollees:

> *[T]hen there's always the guy who would lend you a buck for two bucks payday, or something like that. Had them little scam artists around, like there was in the service. . . . You know, small time. You had to pay them double come payday or you wouldn't have any money. So that couldn't get very far because you didn't have much money anyway, come payday.[86]

There were two grades above junior enrollee: leader and assistant leader (roughly equivalent to sergeant and corporal in the army). Their chief task was to supervise the men in barracks, but they were also given preferred work assignments. The ECW stipulated that up to 5% of the men in a camp could be leaders and another 8% assistant leaders. Of that number, about a third were given support positions in camp, while the remainder worked for

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[84] Interview with Damien Blanchette, NA 2662, C1950-A, p. 11.

[85] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1909-B, p. 41.

[86] Interview with Ken Farrar, NA 2659, C1946-A, p. 16.

the technical agency.[87] The senior rank earned $45 a month, an assistant leader $36, and they pocketed any pay over and above the $25 that was sent home. The amount earned lent its name to the grade:

> *[T]hey had three, three grades of fellows. . . . [W]hen you come in, they paid you 30 dollars a month and that was the lowest, lowest grade. And then you worked up to what they called "36," and they were a little higher . . . . And then they had the top ones. They were . . . a "45," a fellow that was making 45 dollars.[88]

Until the final years of the program, leaders were exempt from the two-year limit on enrollment, which meant that such positions were often hard to come by:

> *[T]hey had . . . what they call a "six," which is six dollars a month extra for two stripes. And they had fifteen dollars for three stripes. But geez, you couldn't get three stripes, because the guys that got three stripes, most of them got what they called project assistants, and they could stay there as long as they wanted.[89]

"Locally employed men,"[90] or LEMs, were a special category of skilled worker hired directly by the technical agency. As soon as the camps were announced, Assistant Superintendent Hadley engaged 25 local foresters as LEMs to ensure that the work crews had

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[87] Dearborn 1936: 6; Salmond 1967: 41.

[88] Interview with Russell Olson, NA 2654, C1936-A, p. 11.

[89] Interview with Vernon Wardwell, NA 2658, C1944-A, p. 16.

[90] There are many expansions for this acronym, including "locally enlisted men" (Interview with Arthur Studer, NA 2639, C1922-A, p. 1), "local experienced men" (Salmond 1967: 34), "local employable men" (Dearborn 1936: 6), "locally employed men" (Paige 1985: 12), and variants. For consistency with other NPS reports, we have adhered to Paige's usage.

experienced leaders.[91] Other trades or skill sets were sought when circumstances called for them. Arthur Studer was hired as a driver and supervisor for the vehicle pool at Ellsworth:

> ***Studer:** Well there wasn't any jobs in sight, other than [the CCC]. So they were calling for local enlisted men, so I just jumped on to it. Just give us a chance to get our room and board and clothes and everything else and send money home to help the family. That's the whole story with all of the CCCs. Everybody was the same way. . . .
>
> ***Moreira:** And what did you have to do to apply?
>
> ***Studer:** Well, just sign the papers and go get examination and get sworn in. . . . That was done locally. But all your LEMs were done locally anyway, everywhere they were. When they called for local enlisted men, they took them right off the street . . . . Took them right in, give them examinations and put them to work. Because they were supposed to be skilled workers. To oversee the kids that were there then or coming in. Make sure they didn't get hurt or anything else, which a lot of them did do.[92]

2.6 Food

For the average enrollee, food, shelter, and clothing were the most tangible benefits of the CCC. "An army marches on its stomach," Napoleon is alleged to have said, and the saying applies just as well to a conservation corps as it does to the military. Generally, our informants commented very favorably on the quality, and especially the amount, of food:

> *Well, in morning they had, they had, I think it was oatmeal, something like that. And they had eggs, too – they had a good, good hearty breakfast – and some bacon . . . . And then for lunch, usually you was out on the job, you'd get like, they had soups. I don't remember much sandwiches or anything. But mostly soup and they'd have different meats and things that they could bring out to the job and serve. And suppers were pretty, suppers were pretty good,

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[91] Hadley to G. B. Dorr, May 11, 1933, and Hadley to F. L. Haynes, May 16, 1933, RG 79, Box 4.

[92] Interview with Arthur Studer, NA 2639, C1922-A, pp. 4-5.

> too, there. Meat and potatoes. Good hearty meals. . . . [T]hey used to have a pastry cook, too, that would make all kinds of different things. Because the better the cook, the better you served it, too. Of course, sometimes . . . it wouldn't be great, but most of the meals were pretty darn good. And I think, I think we have had steak there, too. . . . Yes. I think that was my favorite. And chicken. And they would have chicken quite a bit. And they used to have pork, too. Pork meals. They fed pretty good there, I thought. . . . And you had all you wanted to eat.[93]
>
> *Breakfast was real good. Some days you had eggs and other days you had cereal. And most always you had bacon and ham and stuff as that. And a lot of times you had home fries to eat. . . . The meals were real good, had real good meals. . . . [P]otatoes and lots of times we had hamburgers or macaroni or spaghetti, and so forth. You had a variety, real good food. And one thing . . . that I can really say is that we had real good cooks. They knew how to prepare the food that they had to work with. You can have some people that have all the equipment to do with, but they do a lousy job of preparing it. But I was lucky, both in the CCs and in the Army, that I had good cooks to feed me.[94]
>
> *Well, [the meals] were hearty, but they were good. I can't really kick.[95]
>
> *[The food] was as good as I'd ever had. And plenty of it.[96]

The mess hall, which was built on the same elongated plan as other CCC buildings, contained both kitchen facilities and the area where the men took their meals:

> *Well, the mess hall was about the same length as the barracks. . . . But you'd go in the there, the front end of the building, there was a door there. I think probably it was a double door, and you'd march in and everybody would go to the table. Off to the right, about the center of that building, was another opening, an opening and probably a twenty foot room in there, twenty foot square. That's where the officers sat, but I think they had their own door that they'd come in. They didn't have to come in our side. Now the other end of the mess hall, there was counters there where they would put the food, and the

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[93] Interview with Russell Olson, NA 2654, C1936-A, pp. 13-14.

[94] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-A, pp. 11.

[95] Interview with Roy Doak, NA 2663, C1952-A, p. 6.

[96] Interview with Vernon Wardwell, NA 2658, C1944-A, p. 8.

> mess stewards would go down and one of the cooks would fill the bowls and they'd bring them to the table. But in back of that was the stove and the cooking area, and in back of that was the refrigerators were that they kept the meat and perishables.[97]
>
> *[Tables] weren't assigned, no, you just pick a table. If you knew the kids that were already there, you sat with them. You had dishes, coffee cup, regular stuff, you know. Navy stuff. Heavy stuff. And then you waited til table number one, table number two, to get up and go get the food. And then you went to the counter and they put the food in. . . . And then you went and sat down, then you ate. Then when you leave, you bring your dirty dishes to the counter so they could be washed. You had a dishwasher in the kitchen, which was dishes were put in a tray, pushed through a steam, hot water thing, and they were washed and left to dry.[98]
>
> *Well, they were strict as far as horseplay or just fooling around. You went in and ate your meal and conversation was with people sitting aside of you. But you didn't do any hollering across the room to one another or throwing anything around. Everything was quite strict. And of course the camp commander was seated at that table at one end of the mess hall where he could overlook everything. And him and his associates were quite strict as far as discipline. So you went in and had your meals and behaved yourself.[99]

At noontime, if work areas were some distance from camp, which they often were, lunches would be delivered to the site:

> *And if you was out too far to come back to dinner to the camp, they brought the dinner out to you, in buckets, and serve it for you. . . . [I]t was good hot dinners. They brought it out in trucks immediately and they had big buckets, insulated buckets. Always a good meal. And they had, generally they had a big army tent stretched out to take 25 to 30 tables. And had that all heated up, too. So it was, living life of Reilly.[100]

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[97] Interview with Ron Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-A, p. 29.

[98] Interview with Thomas Dejardins, NA 2652, C1933-B, pp. 17-18.

[99] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1905-B, p. 31.

[100] Interview with Arthur Studer, NA 2639, C1922-A, p. 16.

> *You had your utensils with you, carried them, just like they had in the Army there. Little pan, a knife and a fork, they clip together. And you'd eat out of those. And usually they'd have a, have a big kettle of hot water that you could . . . wash your dishes and then you'd take them home with you and then you'd clean them more if you wanted. . . . so it wasn't too bad.[101]

Apart from personal likes and dislikes, complaints about the food are rare and usually attributed to other enrollees or presented as exceptional cases, as in the following instance:

> *We was working up there in the Black house, and they brought us up a meal and we wouldn't eat it. So the guy had to go back. . . . Well, we figured it wasn't [fit to eat]. So, [they] took it back and by god, they brought us back something that we would eat, and the captain said that that would never happen again.[102]

There are, however, reports of serious problems with food service early in the program. Webster Fox and Harvey Ober, both members of the Bar Harbor company, said the men there consistently received minimal amounts of low quality food, and both informants attributed the problem to a corrupt mess hall supervisor:

> *[T]hey found out that he was pocketing the money and buying cheap, whatever he could get. But this was after I had left, they cleaned him out.[103]

> *They gave us very little stuff. We might get a little piece of meat, a tiny piece of meat, and everything else, and this and that and everything else. But the cook . . . he was not the cook, he was the major chef, or whatever, he was involved with the guy that was delivering this stuff. And they were only delivering us about one fourth of what they were supposed to, something like that, you know, and signing for it. And we were getting not enough to eat. And finally, one day, somebody in the crowd in there, fifty of us, "I've had enough of this!" And he threw a spoon or something into the air. And all of a sudden, there was a riot. And they brought up officers from Bar Harbor and this and that and everything else, and they had a heck of a time. But after that, they

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[101] Interview with Russell Olson, NA 2654, C1936-A, p. 12.

[102] Interview with Walter Woods, NA 2641, C1924-A, p. 12.

[103] Interview with Webster Fox, NA 2660, C1947-A, pp. 7-8.

> found out that this guy was, they was signing for stuff that they didn't get. And we were starving to death because of it.[104]

The camp newspaper, the *Acadian*, ran an editorial in the spring of 1935 complaining about inadequate supplies of basic food stuffs and laid the blame squarely at the feet of the mess steward.[105] Further references to problems turn up in camp inspection reports. Michael Hoak's review of the files notes that "men complained openly about the poor quality of the food and the meager portions. . . . [F]ood service remained a problem until a new camp commander and mess sergeant were brought to the camps in 1936."[106] The scam, if such it was, must have operated for some time: Fox left Bar Harbor in 1934; Ober enrolled in 1936.

This episode aside, positive comments on the quality and quantity of food are the norm. Life in the CCC meant plenty, or at least sufficiency, for many who had grown up amid scarcity:

> *I think the guys that weren't getting fed too well outside, they really appreciated it. A guy would come in weighing . . . 150 pounds, and in about three months he weighed 160, so you know he was eating pretty good.[107]

> *I think the biggest thing was, for all of us, was, suddenly we had two pairs of shoes. We had two pairs of trousers. You know, an overcoat without a hole in it. And very good food. . . . A lot of guys used to make a lot of comments. Boy, look at this food, you know. Of course I'd never known what a scallop was before, but we had scallops. And we had dishes.[108]

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[104] Interview with Harvey Ober, NA 2656, C1942-A, p. 10; see also pp. 4-5.

[105] *Acadian* 2.6, May 10, 1935, p. 8.

[106] Hoak 2000: 2.

[107] Interview with Ron Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-A, p. 32.

[108] Interview with Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1929-A, p. 10.

2.7 Barracks and Living Arrangements

The barracks provided spare but comfortable accommodations. Indeed, for enrollees familiar with lumbercamps – and in Maine there must have been more than a few of them – a CCC barracks would have been a significant step up in the world:

> *They were pretty well built. It was like a wooden building, tar paper on the outside, tar paper on the roof. There were three stoves . . . and of course [the buildings] were on posts. They had windows every . . . maybe six or eight feet, you had a window. The windows did not open except three of them. Three of them opened for ventilation, and that was it.[109]

> *Well, the barracks was a long wooden building with windows down both sides and ends. One end had a little section partitioned off for the barracks leader; his bunk was in that particular area. And then the rest of the barracks was all open with the bunks lined up so far apart. All single, single row.[110]

The four barracks in each camp housed up to fifty men apiece.[111] In one, a large section called "the bullpen" was partitioned off for the cooking staff, who had to get up much earlier than the rest of the camp.[112] Officers, other military personnel, and the technical services superintendents had their own quarters in a separate building. Each camp also had its own infirmary:

> *[W]e had a, I think, about a six bed ward there for if you got ill. . . . [T]here was no doctor there, or nurse; it was there for people who had an illness that

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[109] Interview with Thomas Desjardin, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 13.

[110] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1905-A, p. 21.

[111] Some informants report that toward the end of the CCC period, when enrollments were low, only three barracks were used as dormitories; the fourth was used for supplies (Interviews with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-A, p. 9, and with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1921-A, pp. 7-8).

[112] Interviews with Damien Blanchette, NA 2662, C1951-A, p. 37, and with Ron Doughterty, NA 2626, C1908-A, p. 16.

> was just going to lay them up for a day or two or three, you know, that sort of thing. We had a dentist who came around about once or twice a year. And if you were really ill, of course they'd take you to the hospital.[113]

While informants agree that crowding in the barracks was never an issue, individual space was at a premium. There was very little room for personal items or photographs, just space for work clothes and toiletries:

> *Well, you had your bunk. No pictures. . . . You had your bunk, and on the wall you had a platform where you put your toilet articles up there. You had a blue box that was given to you. Your toothbrush, your shaver, comb, soap, was in there. You put that on the shelf. Your hat. Then you had a hook where you hung up your overcoat, your dress shirt, pants. Work clothes. And under the bunk, you put your trunk, which all your clothes, your good clothes, were kept in there. . . . And then you had your shoes, your work shoes and your dress shoes, which were Army boots, Army shoes. And that's what you had.[114]

> *Well, we had a barracks bag, and we kept everything in a barracks bag on a hook above our cot. . . . I've seen pictures of some of the barracks and some – – not our camp – but they had shelves they could arrange things on. . . . . We had footlockers. It had to be at the foot of your bed. And some guys had, probably had two, one they could shove underneath the bed. . . . [I]n your barracks bag you'd keep your winter clothes, and some of your summer clothes would be on top, spare ones. But you could get most of your things you used every day in your foot locker. And you had a tray there that you could take it out, and you kept your toilet articles and writing paper and stuff in there.[115]

The buildings had electric lights but no running water. All bathing and toilet facilities were in another part of the camp:

> *[T]he washroom was in a separate building. Concrete floors, nothing fancy. No tubs, all showers. The latrine was something else. . . . Just had a building,

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[113] Interview with Wesley Gray, NA 2625, C1907-B, p. 25.

[114] Interview with Thomas Desjardin, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 11.

[115] Interview with Ron Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-A, p. 19.

> three-sided building like a lean-to with a deep pit and a log across it. You sat on a log. But, that was it.[116]
>
> *And of course we had a latrine way down back. It was a, probably eight, ten-holer. . . . That was out a ways from the camps. Then we had a washroom. On one end was a supply room and the other half of the building was a shower and wash room. Very big troughs with faucets and the showers with the cement floor. Nothing fancy.[117]

In winter, the barracks were heated by three pot-bellied stoves spaced evenly along the center aisle. At first, wood stoves were used, which on the face of it made sense, given that fuel could be supplied as a by-product of the camps' woods operations:

> *[E]verything that we cut for wood, that we could save, went for firewood. We had to furnish, cut, and prepare our own firewood. Reasonably, a year in advance to dry out, if possible, during the summer, and in fall you're all ready to use it.[118]

What sounded good in theory didn't always work in practice: *"Those old wood stoves, all we had was green wood. Come right out of a snow bank [and] burned. So the nights wasn't too warm."[119] Coal stoves were uniformly used after 1937. Enrollees were assigned, either in rotation or as their regular job, the task of keeping the fires going:

> *[T]he stove kept going around the clock. At night you were assigned, there was night duty, fire patrol. You kept the stove going. You had six stoves to keep going . . . and another guy had [the other] two barracks, he kept going to those stoves. And then there was a stove in the . . . mess hall they had to keep going, keep that place warm. Also you had a furnace, too, [for] hot water.[120]

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[116] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1921-A, p. 6.

[117] Interview with Ron Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-A, p. 17.

[118] Interview with John Parsons, NA 2545, C1928-A, p. 24.

[119] Interview with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1923-A, p. 19.

[120] Interview with Thomas Desjardin, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 10.

> *We had a coal bin down near the latrine. . . . We had to replace it in the fall, you know. It was a monstrous coal bin and the fellow that kept the fires going at night, he'd have these coal hods and he'd have to go down and fill them up and carry them up.[121]

Enrollees were responsible for taking care of the barracks, and as one might expect, the military supervisors demanded cleanliness and order:

> *One of my jobs after I got a rating was to take care of the barracks. They had to be clean so that when the officer came through with white gloves, there was no dust. And we burned coal in those three stoves, so everybody had to be on their toes. And my responsibility was that that barracks would pass inspection. . . . Floors were scrubbed. And the metal on the stove was polished to a bright mirror finish, and no dust of any kind anywhere. And shoes and clothing had to be taken care of. Bunks had to be made. They had to be made taught to certain degree, so that if you dropped a quarter on them it would bounce. And everybody turned to to keep the area clean. So it wasn't too much of a hassle.[122]

> *I think we got up about six in the morning, and made our bunk, bunk beds, made sure around our areas it's clean, and everything is in its place where it's supposed to be, because they have inspection. You know, you have to open your foot locker like in the Army, and make sure everything's in there neat. And then we'd have reveille. We'd go outside and get in front of the administration building, and they raised the flag. After they get through raising the flag, we'd all follow to the mess hall and get breakfast. And I think we'd come back and change into our work clothes. And eight o'clock we're on a job.[123]

> *The end of the day you had to take care, put away all your tools that you had out, and clean them and oil them and put them away, and ready for the next day. Then you went and changed your clothes. . . .[124]

> *[A]t night, everybody had to fall out, and they would have colors. So everybody had to be clean shaven, have their hair combed, clean clothes,

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[121] Interview with Ron Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-A, pp. 26.

[122] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1921-A, pp. 7-8.

[123] Interview with John MacLeod, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 13.

[124] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-A, pp. 11-12.

> check the tie. They fell in, just like Army ranks. Salute the colors . . . have somebody play taps. Morning, if we had a bugler, they'd have reveille.[125]

(Reveille, retreat, and inspections were about the only military formalities required of CCC enrollees.)

2.8 Uniforms

The now-familiar forest green uniform of the CCC was a relatively late addition to the program. During the early years of the ECW, the Army issued standard military uniforms, many of which were left over from World War I. Walter Woods, who joined the Southwest Harbor camp in the summer of 1933, put it bluntly: *"[W]e had some kind of a uniform, it just wasn't much of a uniform."[126] Not everyone received adequate gear. Several times during the severe winter of 1934, Superintendent Smith at SP-1 had to keep as many as 25 men in camp because they lacked proper clothing.[127] At NP-1, Superintendent Conner reported that the Army had trouble supplying such basic needs as footwear, socks, and mittens. He further noted that men traveled to work sites in open trucks in sub-zero weather, which he described as "little short of cruel."[128] These complaints appear to reflect the growing pains of a new program, as they were not repeated in subsequent years.

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[125] Interview with Ron Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-B, p. 36.

[126] Interview with Walter Woods, NA 2641, C1924-B, p. 17.

[127] "Narrative Reports" for January, February, and March, 1934, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1, RG 79, Box 1.

[128] "Personnel" section in "Narrative Report for January 1934" and "Summary" section in "Narrative Report for February1934," Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1, RG 79, Box 2.

Men were issued separate dress and work uniforms. Simon Caswell offered complete descriptions of the clothing issued during the later years of the program:

> ***Caswell:** [T]he dress uniform was a green jacket . . . made something like a sport coat, and it was solid in color. Kind of a wool material or something along that line. It had your tan patch on the shoulder, and as I recall . . . the background was yellow with the green lettering, the "CCC," and the number of your camp [was] also on that patch. And then your slacks were the same color as the coat. But your work uniforms were like an olive drab, like a khaki. That you wore during work hours with the shirt and the pants. . . . [T]here was also some of the work shirts that was like a blue cotton. A bluish color. They were quite popular back in those days.
>
> ***Dudley:** What sort of foot gear did you have?
>
> ***Caswell:** Those were, as I recall, just an ankle, ankle boot, lace up. . . . [L]eather, and they were tan color. . . . And then your dress shoe was black, and they were like an oxford, black oxford shoe. . . . [The dress] hat, as I recall, was similar to the army overseas cap; you know that kind of folds right up and sits, sits on your head. And that had the CC emblems on it and your camp number.[129]

Seasonal clothing was, of course, essential:

> *[I]n the wintertime, we'd have the long johns and we had the boots. . . . [W]e had these winter caps, like a baseball cap. They were blue or black if I remember right. Real warm. They had ear flaps that would come down. Then of course they had those big Army coats. But they'd get rid of those. Some had the short Army coats for the winter.[130]

Some men found ways to shed the bulky winter coat and still keep themselves warm:

> *I had a World War I vest made from like a blanket that was issued during World War I. The soldier had that. And of course we were getting the stuff here, the Army was getting rid of that stuff. We were getting it. And I

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[129] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1905-B, pp. 33-36.

[130] Interview with Ron Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-B, pp 36-37.

> remember I had that vest made from a blanket. It had three buttons, no sleeves, and it went down to [my knees].[131]

Sunhats were issued for summer use, though surprisingly few photographs from the period show men actually wearing them:

> *It was like a sailor hat only the brim hung down . . . Just sort of a round hat with a sloppy visor on it all the way around . . . It was made out of denim.[132]

Some informants noted that leather gloves and safety glasses were issued to men doing rock work,[133] but in general our interviews contain very few references to protective clothing.

Some remaining aspects of life in the CCC embrace such a wide range of issues that they warrant fuller treatment. The next chapter examines work assignments and educational opportunities. Actual work programs are discussed in chapters five and six of this report, but it's appropriate here to say something of the social organization of work in the CCC at Acadia: crew assignments, relations with supervisors, levels of skill required, and safety, as well as opportunities for training, advancement, and education, which were an important element in the CCC mandate. Recreational activities and camp/town connections are the subject of the fourth chapter, which concludes with a summary of the lasting influence of the CCC on our informants.

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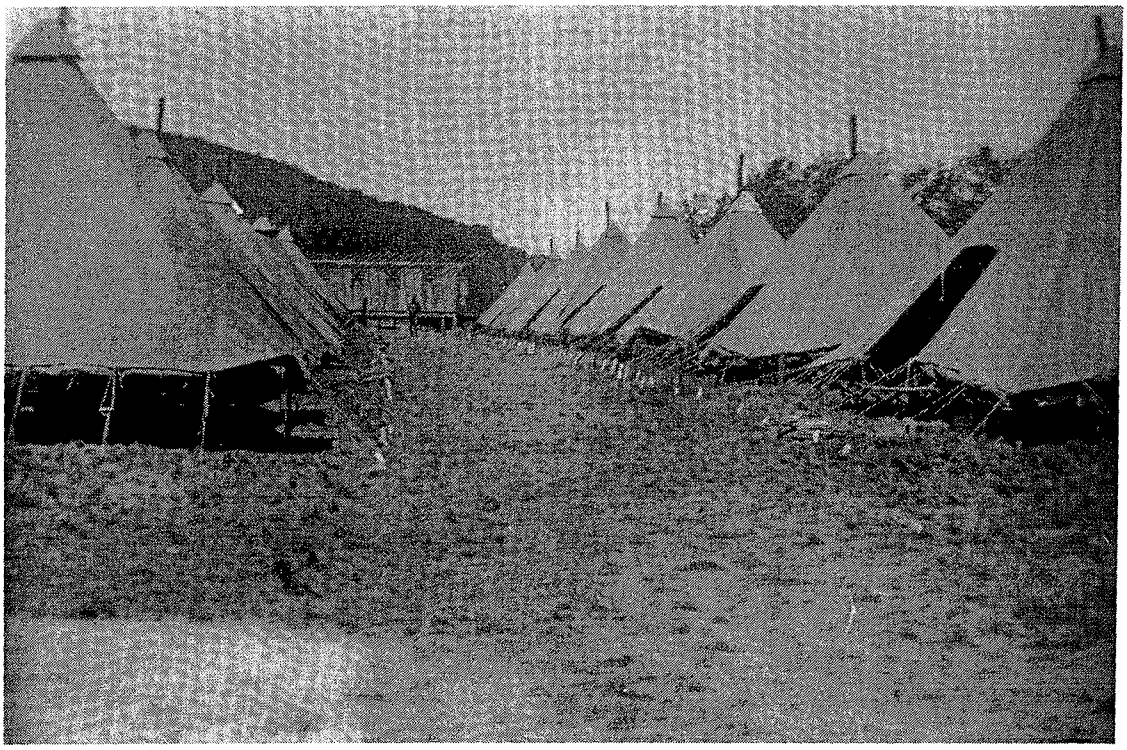
[131] Interview with Thomas Desjardin, NA 2652, C1933-B, p. 23

[132] Interview with Merrill Morang, NA 2627, C1910-A, p. 19.

[133] Interviews with Thomas Desjardin, NA 2652, C1933-B, p. 23, and with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1906-A, p. 20.

Figure 1: McFarland site (NP-1) during the early days of the encampment. (NARA Photo, Project Scan 100)

Figure 2: Army tents which provided temporary shelter for enrollees during the summer of 1933. (Courtesy of John Parsons; NAFOH P8498)



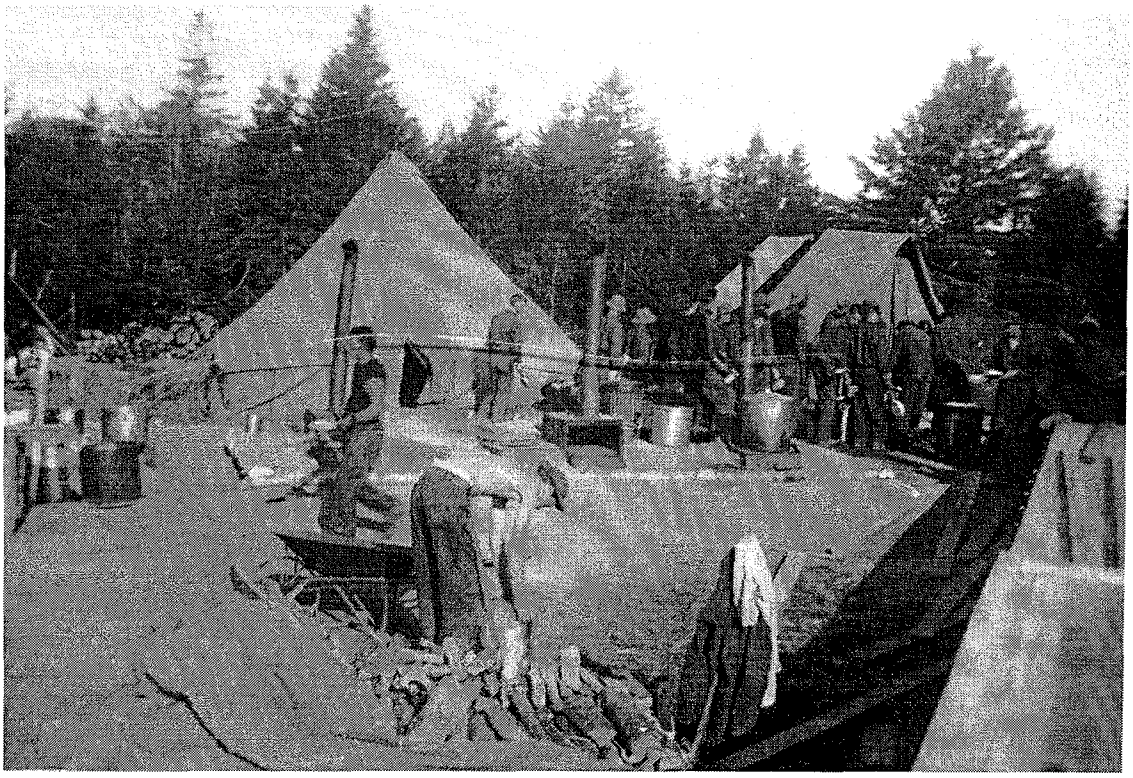


Figure 3: Meal preparations at the temporary camp, McFarland site (NP-1). (Courtesy of John Parsons; NAFOH P8503)

Figure 4: Serving meal at the temporary McFarland camp. Note large water container, with spigots, suspended from poles. (Courtesy of John Parsons; NAFOH P8499)

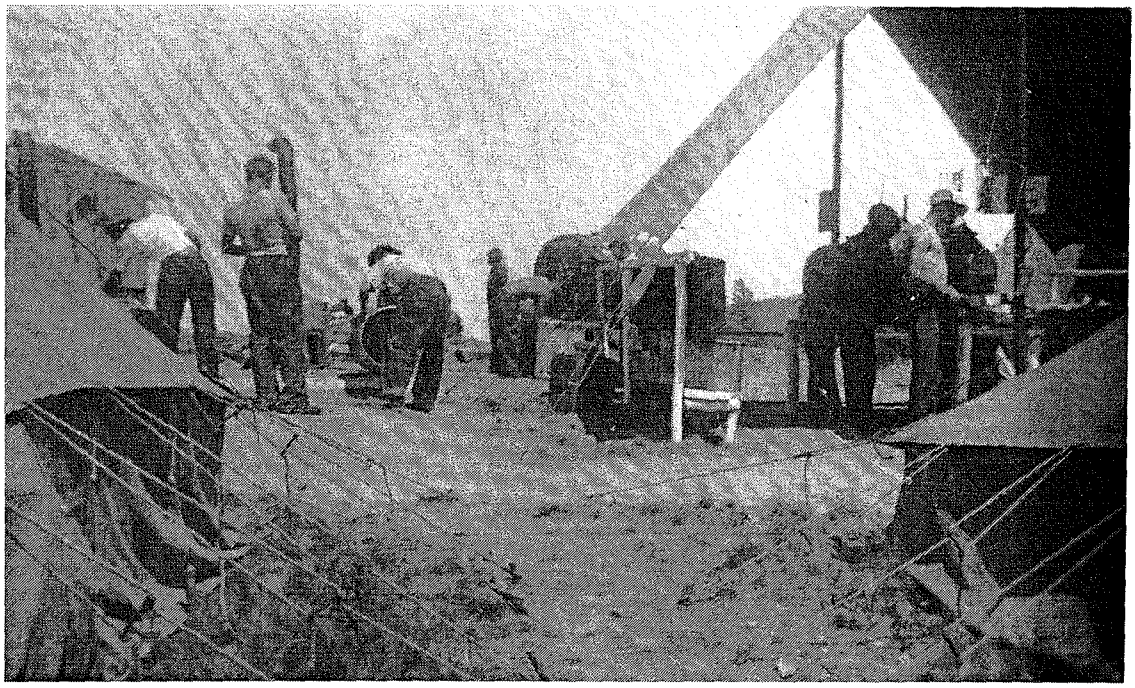


Figure 5: Mess area at the temporary camp, McFarland site (NP-1). (Courtesy of John Parsons; NAFOH P8502)

Figure 6: NP-1 senior staff, circa 1933. Back row: M. B. Knowles, unknown, Gray Curtis, Supt. S. D. Conner, William Parsons, Vernon Lunt. Front row: W. I. Leland, C. W. Rand, Dr. Sisson, Capt. McAlary, Capt. Levinson, Ed Maher, Lawrence Pinkham (Courtesy of John Parsons)

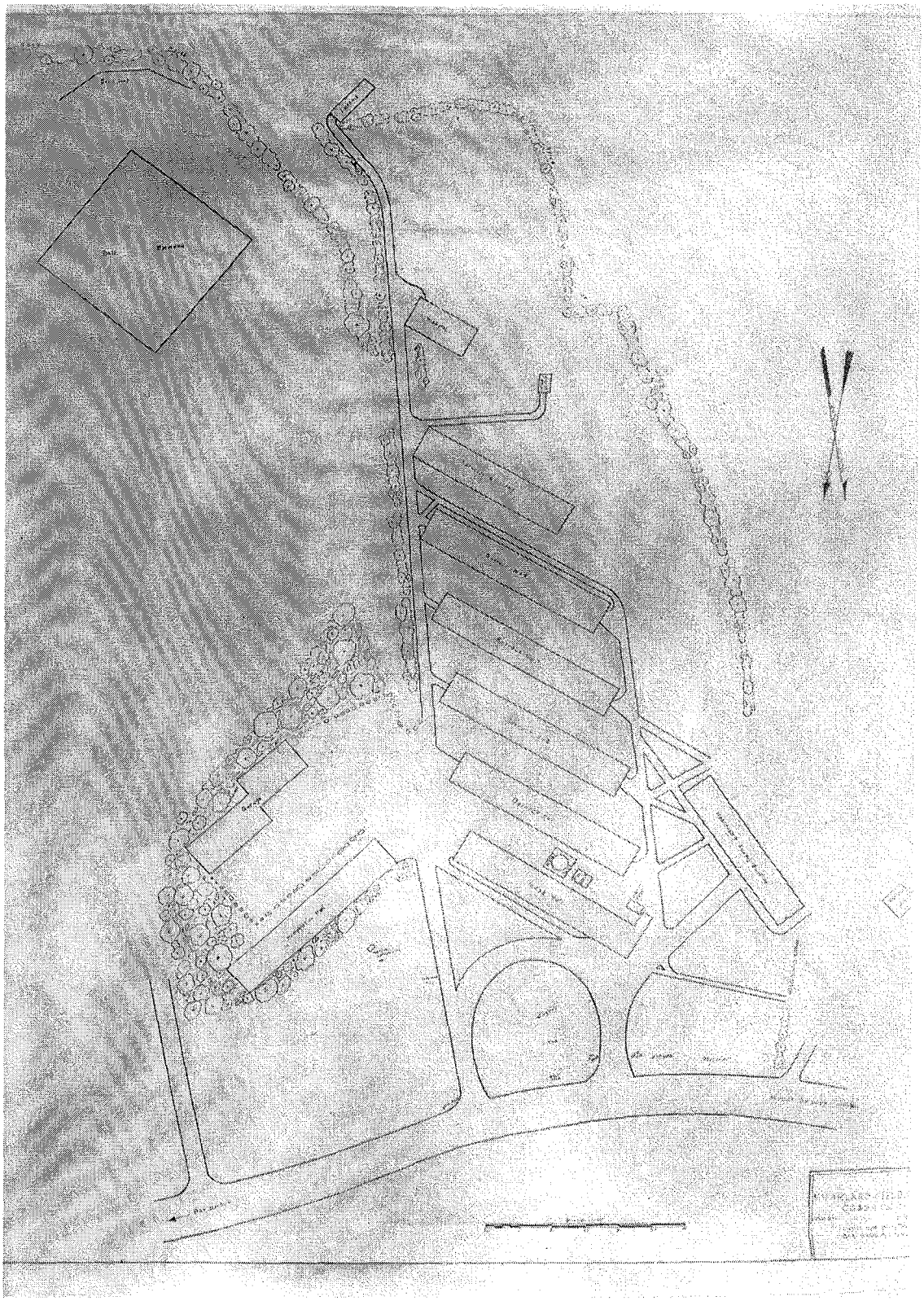
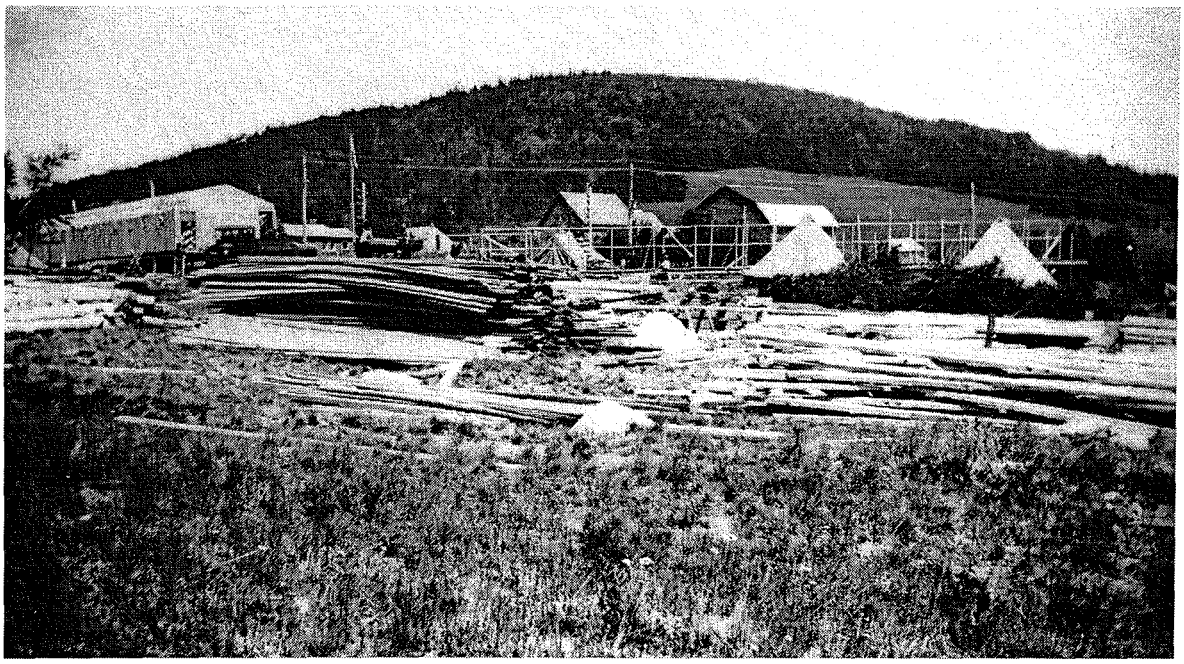
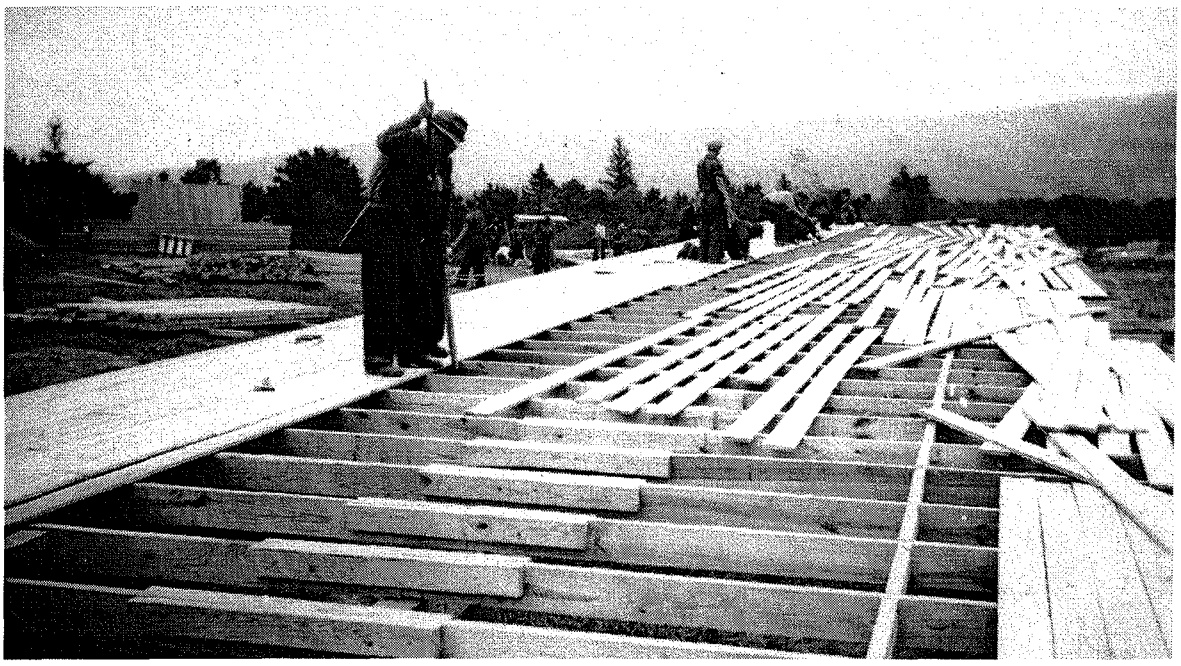


Figure 7: Plan of the McFarland camp site, surveyed and drawn by enrollees in the NP-1 transit crew. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 175)



Figures 8 and 9: Construction of permanent buildings at the McFarland camp site, NP-1. Above: Materials set out; partially completed Mess Hall, left; basic framing of the Recreation Hall in the middle ground. Below: Constructing Mess Hall roof; foundation of Barracks 1 in the foreground (NARA Photos, Project scan number 101)



Figures 10: Construction of permanent buildings at the McFarland camp site, NP-1. Installing barracks flooring. (NARA Photos, Project scan number 101)

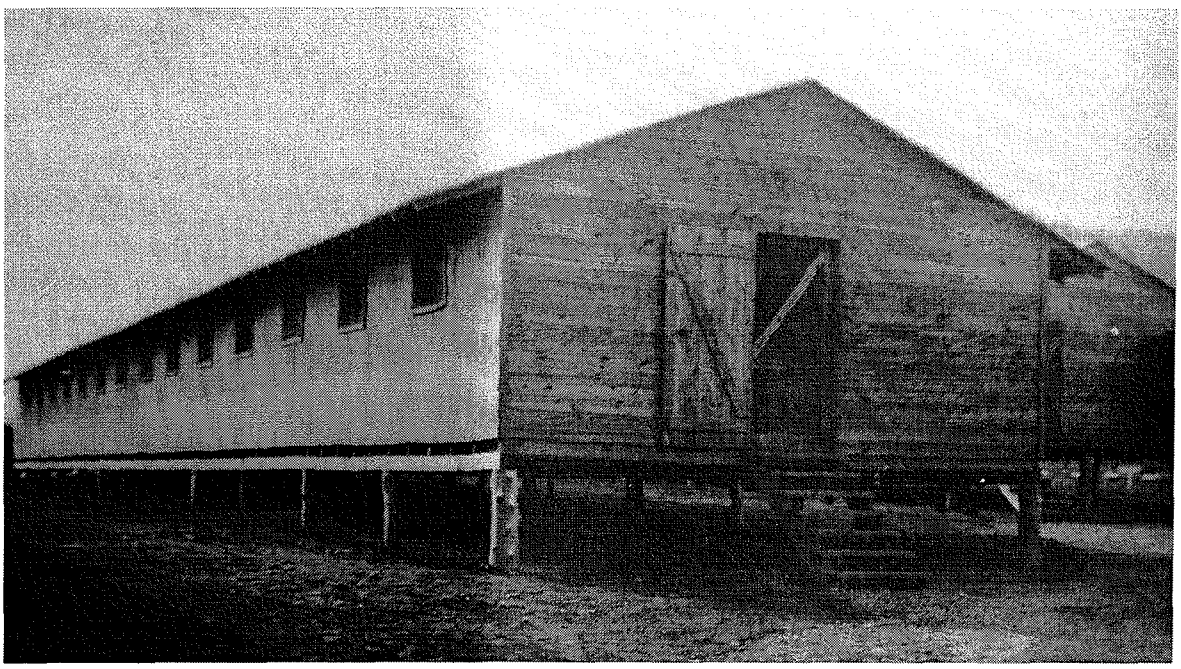
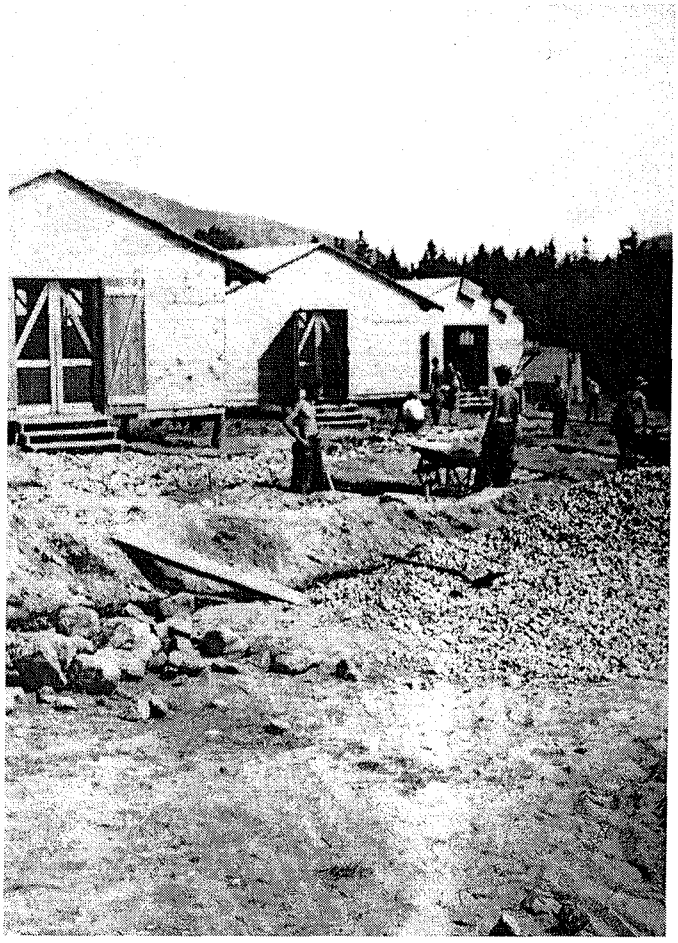


Figure 11: (Top) Barracks at the McFarland camp had to be built on posts to accommodate the contour of the hill. Initially, there was a concern that the buildings would not be habitable in winter, as a result. (Courtesy of John Parsons, NAFOH P8494)

Figure 12: (Right) Installing sewer lines and drains. In heavy rain, the McFarland site turned into a mud bowl. Enrollees constructed a network of French drains to alleviate the problem.



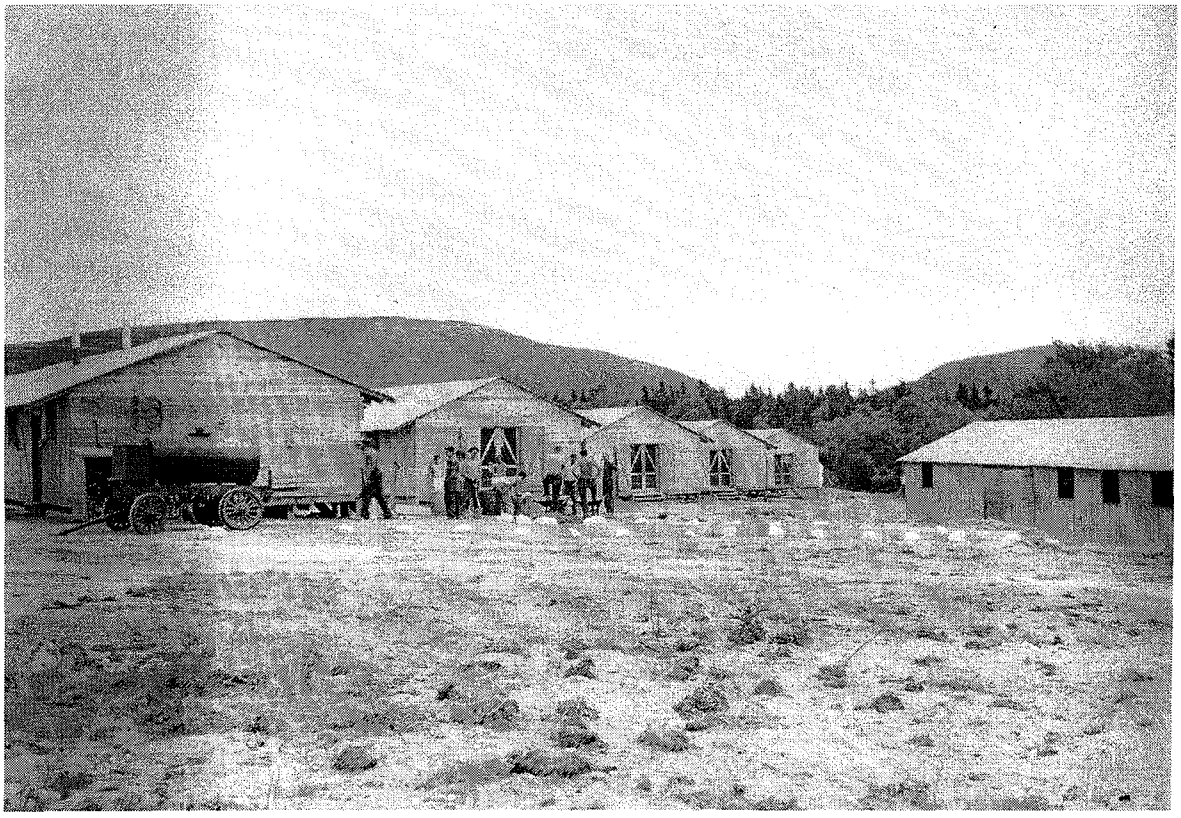
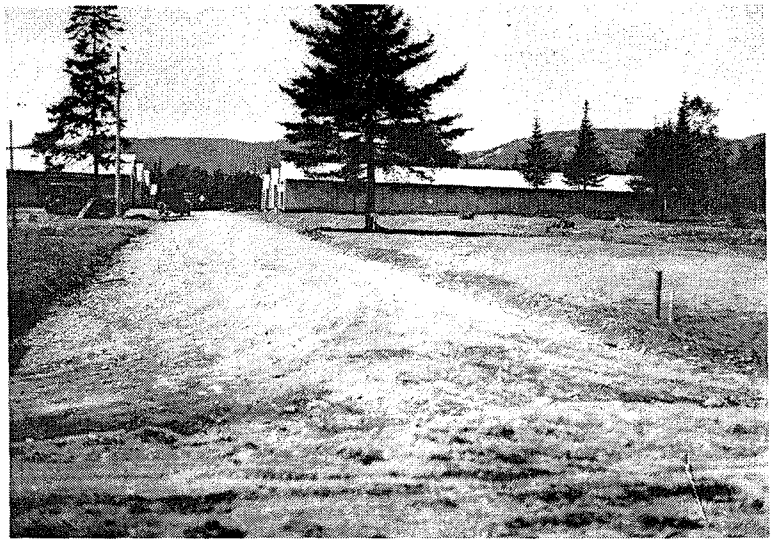
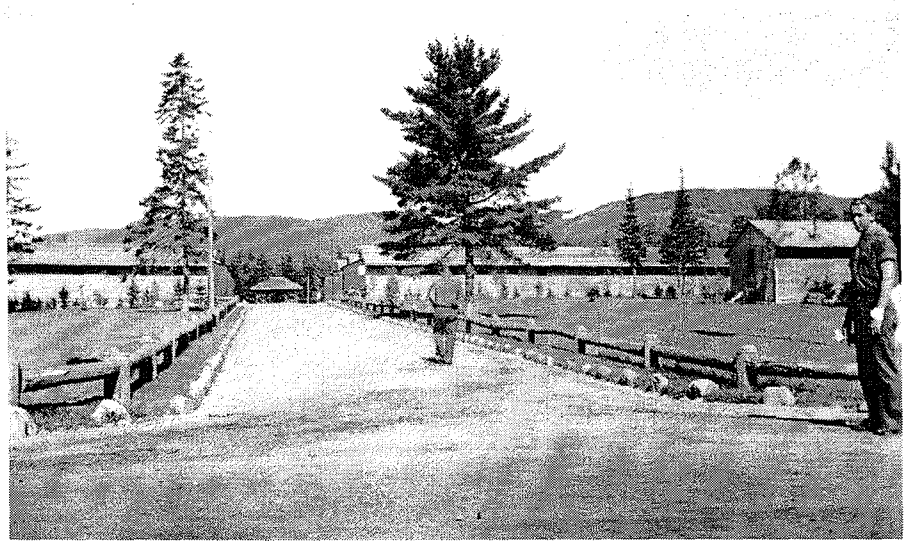
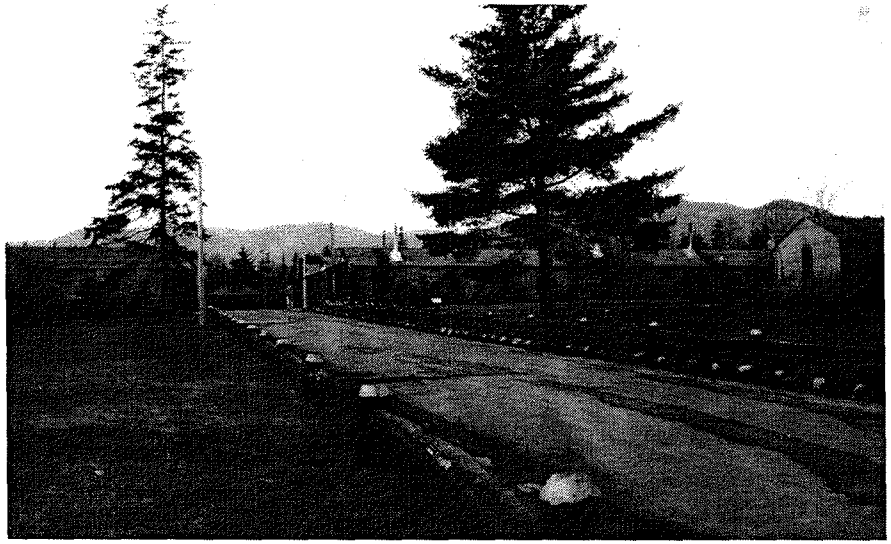


Figure 13: Barracks at the McFarland camp nearing completion. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 105)

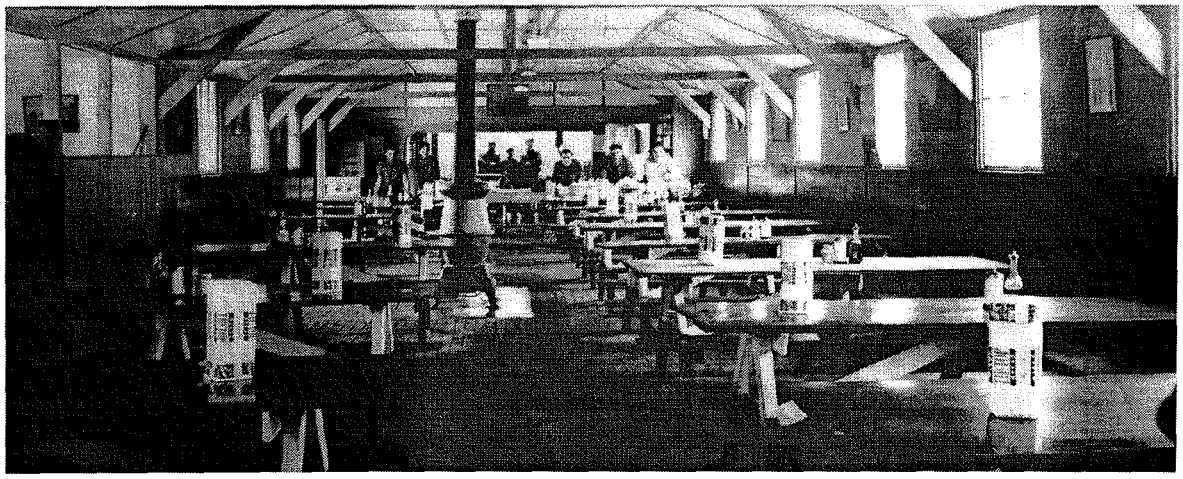
Figure 14: Interior of Barracks 1, McFarland camp, prior to the installation of stoves. Collapsible field cots still in use. (Courtesy of John Parsons, NAFOH P8509)

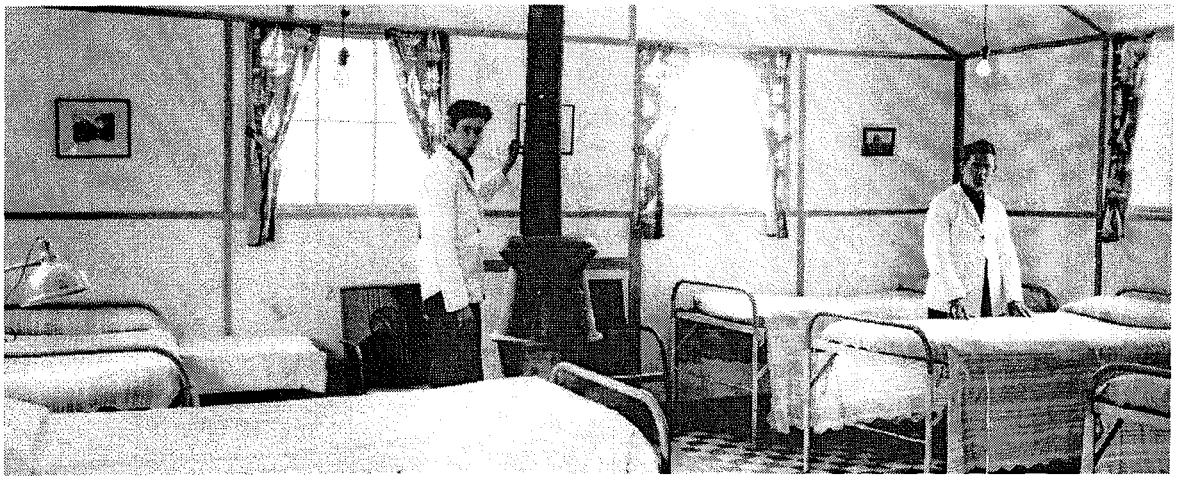


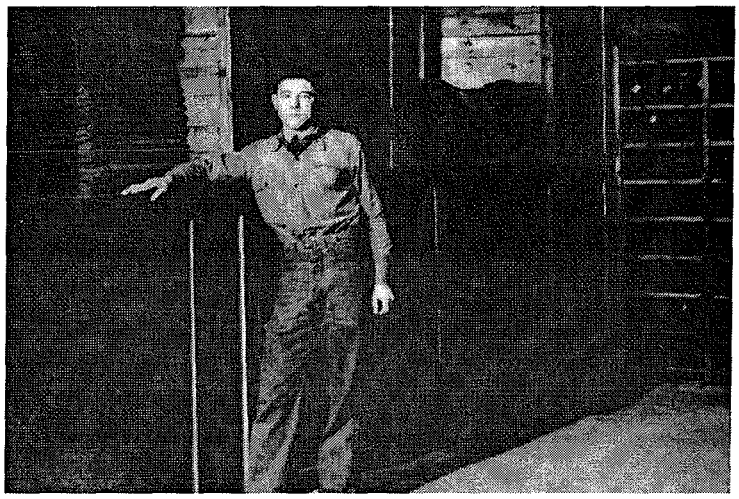




Figures 15-17: Great Pond CCC camp, NP-2, in different stages of development. (Top left): the camp shortly after construction of permanent buildings, probably in the fall of 1933. (Above): after landscaping work in the spring of 1934. Note addition of storm porches on the ends of the barracks. (Left): Little had changed five years later when Linwood Robshaw took this photo in 1939. The only major change was the addition of an education building in the late thirties. (Figures 15-16: NARA Photos, Project scan number 204; Figure 17, courtesy of Linwood Robshaw)







Figures 18-20: Support facilities at the Great Pond camp, NP-2.

(Top) Mess Hall;
(Center) Infirmary;
(Right): Supply Store.

A number of enrollees were permanently assigned to camp positions, called "overhead," which reduced the number of men available for conservation work (Images courtesy of Lester Hartford)

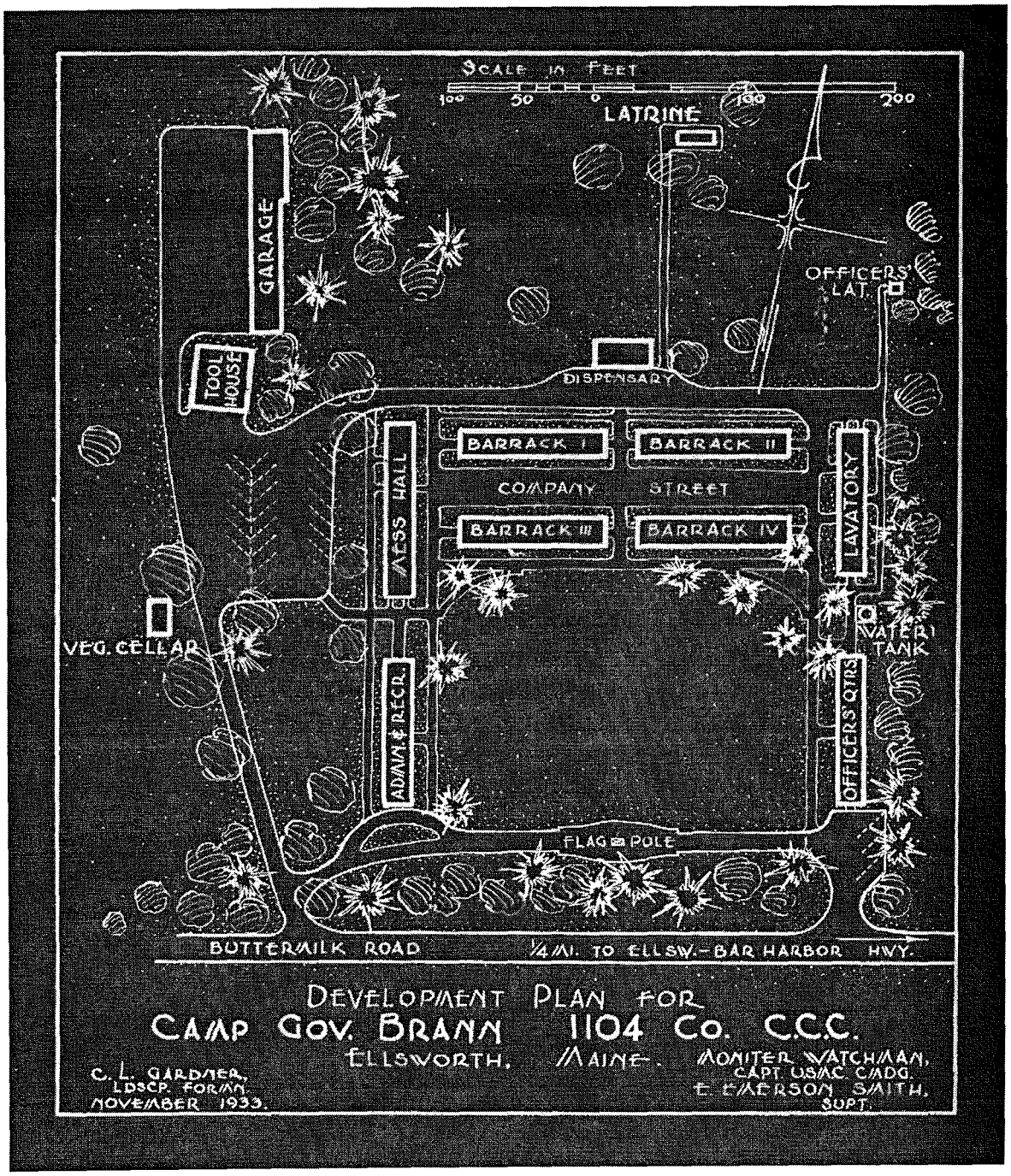


Figure 21: Blue-Print, Camp Gov. Brann, Ellsworth, SP-1. (NARA Document, Project scan 43)

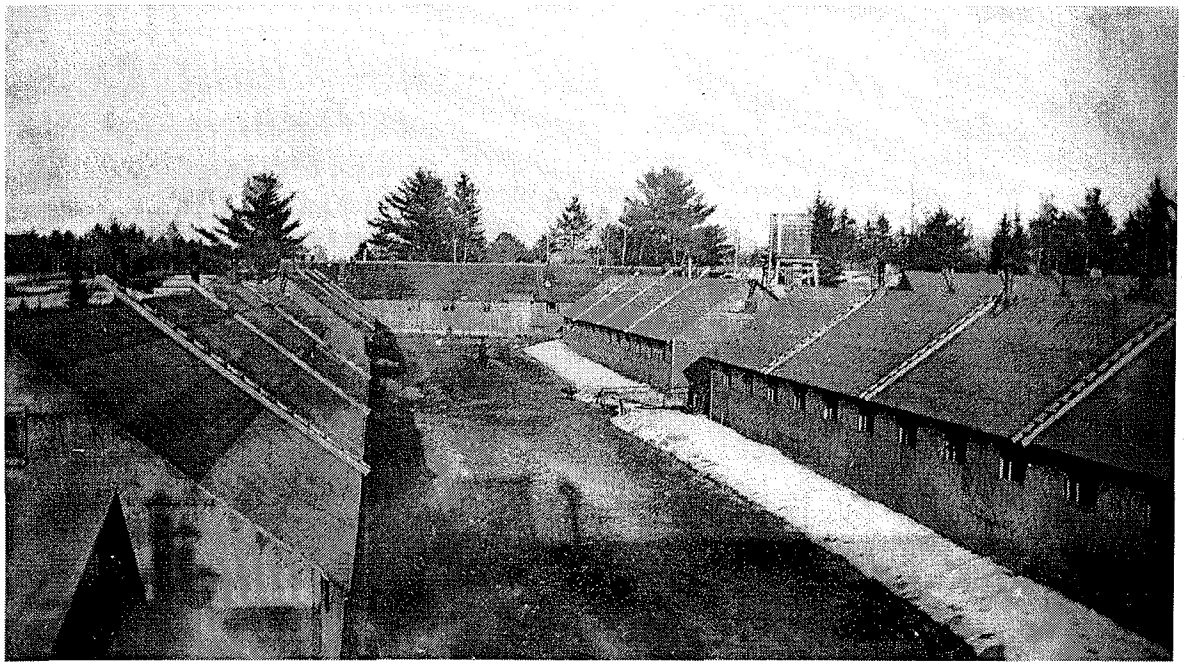


Figure 22: Barracks at Camp Gov. Brann, Ellsworth, taken from the rook of the Mess Hall. (Courtesy of Arthur Studer)

Figure 23: Supervisory staff of the Ellsworth Camp, ca. 1934. (Back): Z. Tabbutt, J. B. Gooch, E. L. Cameron, W. F. Tefft., A. B. Marshall, E. E. Cousins, and J. A. Mattatall; (Kneeling): C. L. Gardner, S. Yusk, Patrick. J. Boylan, and Robert W. Patterson.

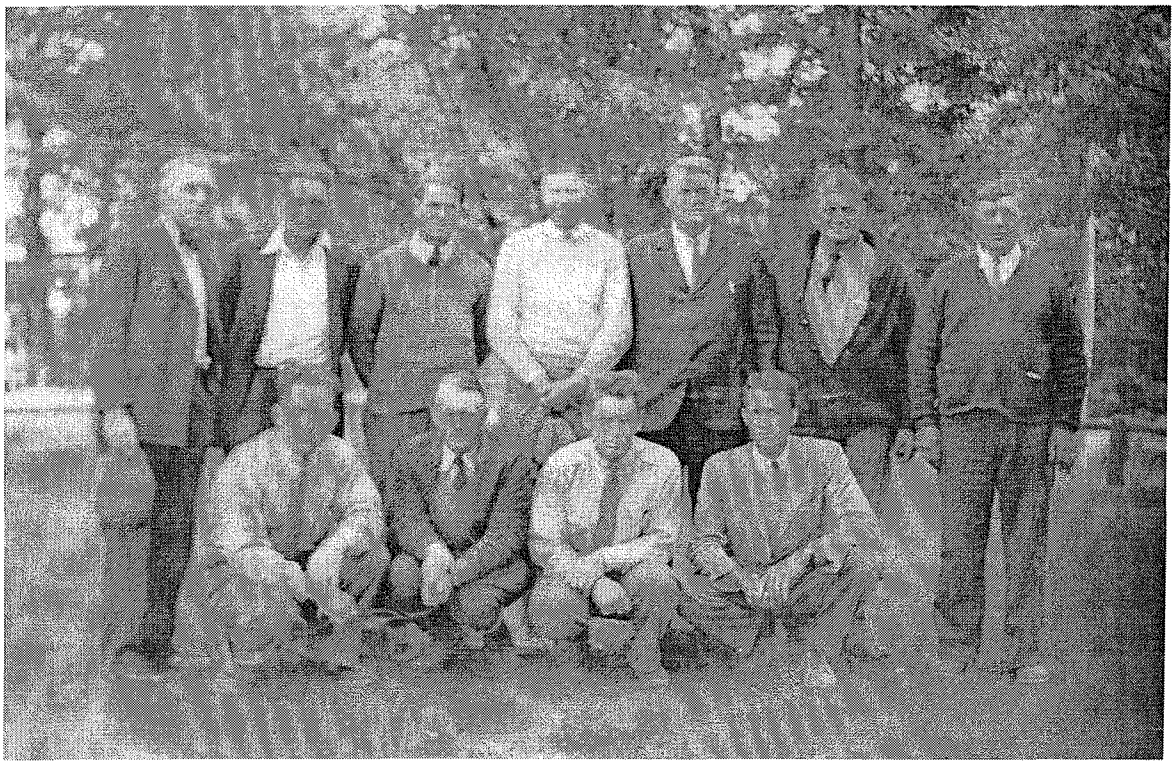
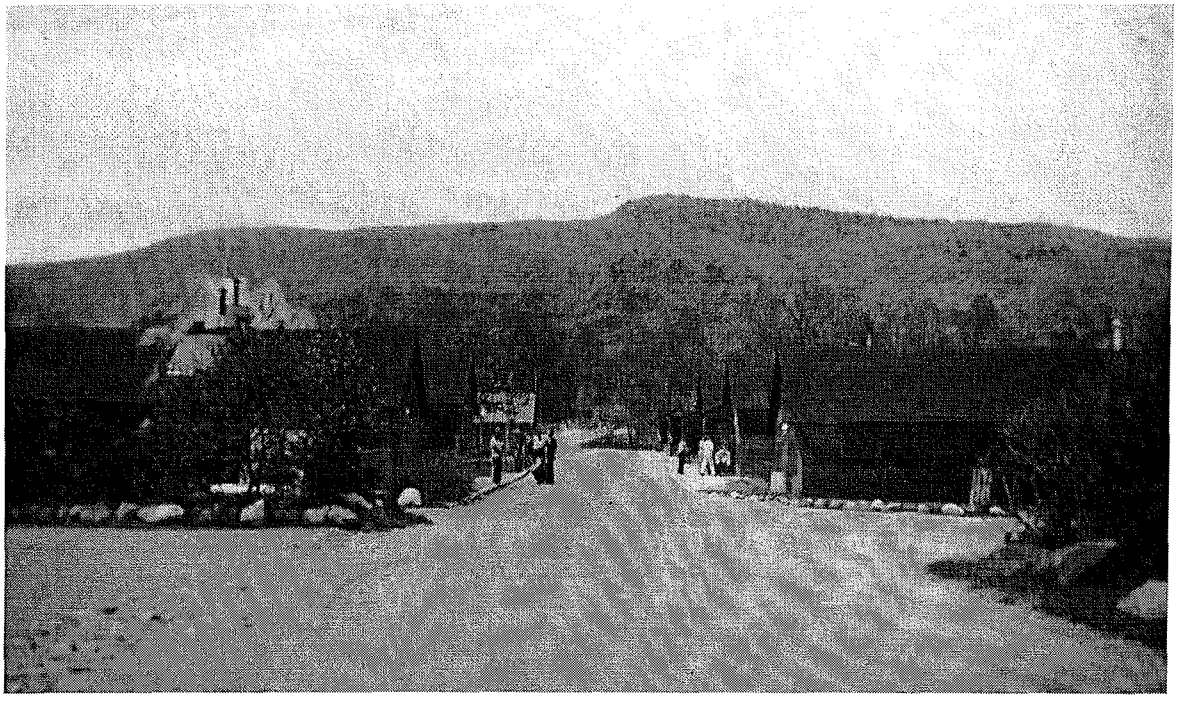
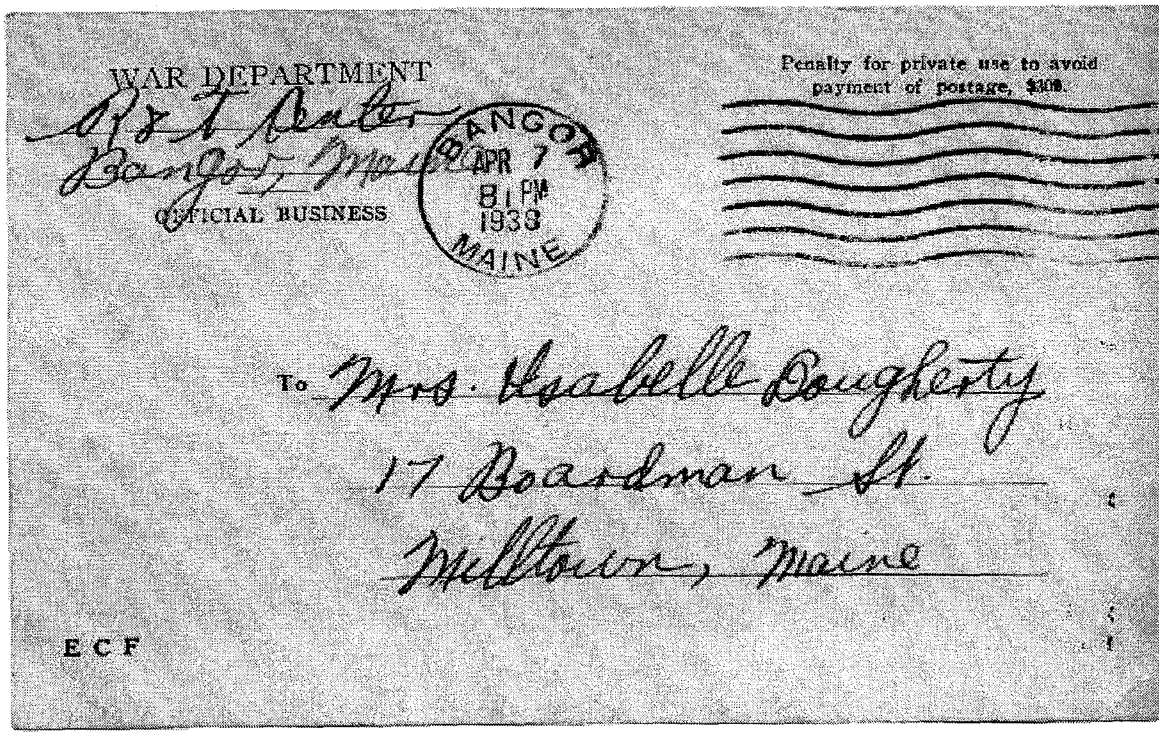


Figure 24: Construction of kitchen and mess hall at the Schoodic side camp ca. 1936. Building materials were salvaged from structures razed during cleanup operations at other work sites. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 138)

Figure 25: The CCC Camp at Camden Hills. (Courtesy of Damien Blanchette)





WAR DEPARTMENT

R & T Center
Bangor, Maine

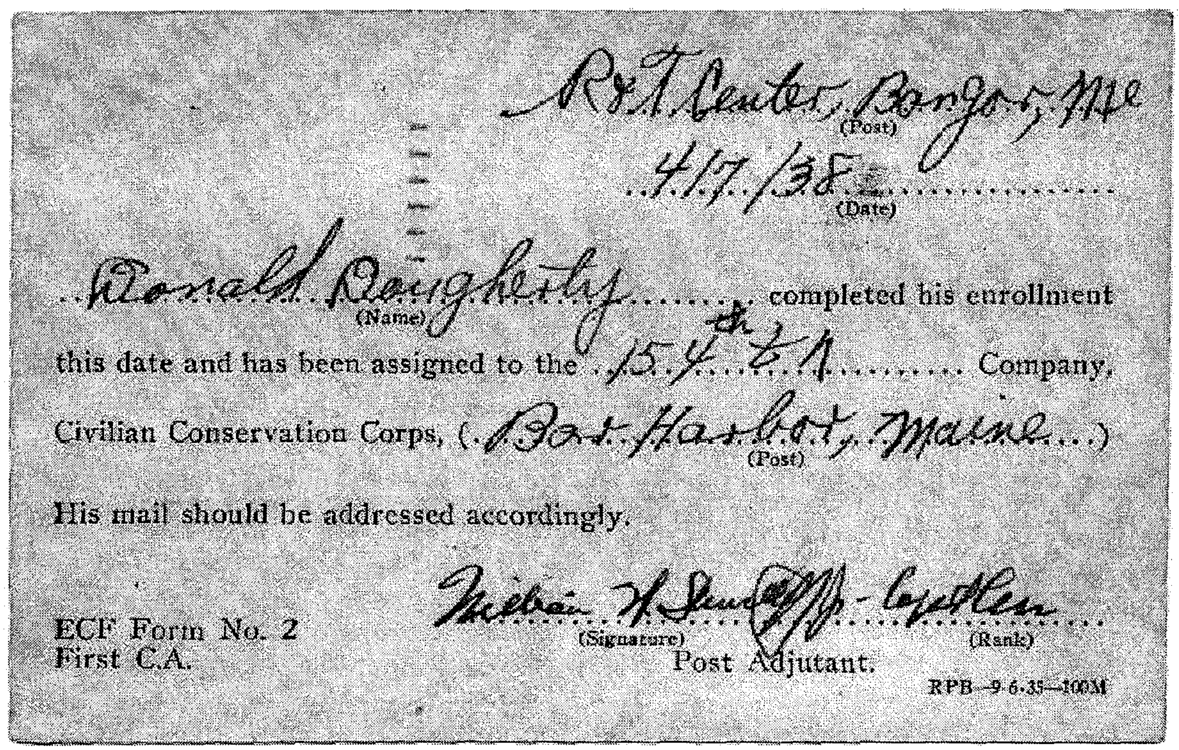
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

BANGOR APR 7 8 PM 1938 MAINE

Penalty for private use to avoid payment of postage, $300.

To Mrs. Isabelle Dougherty
17 Boardman St.
Milltown, Maine

E C F



R & T Center, Bangor, Me
(Post)

4/7/38
(Date)

Ronald Dougherty (Name) completed his enrollment this date and has been assigned to the 154th C.A. Company, Civilian Conservation Corps, (Bar Harbor, Maine (Post))

His mail should be addressed accordingly.

ECF Form No. 2
First C.A.

(Signature) (Rank)
Post Adjutant.

RPB—9-6-35—100M

Figures 26 and 27: Notification of camp assignment sent to an enrollee's family by the CCC (courtesy of Ronald Dougherty).

Work Assignments, Training, and Education

3.1 Work Assignments

During the day, the available work force in each camp was divided into crews of between eight and twenty-five men depending on the nature of the work. Special crews might have fewer men and some tasks, such as clerical positions, were assigned to individuals. Most enrollees worked on park projects, but not all. At any given time, roughly 10% to 15% of the men were assigned to support positions in camp, collectively referred to as "overhead," which included company clerk, supply clerk, tool shop attendant, mess hall assistants, infirmary orderlies, or grounds crew. . Some, such as kitchen duty ("KP") or grounds work, were meted out temporarily as mild punishment. *"Once you got on the bad list," Arthur Studer recalled, "you got in there sweeping floors and cleaning tables and stuff, that's all."[1] Even KP had its advantages, though: *"Doing kitchen duty, I could eat better, because I was close in the kitchen. And you get friendly with the cook. So it wasn't a bad deal. . . ."[2] Clerical assignments, which were permanent, were eagerly sought by some enrollees. As one informant commented, "some of the boys chose it to be that way because they felt it was easier work than working in the fields."[3] Overhead crews remained under military supervision.

Park staff had direct supervision over all aspects of CCC work outside the camps: the project superintendents for each company (as distinct from the military commanders) were employed by and answered directly to park managers, and the park received ECW

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[1] Interview with Arthur Studer, NA 2639, C1922-A, p. 17.

[2] Interview with Thomas Desjardin, NA 2652, C1933-B, p. 18.

[3] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1905-B, p. 36; also Paige 1985: 54.

funds to hire foremen to oversee the work of each crew. The superintendents and many of the technical foremen were trained foresters who had been laid-off because of the downturn in the woods industries. Because of their expertise, they quickly earned the respect of many enrollees, who took advantage of the opportunity to learn from them:

> *They were well-educated. They had done that for some time, apparently, because it seems to me when they spoke, when they started to explain something, that you could almost hear a pin drop. They made it so that it wasn't boring. You weren't going to fall asleep whenever they had a lecture or a session, as if they were trained for it, apparently. Because they made themselves liked. We enjoyed them.[4]

> *They told you what to do, they showed you how to do it if you didn't know how. And they were with you five days a week. And they knew what to do, how to do it, and they showed you. The foresters in the evening would volunteer their evening to teach you. . . . I liked mechanical drawings so I went into one of the rooms where the surveyor who worked for the national park – he was a surveyor, an engineer – he would teach three, four of us how to do mechanical drawing. . . . He was not CC, he was civilian. He lived in town. He had a car leased to him by the government, and that's how he traveled from job to job. Also what he did when he didn't work out in the field, he would draw blueprints for the park. New roads. New trails. He would draw the blueprint. He was an MIT graduate.[5]

> *I remember this fellow that was the carpenter supervisor who wore the green uniform just like the park ranger. He's very conscious, self-conscious, of his surroundings and would always point them out to us. No matter where we were, you know, if it was near the ocean or wherever, if he saw something he thought that we should be aware of, he would mention it, yes.[6]

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[4] Interview with Damien Blanchette, NA 2662, C1950-B, p. 29.

[5] Interview with Thomas Desjardin, NA 2652, C1933-B, p. 25 and 29.

[6] Interview with Roy Doak, NA 2663, C1952-A, p. 24; the supervisor in question was probably Jesse Atwood.

> *[F]ellow by the name of Pat Boylan was the superintendent of the forestry department, and I think he's around from Massachusetts somewhere. . . . He was a guy to teach us something about trees, and we'd go to a lot of his meetings sometimes. . . . Boy, he could tell you something about trees that you and I ever heard of. He was smart. I liked him. . . . Well, he'd talk on different ways of trees, and how to plant them, and all this and that. . . . But along Ellsworth, along on that road to Ellsworth, we planted quite a lot of trees along in there. But as I say, he was a forestry man, but he had talent. . . . I went for nearly every meeting he had, and I really enjoyed it. I mean, I took interest in that because I like to see things grow. . . . I think twice a week, I'd meet old Pat out there, I mean you'd listen to him. One thing about him, if somebody want to know some answer and . . . you didn't [cover] it during a meeting . . . when he got done, he'[d] answer any question you'd want. And that's the way it should be.[7]

In turn, supervisors at the two MDI camps valued the fact that most of their workers came from communities within the state. "The men in McFarland's Field Camp are all Maine men," Superintendent Conner proudly told the *Bar Harbor Times*. "They eat, sleep, work, and think as any other healthy Maine-raised boys do and they are just as much interested in their homes and families as you would expect any Maine man to be."[8] Family values aside, what park supervisors valued most was the enrollees' familiarity with the basic tools required for woods work. As Reginald Ingalls noted in an early report, "Since the majority of the men, previous to their enrollment, were experienced in some particular part of the work which has been done . . . there has been little difficulty in assigning work for which the men were fitted and in which, moreover, they were

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[7] Interview with Claude Beaupre, NA 2666, C1955-A, p. 9, and C1955-B, pp. 24, 32, and 34.

[8] "CC Camp Supt. and Park Official Address Grange," *Bar Harbor Times*, November 22, 1933, p. 6.

interested."[9] At the Ellsworth camp, Superintendent Smith and his successor, Patrick Boylan, weren't quite so fortunate. There, not only were most enrollees from urban centers, but many, in Boylan's opinion, were "questionable men" who had been "encouraged by local authorities to join the C. C. C. and thus get away from towns where their prescence [sic] was perhaps no longer desired, for one of any number of reasons."[10] When the first Ellsworth contingent was replaced by the 193rd company from Millinocket in the fall of 1935, Boylan happily reported that the new group, "all Maine men and accustomed to out-of-doors work, have proven themselves a hardy and capable lot."[11]

3.2 Productivity and Safety

While productivity was important, the pace of work was not grueling. *"You picked your own rate of working, but still you was expected to do a day's work."[12] Men did not have to work in a steady rain or when the temperature dropped below zero in winter. Some informants report that, when necessary, supervisors would promote competition between crews, even offering small incentives, to improve work output:

> ***Caswell:** It was real competitive. Like you might have a project where you're doing road work or whatever it might be. We'd try to compete

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[9] "Report Covering the First Enrollment Period, May 29 - Sept. 30, 1933, Great Pond Camp, N. P. 2," RG 79, Box 2.

[10] "Supplemental Quarterly Narrative Report for April - May - June, 1934, Camp Governor Brann, Ellsworth," July 1, 1934, RG 79, Box 1.

[11] "Narrative Report, Maine State Park Camp #1, October - November, 1935," RG 79, Box 2.

[12] Interview with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1923-A, p. 18.

against another crew. In other words, we'd try to get more done than the other crew that might be down the road a little ways from us. That you might be starting two sections of work and there'd be one crew at one location and the other one on the upper end, and you're working towards one another to complete that operation. And we'd try to compete against the other crew to outdo the other one. Or the other one would try to do the same to us.

Dudley: Now did your job leader foster this competition, or was that something that you just wanted to do by yourselves?

Caswell: Yes, and he, and he probably instigated a lot of that. But in a nice way. I mean, he didn't tell you that you had to try to do more than the next person. But it was something we were trying to prove probably to him and to ourselves, that we could perform better than the other crew. I think that's the basic concept.[13]

***Desjardin:** [T]hat job I was on, we, we were doing, like I say, this road from the tar road to the edge of the water. The road was going to be two lane wide, and it was maybe 800 feet long. . . . Now we were told to do this project and we were going to try to finish it by spring. And the competition we had two men on this truck and two men on this truck, and who would load it the fastest with gravel. We were not too far from the project, and there was gravel to be dug there. And someone had to watch and they'd time us. And I think we loaded the truck in eleven minutes. With shovels. With gravel. So that was competition.

Dudley: Did you win anything for it?

Desjardin: No. . . . It was just the idea of being a minute or two quicker than the other crew.[14]

*[T]o get things done, they'd see who could perform the work the fastest. We'd clear brush or build a road, fire break, and we'd try to pit one, one barrack against the other barrack. And there'd be prizes. . . . Well, sometimes you'd get canteen books; they were in a coupon book, and some were worth a dollar. You'd go to the movies with them. They were ten cent tickets in them, in these little booklets. And you'd, you know,

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[13] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1905-B, p. 45.

[14] Interview with Thomas Desjardins, NA 2652, C1933-B, p. 27.

> you'd work for those. It would be an incentive just to get something accomplished.[15]

Safety, however, was a far greater concern than efficiency. While all three Acadia camps appear to have had fairly good safety records, our informants report that there were at least two deaths, one from a vehicle mishap in camp and at least one other due to a fall from a cliff.[16] Only four informants (out of 26) reported injuries or illnesses that were serious enough to affect their work status:

> *I was working in a hospital putting up the netting around . . . the beds. And of course they were about three feet high. And I slipped and I scraped my shin hard, so it broke the skin and [was] bleeding. And of course they patched me up as much as they could. And I went to town that night on liberty and it was raining. And those green uniforms we had, the dye comes out of it. So I had blood poisoning in my leg. So after that, I couldn't do any manual, real manual labor. So they gave me the job in the hospital. And from then, I was transferred to Bar Harbor to the hospital up there because the guy up there was getting discharged.[17]

> *The cement slab . . . well, it would be the wall that's coming up above the slab, about probably 24 inches tall or whatever. Then we had to punch those holes through, and that's where I got an injury. I was holding the hand drill for one of the other workers and he was hitting on that with a sledge hammer. Well, turning that hand drill and of course, and you're leaning over and all the protection you've got is a pair of glasses, and one of the blows glanced off the long bar that I'm holding, ricocheted up and

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[15] Interview with Merrill Morang, NA 2627, C1910-B, pp. 22-23.

[16] Interviews with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-B, pp. 49-50, Damien Blanchette, NA 2662, C1950-B, p. 24, Wesley Gray, NA 2625, C1907-B, p. 26, and Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1929-A, p. 13. There are differences in the informants' accounts of the cliff accident, so it's possible that more than one incident is involved. The fatalities do not appear to have been reported in the local press.

[17] Interview with John McLeod, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 14.

> took me right on the edge of the hairline. So needless to say, I was out of work for a couple of weeks.[18]
>
> *I was just looking for something busy to do, and I, for some reason or other, [was] checking up on some metal that was in the warehouse right next to the blacksmith's shop. And I pulled out this bunch of steel to look behind it. And it got away from me and it came on my leg and broke it. I don't remember who found me. Someone must have heard me hollering, or something. But I was immediately rescued and put over in the infirmary. . . . All I remember is the shock. Someone talked about the shock when you break something, and I remember the shock was quite traumatic. I had never broken anything before. But I spent the night in the infirmary, and the next day I was hauled to Portland, South Portland. And spent six months there. . . .[19]
>
> *Oh, I broke up a hand . . . putting in a form [at] Black Woods, round form for concrete foundation for the water tower. And [I] had on a pair of leather sole shoes, like them Army shoes, and I slipped and went on over. Well, looking straight down at that ledge didn't look very good, so I hung on. I put the prints of them two fingers right in the back of my hand.[20]

Inevitably, men working with saws and axes had their share of cuts and scrapes, especially those who were unfamiliar with the tools or with conditions in the woods:

> *All of the men in [the Ellsworth camp] but the local enlisted came from Massachusetts. . . . They had axes and saws and everything else that they were using to clean up the dead wood and everything. So a lot of kids got cut with the axes. . . . The trucks stayed with your crew all the time, just in case some accident, somebody got cut, you can haul them out to the doctor or something. . . . [T]he only one I remember, the [enrollee was using a] double bit axe and he didn't know nothing about it, and he wanged it on a tree. That was January or February, I forget which it was, but anyway, it was froze solid. And it bounced back and cut him across [the forehead]. I hauled him from Northeast Harbor to a doctor who sewed him up, then I brought him back to camp for treatment there. So there wasn't too many accidents. There was a few get cut like that, but not too many.

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[18] Interview with Simon Casewell, NA 2624, C1906-B, p. 28; see also p. 38.

[19] Interview with Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1929-A, p. 13.

[20] Interview with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1957-B, pp. 33-34.

It was also inevitable that, occasionally, the last lasting effect of an accident was a good story rather than a bad injury:

> *This was in the winter time and we had tar paper on the roof of that spring house, and the wind tore it. So I told this [guy] to go up and take some two by fours and put two spikes in them, nail them, go up there, and use that for a ladder to get up there. And I said, "Make sure you use two nails, and leave them right there when you get through. Go up and repair that tear." So by and by, I heard this bump, bump, bump, bump, bump, bump, bump. And he hit every one of those on the way down. And he slid right out, just like a shoot the chute, right on his back. In the frozen ground. I thought he killed himself. What he'd done, he'd just put one [nail] in the middle. He got all the way to the top and the one he was standing on turned, and down he come. [laughs][21]

3.3 Skill Demands and Special Crews

As a program aimed at alleviating youth unemployment, the CCC did not recruit a large number of skilled workers apart from LEMs. Most projects required rudimentary work skills that the average enrollee either already possessed or could acquire with minimal training. The CCC did, however, provide opportunities for young men to develop new skills or build on existing ones. Indeed, preparing enrollees for future employment was an important objective of the program. Most of the training was delivered through the evening educational programs (which are covered in more detail in the following chapter), but a limited number of special crews provided opportunities to gain hands-on experience. These positions were not widely available, nor were they pursued by everyone. Some men, preferring routine assignments, were content to clear

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[21] Interview with Vernon Wardwell, NA 2658, C1944-B, p. 23.

and burn brush or do pick-and-shovel work on the roads for the duration of their enrollment:

> *[T]he ones who usually worked for, like Vern Lunt, who was one forester, usually stayed with him during most of the time that they were there, because they knew if you worked for Vern, you knew what had to be done on the jobs. And if you worked for [Roy] Salisbury, [you] did the same thing.[22]

Many, of course, found woods work enjoyable and rewarding in its own right, and the fact that they were helping to develop a national park gave the work an added sense of importance: "Well, we wanted to make sure it was nice. We did a good job. We were proud of our work and we did the best we could, knowing that people would be there."[23] There were those, however, who preferred an assignment on a special crews, as it offered more challenging work and a valuable learning experience:

> *[I]n the spring I got looking around, I said, "My god, I'm in here, now's the chance to make something of it if I have a chance" . . . . So I applied for the carpenter crew and they put me right into it. From then on I was in the carpenter crew entirely.[24]

> *I worked on a surveying crew. And we used to survey the government lands all around there. So I had to go two nights a week to school, different things on the surveying business. . . . I did [get a certificate for the course]. . . . And that was a good deal. That was a good job. . . . You didn't get paid anything extra, no. It was just the same pay. But it was a better job. A lot of the times, [the other men] might be digging a ditch, loading trucks [laughs] . . . . So that was pretty good.[25]

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[22] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-A, p. 15.

[23] Interview with Wesley Gray, NA 2625, C1907-B, p. 23.

[24] Interview with Lester Hartford, August 18, 2000, NA 2640, Tape 1923.

[25] Interview with Russell Olson, June 28, 2001, NA 2654, Tape 1936.

In the final years of the program, some hours during the work week were set aside for vocational instruction:

> *[T]hey provided night schools for academic subjects, reading, writing, and arithmetic, that kind of stuff. Then you had two days a week, Tuesdays and Thursdays, where the mornings were assigned for two hours to job-type training, job-type instruction. . . . I was on the dynamite crew so we did dynamite stuff, on how to handle it properly, or handling it for safety, how to compute out the depth of your hole, and how much explosive it was going to take, and all that kind of stuff went on with us. We were always playing with that. How to wire it up with electricity or how to light it off, torch it off with a fuse, and prepare your stuff so you didn't do damage to yourself or to others. Then they had a written test, of course, the state had a written test. Every once and a while they'd administer the test so that you could come up with your card; you had a card that you carried in your pocket. . . . [The exam] was done at the camp.[26]

Special assignments held by our informants included baker's assistant, infirmary orderly, company clerk, supply steward, survey crew, dynamite crew, carpenter, mechanic's assistant, and driver (truck and bulldozer). Landing one of these positions was often just "the luck of the draw":

> *[If] you was there and they needed somebody to do something, they told you, give you a chance to do it. And if you could do it, you had the job. You couldn't do it, somebody else would get it.[27]

But most of those who joined specialized crews were able to do so because they expressed an interest in the work, or because supervisors singled them out for their general aptitude. At least such was the case for a number of our informants (Beaupre, Dougherty, Hartford, Olson). Men with even limited prior training often stood a better

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[26] Interview with Eugene Paradis, Old Town Museum Oral History Project, p. 2.

[27] Interview with Merrill Morang, NA 2627, C1910-B, p. 25.

chance of getting preferred assignments, which sometimes gave an advantage to older enrollees:

> *I started burning brush, and I didn't like it. And I had taken three years of manual training in school, high school, and had a natural knack for wood carving. So I went to see the superintendent of the carpenter shop. I asked him if I could try out. Told him my qualifications. And he went to my company commander and said, "I want to assign him to the carpenter shop to see if he can qualify." So I worked half a day and he said, "Don't worry about it. You will be a carpenter." So that's what I was. Well, I may have burned brush for a week.[28]

> *I had taken the Red Cross First Aid test. (And what I can't remember was [whether] I had done that before I went in the CCCs or after.) But it was in my records. The fellow that ran the dispensary was getting out, and somebody saw that in my record and they put me down in the dispensary.[29]

> *[W]e had, you know, you have some of the people that were in there mid twenties when they went in. They were kind of down on their luck and no work, no money coming in, so they chose to go into the CCC. And then they might have had some experience from some other job they had held. A man in his mid twenties had been around a while compared to some of us that were 17, 18. So they were chosen if they had a skill as a truck driver. Or they could operate a construction equipment. Or different things of that nature. That's more or less how some, some of the workers were chosen. And if you didn't have any background experience, like in my case, you were just assigned to a unit as a laborer.[30]

In general, there was little differentiation in status among enrollees, either in camp or on the job, but the CCC offered a variety of work opportunities, which the individual could tailor to his own likes and abilities. Energetic workers could find engaging assignments

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[28] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, Tape 1924.

[29] Interview with Roy Doak, NA 2663, C1952-A, p. 7.

[30] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1905-B, p. 40.

and receive a basic level of certification in the trade, especially if work duties were combined with evening course work (see Figure 33).

3.4 Education Programs: "Learning to Earn"[31]

Beginning in the fall of 1933, evening education programs were made available to all CCC enrollees (during the first enrollment period, camp commanders could choose whether or not to offer courses). Thereafter, educational advisers, mostly unemployed teachers selected by the federal Office of Education, were assigned to the military staff of each camp. They were charged with planning curricula that included middle and high-school level courses in the three-Rs, as well as vocational, craft, and topical courses that would expand the skills and interests of the enrollees. Academic subjects, which gave basic literacy and numeracy skills to some and in a more than a few cases led to middle or high school equivalency certificates, recognized that many in the CCC had been denied a basic education through no fault of their own. According to a 1941 CCC training circular, "Experience during the past eight years indicates that of approximately 2,500,000 enrollees, approximately 100,000 were totally illiterate upon entrance into the Corps, and an additional 650,000 had not completed the eighth grade."[32] The two month academic programs offered in the camps included formal examinations administered by

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[31] This catchphrase was used in the first edition of the *CCC Handbook* to summarized the objectives of the education program (Hoyt, ca. 1933: 24).

[32] CCC Advisory Council, "CCC Training Plan," May 26, 1941, RG 79, Box 15, p. 5.

the Maine Department of Education.[33] Other courses included everything from general trades – often leading to basic certification – hobbies, and artistic pursuits. Even small gains in literacy, training, and work skills, it was hoped, would make the young and relatively inexperienced enrollees more competitive in the Depression's bleak job market.

Classes were held initially in the recreation building, but as the programs expanded, dedicated buildings were constructed at each camp so that classes could proceed "undisturbed by radio broadcasts and the like."[34] Rene Provencher described the education facility at the McFarland camp:

> *We had a building that was made into a school. Four rooms of maybe fifteen by fifteen feet. Those were the schoolroom. Chairs, desks. We had a room where you learned to do typing. We had about six old typewriters. You learned to type if you wanted to. We had a room where this forester knew motor vehicle mechanics, and most of us liked to learn about the engine in a car. So we went there for two hours in the evening to learn about the motor engine. That's where I learned the function of a motor in a car. And the different parts of a car he would teach you. And he would draw a picture, and he was pretty good. And then there was another guy who taught you . . . well, I liked mechanical drawings, so I went into one of the rooms where the surveyor who worked for the national park -- he was a surveyor, an engineer -- he would teach three, four of us how to do mechanical drawing. And then the fourth room, I think was electrical. They would teach you the basic electrical stuff. How to wire a socket and all that. And you learn that, the basics. And that was it for schooling.[35]

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[33] *Acadian* 2.4, April 5, 1935, p. 4.

[34] "Narrative Report, Great Pond Camp (NP-2), Southwest Harbor, Maine, for October, November, December, 1934," RG 79, Box 1.

[35] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2652, C1933-B, p. 25. The education building at the Great Pond Camp measured 20' x 30' ("Narrative Report, Great Pond Camp (NP-2), Southwest Harbor, Maine, for October, November, December, 1934," RG 79, Box 1).

By the late '30s, equipment provided for training programs was in some cases superior to the tools supplied for work projects. In the CCC carpentry shops, for instance, only rudimentary hand tools were used,[36] but a photograph of the shop where evening carpentry classes were held shows a scroll saw, lathe, jointer, table saw, bandsaw, grinder, and belt sander.[37]

3.5 Course Offerings

Specific course offerings depended on the needs and interests of the enrollees and on the availability of instructors. In addition to the educational adviser, supervisors and foremen from the technical agency, local residents, and even enrollees with special skills were tapped to offer classes in their area or areas of proficiency. To some degree, the range of subjects was limited only by the talents within reach of the camp. Courses offered at the Bar Harbor camp in 1934-1935 were probably typical. The first issue of the camp newspaper, the *Acadian*, in July, 1934, outlined an education program that included English, arithmetic, forestry, and tree surgery.[38] Six months later the paper reported that six graduates of the latter course were enrolled in "Special Forestry" and "Type Mapping," while another fifteen men were enrolled in "Elements of Forestry" taught by

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[36] Interviews with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1957-A, p. 18, and Lindwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1921-A, pp. 12-14.

[37] Project scan htfd-25.tif; see Figure 31 in photo section 2 of this report.

[38] *Acadian* 1.1, July 4, 1934, p. 3.

William Parsons, head of the blister rust control project.[39] By March 1935, a second forestry instructor was being sought to meet demand.[40] Other classes included typing, bookkeeping, and leather craft, along with coaching for the civil service exam. In April 1935, five enrollees and two supervisors took the Civil Service exams for Customs Inspector.[41] Edgar Hegh, camp artist, taught drawing and sketching to several enrollees. By far the most popular class was auto mechanics with nearly fifty men, one quarter of the camp, attending.

A 1935 report filed by education adviser, Stanley Ober, lists twenty-two different subjects covering academics, trades, hobbies, the arts, and first aid. In all, Ober reported, 101 different men attended classes; in other words, about fifty percent of the camp. He added that nearly fifty lectures were given by army staff, educational advisers, outside speakers, and the camp chaplain. Since the report also gives enrollment figures and the instructors, it is worth reprinting in full (see Table 3.1). With the exception of First Aid, which enrollees were strongly encouraged to take, the table shows a general balance between vocational and hobby courses. While the relatively low demand for basic academic courses[42] might suggest a correspondingly low need for such courses, not everyone who stood to benefit from such courses signed up for them. Indeed, educational

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[39] *Acadian* 2.2, January 31,1935, pp. 2-3.

[40] *Acadian* 2.3, March 14, 1935, p. 2.

[41] *Acadian* 2.5, April 19, 1935, p. 2.

[42] At the Bar Harbor camp, 11 men were enrolled in grammar school level classes in April 1935, which amounts to only about 5% of camp enrollment (*Acadian* 2.4, April 5, 1935, p. 4).

Table 3.1: Classes held during the Fourth Enrollment Period at Great Pond Camp[43]

Class	Number Taking Part	Instructor
Arithmetic	6	Adviser
Grammar	6	Adviser
Spelling	6	Adviser
English	14	Adviser
Journalism	11	Adviser
Radio	14	Adviser
Forestry	16	E. Byrne, Tech. Sup.
Photography	24	Adviser
Sketching	8	H. E. Hegh, Artist
Leathercraft	16	Enrollee
Typing	26	Asst. to Adviser
Bookkeeping	5	Asst. to Adviser
Current Events	30	Adviser and Asst.
Bricklaying	1	Adviser
Civil Service	8	Adviser
Music	14	E.R.A. Teacher
Navigation	18	E.R.A. Teacher
Model Aircraft	5	Enrollee
Aviation	14	Enrollee
Dramatics	3	Capt. McLaughlin
History	12	Adviser
First Aid	60	Camp Surgeon

[43] In "Narrative Report, Great Pond Camp (NP-2), Southwest Harbor, Maine, for the Fourth Enrollment Period," October 1, 1934 to April 1, 1935, RG 79, Box 1. Ober served as adviser for both the Eagle Lake and Great Pond camps until the beginning of the fifth enrollment period, when Ambrose McGuckian was appointed adviser for the camp in Southwest Harbor (*Acadian* 2.4, April 5, 1935, p. 2). For a comparable list of courses at the Eagle Lake Camp, see the *Acadian* 2.7, May 24, 1935, p. 4; educational offerings at the Ellsworth camp are discussed in the "Narrative Reports" for December 1934 through May 1935 (RG 79, Box 2).

deficiencies among some enrollees were acute enough and apparent enough to be mentioned by our informants:

> * I imagine reading was a big problem with a lot of these guys. I can show you, I did happen to save a autograph book and I have it here . . . and you can see how they write. You can tell that it's kind of difficult for them. . . . A lot of these guys came down from Aroostook County. And I felt that they were, they weren't very well educated. A lot of us guys were high school graduates, which was quite an achievement in those days.[44]

> * There were guys that couldn't read and write. There wasn't too many, maybe a dozen or half a dozen, something like that. But they were kind of, what's the word, shy, they didn't want people to know they couldn't read and write. A lot of them used to fake it, you know. And when they were studying to learn to read and write, they didn't talk about it too much. Because it was kind of personal with them.[45]

A comment from one informant who had not completed middle school suggests that a fear of stigmatization or a lack of confidence in their own ability to succeed meant that some men were nervous about putting themselves forward and signing up for the programs:

> * [An educational program] might have been available, but it never, never entered my mind to do it. Because by the time I got there I'd gone through seven years of grammar school, and I figured that these people here would be in the high school area, and I wouldn't be able to compete with that. So I stayed away from that.[46]

(It is noteworthy that the names of the students in the grammar school classes are seldom mentioned in the camp papers, which is in contrast to those in the forestry and other

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[44] Interview with Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1929-B, pp. 22-23.

[45] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1909-A, p. 22.

[46] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-B, p. 26.

classes whose names and home towns were occasionally noted.[47]) Some enrollees took advantage of informal learning opportunities by working on their own to improve reading skills, sometimes with the assistance of a friendly leader or supervisor:

> ***Desjardin**: [A] lot of the kids had a hard time reading. I had a hard time reading, and I learned to read by reading magazines.
>
> ***Dudley:** At the camp?
>
> ***Desjardin**: At the camp. You went to the library, you pick a magazine you liked, took it to your bed, you read. You learn to read. I learned to read that way. When I came out of school, I was pretty hard. I had a hard time reading. And we had the school. Which was good.
>
> ***Dudley:** Did someone particularly teach reading? Or coach you?
>
> ***Desjardin**: Yes. There was a person, one of the foresters, who was good at it. He was not a teacher, but he knew how to teach reading . . . especially to those kids that came off the farm in northern Maine. They probably only went to school through the sixth grade and had to work. So they had a hard time reading.[48]

As the above comments indicate, camp libraries were an important bridge between the CCC educational programs and general recreation activities. Little more than sections in the administrative or rec buildings, the libraries were nonetheless supplied with revolving collections from the Maine State Library supplemented by donations from the Bangor Public Library and various individuals. The Bar Harbor camp library held over 1,000 books and loaned out as many as 600 a month, an average of three books per man. It also held more than forty-five periodicals, including *Time, News Week,*

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[47] Compare, for example, *Acadian* 2.4, April 5, 1935, p. 4, and *Acadian* 2.7, May 29, 1935, p. 8.

[48] Interview with Thomas Desjardins, NA 2652, C1933-B, p. 25.

Atlantic Monthly, Literary Digest, National Geographic, Natural History, Popular Mechanics, Scientific American, Blue Book, Red Book, Short Stories, and *Western.*[49] A 1937 photograph of the Ellsworth camp library shows a wall of well stocked shelves, a stove to warm the winter evenings, easy chairs, and several men reading books and magazines and playing board games.[50]

Among our informants, clerical courses – typing, bookkeeping, and shorthand – were popular, as were hobby classes, especially woodworking and leather craft. Enrollees assigned to special work crews were often required, or at least expected, to sign up for relevant courses, and during the last two years of the program, as training for the war effort became a priority, classes were scheduled on the mornings of certain weekdays:

> * They had schools there every night; you'd go to school. I was, for the last few months that I was there, I worked on a surveying crew. And we used to survey the government lands all around there. So I had to go two nights a week to school, different things on the surveying business. . . . I did [get a certificate for the course]. . . . And that was a good deal.[51]

> * Well, you had to go to school when you were in the CCC. That was one of the mandates that Congress had put out, because it had been insisted upon by the public . . . . Then you had two days a week, Tuesdays and Thursdays, where the mornings were assigned for two hours to job-type training . . . . I was on the dynamite crew, so we did dynamite stuff, on how to handle it properly, or handling it for safety, how to compute out the depth of your hole, and how much explosive it was going to take, and all that kind of stuff . . . . How to wire it up with electricity or how to light it

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[49] *Acadian* 1.1, July 4, 1934, p. 2; *Acadian* 2.3, March 14, 1935, p. 7; and *Acadian* 2.6, May 10, 1935, p. 10.

[50] *Official Annual, 1937, Civilian Conservation Corps, First CCC District, First Corps Area*, 1937, p. 80; Figure 30 in photo section 2 of this report shows a similar image of the Southwest Harbor camp library.

[51] Interview with Russell Olson, NA 2654, C1936-A, p. 12.

> off, torch it off with a fuse, and prepare your stuff so you didn't do damage to yourself or to others. Then they had a written test, of course, the state had a written test. Every once and a while they'd administer the test so that you could come up with your card.[52]

3.6 CCC Educational Programs: A Qualified Success

Not everyone participated in the education programs, however. Some men preferred rest at the end of a hard day's work, and still more sought other kinds of recreation and entertainment. Enrollment numbers for educational programs in the MDI camps are not available (other than the incidental figures given above), but national estimates suggest that just over fifty percent of enrollees signed up for evening classes during their time in the CCC.[53] Those who chose not to participate missed out on a valuable part of what the CCC had to offer. Indeed, the indifferent level of participation caused a good deal of debate in the federal administration. Progressives who wanted to make it mandatory were opposed by the military, who viewed it as a questionable burden on their staff (who ultimately administered the programs), and some officers expressed concern about the possible influence of radicals. Salmond notes that in 1936 the commander of the First Corps Area disallowed the teaching of "cultural courses," and he cites similar prohibitions elsewhere in the country.[54] Fechner himself saw education as a secondary function of the CCC and never made it a priority. Efforts were further

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[52] Eugene Paradis, Old Town Museum, p. 2.

[53] Fechner 1935, 7; Paige 1985: 86.

[54] Salmond 1967: 52.

compromised by the politics of the CCC's multi-headed structure. Advisory Board members from the National Park Service and the Forest Service complained bitterly about what they regarded – apparently with some justification – as a dismissive attitude in the Office of Education toward the value of on the job training.[55] Despite these shortcomings, debates in Congress and within the administration on whether to make the CCC a permanent agency focused heavily on the educational and training opportunities that would be afforded by such a program.[56] Unfortunately, when Congress decided against permanent status, very little of this discussion bore fruit. Salmond argues that even on the job training would have improved the general skill-set, and by extension employability, of virtually all enrollees, but even he concedes that "education must be counted one of the less successful fields of CCC endeavor."[57] Moreover, education was one area that demanded intense co-operation between the participating agencies, and it reveals a certain operational weakness that they were unable to find common ground and common interest on this important issue.

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[55] Salmond 1967: 163-64; Paige 1985: 87-88.

[56] Salmond 1967: 146ff, and 162-168.

[57] Salmond 1967: 168.

Recreation and Leisure Time

4.1 Idle Hours

Arriving at the camp, away from home and among strangers, perhaps for the first time, CCC enrollees were often homesick and lonely. Some were lucky enough to find friends from their home towns already in camp, and most quickly establish relationships with their fellow workers and barrack mates. CCC authorities recognized the importance of activities that would promote such bonding and keep the boys happy and productive. Moreover, when work stopped, there were long hours to fill, and administrators wanted to do as much possible to keep enrollees out of trouble. Arts and crafts, music, the news and gossip provided in camp newsletters, and perhaps especially sports served to bring the camp residents together, encourage communication, and create a sense of community. Recreational activities ran the gamut from formal instruction to just hanging out. There were education courses in crafts and other hobby pursuits, organized or "pick-up" sports, all the outdoor activities the area had to offer, music, theater, entertainments in town, and socializing with barrack mates or local residents. All meant that leisure time could be spent productively even on the limited budget of a junior enrollee.

Recreation buildings were standard fixtures in the CCC camps, but furnishing them and stocking them with books and games was a catch-as-catch-can affair. "Contributions of chairs, tables, desks, or other living room furniture are solicited for the recreation room at the Long Pond CCC Camp," the *Bar Harbor Times* announced shortly after the camp was established:

> It is the place where the boys spend their evenings and rainy days. Some friends have already contributed odd pieces but there is room for more. Chairs especially are needed. If a piece is slightly damaged there are handy men at

> the Camp who can make repairs and if a collection of odd pieces can be made, the boys can paint them attractively and thus make their living quarters more homelike. . . . Please do not overlook this appeal as the need is urgent.[1]

All three area camps benefitted from civic support. MDI summer resident, Atwater Kent, whose company was a leading manufacturer of radios, donated "a beautiful console radio" to the Bar Harbor camp just in time for the Christmas celebration, to the great enjoyment of nearly fifty men who remained in camp over the holiday.[2] Through similar acts of generosity from townspeople, civic and state organizations, and camp officers and staff, the rec halls eventually acquired books, board games, pool and ping pong tables, and even pianos.[3]

4.2 Crafts

Camp educational programs invariably included several craft courses, which were taught by educational advisers, army officers, technical supervisors, volunteers from the community, and even enrollees themselves. At Bar Harbor in 1935, enrollee John Parsons was in charge of handicrafts, including "leatherwork, metal work [and] woodwork."[4] Articles and notices in the camp newspapers regularly encouraged the men to take advantage of these opportunities. Tools were provided as were some materials, but for large or complex

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[1] "Furniture Needed at the Long Pond CCC Camp," *Bar Harbor Times*, August 9, 1933, p. 4; see also, "Furniture for Camp Needed," *Bar Harbor Times*, July 26, 1933, p. 1.

[2] "CCC Men Enjoy a Pleasant Holiday," *Bar Harbor Times*, December 27, 1933, p. 1.

[3] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-B, p. 44; see also, *Sou'wester* 3.2, April 1939; *Acadian*, 1.1, July 4, 1934, p. 2; and *Acadian*, 2.7, May 29, 1935, pp. 5 & 8.

[4] *Acadian* 2.4, April 5, 1935, p. 5.

projects men would have to purchase some supplies.[5] A few of our informants still possessed craft items that they had made in the CCC:

> *I'd go down to the education building and . . . work on something, do woodwork. I built a nice desk [with a drop front and pigeon holes] while I was in there. Made out of gum wood. Well, apparently they had [the wood] there. I might have had to pay for part of it, I don't remember.[6]

> *My grandfather . . . Harvey Candage . . . got a job as tax collector. And he said, "I wish I had a larger thing to put money in." He said, "I go around and collect taxes, but I don't have an envelope, you know, something big enough." So I said, "I'll make you one." And as you open that up you'll see that it had room for [his money] . . . And that's Harvey E. Candage on it. So I made that in a leather craft class.

Interviewer Anu Dudley recorded a description of the latter item on tape:

> *It is sort of an accordion fold, it's about eight inches wide by three inches tall, and it opens up to three compartments inside that are separated by leather. And what you've done on the outside is you have this fancy leather stitching on all of the folds. . . . And there's a beautiful setter dog that you've carved. Your artwork is beautiful here! You've got a setter dog on the front, boxed in with this braided carving. And then on the back, there's a large diamond shape with the letters HEC.[7]

A 1939 edition of the Southwest Harbor camp's newsletter stressed the practical as well as recreational value of such activities, reporting, under the headline "Leathercrafters Accept Employment," that four former enrollees had found jobs at the Moose River Moccasin Company in Old Town.[8]

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[5] *Acadian* 2.1, January 11, 1935, p. 2; *Acadian* 2.2, January, 31, 1935, p. 2.

[6] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-A, pp. 13-14; see also, NA 2626, C1909-A, pp. 8-12.

[7] Interview with Harvey Ober, NA 2656, C1942-A, pp. 18-19.

[8] *Sou'wester* 3.1, March 1939.

4.3 Camp Newspapers

Each of the CCC camps associated with Acadia published their own newspaper. The McFarland camp called theirs, the *Acadian*; the Great Pond camp chose the name, *Sou'wester*; for the Ellsworth group, it was *Brann Flakes*. All were inexpensive, mimeographed affairs, modeled on company or ship's newspapers, common in the military. They often drew on the artistic as well as the writing skills of the men. Cover drawings, along with fillers, cartoons, and headline illustrations were provided largely by enrollees, such as John Parsons for the *Acadian* or E. Lindsay McKay for the *Sou'wester*. Ronald Dougherty, camp clerk at Bar Harbor from 1938-40, worked on many issues of the *Acadian*:

> One end of [the education building] was where they taught office [skills]. They had a mimeograph there – you remember the old barrel mimeographs? Well, I used to type all those [mimeograph stencils] and run them for the camp paper. . . . We had, we had reporters, and each, each barrack had a reporter. If something news worthy [happened], they would write it up . . . and once it was all set, I'd type it up and put it on the old machine, mimeograph machine, and crank it out.[9]

Much of the initial impetus (and content) for the Acadia newspapers came from educational adviser, Stanley Ober, who was then adviser for both the Eagle Lake and Great Pond camps. Styling himself, "The Dean," he used the papers to promote the educational mission in the camp, on one occasion using creative spelling to grab his readers' attention:

> "Wel it is time for another editoreal to make you gis wake up and start to study. I wish yu too motiss rite now that my spelin and punkchwashun have improved treemondourlee since i have started to study.[10]

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[9] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1909-A, pp. 12 and 22.

[10] *Acadian* 2.1, January 11, 1935, p. 4; also *Acadian* 1.11, December 19, 1934, p. 6.

His editorials were often exhortatory pieces, urging the men to become engaged beyond the day-to-day routine of their work:

> Read the Daily News Papers, Read the Weekly News Magazines, Listen to the Radio for the Latest News of the World, the Dean Says.[11]

The same article stressed "the advantage of having a HOBBY." He regularly threw in proverbial words of encouragement to boost morale:

> Remember, any organization needs cooperation, so let's all pull together.[12]

> Many men have been asked for the formula to success and all have replied, HARD WORK.[13]

Lists of men arriving or leaving at the end of their enrollment, notice of visitors to camp, summaries of national and international news, reports on classes offered and certificates awarded, lists of those hospitalized in the camp infirmary, sports, and especially gossip and humor, filled the columns of the paper.

An early lapse in editorial control in the Bar Harbor camp paper reveals something of the adjustments that had to be made when men from disparate backgrounds came to live side-by-side. In the first volume of the *Acadian*, a humor/gossip columnist who undersigned as "Zeke" wrote: "If I were camp commander . . . I would teach every student in camp how to speak French so there would be no secrets."[14] In his next offering, a list of "Things We Can

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[11] *Acadian* 2.1, January 11, 1935, p. 2.

[12] *Acadian* 1.1, July 4, 1934, p. 3.

[13] *Acadian* 1.2, July 18, 1934, p. 3.

[14] *Acadian* 1.1, July 4, 1934, p. 5.

Do Without" began with "FRENCHMEN."[15] By the following month, he had been replaced, and a guarded editorial laid out the paper's publication policies, acknowledging that "we are not perfect in our journalistic endeavors, but the paper is instrumental in arousing enthusiasm which constantly brings us nearer to perfection."[16] The next few issues provided more straightforward news and less gossip. More significantly, a column in French by J. N. Morin was added the following spring.[17]

Few jokes in the papers were as pointed as those aimed at Franco-Americans. Most focused on who had been spending time in town courting what young lady, who snored too loudly, or fancied himself an especially natty dresser, or who was not pulling his weight:

> Sherman hasn't been to Bar Harbor since March 4th. Is something wrong, "Chief"? Don't tell us that your past escapades haunt you. . . . "[18]

> "Mussolini" Vigue now has a competitor in the butt-bumming field – none other than Levi "Ghandi" Bouchard.[19]

Nicknames were a key part in the ribbing implied in these columns, but they also reflected and fostered strong camaraderie within the camp.

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[15] *Acadian* 1.2, July 18, 1934, p. 5.

[16] *Acadian* 1.4, August 16, 1934, pp. 4 and 7.

[17] See *Acadian* 2.6, May 10, 1935, p. 4; 2.7, May 19, 1935, p. 7; and 2.8, June 17, 1935, p. 5.

[18] *Sou'wester* 3.1, March 1939.

[19] *Sou'wester,* September 1937.

4.4 Practical Jokes

As noted earlier, pranks were often used as a mild form of censure for certain kinds of behavior, but they were also "Something to break the monotony," as Harvey Ober put it:[20]

> ***Provencher:** [We'd] hang a guy's bunk from the ceiling while he was sleeping. Hang it about oh, a foot and a half off the floor. Tie it up to the rafters and the guy get up in the morning, the only thing he did was flip right out of bed. . . . In the winter time, they used to take icicles from the edge of the building. The icicles, I'm not lying, were as long as this refrigerator. They were, I'd say, about eight or ten inches at the top down to a small point. They'd put that inside your bunk, underneath the blankets, and that stuff would melt. Come right down through and you'd get into bed at night and have cold sheets.
>
> ***Dudley:** Now was this done to people that they didn't like, or was this just considered a funny joke?
>
> ***Provencher:** Just practical jokes.[21]

4.5 Music and Theatricals

Music, both homemade and commercial, crops up regularly in recollections and camp newspapers. Men who played guitar or other instruments brought them to the camps and played in informal groups. Photos in the 1937 annual show groups of guitar and banjo players at the Bar Harbor and Ellsworth camps.[22] If the rec hall had a piano, singers and instrumentalists might gather around in the evenings. During the winter of 1935, the *Acadian* reported:

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[20] Interview with Harvey Ober, NA 2656, C1942-A, p. 9.

[21] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-B, p. 32.

[22] Civilian Conservation Corps 1937: 56 and 80.

> Nearly every night now the "Reck Hall" resounds with the sounds of SWEET MUSIC. Under the spell of "Charley" Thompson's sax, "Willie" Sulac's trumpet, and "Larry" Larrabee's piano the group have been making merry evenings. We are looking forward to some member stepping forth with drums and traps to make a regular orchestra.[23]

Most sessions appear to have been informal, as Merrill Morang and others recalled:

> *It was just spontaneous, that was all. You'd get somebody that could play the piano. He'd play the piano for an hour or so. And other guys would join in with their guitars. And once in a while you had somebody with a banjo. Occasionally you'd get an accordion player.[24]

> *I wasn't a musician per se, but I played guitar, and harmonica – I had a harness for harmonica. . . . It was just a small group. . . . We'd gather someplace [with] whoever had guitars or harmonicas, or whatever. Drums, I don't think drums were in appearance, or saxophones or anything like that. . . . There was only about maybe three, four [who had instruments]. Whenever we played for the fun of it . . . we'd gather in the corner someplace, or outside if it was nice. . . . [I]t was pretty much the same people all the time.[25]

> *Well, like some of the boys, you know, might own a guitar or a mouth harp. And a lot of times over in the rec hall that they might have a little get together like that, anybody that could play an instrument as a way to consume some time and meet other people.[26]

Occasionally, individuals would become known around camp for their musical abilities: "The camp willl [sic] soon come to the front when Ed McKay presents his one man band. He is now learning to master the art of accordian [sic] playing. Ed says, 'String instruments is one

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[23] *Acadian,* 2.2, January 31, 1935, p. 8; the same issue has a brief notice about Camp Commander Ralls playing "popular selection[s] of the Jazz Age" (p. 7).

[24] Interview with Merrill Morang, NA 2627, C1910-B, p. 29.

[25] Interview with Damien Blanchette, NA 2662, C1950-B, pp. 26-27.

[26] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1906-B, p. 35.

thing and squeeze-boxes is another.'"[27] Recalling his time at the Ellsworth camp, Arthur Studer noted, *"[W]e had one fellow that played the fiddle. He was a good fiddler and he was in the Portland symphony orchestra after he got through with the camp. . . . Oh, he played about everything. Mostly, mostly he was long-haired stuff."[28]

Although the informality of the performance settings and the role that music played in camp life bear some superficial similarity to the way music functioned in Maine lumbercamps,[29] and despite the rural backgrounds of many of the men, traditional forms of music and song were not popular in the CCC camps. Instead, musical taste was tied firmly to commercial popular culture. Asked what he and his friends had played when they got together, Damien Blanchette replied, *"I know [we sang] Gene Autrey's songs and Roy Rogers," reflecting a trend toward the popular western style that increasingly was being marketed by film, radio, and recordings. Radios, record players, and juke boxes were treasured items in the rec halls and even some barracks. Early in 1935, the *Acadian* reported that "The radio is repaired and back in the Rec Hall ready to serve the men pass the long evenings [sic]," and it added pointedly: "It may be a good time to warn prospective tuners that mountain music is distasteful to the majority of men in camp"[30] (another indication that

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[27] *Sou'wester,* September 1937.

[28] Interview with Arthur Studer, NA 2639, C1922-A, p. 27.

[29] Ives 1977, and 1978: 371-402.

[30] *Acadian* 2.2, January 31, 1935, p. 8. Epitomized by performers like Fiddlin' John Carson and the Carter Family, "mountain music" was an early form of popular country music with strong ties to Appalachian tradition. According to historian, Bill Malone, "mountain music tended to be more conservative and to rely more on the traditional songs and instruments, and it was performed in the traditional, high nasal harmony" (1968, 62).

older rural forms of music were considered passé by many). On the other side of the island in the spring of 1939, the *Sou'wester* noted that "the main object of interest in camp at present is the new record machine in the rec hall. A nickel in the slot and pop – out comes your favorite tune. This is a welcome addition to the camp amusements."[31] Thomas Desjardins recalled that when he was at Bar Harbor camp in the late thirties, *"the barrack leader said we should buy a radio so we could listen to the news and the music, and everybody chipped in fifty cents and bought the radio. And the radio went on, oh, maybe twenty hours a day."[32]

When discussing culture in the New Deal era, the WPA theater program inevitably comes to mind. At least one of their traveling troupes visited Mount Desert Island. In the spring of 1936, the *Bar Harbor Times* reported:

> Through the kindness of Capt. Alec M. Wescott Inf. Res. of the 158th Co. CCC, all friends of the camp in SWH and surrounding towns are invited to witness free of charge, a vaudeville performance of twenty-seven professional actors at the Park Theater on the night of March 17th at eight o'clock. The actors are all members of the most outstanding troupe of the WPA players in the State of Maine. The occasion of this show should mark the high spot of the winter theatrical season in the town of Southwest Harbor.[33]

Occasionally, the CCC put on their own shows. The Ellsworth camp staged a minstrel show at the Dirigo Theater, which according to the notice was very well received.[34] In 1935, the Eagle Lake camp, under the direction of camp artist Edgar Hegh and education director Stanley Ober, staged "Journey's End." Set in the trenches of WWI, the play had been

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[31] *Sou'wester* 3.2, April 1939.

[32] Interview with Thomas Desjardins, NA 2652, C1933-B, p. 19.

[33] *Bar Harbor Times,* March 20, 1936, p. 8.

[34] *Brann Flakes* 1.4, December 1934, p. 3.

selected in part because it required only one set and had an all male cast. Presented at the Casino in Bar Harbor, it "played to an appreciative audience."[35] On another occasion, the three area camps put on a well received talent show at the Criterion Theater. In this case, the hit of the evening was the Firefly Dance featuring Southwest Harbor's "husky men of the forest . . . tripping through ballet steps."[36]

4.6 Sports

As might be expected with a group of healthy young men, sports were a popular pastime. Swimming, hiking, skiing and snowshoeing, horseshoes ("barnyard golf," as it was also called), bowling, or playing catch, as well as the more formally organized sports of baseball, basketball, football, volleyball, hockey, and boxing, are among the activities mentioned frequently by informants and in the local and camp newspapers.[37] Acadia National Park itself offered year round opportunities for outdoor recreation:

> *We used to go swimming, over to Echo Lake. That was over in Southwest Harbor. And there was another little lake we used to go to down on the other side of the island. They used to take us there in the trucks. . . . It was a nice little place to go swimming. . . . Lake Wood. . . . Nice sandy beach and

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[35] *Acadian* 1.10, November 27, 1934, p. 7; *Acadian* 2.2, January 31, 1935, p. 3; and *Acadian* 2.3, March 14, 1935, p. 5; Earlyn W. Wheeler to Norman A. Wetherington, January 1935, Sawtelle Archives, Acadia National Park.

[36] "C. C. C. Present Entertaining Program," *Bar Harbor Times*, January 17, 1934, pp. 1-2

[37] On bowling, see *Acadian* 2.1, January 11, 1935, p. 5; on horseshoes and volleyball, see *Acadian* 2.8, June 17, 1935, p. 7; notices for secondary sports are sporadic and brief.

> everything. . . . [We'd go] oh, maybe once a week, something like that. . . . Well, we'd go over there in the evening after work.[38]
>
> *Sunday you took a walk in the woods. You took a trail, you follow it, see where it went. You took a walk in the woods. Lot of time, you walk around the lake. There was a trail all around the lake. You took a walk around the lake with a couple other friends. . . . One time, one Sunday, three other guys and I decided we'd look at Cadillac Mountain. We say, let's walk up. Other guy said, OK, we'll walk straight up. Not follow the road. We did. Through the woods, the bushes, and over rocks and everything. We walked all the way to the top.[39]

Even in winter, the men took to Acadia's slopes and trails:

> ***Dougherty**: We used to go snow shoeing [on the carriage roads] . . . . We had skis in the winter time, and the guys used to ski up here on McFarland Mountain. As you can see, it was pretty. We had an old tow rope here; they used to pull themselves up. . . . Just an old wheel with an old motor on it, you know. One of the first ones they ever made. . . .
>
> ***Dudley**: Now where did you get your snow shoes?
>
> ***Dougherty**: The army had them. All army issue.
>
> ***Dudley**: OK. So you borrowed them. And that was the same with skis?
>
> ***Dougherty**: Skis, too, yes. . . . Oh, they're big long old things. You stick your toe in them. . . . No straps or anything, just more or less your toe. Some of the guys would take a piece of rawhide and tie it onto the strap and around the back of the heel so that, you know when you lift your heel up that you can kind of pick the ski up and turn it. . . . We never used poles, no. We spent most of the time on our rear ends.
>
> ***Dudley**: [laughs] But then, that's not what you used for downhill skiing, was it?
>
> ***Dougherty**: [M]ost of the guys that came from Aroostook County, they were pretty good skiers. . . . I never went over McFarland Mountain. I used to go along the carriage road because I wasn't that good. But those kids could really

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[38] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1909-A, pp. 1-3.

[39] Interview with Thomas Desjardins, NA 2652, C1934-B, pp. 22-23.

> ski. They'd go up that mountain they'd come down that thing with just the toes in those skis like nothing.[40]

Kenneth Farrar, who was at Bar Harbor at about the same time as Dougherty, also enjoyed winter hikes:

> *I used to do a lot of just hiking, especially in the winter. Me and a couple of guys, I don't remember who they were, would strike out and hike across Eagle Lake and halfway up some of them mountains in that deep snow for the sake of burning up energy, I guess. I liked that part of it.[41]

Team sports, especially baseball and basketball, were the most popular activities, whether one was a player or a spectator. Rivalry among CCC camp teams and between CCC and local town teams was fierce but friendly, and games were regularly covered in both the camp and local news papers:

> ***Dudley**: So in terms of sports, then, you were talking about baseball and boxing.
>
> ***Dougherty**: They had a basketball team, too. . . . Most of the camps did. They used to play with Southwest Harbor. And I remember one time we went over to a little town they call Aurora on Route Nine to play baseball over there. The baseball field wasn't flat, it was like on the side of a hill, like.
>
> ***Dudley**: Now did you have an actual baseball diamond at, at your camp?
>
> ***Dougherty**: Yes, they did. Yes. It was dirt, you know, nothing fancy. But you could play ball on it.
>
> ***Dudley**: And, and what about basketball? Did you have a basketball court? What was that like?
>
> ***Dougherty**: They used to go downtown, and I think it was in the high school in, in Bar Harbor. And play down there in the winter. . . . They'd just go down there for practice and they'd play. [We'd play] . . . I don't know, maybe some

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[40] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1909-A, pp. 20-21.

[41] Interview with Ken Farrar, NA 2659, C1946-A, p. 12.

little town like Trenton or Franklin that had a little basketball team. Somehow they'd get up a game with them and they'd play. I think it was the educational advisor that took care of all that. . . . I would say the town team in Bar Harbor [was our major competitor]. [laughs] . . . If I remember right, the 158th, they had a pretty good team over there, too.[42]

*Well, I used to play baseball, OK? And we had a pretty good baseball team. . . . And I can remember playing baseball downtown, on the diamond that's downtown. Maybe it's still there. We used to play other CCC teams. Like Camden Hills was still in existence then. And I remember we won some kind of a tournament. And we went down to Alfred, Maine, where there was a CCC camp. And was in a tournament. I don't remember who won. . . . I think we played the Bar Harbor town team. I'm not sure. I can't remember. But I think so. And then I remember one time we went way down east. . . . Well, we never had a great audience. Although once in a while, when we played downtown, we would have some people on the sidelines that were not CCC. You know, just town people. Baseball fans, I guess you'd say.[43]

***Zimmerman:** We had a very successful team. . . . [W]e were quite favored in the district, in the area, in the corps area.

***Moreira:** [W]ho did you play against?

***Zimmerman:** Ellsworth, of course. Ellsworth had a town team. We had a lot of town teams in those days. Old Town, the Redskins, I think they called themselves. And they were made up of ex-high school stars and maybe college stars, and they called it a semi-pro league. . . . [M]ost everybody had a town team, and usually didn't get any money. You played on (?) home bases. And Old Town, Otter Creek had a team, Bar Harbor YMCA, of course. Bar Harbor CCC, I think they had a team. And Southwest Harbor Chevrolets was a big team, and I remember we used to play them. We used to play down in Manset . . . . We thought it was great.

***Moreira:** How many spectators would go to these games?

***Zimmerman:** Well, all the guys from camp would pile down there, you know? They'd all go down and cheer you on. Not very many, probably, by

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[42] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1909-A, p. 5-7.

[43] Interview with Roy Doak, NA 2663, C1952-A, pp. 12-13.

> today's standards, of course. Otter Creek used to be the one I remember most vividly, because it was a, I think the building still stands. . . . But to hold the ball from the audience, they had a fish net up from ceiling to floor. And the big thing there was to get your fingers caught in that when you're going tearing by it down the floor, and you get tangled up in the fish net and you wish you hadn't. Those were great years.[44]

The Camden camp maintained teams even when its work activities were scaled down during the last years of the CCC program:

> *We had a nice baseball team at camp. We didn't have no diamond. We had to go into Camden to play. And we used to play different teams in Camden and Rockland area. And even other camps. We used to go to Alfred, Bridgetown and play their camps. And then Camden, the Camden Merchants they called it, had a local team. If they couldn't get enough players . . . for their team, they'd call up our camp and ask for certain players. They knew who could play and who couldn't. So they'd ask for a few players to fill in their roster. I went down there many times and played on the town team. . . . I was a pretty good baseball player at the time. So we had to play, I forget what camp we played for the championship of the First Corps Area, and we had to go to South Portland to play them. . . . So we went into South Portland, we beat them. . . . And our basketball team, we had a good basketball team, and they used to play in Rockland, Rockland town teams, any other teams, merchants' teams and stuff like that. Every city had a bunch of teams lined up, you know, and even small towns outside. Wesley, Hayes – we went all the way to Hayes, which is up near Princeton. We went all the way up there to play them. And of course we always stayed overnight at their barracks. And we had a lot of fun doing that, baseball and basketball. So it was enjoyable because we'd meet different camps, go to different camps. We played Bar Harbor camp and all that stuff. [We'd go on the] weekend . . . so you'd probably leave on a Friday afternoon. You can miss supper and hope you get up there to get their supper. Or you can leave early that Saturday morning, play that Saturday, come back on a Sunday.[45]

In 1936, the two MDI CCC camps and several island towns formed baseball and basketball leagues. Baseball games were scheduled twice a week throughout the summer and

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[44] Interview with Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1930-A, pp. 6-7.

[45] Interview with John McLeod, NA 2652, C1933-B.

were well covered in the *Bar Harbor Times*; in fact, the baseball league was organized in a meeting at the Times office.[46] The extent of the camp/community interaction that sports promoted, as alluded to by Dougherty and McLeod, is also illustrated in a March 1939 issue of the *Sou'wester*, which listed basketball games played by the 154th Co. CCC against Hancock Boy's Club, Northeast Harbor American Legion, Bar Harbor Ramblers, Bar Harbor Boy's Club, Otter Creek Athletic Association, and Southwest Harbor Chevrolet.

Boxing was another popular activity among the enrollees, and to judge by *Bar Harbor Times* reports, it was popular with townspeople as well:

> With six hundred fight fans welcoming the return of pugilistic activity to Bar Harbor the Southwest Harbor CC boys defeated the boys from Beddington, Bar Harbor, Ellsworth, and Princeton Saturday evening at the Casino in the CC Golden Glove Tournament.[47]

Other news items tracked matches at the camps and charted the vigorous competition between the CCC companies.

4.7 Winter Carnival

A high point of camp-town collaborations in the early years was a Winter Carnival held in February of 1934. Sponsored by the three area CCC camps, the event featured

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[46] "Form Baseball League on Mt. Desert Island," *Bar Harbor Times*, April 24, 1936, p. 1; see also, "Eight Teams Will Play in Island League," *Bar Harbor Times*, May 22, 1936, p. 1. The *Times* gave prolific coverage to CCC sports, often on page one, especially during the early years of the program. Notices of and reports on games and events also appear in various MDI community briefs and in the reports of local societies, such as the YMCA.

[47] "C. C. C. Boys to Hold a Boxing Tournament Sat.," *Bar Harbor Times*, 20 March 1936, pp. 1 and 4; see also, "C. C. C. Boys to Box at Casino," *Bar Harbor Times*, September 20, 1933, p. 1; "C. C. C. News," *Bar Harbor Times,* October 18, 1933, p. 6; "C. C. C. Boxing Tournament is Won by 154th," *Bar Harbor Times*, March 27, 1936, pp. 1 and 5.

competitions in skating, snowshoeing, and skiing for boys and girls in the local grade and high schools. Also included were ladies' and men's open events, as well as races for the CCC boys, and hockey games between camp teams:

> *[D]uring the winter months we had, Bar Harbor had a holiday. I forget what the name of it was. And they said if camp 158 has any hockey players, we'll pit your camp against our camp in Bar Harbor. . . . We had a lot of hockey players from Waterville. . . . We thought it was a great idea. So when the holiday came, we all went down. We were amazed at the number of people at the hockey rink in Bar Harbor. I forget the name of the farm, but it was on a farm, and they made a regulation hockey rink. And the game started, and we won the game, anyway.[48]

In the evening at the Casino, the three camps squared off in basketball games, which were followed by a dance. Twelve local businesses donated prizes for the afternoon contests, which were awarded during the dance. The outcomes of all the races and games were announced in a front page story in the *Times.*[49]

4.8 Going to town

Whether it was Bar Harbor, Southwest Harbor, Ellsworth, or Camden/Rockport, "town" was the favorite destination for CCC boys during their time off. When our interviewers asked, "After dinner, how did you spend your evenings?" the answer again and again was, "We went to town." As Harvey Ober recalled, "You were up there on that

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[48] Interview with Francis Laverdier, NA 2650, C1931-B, p. 22.

[49] "C. C. C. to Hold a Sport Carnival," *Bar Harbor Times*, February 7, 1934, pp. 1 and 6; "Winter Sports Carnival Saturday at Eagle Lake," *Bar Harbor Times*, February 14, 1934, pp. 1 and 2; and "Perfect Weather for Winter Sports Carnival," *Bar Harbor Times*, February 21, 1934, pp. 1 and 5.

McFarland's Hill outside of Bar Harbor and there was not much to do. So every time you got a chance [you'd] go down into Bar Harbor – we'd walk all the way."[50]

> *If we wasn't scheduled for anything in the evening, we'd have the evening off, and you could go into Bar Harbor, and of course everything then was hitch hiking. We'd walk from camp part way in and people would come along, give you a ride. And go in, hang around town, do different things, see, maybe take in a movie or whatever, and then go back to camp. And you had to be back at camp as I recall, I think, before ten. It was either before ten or eleven. But they were strict in that part. . . . [T]here were a few of the boys that had their own vehicles. They were old enough to own a vehicle and it would be parked in the campground and in the evening after duty then we'd bum a ride in. If not, we'd hitchhike in, into the city, and either go to a band concert in the park there, or different activities that was around town..[51]

From the beginning, the intermingling of the camps and the surrounding communities was inescapable, and fostering good relations between to two was essential to the success of the CCC. As is apparent from the previous discussion of sports, the island's chief newspaper, the *Bar Harbor Times*, played a leadership role in welcoming the enrollees to the community and encouraging other businesses and organizations to pitch in. In July, 1933, shortly after the camps were established, the Rev. William Patterson appealed to local residents and businesses to support low cost activities for the men. A *Times* editorial took up the cause:

> The question posed is: What about their spare time? A recreation room at the camp has been equipped to provide the men with a place to amuse themselves week day evenings but Saturdays they go off duty at noon and do not have to report again until Monday morning. Being perfectly normal human beings

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[50] Interview with Harvey Ober, NA 2656, C1942-B, p. 20.

[51] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1905-A, p. 19. CCC enrollees were not supposed to have their own vehicles at the camp, but informants reported that this rule was often broken. See Interview with Thomas Desjardins, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 8, and Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1908-A, p. 14 and NA 2626, C1909-A, p. 26.

> they wander into Bar Harbor in search of entertainment, but find only that type of amusement which costs money for admission, and they haven't the money.
>
> To answer this problem, The Times is pleased to announce that it has secured the co-operation of: the Sarry Players, the American Legion, the Little Theater, Harris and Southall; the Boy Scouts.
>
> This group of organizations will work with The Times to provide the boys from the camps and our own unemployed with entertainment activities every Saturday evening here in Bar Harbor which will be open free of all charge, and open only to them. It will be their show. The Times will be pleased to hear from anyone who is willing and able to help us in this work.[52]

Other local businesses and organizations supported enrollees and camp activities in various ways. The YMCA offered special memberships and ran boxing and basketball leagues for the enrollees.[53] On the first anniversary of the opening of the Bar Harbor camp, the McKay's, who owned the Criterion Theater, entertained the boys with a theater party.[54] Camp newspapers occasionally ran ads from local businesses – nearly a dozen in the August 1934 issue of the *Acadian* – and a dance program from 1939 contained ads from sixty local businesses.[55]

It was a reciprocal exchange, however. There were the spill-over benefits of the work done in the park, and the CCC contributed to the surrounding towns in many ways. "The 154th takes pride in its close cooperation with the nearby town of Bar Harbor," the First

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[52] "Editor's Column," *Bar Harbor Times*, July 26, 1933, p. 4.

[53] "Use the Y.M.C. A. Special Membership for C.C.C." *Acadian*, 1/11/35; see also, "Y. M. C. A. Notes," *Bar Harbor Times*, January 17, 1934, p. 3.

[54] "C. C. C. Celebrate Anniversary of Opening of Camp," *Bar Harbor Times,* May 30, 1934, p. 4.

[55] "This is Your Invitation to the Farewell Dance of Members of the 154th Co., C. C. C., Bar Harbor, Maine," March 17, 1939, Sawtelle Archives, Acadia National Park.

District's 1937 Annual proclaimed. Twice, in 1936 and 1937, when the local Red Cross appealed for funds, the camp, along with other CCC camps, staged boxing matches to raise money. In addition, a 1936 match was held to benefit the local community Santa Claus.[56] One of the CCC's sister agencies, the CWA, left cords of wood from its work programs to be donated to towns for distribution to the needy. In December and January of 1933-34,

> . . . some 440 cords of firewood were cut and piled on the several projects. The six towns have cooperated with the Park Service toward furnishing trucks and teams with which this wood is being hauled to needy families. During the recent heavy snow storms there was a great shortage of fuel in such towns as Gouldsboro and Winter Harbor, and in some cases fine shade trees were cut by families absolutely without fuel of any kind. The firewood cut on C. W. A. projects assisted in the solution of this very serious local fuel problem."[57]

4.8.1 Dances

Francis Laverdier recalled, "They always had some programs pinned up on the wall. Dance, different townships, there would be a dance Friday night, there will be a dance Wednesday night, for the CC camp boys."[58] Ellsworth LEM, Arthur Studer, commented on the dances he attended: "Once a week, in Oddfellows' Hall, they'd have a dance. And then they had some down at Trenton, down on the island, they had them all over anywhere. And when I moved the veterans camp up to Beddington, we had the army truck and we went clear down to Millbridge to a dance one night from there." Local bands provided the music: "Just

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[56] Civilian Conservation Corp 1937: 55.

[57] Summary and Description of work Accomplished by Civil Works Administration, 12/10/33 to 1/23/34, p. 2, NARA, RG 79, Box 3.

[58] Interview with Francis Laverdier, NA 2650, C1931-A, p. 10.

piano and drum and violins and whatever you had to get gathered up, that's all."[59] Popular steps, as evidenced by a program from the Bar Harbor camp, were relatively conventional and included waltzes, foxtrots, and contra dances.[60] Absent are more current dances, such as swing and the jitterbug, which had become popular in Harlem in the late 1920s,.

4.8.2 Movies

The Criterion and the Star Theaters in Bar Harbor, the Park Theater in Southwest Harbor, and the Grand Theater in Ellsworth brought the movie hits of the day to the area. Ads for Janet Gaynor in *Adorable*, Lee Tracy in *The Nuisance*, Laurel and Hardy in *The Devil's Brother*, Kay Francis in *The Keyhole*, and *Pride of the Legion* with Rin Tin Tin, Jr. were among the souvenirs John Parsons kept from his time in the CCC.

> *Every chance we get, we went to the movies. . . . [W]hen I was assistant leader, I used to fight to take the group to liberty because assistant leader would get a free pass to go to the movies. So every time that I'd take charge of the group, I'd make sure to go to the theater . . . and I'd get a free pass to the movie.[61]

> *Well, they had a bulletin board and they would say, the army truck will be leaving at six o'clock for downtown Southwest Harbor. The movie on tonight. Had one of these old-fashioned movie houses. It showed the billings for the show for that particular night.[62]

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[59] Interview with Arthur Studer, NA 2639, C1922-B, pp. 25-26.

[60] "This is Your Invitation to the Farewell Dance of Members of the 154th Co., C. C. C., Bar Harbor, Maine," March 17, 1939, Sawtelle Archives, Acadia National Park.

[61] Interview with John McLeod, NA 2652, C1933-B; see also, Interview with Vernon Wardwell, NA 2658, C1944-B, p. 28.

[62] Interview with Francis Laverdier, NA 2650, C1931-B, pp. 22-23.

4.8.3 Roller skating

> *Out in Trenton, there was a roller skating rink there. We'd go out there and go roller skating. The trucks would take us. If you'd get a group together, they'd take you anywhere you'd want to go. . . . [We wouldn't go] too often. We never had that much money to spend. Even if it was only 25 or 30 cents, you know, when you only got five bucks a month, it don't go very far. . . . [Y]ou could meet a girl there once in a while, go skating with her.[63]

> *[We] went roller skating in Rockland. We had a lot of fun. To tell you one incident, well, a couple incidents, this fellow, his name is Herbie Young, he owned a roller rink in Rockland. And this was 1941. We used to go down there and really raise heck. We didn't care, I don't know how many times we were thrown out. We'd skate around and we'd see somebody from the camp on the other end, we'd cut across the floor and slide on our rump right over and knock him of his feet. And Herbie kicked us out more times. But he enjoyed us because we brought in the money. I can't remember what we paid at the time. But it was really enjoyable. In fact, that's where I met my first wife. Roller skating. But anyway, this was after the war. But anyway, so, 1941, I was transferred to Bar Harbor. So I did roller skating up in Ellsworth and Trenton. [We got there by] truck. Because they would have liberty. And people want to go to the movies? They go to the movies. They want to go roller skating? They get on the truck and go there.[64]

4.8.4 Drinking

Once Prohibition ended in 1934, enrollees would often stop in at Hy's Café, which was open all night in Bar Harbor, or other cafés or restaurants. *"Christ, there was no, no age limit then," Vernon Wardwell noted. "I could go right to the liquor store. There was no age limit. If there was, we never knew it. You could go downtown, go in the bar room, order a beer."[65] A beer or two was usually all they could afford, but of course some got carried away.

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[63] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1909-A, p. 25.

[64] Interview with John McLeod, NA 2652, C1933-B.

[65] Interview with Vernon Wardwell, NA 2658, C1944-B, p. 28.

As Kenneth Farrar commented: *"We used to go down to Hy's Cafe on Main Street and get either five or ten cent glasses of beers. So, you know, five bucks would buy a lot of beer at that age."[66] There appear, however, to have been few adverse consequences for either the enrollees, the administrators, or the towns:

> *Oh, coming in drunk, that's about all. We had a night cop down here that he'd always pick the guys up and put them in his car and bring them out to camp and dump them off there. And nobody ever said anything, he notices anything he don't press charges or anything. Everybody got along good.[67]

> *I had one fellow used to like to spend his money drinking downtown. I was the only one that used to go down and get him. That big fellow I told you about, Brownie. They'd call and tell [camp commander] Captain Peavey that Brownie was in Hy's Café and they wanted him out of here, they couldn't handle him. They didn't want to call the police, so they said send somebody down to get him. They'd come in the barrack, says, "Provencher, go down and get your buddy. There's a truck out here waiting for you. Go get him." I'd go down there and I'd walk in and Mr. Hy said, "He's there in the corner." I'd walk in, say, "Brownie, you coming home with me*" "Who is this?" "It's Frenchie." "Oh, OK." Put his arm around me and went right out the door. No problems, no arguments, no nothing.[68]

> *They had the town [Southwest Harbor], the night of payday, they had the town. And of course there were two places down there where they could go and sip their little drinks and that sort of thing. . . . A couple of cafes, or restaurants, or something. Not actually a bar, but there was alcohol allowed to be sold. So some of them, of course, they're young fellows, they'd . . . overindulge. And they used to have, I believe it was the Army truck, some one of the trucks in there, they had a driver who, if anything came up, and anyone had a little bit to much to drink, they would drive down, pick them up and bring them home. There never, ever was any problems that I ever knew

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[66] Interview with Kenneth Farrar, NA 2659, C1946-A, p. 5.

[67] Interview with Arthur Studer, NA 2639, C1922-B, pp. 19-20.

[68] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-B, p. 32.

> of. But they knew these young men were going to – there's nothing else to do here, when you come right down to it.[69]

Altercations between enrollees and the locals did occur from time to time, but not all involved alcohol:

> *[W]hen we were stationed in Ellsworth, we used to go to the skating rink. It used to be on the other end of the bridge, when you go across on the island. Roller skating rink there. There was a blonde girl who lived just a little ways down from that, and I'd meet her every time I'd go skating, and go right along in there. We come out of there one night, three of us guys, and the guy that, guy wanted to fight. I guess he was up there on the next step or something. But he says, "you guys want to muckle on?" He says, "why don't you come along, one at a time?" And he was on the top step, and they were down there. Jesus, he flattened the whole three of us. We got in the car, gone back to the camp. . . . But we waited a few days, went back, and they was all cleared away then. Geez, this guy, he laid them all out there.[70]

Even Bar Harbor Chief of Police, George Abbott, commented favorably on the general behavior of the enrollees. Responding to criticisms that CCC men were drunk and rowdy on the streets, Abbott countered that "the conduct of the boys of the 154th in and about our streets has been excellent. . . . Our court records go to show that . . . drunkenness is at a minimum." Noting that although there had been complaints about the construction crew who had come in June of 1933 and who were mostly from Massachusetts, and about the Ellsworth camp,[71] where again the men were from Massachusetts and not Maine, Abbot concluded,

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[69] Interview with Lurline Tuttle, NA 2651, C1932-B, pp. 12-13.

[70] Interview with Claude Beaupre, NA 2666, C1955-B, p. 35.

[71] In the fall of 1934, the Ellsworth police chief filed a brief notice in the camp newspaper reminding enrollees that joyriding in stolen cars was illegal (*Brann Flakes* 1.3, November 28, 1934, p. 2).

"The men of this camp, as I see them, conduct themselves as Maine boys from towns and cities of this State might be expected to do."[72]

4.8.5 Friends in Town

A few informants, a small minority, reported difficulty making friends with locals. One, who served in Southwest Harbor and Camden, recalled a less than welcoming atmosphere.

> *We were not appreciated by anybody. . . .They just looked down on us, that's all. . . . Well, the townspeople were not friendly, to start with, you know. . . . Some of our guys had fights with some of the town guys. . . .Most of the families didn't want their kids associating with us. So, you know, I didn't do any dating around any of those girls down there.[73]

This is not the only informant to make such an assertion, but it was more common to hear positive accounts of interaction between towns people and the camps:

> *I know some nights of the week they'd take a truck and take you downtown [Bar Harbor]. . . . Sometimes we'd go to a movie. We went to a few parties with some of the women that we met around there, some of the girls.[74]

> *They used to have all kinds of different functions. Social gatherings or socials. And normally the CC boys were invited. And, of course, a lot of times you'd get acquainted with a girl there and meet her parents and that way you had an opportunity to become familiar with a lot of things that were going on that you wouldn't have known otherwise.[75]

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[72] Abbott to Dorr, August 29, 1935, G. B. Dorr Papers, Historical Letters, Box 2, Folder 2, Sawtelle Archives, Acadia National Park.

[73] Wesley Gray interviewed by Anu Dudley, 16 August 2000, NA 2625

[74] Interview with Ken Farrar, NA 2659, C1946-A, p. 15.

[75] Interview with Simon Caswell, NA 2624, C1906-B, p. 31.

Some summer residents, appreciative of the work being done by the camps, hosted barbeques or similar gatherings by way of acknowledgment:

> *Sometimes, you know, [the summer residents] would invite [the enrollees]. . . . [T]hey'd put on a little outdoor meal for you or something like that. Of course, I suppose they figure you were helping, helping preserve the island and doing things like that. . . . I just went to one while I was there.[76]

People who lived near the camps were naturally the first local contacts the CCC men had. Pearl and Gladys McFarland lived across the road from the Eagle Lake camp, and they developed mutually beneficial relationships with many of the enrollees:

> *[T]his McFarland, the farm people living there . . . some of the boys used to take the laundry over there and she [Gladys McFarland] would do the laundry for them for fifteen, twenty cents a load.[77]

> *But right across the road, there was a set of buildings, and the lady over there was a Mrs. McFarland. Now I remember that name, because we could go across the road and for a quarter, you know, you could buy a great big piece of pie or something. And she was a wonderful cook. [laughs] She made her living off the CCC boys, I think. Mrs. McFarland.[78]

> *I'd go across the street and help Mr. McFarland take care of their animals . . . the cows, horses; he boarded horses. One time, I thought he was going to kill me, because I walked into the stall, cleaning out the stall over there, and I walked in and I cleaned out the stall. And the horse, they call him "Beauty." Black horse. Just "Beauty," wasn't "Black Beauty," just "Beauty." And I walked in to, walked in the stall, patted him and everything else. He just moved over. Cleaned up and I went up behind him and petted him on the back again. He just moved over to the other side. And Mr. McFarland walked into the barn and said, "What are you doing?" I said, "Cleaning out stalls." He said, "Not with that horse. She'll kill you." "She ain't killed me." I walked out of there and closed the door and that was the end of it. He said, "I want you in there no more." I said, "OK. I won't do it." But that horse was awful

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[76] Interview with Russell Olson, NA 2654, C1936-A, p. 23.

[77] Interview with Ronald Dougherty, NA 2626, C1909-A, pp. 19-20.

[78] Interview with Roy Doak, NA 2663, C1952-A, p. 16.

> nice to me. I gave him some sugar a couple of times. I had some sugar cubes that I got. They weren't actually white sugar. They were maple sugar cubes that a fellow had brought from home.[79]

Louine Lunt Peck, Gladys McFarland's younger sister, used to visit to get a glimpse of the CCC boys and would ride her horse out to the job sites ostensibly to see her brother Vernon Lunt, one of the woods foremen for the camp.[80]

Living close to the Southwest Harbor camp, the Lurline Soukup's family had regular contact with the CCC boys. Like Gladys McFarland, Mrs. Soukup did laundry and alterations for the men; the Soukup children visited the camp often and would even catch rides to school on the CCC trucks. Reginald Bartlett, who lived with and worked for the family, had an uncle in the camp and began to make other friends there as well:

> *Reginald belonged to the Knights of Pytheas and they had a place in Tremont where they held their meetings. And he found that some of the men in there were Knights of Pytheas and some others wanted to join, so they would come out to my house and go from here. . . .[81]

The Soukup home soon became a favorite gathering place for the CCC men.

> *So, dining room table, we used to clear that and set up puzzles. And we would sit around there and put puzzles together all the time. . . . The men from the camp, and our own friends – I had several friends, too, girlfriends, who would come in and we'd all chum around the table there together. And then Monopoly came out, and boy, Monopoly was important. We built houses and hotels and tried to do all the money making schemes that there were. And so those were the ways we got acquainted with people.. . . . And they all talked about the green house on the corner, because my house was green at that time. . . . On payday, they would all get together. There was this young

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[79] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-B, p. 27.

[80] Interview with Louine Lunt Peck, untranscribed, in possession of the interviewer, Pamela Dean, Northeast Archives of Folklore and Oral History.

[81] Interview with Lurline [Soukup] Tuttle, NA 2651, C1932-A, p. 3.

> man here, Ed McKay, from Calais, he had a guitar. And he would bring his guitar and they'd come out with their little six pack, and we'd sit out in the kitchen. My mother had a big table out there, drop leaf table. We'd put all the leaves up and usually played sixty-three, double and triple and quadruple handed, so there was lots of excitement. So they'd bring their little six packs, and we'd a sing song, and a little festival of our very own. I was probably, I'd say, I would have to be around thirteen or fourteen. And I developed very slowly. So I was like a little girl. They didn't think of me as a teenager, and there was never any suggestion of dating or anything like that. It was all, we had just lots of games and fun. And my mother and father joined in with us, and it was a big, happy time.[82]

Decades later, the Soukup family was still fondly recalled by former enrollees:

> *Well, the [Soukup] boys were always up at the camp. And at that time, they were probably like 10 and 12 years old. They would be up hanging around. And joking around. And all the boys were in love with Lurline.[83]

For Harvey Ober, the connection came through his work with Edwin Mitchell, a forester who was from Bar Harbor:

> *One time he said, "Harvey," he said, "at my house, we're going to have some of you guys come and spend the evening with us. And we'll have coffee and donuts and this and that and everything else. Would you like to come?" And I said, "Yes, I'd love to." So I went down there. And we did have coffee and donuts and everything else. And his wife was, she was a wonder. One of those big, friendly gals, you know? And she was so nice and everything else. I was fascinated by her. And I was fascinated by her youngest daughter also. . . . Florence. And I married her, you know? Eventually. Yes. After I got out of the CCs and everything else. . . . But Florence's – my wife's – mother Maude, she loved everybody. And she'd say, "Well let's have a party this weekend. Let's have all the guys down. And [have] eight or ten guys come down, they're out there all alone in that camp, you know, on McFarland's Hill. And we'll have them all down and have coffee and donuts and this and that." My God, she must have made a thousand donuts. That's

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[82] Interview with Lurline [Soukup] Tuttle, NA 2651, C1932-A, pp. 4 and 9.

[83] Interview with Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1930-A, p. 11.

> how I got acquainted with her and with my wife. . . . Oh my God. Donuts and coffee to us guys, living in that damn camp, was wonderful. . . .[84]

Marriages between enrollees and local girls were not uncommon:

> ***DEAN:** Do you know of other girls in town who dated the. . . .
>
> ***TUTTLE:** Oh, goodness! I think half of our town dated men from camp. Yes. There's Priscilla Trafton, at the foot of the hill here. . . . Her sister married Norman Bouchard from Frenchville. There's one down, Manset, let's see, Virginia Beal. She married, he was from Frenchville, too. I can't think of his name. He told my brother he dated me. My brother said, she wouldn't marry a Frenchman like you!. . . Let's see, who else was – Roland Guidry, he was an insurance man. He married a girl in town. There were a lot of them. I couldn't even name half of them. And over on the other side of the island, Bernard and McKinley and those places, there were a number of them married CCC men.[85]

In the course of this research, we interviewed five individuals who met their spouse through the CCC. Somewhat surprisingly, all but one (Claude Beaupre) continued to reside on Mount Desert Island. Eleanor Raynes was thus able to offer a long rage perspective on the contributions of the CCC to the surrounding communities:

> *The boys that used their professions that they learned in the CC camp, most of them stayed right around here. One of them, this Paul Duffy, he learned a lot on electrical work. He worked on maintenance. And he worked at Jackson Lab. So he was here his whole life. And this Red McNeill took over when Bob got through as road commissioner, he took over as road commissioner. And most of them, I think they did, I think they did a lot for the community. . . . They served on different boards here in town. Like warrant committee. The different churches. My husband was on the vestry at our church. And I know Red McNeill was great in his church, in the Congregational Church.[86]

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[84] Interview with Harvey Ober, NA 2656, C1942-A, pp. 21-22.

[85] Interview with Lurline Tuttle, NA 2651, C1932-B, p. 13; see also, Interviews with Priscilla Trafton, NA 2665 C1954-B, p. 31, and with Eleanor Raynes, NA 2664, C1953-A, p. 5.

[86] Interview with Eleanor Raynes, NA 2664, C1953-A, p. 12.

Departure and Lasting Influence

The length of time enrollees stayed in the CCC varied widely. Fourteen of our informants (just over half) spent more than a year in the corps, and most of them served their legal allotment of time (fifteen months prior to 1935, two years thereafter). Five of them stayed well beyond the maximum term: the longest serving member, Lester Hartford, was an enrollee at Southwest Harbor from 1935 to 1939 and returned as a project assistant when the camp reopened in the fall of 1940. One informant, Webster Fox, served only four months. Upon leaving, men were given discharge papers and whatever certifications they may have earned, but other than that there was little ceremony to mark the time they had spent in the corps:

> *Well, your time is up, you're getting ready to leave, they tell you to turn in your bedding, equipment, your one pair of shoes you turn in. You turn in your overalls. . . . . That's about it. Your work clothes. You keep your good clothes, your clean clothes: your pants, shirt, jacket if it's in the winter. Your hat, you keep. Pair of shoes. The clothes you wear, you keep. That's it. Your trunk you keep because it's yours. And they put you in the truck, they take you to Ellsworth, to the railroad depot, you get on the train, you go home. That's it. No fanfare.[1]

Despite marginal improvements in the economy, depression conditions lingered throughout the decade, especially following the 1938 recession. Many CCC enrollees returned to the same uncertainty they had left. The following accounts are from enrollees who left the CCC in 1934, 1939, 1940, and 1941 respectively.

> *I got out to go back to school. And when I got home my mother said, "You're going back to work. You ain't going to school." So I didn't go to

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[1] Interview with Thomas Desjardin, NA 2652, C1934-B, p. 27.

school. I didn't finish. . . . I really wanted to go back. And she didn't . . . . So I never finished high school.[2]

*I went back home. And my father and mother, well my mother and father parted. And there was a stepfather to me here. Oh, I gave them that money for four years. And she come up to me one day and she says, "Claude, she says if you're going to stay here much longer, you're going to have to pay board." That didn't hit me very good. That burned me right up then. . . . I said, "I'm leaving," I says, "this morning. I'm hitchhiking back to Bar Harbor." I had a five dollar bill in my pocket. I took it, put it down there in the hole in my shoe and put my foot over it. So if somebody hit me over the head or something, wouldn't get my money, see? Because that's the only thing that I had, that five dollars.[3]

*There was nothing around where I was. . . . As a matter of fact, between that and the time I got that [draft] card there, this fellow, another friend of mine . . . he just, he came back from serving two years in Hawaii. If you served two years it was equal to a full four years if you served overseas. And he couldn't find a job, either. So he and I hitchhiked from Calais to Bangor to join the Navy. They were looking for guys for Navy, and he just got out of the Army, and they turned him down. Too much overbite in his teeth. They turned me down because I was five pounds overweight. A couple of years later, they took you like that. All they wanted was bodies anyway.[4]

*Started painting. You know, you go up there and you stand in that stupid line with a hundred other people to try to get a job. It was still hard times. Finally some guy, one of the owners of one of those big shoe factories says, "Well, we need some guys to paint one of those factories." I mean this was high and big. So a bunch of us grabbed that. I think he paid twenty cents an hour. Twenty cents! And I was really reluctant . . . but I did it anyway. . . . [I]t was either the first or second day, way up on a forty foot ladder, the guy comes out, big boss, owner or whatever. Made some remark about, you know, "If you guys would move those brushes a little faster, we'd get something done around here." And I just dropped my brush, got off the ladder and walked down. Forgot to

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[2] Interview with Webster Fox, NA 2660, C1947-A, p. 8.

[3] Interview with Claude Beaupre, NA 2666, C1955-B, p. 39.

[4] Interview with Ron Dougherty, NA 2626, C1909-B, p. 35.

> even get my day's pay. And then I hitchhiked. I thought I'd go down and see if I could stay with my brother. He was staying at the YMCA in Brockton.[5]

And of course, enrollees weren't the only ones affected:

> *Remember how they didn't want me to go? Heh? I walk in the door without them even knowing it, and they says, "Oohhh, you're home!" You know. Well, they were glad to see me, but, "Oh, we thought you were going to stay for another six months." [Laughs]. You know, that twenty-five bucks coming in every month was a nice little egg. . . . And, what the hey, there's no upkeep, they didn't have to feed me, they didn't have to clothe me, no nothing. . . . It was like money from heaven. . . . They didn't want me to go, now they wanted me to stay [Laughs].

Even before Pearl Harbor, large numbers of men left to join the military, which, as world events dictated, was an inevitable next step for nearly all our informants:

> *[S]tarting in the summer of 1940, through the rest of 1940, and the earlier part of '41, a lot of the fellows at Bar Harbor were leaving to go into the service. They either was, could see what was going to happen or they just wanted to get out of the CCC. And that's the way they got out, by saying, "I'm going to go enlist."[6]

> *[W]hen I left the camp I was eighteen, and then I could go in the service. And I was only out of the CC camp a week and I was on my way to Paris Island. While I was in Paris Island, about June [1941], all the services reduced their age to seventeen. So I'm certain there were a lot of CC fellas that were seventeen that marched straight out then. They were just waiting for their eighteenth birthday, even when I was down there at Southwest Harbor.[7]

For all the varied experience offered by the CCC, only a few informants credit the program with directly influencing their future careers. Lester Hartford worked his way onto the carpentry crew in Southwest Harbor, eventually becoming leader of the detail, and he

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[5] Interview with Ken Farrar, NA 2659, C1946-A, p. 19.

[6] Interview with Roy Doak, NA 2663, C1952-A, p. 14.

[7] Interview with Eugene Paradis, Old Town Museum Oral History Project, p. 4.

remained a carpenter for the rest of his working life. Robert Raynes, who joined the survey crew at the Bar Harbor camp eventually ran his own survey company on Mount Desert Island:

> *My husband learned his business in the CC camp. He was a surveyor. And there were two men here in town – Clifford Richardson and Walter Hill – who were officials out there, and they taught him the business.[8]

Harvey Ober was another who drew on his CCC training later in life:

> *[In the CCC] we'd go out and survey out the section, and this and that and everything else. And at the time I was kind of bored by it sometimes. But later on in my life it, it was a benefit to me. I came back to Maine here after I got out of the CCs, and I went to work on the road up here a ways. They were putting in a new piece of road from the Sullivan Harbor, Sullivan Bridge, down through. And I went to work up there, and I was working my tail off and shoveling gravel. And they had these guys that weighed three or four hundred pounds, and they could shovel more than I could. And I was working in this gravel pit up there, shoveling like mad, and I was dying, almost. So I worked on that for a few days. And then up beyond, a little ways from there, I was working up there one day and a guy come along, "Hey, you!" "Yes?" "What does that grade stake out there say?" And I said, "That grade stake says 450 foot plus and it's sixteen inches out," and this and that. "How the hell do you know how to read a grade stake?" I said, "Hey, I worked in a survey crew." "From now on, you're working for me!" And I went from working my tail off, you know, to something better.[9]

Most enrollees, though, moved on to other things once they left the CCC:

> *I figured maybe I'd keep on with carpenter work. But a few shingle jobs changed my mind. I figured it was no way to get out in the middle of the winter and shingle houses.[10]

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[8] Interview with Eleanor Raynes, NA 2664, C1953-A, pp. 9-10.

[9] Interview with Harvey Ober, NA 2656, C1942-A, pp. 16-17.

[10] Interview with Vernon Wardwell, NA 2658, C1944-B, p. 34.

> *I never did do much surveying. I helped once or twice on different things, but I never, never used what I learned there too much. . . .[11]

For most of our informants, the lasting value of the CCC experience lay in the basic life lessons it had to offer. Writing in the *Sou'wester* at the end of the eighth enrollment period under the headline "A Farewell to Our Future Citizens," enrollee Norman Cairns proclaimed:

> We can hardly realize that we are the same persons that we were before we decided to give the C. C. C. a try. With head up-lifted, a new light in our eyes, and with a firmer step once again we have confidence in ourselves and our ability. . . . We have been offered every advantage for our physical, moral and mental development. As we once again take our places in our communities may that old spirit remain with us throughout our lives and our loyalty to our government be deepened.

CCC experience was especially valuable for those who later joined the military:

> *Because it taught you how to live with other people. How to get along with other people. Which is a big help in your future endeavors. . . . [Y]ou overlook some of the things that some people did that you didn't agree with. But it was their doing and you just went along with the way things were.[12]

> *I think probably attitudes. I never asked that question before, but I would think probably attitudes might be something when you see, realize what kind of a bunch of guys you were with. They were all in the same boat, and there was nobody putting on airs or telling about their father's big boat or their father's big car. Not that they were all dirt poor, but . . . these were tough times. . . . [I]t didn't seem to be the right thing to do but think you're anything than just the way you were.[13]

> *[D]ue to the regimentation that we had there, I didn't find going into the service to be such a, I didn't figure that as a bad deal at all. Whereas a lot of guys had trouble going into the service right off. It was new to them and they found it a little hard, but I didn't find it hard at all. I went into the Navy and it

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[11] Interview with Russell Olson, NA 2654, C1936-A, p. 25.

[12] Interview with Merrill Morang, NA 2627, C1910-B, p. 27.

[13] Interview with Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1930-B, p. 16.

> was no problem. . . . [The CCC] just made me more independent. That's the thing. It made me very independent. I could take care of myself.[14]
>
> *Well, you found out how to work with people, too, and get along.[15]
>
> *You know, going in the service, military service, was nothing, because I'd already done that, lived that kind of life, you know, and that was very hard for some people. . . . I can also remember one person that I was stationed with in Rhode Island, who was a Maniac too, come to think of it. You know, he got so upset, they discharged him. . . . Couldn't adapt. He couldn't live in the barracks and he couldn't eat in the mess hall. . . . [T]hey sent him to a psychiatrist, and eventually he was discharged. Now I don't know what kind of a discharge he got. But living, group living like that, was a snap for me, because I'd already done that. That's one of the big advantages the CCC had for me when it came to the military life. I was used to that.[16]

It is probably no accident, whether as a result of working for the Nation Park Service, or the close tutelage of the foresters, or the simple fact of being surrounded by the beauty of downeast Maine, that several informants carried with them stories of special encounters with nature, encounters that had a lasting effect on the way they looked at the world:

> *We'd go off all over the mountains and see deer and everything else. We got a little deer one day up there and we, there was, oh, eight or ten of us in the crew, in our crew. And we made a circle around that little deer. And he's just born. And when he got ready to go, he jumped right over all of us and went. [laughs] We thought we had him cornered.[17]
>
> *[I]n that area, Sieur du Monts Springs, they had a beautiful spring water and everything else, and nice brooks that ran through there. And they also had animals that you could see. In fact, I used to eat meals over there and feed the chipmunks at the same table. Every day. I used to feed the chipmunks every

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[14] Interview with Wesley Gray, NA 2625, C1907-B, p. 35.

[15] Interview with Russell Olson, NA 2654, C1936-A, p. 25.

[16] Interview with Roy Doak, NA 2663, C1952-A, pp. 22-23.

[17] Interview with Walter Woods, NA 2641, C1924-B, p. 20.

day by hand. And I fed deers by hand. . . . Yes. And that's quite a thing that you don't usually forget.[18]

*Well, we used to go down to Ellsworth center [which] consisted of about, oh, I don't know, if there were three stores there, I can't remember very much. But I know it was very small. . . . There was also a place . . . bar room like, you know, and we used to travel quite a ways, walk out to the highway, go down there and, cold, cold, cold, cold, cold nights, go down there, and the guy had a slot machine in there. We'd play the slot machine only we never had too much money, so we'd only play the slot machine couple of pulls, you know, and if we hit the jackpot, then we drank three-two beer for the rest of the night, you know. . . . Then we'd walk out, walk back up. Now remember, these kids, most of them were city kids, you know, and I'm country, and I know a shortcut, and low country road, I know what a county roadway is. Boy, let me tell you, in the winter time with the moon shining bright and snow logs down on these boughs of these big hemlock trees and everything, you know, great in there. "Come on, come on, let's go." "Where you going?" "Going through." "Oh, you'll get killed in there, bears will eat you." "What bears?" I says, "they're asleep for the winter." You know. Oh, you're this, you're that, you know, the other thing. You'll get killed in there, and you know, you can hear a wild cat or a bobcat, or whatever they were; they scream. They'd hear them you know, some nights in the distance, when we're at the camp and you know, scared the life out of these kids. But I'd say "Hey, so what." "What, there are wildcats in there." "Oh, wildcats, they won't bother you, they know you're coming, they'll get out of your way, they'll go miles away. . . ." "Oh, you're crazy," they says. "No. Come on, come on," I says. "You'll save yourself a lot of walking." Nope. They all went around. Then I'm in bed when they come in. I was nice and cozy warm by the time they got in there, you know. It was an old cart road, or old lumber road, or whatever you'd call them, you know. But I wish I was an artist. I wish I could paint the pictures, that picture in there. Oh, it's beautiful. Nice bright, shiny moon, shining down on all that snow. Oh, it was gorgeous in there, absolutely gorgeous.[19]

*I think maybe being stationed in Bar Harbor, and really indirectly or directly working for the park service, I'm sure it's had influence on my thinking about recreation. Like when the kids were – I had three girls – [when] they were growing up and . . . we used to go camping, I was always conscious and tried to make them conscious of nature, and to be careful what they did, you know,

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[18] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-A, p. 17.

[19] Interview with Thomas Thornton, NA 3323, C2462-B, pp. 13-14.

> and not be destructive. Make them aware of the good things of nature. I think that is a hand down from what I learned in Bar Harbor, really.[20]

In the long run, however, the CCC was a port in a storm. That characterization may be somewhat harsh, but even Robert Fechner and William McEntee, the federal directors of the CCC, viewed the program as a stopgap measure to see American families through the Great Depression.[21] The experience of one of our informants might well speak for the entire program: "No, no, they didn't set me up much for the future. No. . . . I just thought it was a good thing for back in them days."[22] But for a program that operated during some very dark days, the following comment is equally telling: "I think if you interview anybody, as they'll probably tell you, it was the best years of their life."[23] If, as enrollee Harlan Leith commented in the *Acadian*, "The ultimate purpose of the C.C.C.s is to teach the nation's youth how to work together, how to work and live together,"[24] then the program can only be regarded a success.

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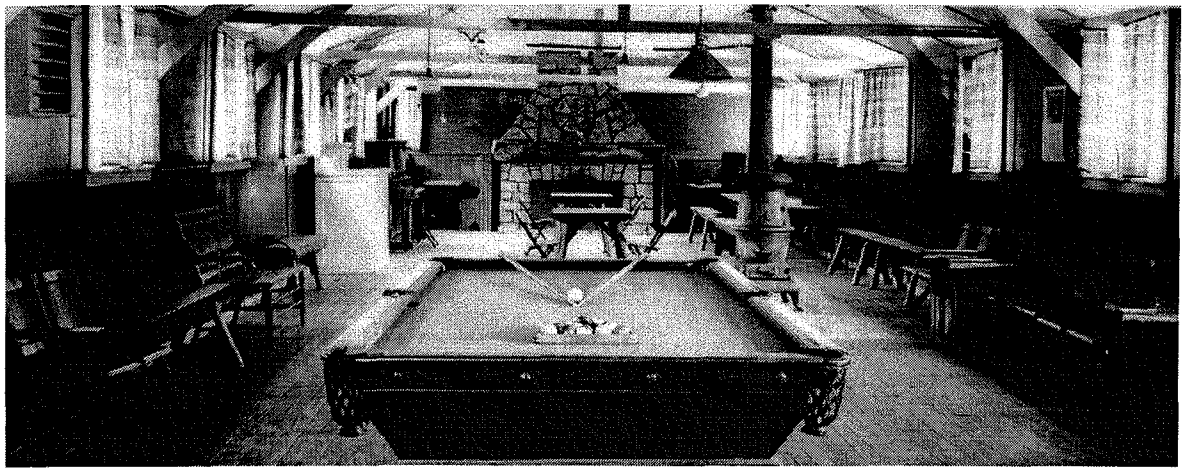
[20] Interview with Roy Doak, NA 2663, C1952-A, p. 23.

[21] Salmond 1967: 52 and 218-19.

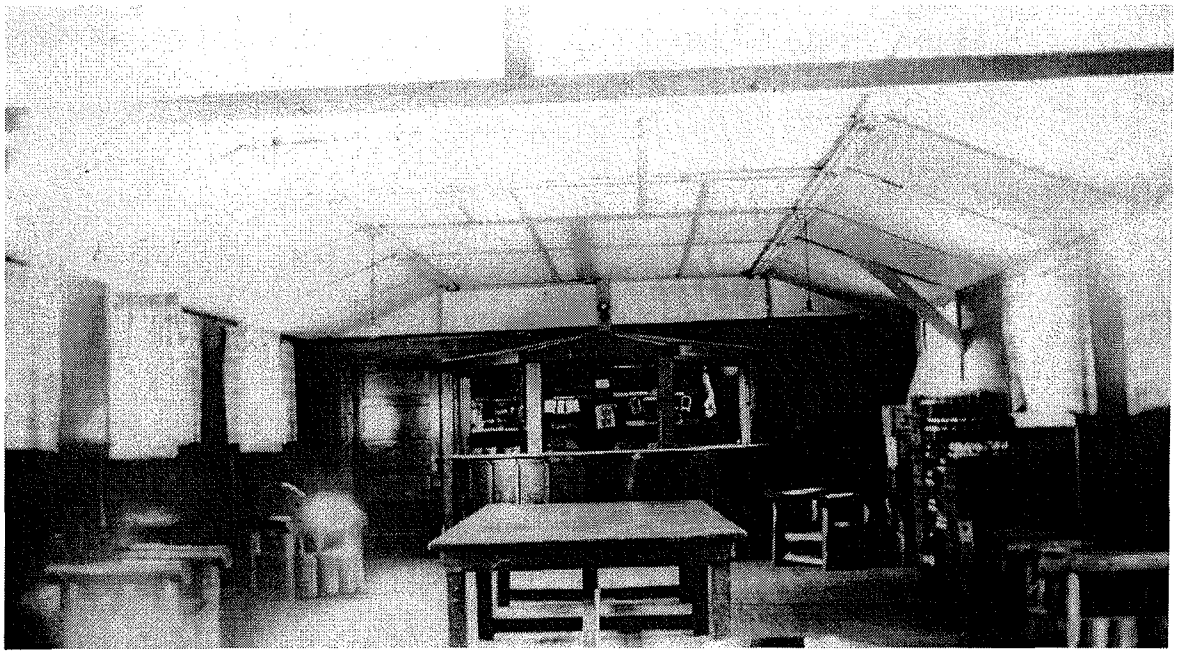
[22] Interview with Walter Woods, NA 2641, C1924-B, p. 28.

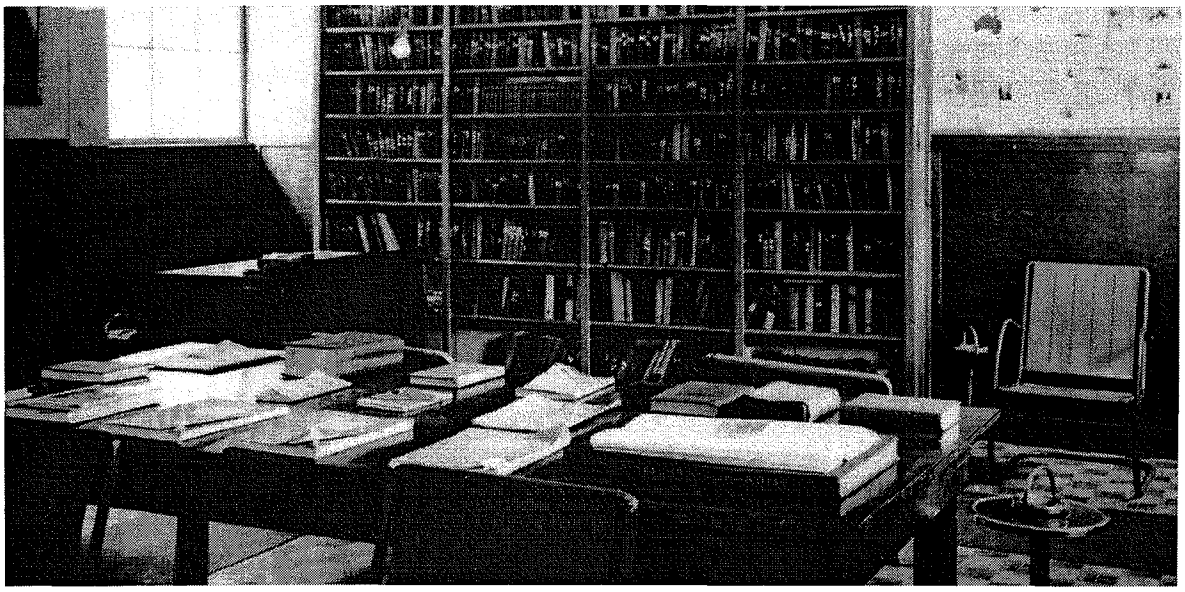
[23] Interview with John McLeod, NA 2652, C1933-A, p. 6.

[24] Leith, Harlan, "Cooperation," *Acadian* 1.1, July 4, 1934, p. 4.



Figures 28 and 29: Recreation Hall and Canteen at the Great Pond Camp, NP-2. Note rustic benches above and arm-chairs below. They are probably the work of enrollees. (Above: courtesy of Lester Hartford; below, courtesy of Linwood Robshaw)





Figures 30 and 31: Library and Educational/Recreational woodshop at the Great Pond Camp, NP-2. Curiously, the carpentry crew does appear to have made much use of these tools in their day to day projects. In fact, this equipment may have been a very late addition to the camp. (Courtesy of Lester Hartford)

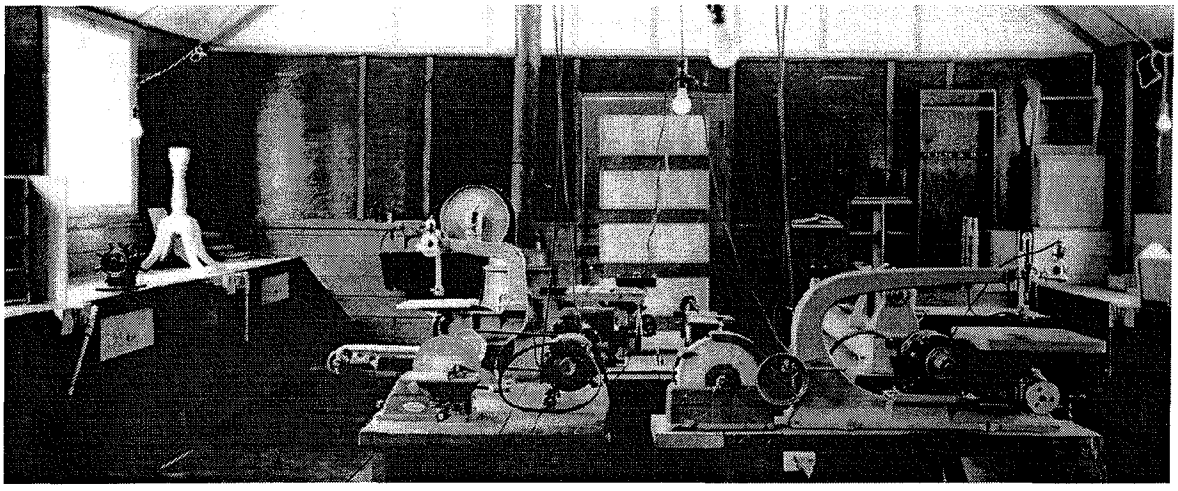
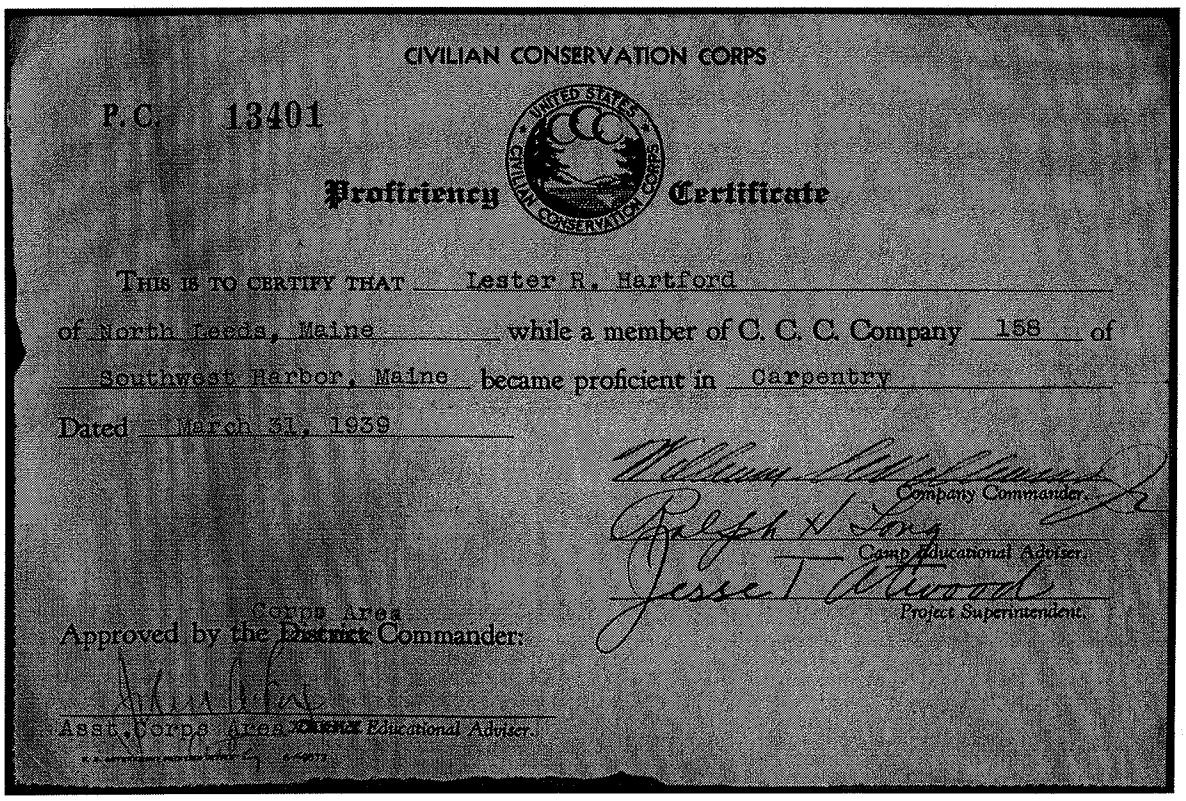


Figure 32: Enrollee drawn cover art for the McFarland Camp newspaper.



CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

P. C. 13401

Proficiency Certificate

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT Lester R. Hartford

of North Leeds, Maine while a member of C. C. C. Company 158 of

Southwest Harbor, Maine became proficient in Carpentry

Dated March 31, 1939

Company Commander.

Camp Educational Adviser.

Project Superintendent.

Approved by the Corps Area Commander:

Asst. Corps Area Educational Adviser.

Figure 33: Proficiency certificate in carpentry earned by Lester Hartford at the Great Pond Camp. Jesse Atwood, the supervisor in the carpentry shop, was a mentor to many of the young men who worked under him. (Courtesy of Lester Hartford)

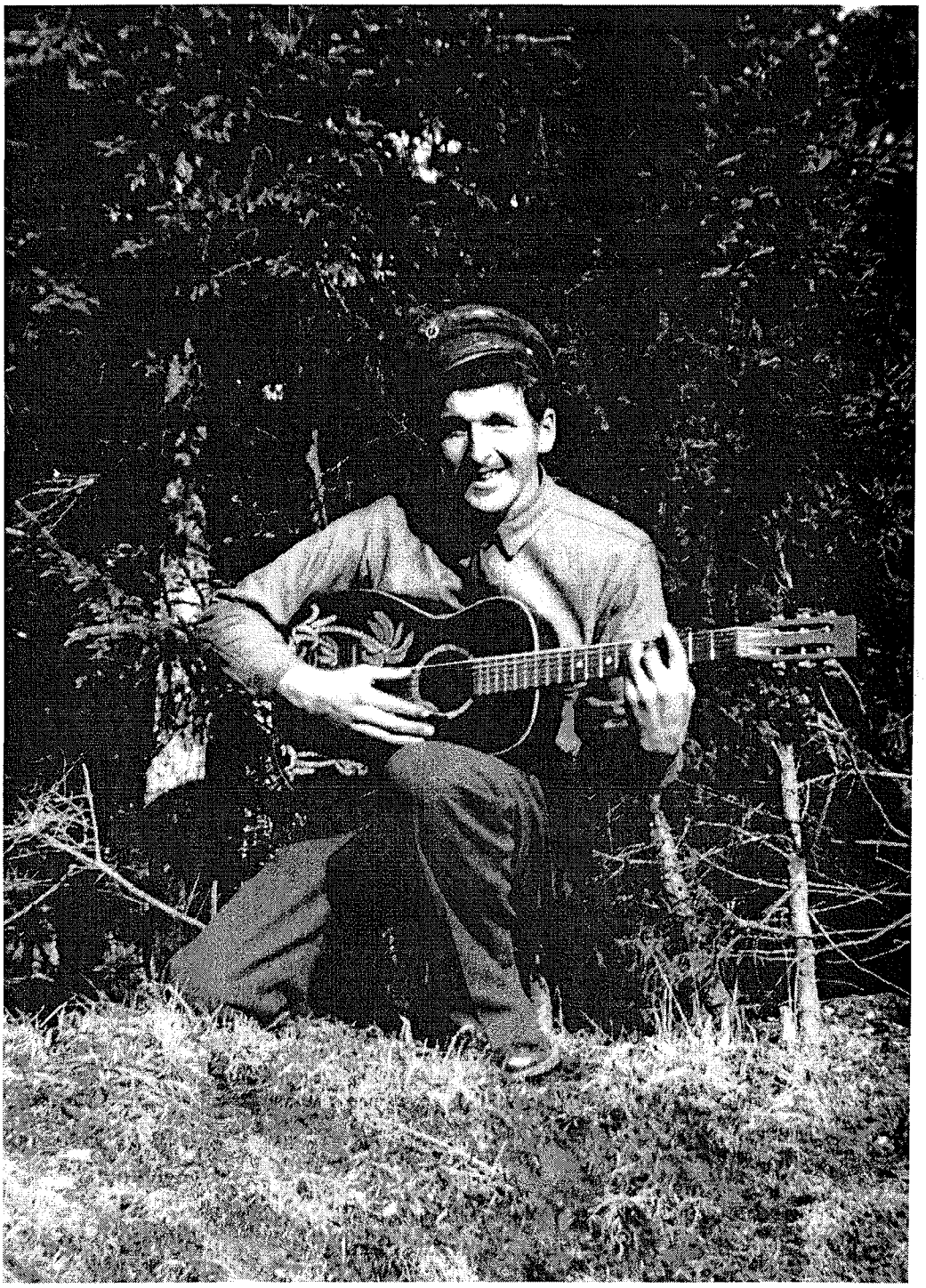


Figure 34: NP-2 enrollee, Ed McKay, of Calais, ME. Music in the camps was more likely to be popular than traditional. If the art work on his guitar is any indication, McKay may have liked Hawaiian music, which was at the height of its popularity in the thirties. (Courtesy of Lester Hartford)

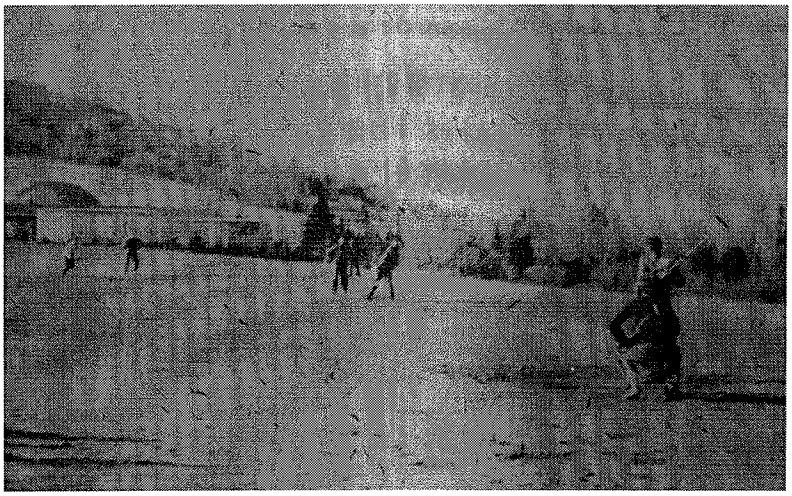


Figure 35: Baseball at the McFarland Camp, ca. 1934. (Courtesy of John Parsons)

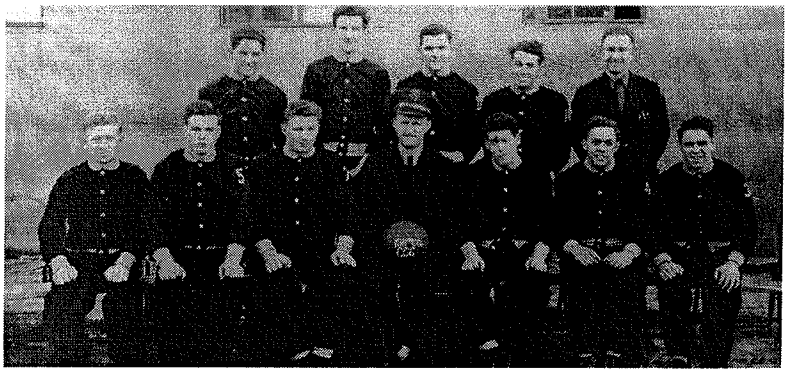


Figure 36: A Great Pond basketball team from the late thirties. (Courtesy of Lester Hartford)

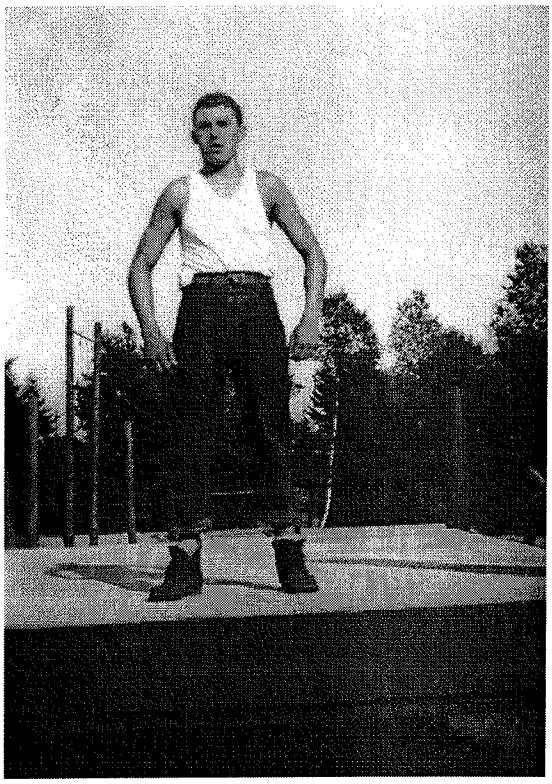


Figure 37: (Left) Benny Bernard poses in the boxing ring at NP-2. Gymnastics equipment is visible in the background. (Courtesy of Lindwood Robshaw)

Figures 38: Non-competitive sports, like snowshoeing and hiking, were important CCC pastimes. Capt. Ralls of the McFarland Camp snowshoeing with enrollees in the winter of 1934. (Courtesy of John Parsons, NAFOH P8558)

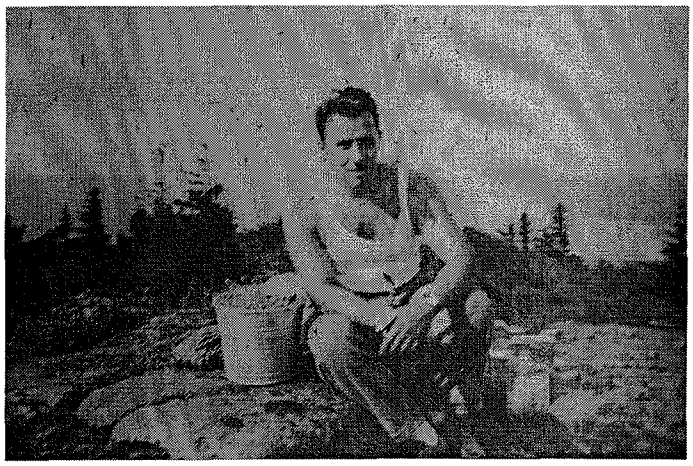
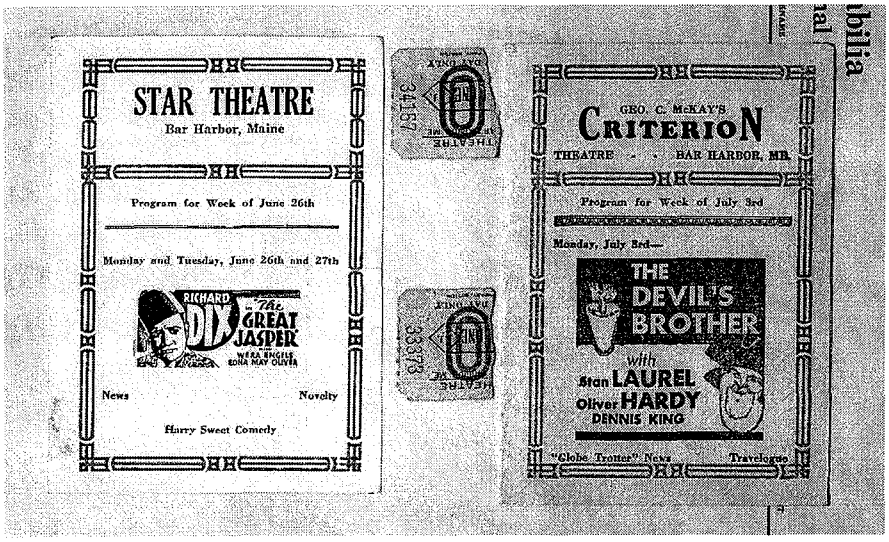


Figure 39: NP-1 Technical foreman, Ed Maher rests after picking a pail of blueberries. (Courtesy of John Parsons, NAFOH 8554)

Figure 40: Enrollees from the Great Pond Camp visit with the Soukup family, who lived near the camp on the Seal Cove Road. (Courtesy of Lurline Soukup Tuttle)



Figures 41: Movie flyers and ticket stubs from the Bar Harbor cinemas. (Courtesy of John Parsons)

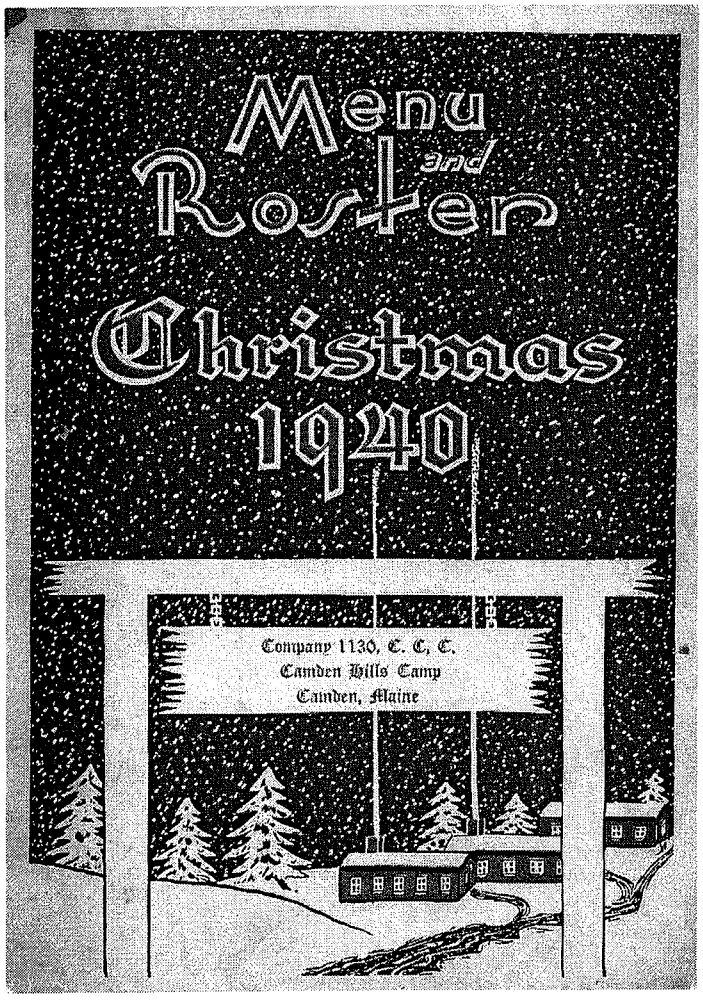
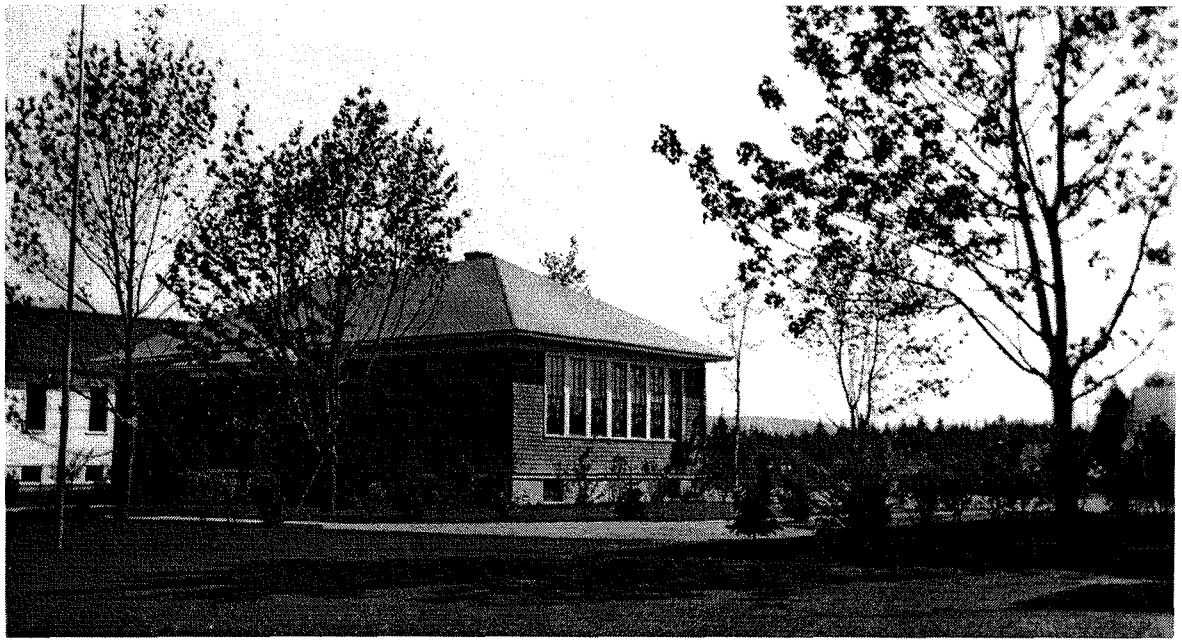


Figure 42: Holidays and special events were celebrated with dinners in the camp Mess Hall. These events were often held at the end of enrollment periods to say farewell to the discharged men. (Courtesy of Damien Blanchette)

Camp / Community Interaction

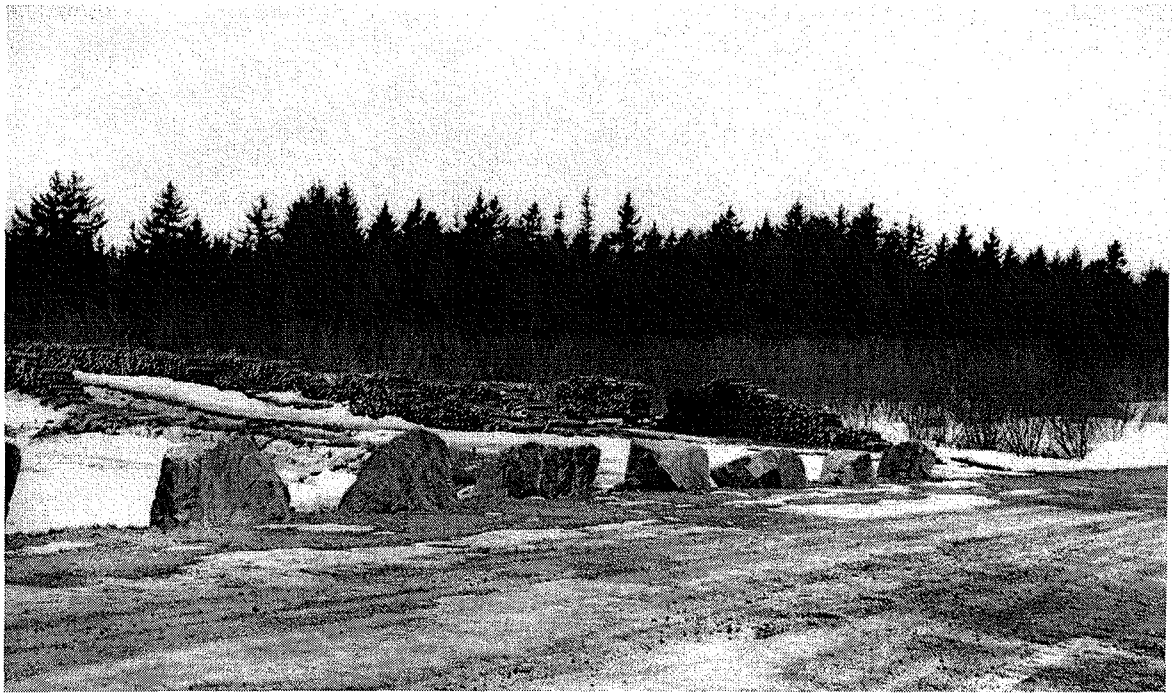
Figures 43 and 44: Winter carnival on Eagle Lake, hosted by the McFarland camp. Participants came from the other camps and from nearby communities. (Above): crowds gather on Eagle Lake. (Right): NP-1 hockey team. (NARA Photos, Project scan number 118)

Figure 45 (Below): On Easter morning, 1935, over 4000 people attended a sunrise service on the summit of Cadillac Mt., hosted by the Park (NARA Photo, Project scan number 294)



Figures 46: Landscaping at the Southwest Harbor Grade School was one of several community-based projects undertaken by workers from the Great Pond CCC Camp (NARA Photos, Project scan number 194)

Figure 47: Forestry projects undertaken by the Civil Works Administration, a sister agency of the CCC, made over 200 cords of fire wood available to needy families in the winter of 1934. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 255)



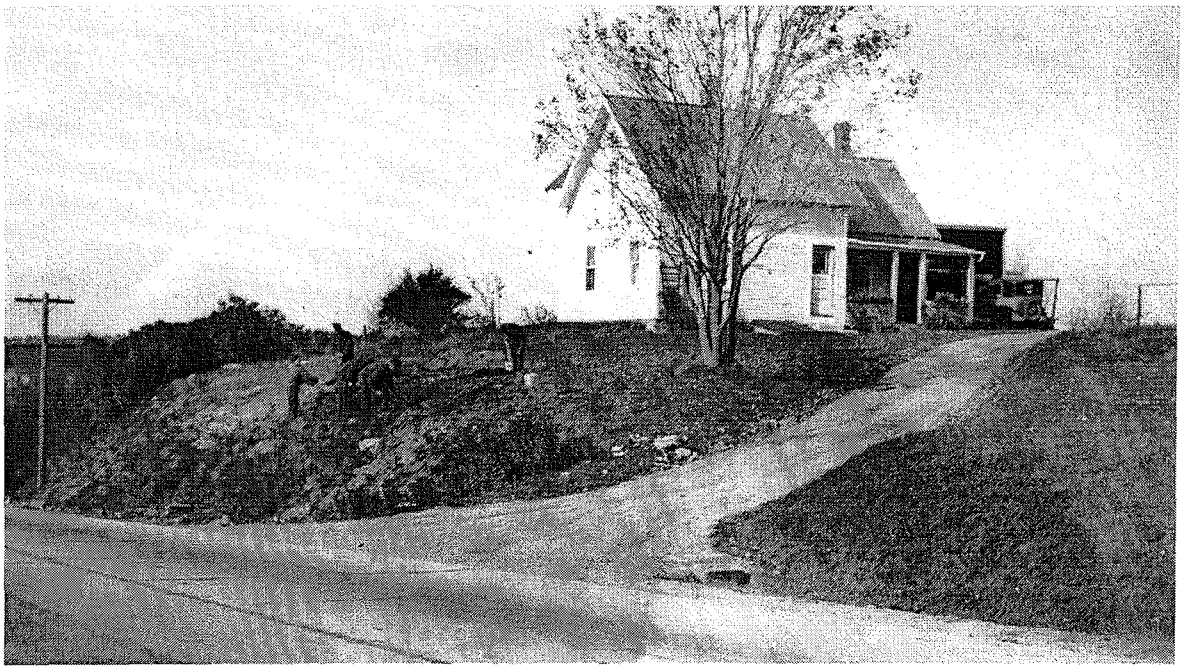
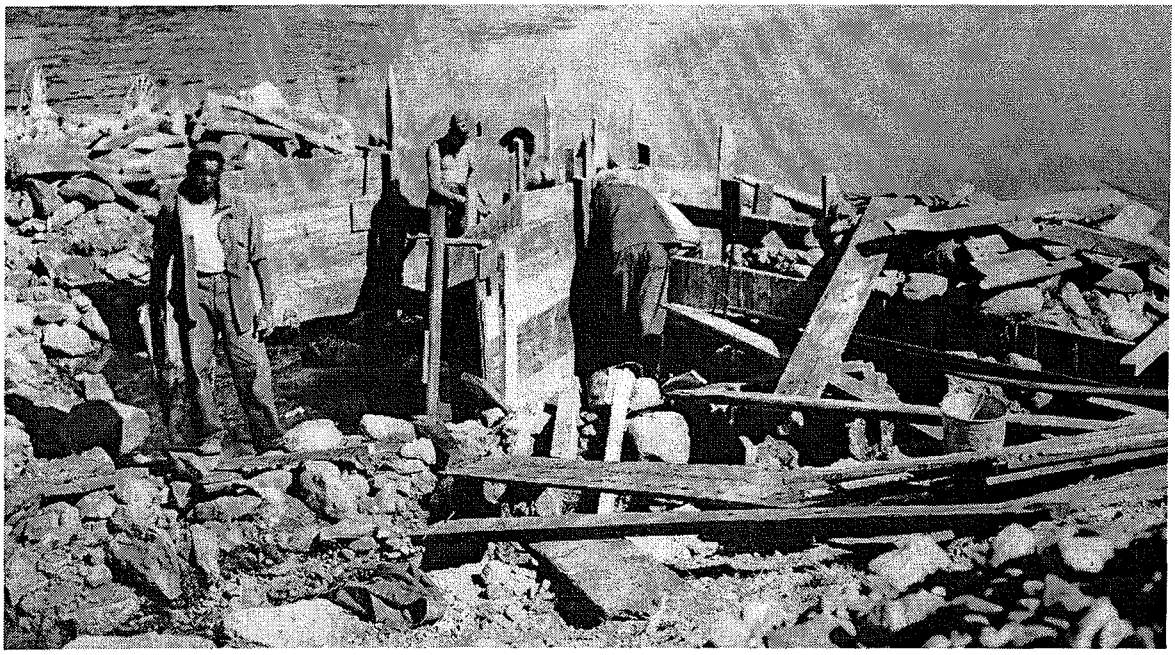


Figure 48: Roadside beautification projects along the approach roads to the park enhanced the look of the area and of individual properties. Here, Ellsworth crews are planting wild roses and lilacs at a home along the Ellsworth-Bar Harbor Road. (NARA Photos, Project scan number 62)

Figure 49: The exchange between camp and community was often reciprocal. The twenty bags of concrete needed to complete this spillway at Northeast Creek were purchased by nearby landowner. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 89)



Work Programs at Acadia

6.1 The Work Forces

The New Deal provided Acadia National Park with resources it hadn't known before or since. For nine years, a force of as many as 600 CCC enrollees was available year-round to work under the direction of park architects and foresters. That does not include men employed by the CWA, WPA, PWA, BPR, and other federal agencies.[1] In the winter of 1934 when the CWA was active and during the first years of the RDPs, there were potentially more than 1,000 men working on development and conservation projects in and around the park. The rapid launch of the CCC no doubt presented logistical problems for park managers, as it did for everyone else involved. However, five year plans, which were mandated for all branches of the Park Service, provided a template for the initial projects.[2]

Despite the number of men, there were limitations on what the CCC could be expected to do. Enrollees were young and by and large inexperienced. Yet even basic forest work, if it was to be done effectively and efficiently, required knowledge of the woods and proficiency with tools. As already noted, Maine camps were fortunate in that many enrollees came from rural homes and were already familiar with outdoors work. For others, guidance was provided by the technical foremen and by any experience that LEMs brought with them. Probably a greater handicap was a lack of funds for projects that required significant capital outlay for materials or equipment. In the early years, the Acadia camps were each given between $2000 and $3000 a month to cover costs, but project accounts show that much of

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[1] See Table 1.1, p. 33, for a summary of these New Deal agencies and programs.

[2] Paige 1985: 38.

that money went toward supervisors' salaries and vehicle maintenance.[3] There is little evidence that the situation changed much in later years. Landscape Architect Benjamin Breeze complained that trying to coordinate the labor and monetary resources at his disposal was like trying to "team up a Percheron horse with a Shetland pony."[4]

With a few exceptions, only hand tools were used. Youth, strength, and numbers were expected to compensate for mechanical advantage, and generally they did:

> *I helped build the Black Woods campground. It's on the Bar Harbor side of the island; today, it's used a lot. I can remember . . . everything [was] done by hand, by pick and shovel. Digging sewer lines for the restroom, and a lot of things like that. Roadways. . . . And we did that right in the wintertime, too. . . . I can remember the snow and the frozen ground. It was hard work. . . . I can see that trench going through in the snow. Cold! You worked to keep warm.[5]

> *It was all pick and shovel work, wheelbarrows, and crowbars for moving rocks, and a little bit of dynamiting. . . . I started out on a wheelbarrow, and [chuckles] did that for quite a . . . I thought forever. I didn't think I was ever going to get off those wheelbarrows. That's pretty tough, running those wheelbarrows up and down the mountain, you know, with gravel in them.[6]

Machinery and powers tools mentioned by our informants were limited to a small caterpillar bulldozer – the "crawler," as the men called it – and jack-hammers powered by gas-driven air

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[3] Hillory A. Tolson to George B. Dorr, September 26, 1934, RG 79, Box 1; accounts are usually included in quarterly and semi-annual reports filed by project superintendents and in some project completion reports; see also Paige 1985: 12 and 46.

[4] B. L. Breeze to B. L. Hadley, February 9, 1938, RG 79, Box 4.

[5] Interview with Roy Doak, NA 2663, C1952-A, pp. 6-8.

[6] Interview with Eugene Paradis, Old Town Museum Oral History Project, p. 2.

compressors.[7] If enrollees with trades happened to land in camp, the park tried to make use of their talents. In the spring of 1937, a project requiring a blacksmith had to be deferred because the enrollee who could do the work decided to leave the CCC.[8] Beyond that, such skilled tasks as plumbing, electrical work, masonry, and so on, were left either to supervisory personnel or to workers from programs like the CWA or WPA, which hired skilled labor.

What the CCC did provide for Acadia was a large work force on a steady basis. The size of the corps meant that the park could initiate projects on a scale that would be unthinkable under normal circumstances, while the indefinite availability[9] of such a large number of men meant that projects could be executed under relatively loose time constraints. As one former enrollee put it, "Time was nothing to a CCC boy."[10] On one level, this led to a certain amount of inefficiency: there is ample commentary from former enrollees to indicate that the pace of work was less than onerous. But the ability to work without overriding deadline pressures allowed park planners to adopt work methods and incorporate design

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[7] See interviews with Claude Beaupre, NA 2666, passim, and with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1923-A, pp. 15-17.

[8] "Justification for Additional Requests of Skilled Labor," appended to Herbert Evison to G. B. Dorr, ca. June 4, 1937, re. Job Application No. 120, RG 79, Box 8. By the end of the decade, the McFarland and Southwest Harbor camps had blacksmith shops on site, but according to one informant, their work was limited to equipment and tool repair (interview with Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1930-A, p. 4).

[9] Although the Civilian Conservation Corps had broad popular support, it was always under threat from various quarters. With a mandated congressional review every two years, there were no guarantees as to how long the program might last. Park administrators lost little by presuming that it would be extended and they planned accordingly, but as noted in the first chapter, planning during the last years of the CCC was difficult.

[10] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, October 13, 2000, NA 2638, Tape 1924.

features that might not have made sense if workers had been hired through conventional contracts. These two factors – the size of the work force and the time at its disposal – are what make the CCC era distinct in the history of the development of Acadia National Park.

The CCC was part of an artificial economy in which "man-days" were the basic currency. Early on, administrators accustomed to calculating project costs in so much per acre or mile sometimes had to be reminded of the new work unit. Manpower saved on one job could be applied against another, and conversely if the estimated number of man-days for a job fell short of the mark, a "supplement" had to be requested. Although the camps were designed to house 200 men each, the work forces more commonly stood at between 170 and 195 men, and at the end of enrollment periods the numbers could drop off to as few as 100. "Overhead" crews – a handful a men who worked in camp – further reduced the numbers available for conservation work. Records indicate that planners based their labor estimates on between 1100 and 1140 man *months* per enrollment period, or roughly 185 to 190 men for a six month term, which was probably a bit optimistic given actual enrollment numbers.

While the CCC is best known for forestry work, in actuality crews worked on a variety of conservation and construction projects. At Acadia, they developed, restored, and improved trails, beautified the park's roads and public areas, constructed new facilities and upgraded old ones, assisted with public works projects in the surrounding townships, helped reduce fire hazards, improved waterways, managed pest infestations, and other valuable tasks. Project design was the responsibility of park architects, but all proposals had to be approved by the Washington office of the National Park Service with input from each of the branches affected. Not all projects were given the green light. Sometimes it was a matter of

priorities; sometimes there were concerns over environmental impact or appearance. A small number of projects were rejected because they were too complex or too costly. Favored programs were those that kept a lot of men active, that required minimal capital costs, and that could be completed by relatively unskilled workers under limited supervision. Those were the kinds of projects that made the most effective use of the work force that the CCC provided.

The remaining sections of the report provide an overview of the projects undertaken by the CCC at Acadia, as revealed through the correspondence and reports of park administrators, the oral testimony of former enrollees, and contemporary photo-documentation of CCC work taken by project administrators and by the workers themselves. Particular attention is given to the method of work, where it can be determined, and to the areas of the park most affected by CCC labor. The first section looks at environmental projects, including forestry, pest and disease control, and stream maintenance and development. A subsequent section examines construction projects and focuses on trail and fire lane construction, roadside improvements, and site development.

Work Programs I: Environmental Projects

7.1 Forestry

The CCC was dubbed "Roosevelt's Tree Army" for a reason. The majority of projects demanded basic forestry skills, and it is possible that many enrollees spent their entire time in the corps working solely at brush cleaning, thinning, planting, and related activities. Where construction projects were measured in tens or hundreds of man-days, it was not at all uncommon for large woods projects to consume thousands of man-days even in a single month. Of the ten projects proposed for the two Mount Desert Island camps in the first enrollment period, eight involved general forestry work, mainly clearing and cleanup operations at different sites in and around the park.[1] The pine blister rust eradication program, which absorbed more man-days at NP-1 than any other task during that first summer, was not listed as an actual project but was authorized under guidelines established by the Bureau of Plant Industry. The Ellsworth camp's roadside improvement projects, as well as a fire break project at the Black Estate, and their work at various side camps at Schoodic, Green Lake, and Fort Knox, involved extensive forest clearing and cleaning. Construction and trail development projects often called for the removal of deadfall, brittle undergrowth, and downed branches near the work site as a secondary function, and the same applied to "vista cutting" to open up scenic views of the landscape. As a general principle, the forests beside roads and trails and around campsites were cleaned for a distance of between twenty-five and one hundred feet. On the whole, there were few CCC projects at

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[1] "Work Program, First Enrollment Period, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1 and Great Pond Work Camp, NP-2," Field Memorandum ECW, Number 1, June 15, 1933, RG 79, Box 1.

Acadia that did not involve forestry. As the CCC program developed, and confidence in the work force grew, it took on more diversified and more demanding tasks, but general woods work carried on steadily throughout the nine year history.

Forestry projects dominated the winter work schedule, as most construction and landscaping projects had to be suspended. Of the 15,873 man-days devoted to park projects by the Eagle Lake camp during the second enrollment period (Oct. 1933 to March 1934), 6,534 were spent on "Forest Stand Improvement" projects in nine different locations, another 1,214 went toward landscaping, 744 on pest and disease control, and 805 on tree surgery,[2] In other words, just under 60% of the labor expended in that period involved intensive forest work. As long as crews could maneuver in the woods, cutting went ahead:

> *There's more work [cutting in winter] because you had to dig down to where the foot of the tree was, where the stump was. . . . Hard work, but still they had to do it.[3]

> *It was mostly laboring work that I did. . . . Cutting your cedar swamps and so forth. And in the winter time, it was very difficult to do any work. And we did a lot of the swamp cutting in the winter time, on snow shoes. . . . [I]n fact, in the winter times, you get a snow so deep in the woods that in the spring they used to go in there, certain people used to go in there with boots on, waders, and cut the other eight feet of log which are still standing. Because what you were cutting (?) was about eight feet above the [ground].[4]

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[2] "Narrative Report, Second Enrollment Period, October 1, 1933 to March 31, 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 2.

[3] Interview with John Parsons, NA 2545, C1928-A, p. 21.

[4] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-B, pp. 22-23. Eight feet of stump may be a bit overstated, but the difficulties posed by winter cutting are confirmed in project reports (see, for example, report on Gorham Mountain clean-up in "Narrative Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, October 1, 1934 to March 31, 1935, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1).

There were exceptions, however. Enrollees at the Great Pond maintained trail construction well into the severe winter of 1934; in fact, deep snow prevented them from reaching slash areas around Lurvey Spring for brief time in January and February.[5]

Two general categories of forestry projects, fire hazard reduction and pest/disease control, occupied many hundreds and sometimes thousands of man-days in a given enrollment period. Pest control is covered in a later section, and the following paragraphs deal mainly with cleaning operations, which were central to other facets of CCC forestry work, especially fire hazard reduction projects. Slash left by earlier woods operations represented a serious fire hazard and provided a breeding ground for insects and disease that might hinder regrowth. Lands acquired by Acadia through Resettlement Administration purchases and private donations were usually in need of urgent attention, because they had been logged of merchantable timber by their previous owners and left in a precarious state. Although regulations limited the use of CCC labor on private land,[6] enrollees could work on lands adjacent to the park if a fire in such an area represented a threat to federal property. An undated report on slash areas on the western side of the island identified properties belonging

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[5] "Narrative Report for January, 1934, Great Pond Camp, NP-2"; "Narrative Report for February, 1934, Great Pond Camp, NP-2"; and "Narrative Report for March, 1934, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," RG 79, Box 2. The exceptional winter of 1934 was, according to one report, "the most severe in the recollection of the oldest residents of Mount Desert Island." Over the course of the winter, "snow had accumulated in the woods to an average depth of more than three feet, with many six to seven foot drifts" ("Narrative Report, Second Enrollment Period, C.C.C., Camp Governor Brann, Ellsworth, ME, October 1, 1933 to April 1, 1934," RG 79, Box 1).

[6] Paige 1985: 20-21.

to fourteen separate owners and comprising almost 800 acres.[7] Of six fire hazard reduction projects proposed in the spring of 1933, three involved land that the park did not control at the time: Aunt Betty Pond, Lurvey Spring, and Freeman's Ridge.[8] Although cutting on Freeman's Ridge had left "an unsightly and highly dangerous situation . . . with slash waist high covering the ground," the area lay over a mile and a half from the nearest park boundary, and NPS administrators in Washington determined that it did not represent a sufficient threat. Consequently, that part of the proposal was shelved pending further study.

Fire hazard reduction was expected to follow a routine procedure. Dead, diseased, and fallen trees were removed; standing trees were limbed to just above head level to allow fire fighting crews to maneuver easily in the woods; and a certain amount of undergrowth and "reproduction" was removed for the same reason. Crews stacked usable wood in four foot lengths for transportation to the camps for fuel.[9] Since many cutting areas were inaccessible to trucks in winter, horses and sleds were hired to draw cordwood to the nearest road. Smaller cuttings – brush and fallen branches – were piled for burning as and when weather permitted. If conditions were too dry, burning was postponed until fall or winter, which

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[7] Reginald Ingalls and William Parsons, "Complete Report on the Slash Areas," RG 79, Box 3.

[8] "Work Program, First Enrollment Period, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1 and Great Pond Work Camp, NP-2," Field Memorandum ECW, Number 1, June 15, 1933, RG 79, Box 1. Also "Job Completion Forms" for Job #246, RG 79, Box 9 and Job # 247, RG 79, Box 10.

[9] An early report indicates that only about 40% of the camps' firewood was supplied from cleaning projects. The remainder was either purchased or cut by CCC workers on private land, for which the government paid stumpage (See "Statement of Camp Firewood," in "Narrative Report for March, 1934, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1," RG 79, Box 2; also "Narrative Report, Maine State Park Camp 1, October-November, 1935," RG 79, Box 2).

sometimes meant that brush had to be hauled some distance from the trails to be out of sight of park visitors.[10] In moderate conditions, enrollees dug burn pits, which were later backfilled and planted when the cleanup was finished. Where the woods were too dense to permit burning, brush was hauled to a gravel pit or clearing.

As progress reports began working their way through the system, Park Service officials in Washington started to worry that the huge workforces of the CCC and other New Deal agencies might become the proverbial bull in the china shop. Specialists in the Wildlife Division in particular became concerned that clean-up crews were removing too much material, damaging animal habitat. "Before and after" photographs submitted with reports often showed a transition from an impenetrable tangle of slash and underbrush to an almost clear forest floor, and in many cases tree stands had been thinned noticeably (see, for example, Figures 54 through 65). Local supervisors were confident of the appropriateness of their methods, however, because, first, they believed that the condition of the woods justified the methods adopted, and second, aesthetics were an issue.

It's axiomatic that the work of the Ellsworth camp would stress appearance, since it had been established to undertake a wide range of beautification projects. Moreover, its crews worked outside the park boundaries, and there was less imperative for their work to conform to National Park guidelines and standards. Yet aesthetics counted for a great deal on all park projects, and some were justified solely on aesthetic grounds, as was the case with the last of the NP-1 projects slated for the first enrollment period, which called for cleanup of the forest near Valley Cove:

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[10] "Narrative Report for July 16-31, 1933, Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1.

> From the Fernald Point parking area . . . a trail leads through the defile between Flying and St. Sauveur Mountains to Valley Cove, one of the loveliest but least visited spots in the park. There is great need of trailside clearing along its route, so that the beauty of woodland may be made apparent. At certain points, too, vista clearing is needed, so that the impressive crags of St. Sauveur Mountain and Eagle Cliff may be seen. . . . Such work will benefit the landscape and will be appreciated by those who frequent the area.[11]

In a 1934 report on campground improvement on the Bear Brook Road, technical foreman G. H. Curtis noted that "[a]s heretofore, the preservation of aesthetic values first and foremost has been the determining factor in the conduct of this forestry project."[12] Even enrollees took steps to enhance the look of their work:

> *Forestry work, out in the woods, improvement of the woods' conditions, thinning out, not only for the benefit of the forest itself but for beautification of the forest for visitors and so on. Do you know what I mean? We would cut trees that were partly blown down or . . . malformed. Spacing of trees, so that they looked nicer, you know. I used to tell the boys, now don't forget to cover your stump. We'd cut the trees close to the ground, [and] where the damp earth was, you know, take a handful and smear it on top of that freshly cut stump. And you wouldn't notice it. You wouldn't see it unless you were right on top of it.[13]

Concern emerged over what those aesthetic values were and by extension over the kinds of development taking place. Nor was this issue confined to Acadia alone; Paige names a handful of parks around the country that faced similar development problems.[14] There were, however, local factors that may have influenced matters on MDI. There are no

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[11] G. B. Dorr, B. L. Hadley, and Edward S. Zimmer, "Work Program, First Enrollment Period, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1 and Great Pond Work Camp, NP-2," Field Memorandum ECW, Number 1, June 15, 1933, RG 79, Box 1.

[12] "Narrative Report for February 1934, Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 2.

[13] Interview with John Parsons, February 23, 2001, NA 2545, Tape 1927.

[14] Paige 1985: 60-63 and 103-107.

indications that the park's architects tried to create an ornamental park in the European sense, but Acadia's location near one of the preeminent summer resorts in the northeast had affected its early development, in that recreational function occasionally trumped natural preservation. This applied not only to the "look" of the park but also to the kinds of recreational facilities that Acadia's managers wanted to develop to enhance visitor experience. In the early 1930s, there was an impulse to carry forward the vision of the Village Improvement Societies and Associations, which had done much of the development work at Acadia prior to the New Deal. The VIA/VIS had built a network of trails on park and private lands in a "picturesque style" to make "the *scenic* resources of Mount Desert Island accessible to residents and other recreational users."[15] Rockefeller's landscape work, which favored more sculpted designs, would also have been influential; in fact, Rockefeller had direct input on some projects involving the CCC.[16] Acadia designers, for their part, tried to keep the twin objectives of the National Park Service in view: to preserve lands in their natural state, and to make them available for public use. But these principles were not always easy to balance in practice. In trying to accommodate the public, park managers continued to put considerable emphasis on recreational use, including the aesthetic enjoyment of the park's "natural beauty," and they took every opportunity to show the park and the surrounding landscape to its best effect.

As a result, even with fire hazard reduction work, there was always the risk of damaging the natural environment in the quest of preserving it, especially where it spilled

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[15] Barter, et al., 2001, 2: 5; emphasis added.

[16] See, for example, Breeze to Rockefeller, September 27, 1938, Reports to Regional Architect, RG 79, Box 16.

over into "selective cutting" and "forest stand improvement."[17] The different processes implied different goals. Fire hazard reduction projects were intended to remove only those materials that might provide fuel for a fire or hinder the maneuverability of fire fighting crews. "Selective cutting" and "forest stand improvement" had the additional goals of encouraging or removing certain species, improving forest appearance, or making forest areas more accessible. Acadia's emphasis on aesthetics would have encouraged the more hands-on approaches. Moreover, such practices were common in the management of commercial forests, and it's worth remembering that most of the technical foremen in charge of CCC crews were formerly employed in Maine's timber and pulp industries.

Acadia staff gave repeated assurances that Park Service standards were being upheld, especially on selective cutting projects. Forester and field supervisor William Parsons took pains to note that on Enoch Mountain "Very careful supervision has been maintained as to trees to be removed, selections of fire holes and any errors that might mar the aesthetic value of this area,"[18] and two months later, another report by him stressed the balance of interests guiding work on Kebo Mountain:

> As this section of the Park is readily accessible to pedestrians and the trails in this area are popular in the summer season great care is being taken to maintain the highest type of work in order to effect a thinning and cleaning project compatible with the best principles of forestry while at the same time preserving the wild beauty of the area for all those who may visit it in the immediate future.[19]

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[17] For a detailed account of the selective cutting measures used by Ellsworth crews, see "Narrative Report for November, 1933, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1, RG 79, Box 1.

[18] "Narrative Report for January 1934, Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 2.

[19] "Narrative Report for March 1934, Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 2..

Assurances notwithstanding, concerns persisted that Acadia crews were making too many alterations in the landscape, and that their well-intentioned work of "opening vistas" and selective cutting was not always based on sound forest management.

The directions issued to workers often set down a pecking order of the material that was to be removed. Dead, down, and dying trees were taken first, but beyond that, preferences came into play. The following directives, for example, were issued in the winter of 1934 to supervisors of work carried out on the Schoodic peninsula by the CWA:

> (a) In general, cutting will favor spruce, pine and paper birch, maple and oak. Fir, poplar, grey birch and tamarack will be cut whenever their growth interferes with the more favored species.
>
> (b) In general, no shrubs or low ground cover plants will be cut or destroyed, with the exception of green and speckled alder. Every effort must be made to protect the native shrubs and perennials. In certain cases, desirable trees will be cut to allow flowering plant material such as rhodora, viburnum and shad bush to develop.
>
> (c) In general, where stands occur in which there are large proportions of undesirable species (fir, poplar, grey birch, etc.), none of the desirable species will be cut until the undesirable material has been eliminated.
>
> (d) The marking of desirable trees to be removed to open views and for other landscape purposes will be most carefully done, and will be delayed if possible until all undesirable, dead and down material has been removed.[20]

Other reports refer to particular stands of trees that are favored for one characteristic or another. William Parsons' Enoch Mountain report noted that "[m]any fine specimens of white birch and other hard woods which heretofore have been screened from view by thickets of balsam fir and spruce, have been brought into sight from the trails and add to the beauty of

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[20] George B. Gordon, Memorandum to all Superintendents & Foresters in charge of C.W.A. projects, December 18, 1933, RG 79, Box 13; emphasis in the original.

the area."[21] Commenting on work at Great Meadow, supervisor W. B. Knowles noted a clump of white pine that was ". . . small but of importance owing to the fact that this stand of pine, occurring as it does on the edge of the Great Meadow, was by its contrast to the surrounding types, a feature of beauty and of pre-eminence in the surrounding landscape."[22] Earlier, Superintendent Smith reported that the final stage of selective cutting served to "accent fine spruce, pine or paper birch with the object of producing a maximum landscape effect. Opening of vistas of woodland bordered fields, streams and lakes, and distant ocean and mountain views is a part of the operation."[23]

As the second enrollment period advanced, woods projects came under closer scrutiny. In the fall of 1934, in response to proposals submitted for the fourth enrollment period, the Branch of Forestry took pains to stipulate that fire hazard *reduction* was not fire hazard *removal* nor did it include selective cutting. The scope of work on five projects was curtailed as a result.[24] Acadia managers struggled to comply, and in reports filed at the end of the year they noted specific and general changes in cutting practices:

> . . . particular care was exercised to confine the cutting to dead and actually dying trees of all species, and to prevent the widespread cutting of fir reproduction which was a feature of the work done in 1933-34.

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[21] "Narrative Report for January 1934, Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1.

[22] "Narrative Report for October, November, December, 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1.

[23] "Narrative Report for November 1933, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1," RG 79, Box 1

[24] Hillory A. Tolson to George B. Dorr, September 26, 1934, RG 79, Box 1.

> During inspections by Wild Life Ranger [Arthur] Stupka and Acting Forester George B. Gordon, this change in cutting policy has been emphasized and has resulted in the woodlands being left in a natural condition. Emphasis has also been placed on the leaving of decaying logs in areas away from road and trails, where these do not add to the fire hazard and will prevent a "too cleaned up appearance" as well as maintaining favorable conditions for certain forms of wild life.[25]

But they stuck to their guns on some issues, largely because they felt better positioned to assess what was happening on the ground than officials in Washington. They were specially concerned about the park's balsam fir trees, which were threatened with complete eradication by a bark louse infestation. Acadia foresters were prepared initially to let the fir die off to make way for other species. Late in the fall of 1934, they firmly stated the view that ". . . Selective Cutting of many areas on the Island, with the object of removing fir to favor spruce, pine and other surviving species, is to be recommended."[26] The report's author elaborated on the state of the fir population, arguing that dying fir reproduction interfered with the reproduction of other species, and that removal of young fir would not affect wildlife as long as other kinds of ground cover – shrubs or spruce reproduction – were in the area. This entire section of the draft, however, several paragraphs in length, was omitted from the final report for the fourth enrollment period.[27] By this point, it seems, Washington's take on selective cutting was well understood.

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[25] "Narrative Report, Great Pond Camp (NP-2), for October, November, December, 1934," RG 79, Box 1.

[26] "Narrative Report, Great Pond Camp (NP-2), for October, November, December, 1934," RG 79, Box 1; emphasis in the original.

[27] "Narrative Report, Great Pond Camp (NP-2), for the Fourth Enrollment Period, October 1, 1934 ro April 1, 1935," RG 79, Box 1.

A more elaborate defense of the cutting program at Acadia was offered by the Ellsworth camp. Though lengthy, the comments are reproduced here in full, as they offer the fullest account of the conditions met with in the park's forests at the time, as well as the methods used to treat problem areas:

> During the months of December and January (1934-35) all camp crews were engaged in fire hazard reduction, or forest stand improvement cutting along the highway leading from Town Hill to the Somesville Road corners, and from this point to Northeast Harbor . . . . No other types of work were possible in view of the heavy snow and continued cold weather.
>
> Fire hazard reduction work on highways is almost entirely within what has been called the zone of origin of forest fires. The removal of dead standing and down material must be done in a much more intensive way than would be the case in woodlands not subject to such fire risk. On a strip averaging 100 feet in width on some 3 ½ miles of road all dead wood was removed and burned, if not sound enough for camp use. Dead branches, particularly in stands of white pine, were pruned with a saw to about the height of a man's head. Unless the pruning is done it would be quite impossible for fire fighting crew to use hand tools – if a fire were to start along the highway. These dead branches on white pine decay very slowly in contrast to the spruce branches which rarely require artificial pruning.
>
> During this first step in the selective cutting no live timber of any sort was cut, and brush fires were very carefully located to prevent damage to tree crowns or to ground cover plants.
>
> Forest Stand Improvement
>
> With the first stage of the work completed, the woodlands fronting the roads were gone over a second time, with the following points in mind:
>
> 1. On almost all of the three miles of roadway covered, continued pruning and felling of trees under telephone wires has resulted in a mass of birch, oak and maple sprouts which tend to become a dense wall. This wall cuts off the view from the road, and destroys by its shade the blueberry, wild rose, shad bush, viburnum and other flowering shrubs and low trees which tend to front down the woodlands.

2. Behind the wall of sprout hardwoods the spruce and pine woods contain many small trees which are completely depressed by taller trees, and are all but dead.

3. A third typical woodland condition where there is no pole line consists of a dense wall of diseased fir reproduction, which cuts off vistas of seashore and mountain, and completely hides the fine second growth forest behind. Under this wall of low fir growth, no flowering shrubs or ground cover can grow, and the natural fronting down of the woods edge cannot take place. Furthermore, the lower branches of living fir die and for a mass of tinder which would soon kindle a crown fire in the spruce timber, should a ground fire be started at the road edge.

Forest stand improvement work (Selective Cutting) was done on some three miles of road, following the primary cutting of dead and down timber. Sprout growth of trees under the wires was removed, and next spring the stumps will be grubbed out to permit the flowering shrubs and ground cover plants to take over the edge of the highway.

Dying trees in the second growth forest (within the 100-foot zone) were removed, but pruning of dead lower branches was done only where absolutely necessary to permit the extinguishing of ground fires, should they occur.

Finally, the fir reproduction at certain places along the . . . woodland front was removed, to break the screen of views, and to allow white birch and flowering shrubs to "lighten" the black spruce and pine growth of the taller woods.

The landscape effect produced by this type of improvement cutting is precisely that produced by the finest type of naturalistic planting, except that the natural growth of flowering shrubs is usually more effective than any planting work which can be done.

As a result of the type of cutting described above, the Trenton woods – between Ellsworth and the Narrows Bridge have been transformed. A heavy growth of two to three foot flowering shrubs is coming in along the road edge; behind these, the shad bush is white with blossoms in early spring, and during the four seasons of the year the white birch and red maple among the spruces and pines can now be seen where there was only a dismal wall of thin sprouts or dying fir before the work was done.

In all, during the months of December and January, 43 acres of forest fire hazard reduction work was done on 3 ½ miles of road frontage, with the expenditure of 1800 man days of labor.

> The second process, – forest stand improvement, or selective cutting – was carried out on 34 acres, with 2330 man days of labor.
>
> In the course of this work 275 cords of sound (mainly dead) wood was salvaged for camp use, – an average of better than 6 cords per acre on the 43 acres worked over.[28]

Photographs were appended to "show typical views of the work and give some idea of the amount and kind of material removed" and to "demonstrate the fact that carefully supervised selective cutting does not result in an unnatural or 'park like' woodland appearance."

Matters came to a head when project proposals were submitted for the fifth enrollment period in the spring of 1935. Of the twenty-nine projects submitted for the McFarland and Great Pond camps and covering all phases of CCC work, almost half were denied approval, upheld pending further study, or restricted in their scope.[29] Several forestry projects were affected. Cleanup around parking areas near Gorham Mountain – work that the park inherited from an earlier Rockefeller project – was upheld "pending adequate justification . . . that these areas are not being overdeveloped." Around Aunt Betty Pond, winter work crews had been prevented from doing a thorough cleanup because of deep snow, but further work in the area was regarded unnecessary and rejected. A special "tree surgery" team at NP-1 was ordered to limit its activities to "pruning, cabling, bracing and feeding," over concerns that more invasive work might interfere with wildlife habitat. An order to re-classify some jobs affected a large number of Acadia projects. General "cleanup" categories

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[28] "Narrative Report, December 1, 1934 to February 1, 1935, Maine State Park Camp No. 1," RG 79, Box 2; all emphasis in the original.

[29] A. E. Demaray to George Dorr, April 17, 1935, RG 79, Box 3.

were disallowed and planners had to specify the core function of a project, whether it was for fire hazard reduction, vista cutting or cutting for effect, or one of several related headings.

George Dorr sent a detailed response to the letter, in some instances accommodating the Park Service's requests and in others defending the projects as initially proposed.[30] What appears to be significant is that Dorr himself got involved, since he normally left correspondence regarding CCC projects to Assistant Superintendent Hadley, the camp superintendents, or the park architects. (In fact, marginalia beside one of the directives in Demaray's letter states: "Did the best I could, G.B.D. does not read project s[et-]ups.") Given who was contributing to the discussion, both in Washington and Bar Harbor, development at Acadia was becoming a contentious issue in the winter of 1935.

At the end of the fifth enrollment period, both NP-1 and NP-2 submitted detailed reports on their activities. Each of them contained over twenty pages of photographs, providing a concrete illustration of the work being done and how it was being effected. For its part, Washington instituted a "new policy of more frequent inspections," which NP-1 superintendent Conner welcomed, hoping it would "result in a better understanding in the field of the desires and policies of the National Park Service," and that "a first hand knowledge of problems in the field [would] prove of some value when establishing the regulations that control that field."[31] But a significant gap remained. In October, Wildlife Assistant Chief Willis King challenged several sixth period job proposals:

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[30] Dorr to Demaray, April 30, 1935, RG 79, Box 3.

[31] "Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, McFarland Camp, NP-1, April1 to September 30, 1935," p. 5, RG 79, Box 3.

> It is impossible to judge most of these projects from the standpoint of effect on wildlife or of accepted national park policies. . . . Need for such developments as more trails, shelters, fire lanes, and extensive landscaping should be shown before as extensive a program as is proposed here is undertaken. National park policies should not be forgotten, even in a place which is being developed to the extent which Acadia is at the present time."[32]

How the matter worked itself out is not clear, but by the end of the following year work proposals had developed a routine pattern of submission and acceptance. Woods work continued to include aesthetically grounded projects, such as vista cutting, though the NPS central office continued to urge caution. A 1936 letter approving two vista cutting projects stressed that "[a]lthough plans are not necessary for these jobs, extreme care should be exercised in the execution of the work. These jobs must be supervised in the field by representatives of the various branches concerned in order that National Park Service standards will be assured."[33] Occasional modifications were also required by one branch of the service or another: for example a "Job Comment" by the Wildlife Division recommended that a cleanup project in an area destroyed by forest fire leave four dead trees standing per acre, in order to provide shelter for hole-nesting birds.[34] Even as late as 1938, the author of a Job Completion Report for a fire hazard reduction project went out of his way to stress that "no 'woods beautification' was attempted by the crews" (and photographs accompanied the

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[32] Memorandum, Willis King to A. E. Demaray, October 15, 1935, RG 79, Box 3. The only three projects that King recommended for approval were the Somesville Dam, which included new fishways; the pine blister rust control program; and the construction of fish rearing pools.

[33] Fred T. Johnston, Deputy Assistant Director, to Superintendent, Acadia National Park, November 30, 1936, re. Project Nos. 102 and 103, RG 79, Box 8.

[34] Job Comment (Wildlife), November 5, 1936, re. Park Project No. 108, RG 79, Box 8.

report as proof).[35] Somewhere along the line a compromise had been reached. There are no indications of a shift in policy or approach at either end, but after 1935 projects were submitted and vetted individually, which may have helped to temper the concerns of Washington staff, who before had to contemplate the impact of twenty-five to thirty projects at the start of each enrollment period. At the Acadia end, the only event of note was the resignation of the park's landscape architect, George B. Gordon, in the fall of 1935, to accept. a position with the Bureau of Public Roads. His replacement Benjamin Breeze, would become an instrumental figure in the development of the park, and the most significant projects undertaken at Acadia during the CCC era were designed and implemented under his leadership.

Two aspects of forestry require comment before moving on to other environmental project areas. In November of 1933, a special crew was formed at the McFarland Camp to work on "tree surgery" projects (see Figures 68-70). Men chosen for their aptitude and interest in forest work were given special instruction in forestry and tree surgery through the camp educational program. As described in monthly reports, their work consisted mainly of pruning, cabling, and filling cavities in hollow trees, though they also worked on blister rust control and other pest control programs. Their first assignment was to give urgent attention to some aging ornamental trees, mostly chestnuts and elms, on the Black Estate in Ellsworth, which had been bequeathed to the public. Subsequently, the crew worked at various sites around the park, primarily in the Sieur de Monts Spring area and at the Park Office, which was then right in Bar Harbor. It is not possible to gauge the number of men in the detail, as

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[35] Job Completion Report, Job # 247, June 25, 1938, NP-1&2, RG 79, Box 10.

they were not a standing unit but were used as and when their skills were needed. As many as 170 man-days were recorded for "tree surgery" in monthly reports, suggesting a crew of seven or eight men. Their work is not singled out in monthly reports beyond 1935, so they may have disbanded, though with changes in reporting procedures, their work may have been subsumed under general project descriptions.

The last work program related to silviculture – planting and transplanting – was a core part of the Governor Brann Camp's beautification work (see Figures 71-80). Shortly after the establishment of the Ellsworth camp, a citizens' group comprised mainly of summer residents offered to supply seedlings and shrubs for transplant by CCC crews. The offer was readily accepted, even though some property owners, partial to colorful exotics, had to be reminded of the benefits of native species.[36] Transplanting served three basic functions in road work: "Intensive planting" helped to screen unsightly properties or structures; on banks with a slope steeper than 1:2, shrubs were planted to control erosion; and "extensive planting" of shade trees was used along open stretches to "frame views" as well as to provide shade.[37] The choice of material was influenced by "[c]olor, with regard to seasonal effects, texture of foliage, flower and fruit effect, compositional forms, and perman[en]cy."[38] Wild roses, the most common variety used, comprised between 40% and 60% of all material planted. The following list is representative of the species utilized:

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[36] "Narrative Report for October 1933, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1," RG 79, Box 1.

[37] "Narrative Report, Second Enrollment Period, C. C. C., Camp Governor Brann, October 1, 1933 to April 1, 1934," RG 79, Box 1.

[38] "Narrative Report for October 1933, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1," RG 79, Box 1.

Plant Material Collected & Planted[39]

Material	Number	Aver.Size
White Pine – *Pinus strobus*	32	7 ft.
White Spruce – *Picea canadensis*	36	7 "
Alder – Alnus incana – *Alnus rugosa*	57	6 "
Mountain Holly – *Nemopanthus mucronatus*	2	4 "
Winterberry – *Ilex verticillate*	39	4 "
Withe-rod – *Viburnum cassenoides*	92	5 "
Sweet Fern – *Comptonia asplenfolia*	193	
Wild Roses	1018	
Ground Juniper – *Juniperous communis*	68	
Red Maple – *Acer rubrum*	2	13 ft.
Common Lilacs – *Syringa vulgaris*	17	
Lowbush Blueberry – *Vaccinium pennsylvanium*	612	
Highbush Blueberry – *Vaccinium coryumbosum*	15	3 ft.
Northern Bayberry – *Myrica carolineusis*	42	2 ft.
Downy Shadblow – *Amelanchier canadensis*	11	5 ft.
Black Huckleberry – *Gaylussacia baccata*	319	2 ft.
Red Pine – *Pinus resinosa*	1	7 ft.
	2556	

In the first and second enrollment periods – a time when much of the workforce was diverted to camp construction – Ellsworth crews planted 278 trees, 734 large shrubs, and 3,000 small shrubs.[40] In the fall of 1935 alone, over 1,600 trees and shrubs were transplanted.[41]

Transplanting also became an important function of the McFarland Camp after several thousand surplus trees were donated to the park from the Rockefeller Nurseries early

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[39] "Narrative Report for October 1933, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1," RG 79, Box 1; Latin spellings as per original. Other narrative reports from the Brann camp and the Eagle Lake camp contain similar lists.

[40] "Narrative Report, Second Enrollment Period, C. C. C., Camp Governor Brann, October 1, 1933 to April 1, 1934," RG 79, Box 1.

[41] "Narrative Report, Maine State Park Camp 1, October-November, 1935," RG 79, Box 2.

in 1935. That spring, most of the camp's work force helped to prepare beds and transplant the trees. The account of the operation shows how the extensive labor resources of the CCC made some tasks possible that would have been unthinkable under ordinary circumstances:

> Several crews were dispatched to the Rockefeller Nurseries on the first of May, and began lifting and loading trees. Great care was taken to protect the root systems from drying out or suffering any injury when in transportation. The economy of this extra care has been proven by the results in low mortality obtained. These trees had to be transported an average of twenty miles to their new homes, and on the bright sunny days it was necessary to stop at a half way point to wet down the burlaped trees. At the same time, other crews had been dispatched to areas designated to receive this stock, and were busy digging holes, transporting muck and loam and otherwise preparing for their reception.[42]

Six sites were selected for transplanting and three others were opened as sources for soil and organic matter. Only about half of the 6,674 trees available were transplanted at once. The remainder were temporarily planted in two park nurseries, one near Kebo Hill and one near Little Meadow Hill, which were established specifically to handle the overflow from the Rockefeller gift. In his report for the fifth enrollment period, Superintendent Conner reserved special praise for his company's transplant operations. The success of the program, he concluded, "indicates a commendable intelligence, interest, and devotion to duty on the part of the enrollees, and an outstanding achievement for the camp."[43] The nurseries were maintained for the duration of the program.

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[42] "Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, McFarland Field Camp NP-1, April 1, 1935 to September 30, 1935," p. 8, RG 79, Box 3.

[43] "Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, McFarland Field Camp NP-1, April 1, 1935 to September 30, 1935," pp. 3-4, RG 79, Box 3.

One of the more ambitious transplanting project involved the relocation of mature trees (see Figures 82-84), and it highlights once again the kind of activity made possible by the sheer mass of CCC manpower. During landscape work around the park office in March of 1934, several trees were selected for transplant to a location about half a mile away. As described in the monthly report, the "trees were moved with a large frozen ball and presented some difficulty in handling due to the fact that they were extremely heavy and suitable moving equipment was not available at once . . . . This last statement will account for the slightly heavy expenditure of man days." At the end of it all, two trees had been moved: a thirty-five foot white ash with a bole of ten inches D.B.H., and a silver maple, also thirty-five feet in height, with a bole of seventeen inches D.B.H. Twelve more trees were "in process,"[44] and several other "Tree Moving" jobs are listed in supplementary reports.

7.2 Tree and Plant Diseases and Pests

One of the larger CCC projects in terms of man-days involved the control of "white pine blister rust." It was part of a nation-wide effort to control the spread of the disease, which threatened what was historically the northeast's most significant commercial species. The importance of the program is evidenced by a progress report from June 1933, which emphasizes the necessity of training and organization to "get fast and efficient work from the untrained and inexperienced personnel."[45] Crew preparations are described as follows:

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[44] "Narrative Report for March 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG79, Box 2.

[45] "Report of Progress of White Pine Blister Rust Control Project, May 29 - June 16 1933," RG 79, Box 1.

> By May 29th our technical foremen had been assembled and had received a review course in training, fitting them to assume their responsibilities in crew training. On May 29th we first started intensive training of a selected group of Civilian Conservation Corps men as prospective foremen of crews. This training consisted of illustration and application of Crew methods of eradication, thorough instruction in species Ribes found in Acadia National Park, explanation of typical infections in various stages found on White Pine and finally a brief and concise picture of the life cycle of Cronatium Ribicola.

Mr. K. K. Stimson of the United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Plant Industry, Office of Blister Rust Control, was chiefly responsible for training the supervisory personnel. Each technical foreman had four crews under his authority.

There were three stages in the eradication process. First, a large crew fanned out over a designated area, pulling up the host Ribes: gooseberry and skunk currants. Second, a tree surgery crew pruned infected trees in areas where blister rust had been observed. Finally, a crew re-checked the area, removing any Ribes that had been missed. Project supervisors kept detailed records and provided statistical summaries of their crews' activities in each monthly report, documenting the acreage covered, man-hours expended, and the number of Ribes pulled. Daily and per acre averages were also summarized. The work accomplished during the first enrollment period is outlined the Table 7.1:

Table 7.1: Statistical Summary of White Pine Blister Rust Control Acadia National Park, May to September 1933

	Acreage	Man Hours	Ribes
May 29-June16	980	5,011	11,973
June19 - June 30	1,276	2,083	2,741
July 17 - 31	1,125	3,098	10,233
August 1-31	1,720	4,745	46,198
September 1-30	230	841	6,914

The man hours recorded for the late June and throughout July reflect the fact that men were taken away from forestry projects to work on camp construction. Productivity, however,

improved markedly over the summer. At the outset, crews needed roughly five hours to cover an acre of ground, but thereafter the recorded averages indicate that it took between 1.6 and 3 man-hours per acre, depending on the intensity of the infestation. Few would describe it as enjoyable work – Walter Woods, one of our few informants who worked on a blister rust crew, not only disliked the arduousness of the labor, he also hated the idea of pulling up gooseberry bushes.[46] But it had its rewards, as a contributor to the *Acadian* wryly noted: "The thrill that comes once in a lifetime: finding a ribe after a supervisor passes it up."[47]

Initially, eradication work was done in four areas: (1) the western slope of Sargent Mountain; (2) an area bounded on the east by the Witch Hole Road and the carriage road, on the south by Eagle Lake Road, and on the west by Breakneck Road; (3) an area bounded on the north by the carriage road, on the east by a dirt road, on the south by Eagle Lake Road, and on the west by the carriage road; (4) an area bounded on the north by the carriage road, on the east by Mill Meadow Road, on the south by Eagle Lake Road, and on the west by the old wood road. During August, work began in three new areas. Work began on August 22nd at "the so called 'Black Estate' of Ellsworth consisting of approximately two hundred acres." Protection strips were also treated bringing the total to over four hundred acres.[48] The project

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[46] Interview with Walter Woods, NA 2641, C1924-B, pp. 24-25.

[47] *Acadian* 1.1, July 4, 1934, p. 5.

[48] "Report of Progress of White Pine Blister Rust Control Project August1 - August 31 1933," RG 79, Box 1.

was suspended on September 11, "when it became evident that Ribes were becoming defoliated to the extent that it was humanly impossible to detect them."[49]

After blister rust eradication work had been completed in an area, the next step was to "have a specially trained organization to determine the efficiency of the crew work. The plan for this work constituted a very careful checking of all areas eradicated by the crews and in case any areas are found where adequate protection has not been given the Pine, it is planned to have these areas re-eradicated until adequate protection has been given."[50]

In the next phase of the project, which began in September, the pines that showed visible signs of the disease became the focus of attention. The pruning crew consisted of one foreman, four men for climbing and pruning, and one man for groundwork and removing small trees.[51] Infected trees were pruned of branch cankers and diseased tops, trunk cankers were cut out, and dead trees or those beyond saving were removed. The rationale for the work was fourfold:

1. For aesthetic value – the removing of unsightly infected limbs, top, and where necessary entire trees.
2. The preservation of trees only slightly infected.
3. To prevent the further spread of disease by removing *aeciospores* at their source.
4. The saving of seed trees for future reproduction.[52]

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[49] "Narrative Report for the McFarland Camp, NP-1 September 1933," RG 79, Box 1.

[50] "Report of Progress of White Pine Blister Rust Control Project, May 29-June 16 1933," RG 79, Box 1.

[51] "Report of White Pine Blister Rust Pruning September 12 - 21 Inclusive," 1933, RG 79, Box 1.

[52] "Report of White Pine Blister Rust Pruning, Sept. 12 - 21 Inclusive," in "Narrative Report for September 1933, Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1.

Certain areas of the forest were targeted, especially those "where the loss of the white pine would be a detriment to the landscape. Areas such as parks, picnic grounds and trail and road sides in or adjacent to the park."

As with the initial eradication program, supervisors kept meticulous records of the daily progress of the work:

Table 7.2: Blister Rust Pruning September 1933

Date	Total # of trees	Average height	Infected Branches cut off	Top Removed	Trunk Cankers Treated	Trees Cut Down	Man Days
9/12/33	25	45	29	3	6	3	6
9/13/33	59	30	41	1	3	38	3
9/14/33	30	50	21	2	0	3	6
9/15/33	41	45	11	0	2	2	5.5
9/18/33	14	45	11	0	0	0	4.5
9/19/33	47	45	122	7	5	8	14
9/20/33	95	35	126	0	4	61	16
9/21/33	5	50	6	0	0	1	16
Totals	316	345	386	13	20	116	60

During October of 1933, pruning crews focused on roadside areas, working one hundred to three hundred feet on each side of roads. The area along Bear Brook Hill road was cut back even further. Progress was limited by the number of tools available, but the overall abilities of the men were lauded in the report:

> [T]he men are adapting themselves very well to the work and are now able to climb the highest trees without fear of falling. They are also becoming proficient in the identification of the disease on the trees and in the use of the tools.[53]

Table 7.3: Blister Rust Pruning October 1933

Total Trees	Average Height (ft)	Branch Infection	Tops Removed	Trunk Cankers	Trees Cut Down	Man Days
1,134	50	2,222	193	175	613	216

[53] "Narrative Report for October 1933," McFarland Camp, NP-1, RG 79, Box 1.

November 1933 found NP-1 crews pruning infected trees on the approach road to Sieur de Mont Spring, the Woodbury Park area, approaches to Eagle Lake Camp, and on trails from Ocean Drive to Champlain Mountain.

Table 7.4: Blister Rust Pruning November 1933

Date	Total # of trees	Average height	Infected Branches cut off	Top Removed	Trunk Cankers Treated	Trees Cut Down	Man Days
11/1/33	23	50	110	4	7	3	9
11/3/33	14	40	46	1	2	2	4.5
11/6/33	34	45	110	5	8	25	8
11/7/33	27	40	139	3	3	15	7
11/8/33	22	40	62	1	9	16	6
11/13/33	26	45	120	1	9	16	6
11/14/33	2	50	4	0	0	0	5.5
11/15/33	32	50	103	4	5	1	7.5
11/16/33	31	45	145	4	5	12	6
11/17/33	35	40	122	4	11	6	7
11/21/33	24	40	85	1	2	0	6
11/22/33	10	45	33	1	0	0	2.5
11/23/33	24	45	52	4	1	3	4.5
11/24/33	17	40	32	3	2	6	5
11/27/33	Rain in A.M. disposing of brush in P.M.						3.5
11/28/33	12	45	222	4	2	0	6
11/29/33	17	40	200	2	4	0	5
11/30/33	Holiday						
Totals	350	42.5	1,585	42	67	92	100

Work was suspended on December 9, 1933 due to icy conditions on the slopes where pruning was taking place.

Table 7.5: Blister Rust Pruning December 1933

Date	Total # of trees	Average height	Infected Branches cut off	Top Removed	Trunk Cankers Treated	Trees Cut Down	Man Days
12/1/33	37	35	438	12	7	0	5
12/2/33	17	30	115	3	0	3	3.5
12/4/33	21	60	51	2	2	1	6
12/5/33	31	40	306	6	4	4	6
12/6/33	7	55	46	3	2	0	3.5
12/7/33	25	50	381	7	5	12	7
12/8/33	13	40	233	2	4	6	3
12/9/33	17	40	209	3	3	0	5
Totals		44	1,779	38	27	26	39

At the request of the office of Blister Rust Control, Bureau of Plant Industry, in Boston, the month of January 1934 was spent surveying sections of Mount Desert Island for "the purpose of ascertaining the amount of pine, intensity of infection, and in general the need or lack of it, for Blister Rust control measures in areas lying in what is locally termed the Western side of the island."[54] Pruning resumed in February in the area around Newport Mountain, and even though deep snow presented "somewhat of an obstacle in moving about," good progress was made.

Table 7.6: Blister Rust Pruning February 1934

Date	Total # of trees	Average height	Infected Branches cut off	Top Removed	Trunk Cankers Treated	Trees Cut Down	Man Days
2/16/34	20	50	37	2		1	9
2/17/34	9	60	89	0	0	0	9
2/19/34	26	50	68	1	2	0	7.5
2/20/34	9	50	38	0	0	0	5
2/21/34	6	55	64	1	3	0	4.5
2/23/34	8	50	67	1	1	0	4.5
2/27/34	6	55	47	0	1	0	4.5
2/28/34	18	50	85	0	2	0	10
Totals	102	30	545	5	10	1	54

[54] "Narrative Report for January 1934," McFarland Camp, NP-1, RG 79, Box 1.

During the month of March 1934 the Blister Rust Pruning crews continued work in the Newport Mountain area and also Kebo Mountain. On March 21st the crews were transferred to Gypsy Moth Control.

Table 7.7: Blister Rust Pruning March 1934

Date	Total # of trees	Average height	Infected Branches cut off	Top Removed	Trunk Cankers Treated	Trees Cut Down	Man Days
3/1/34	29	45	138	4	3	0	8.5
3/2/34	21	70	121	4	1	0	9
3/5/34	9	55	42	2	2	0	4.5
3/6/34	25	50	172	3	5	1	10
3/7/34	27	50	320	4	7	0	10
3/8/34	23	35	210	3	2	0	10
3/9/34	36	45	143	0	1	2	10
3/12/34	20	50	139	3	3	0	8
3/13/34	30	50	107	3	3	6	7
3/14/34	18	50	150	2	3	0	8
3/15/34	14	50	58	3	3	0	9
3/16/34	12	40	263	4	2	11	8
3/19/34	16	30	212	4	4	2	9
3/20/34	60	45	248	4	4	6	9
3/21/34	48	0	196	6	1	3	9
3/22/34	16	65	38	2	1	0	5.5
Totals		50	2,557	51	45	31	134.5

Work on the third phase of the blister rust program, re-eradication, began on May 27, 1935. Blister rust control for that period ". . . included about one-fifth initial eradication and four-fifths re-eradication . . . . The initial area served the double purpose of continuing the program and also affording an area in which to train green crews for the more exacting work of re-eradication . . . . [A]s fast as a crew showed sufficient aptitude for the work, they were placed in re-eradication areas."[55] The re-eradication program required 2,076 man-days of labor, covered 100 acres, and destroyed an additional 3,460 Ribes.

[55] "Descriptive Paragraphs on Work Projects for the Fifth Period," McFarland Camp, NP-1, 1935, RG 79, Box 3, p. 12-13.

Even though the program lasted throughout the 1930s, not everyone was convinced of its effectiveness. Paige notes one instance of a western park superintendent refusing to participate in the Ribes eradication process because it was unproven,[56] and Acadia forester William Parsons reported that a small but clearly vocal minority of park visitors expressed skepticism about the project.[57] To educate the public, he put together small exhibits which were displayed at three high-traffic locations: the Bar Harbor post office, Sieur de Monts Spring, and on top of Cadillac Mountain (see Figures 87-92). He also visited local property owners to help them identify the disease and control it where necessary. Despite his enthusiasm for the program, his own evaluation of it was somewhat mixed. With respect to work performed at Seal Harbor he wrote: "It is extremely gratifying to note that in those areas that have been eradicated and treated for several years, new infections are hard to find." Three short paragraphs later, however, he reports the re-infestation of an area that had been worked years earlier. To offer effective protection, the Ribes eradication program apparently required an ongoing, vigilant effort, and a work force the size of the CCC.

While the blister rust program was the most extensive pest control project undertake by the CCC at Acadia, it was not the only one. A ragweed eradication project began in August 1933 "at the instigation of the various Chambers' of Commerce and other interested parties." The initial method of eradication, by cutting the plants, "was abandoned owing to the fact that too much other vegetation was destroyed and because the small ragweeds were

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[56] Paige 1985: 102.

[57] William Parsons and Reginald Ingalls, "Control of White Pine Blister Rust (Crona[r]tium ribicola) with Reference to Infected Trees in Acadia National Park," February 8, 1937, RG 79, Box 3.

not cut off." Difficult terrain also hindered cutting the ragweed plants. Eventually it was decided to pull up the plants by their roots in "a strip approximately 15 feet wide on each side of the road." The pulled bushes were hauled away twice a day to avoid an unsightly pile and burned at the Bar Harbor incinerator. The project created a great deal of interest among the public. According to the Narrative Report, "a large number of cars and individuals stopping by the roadside to note nature and progress of the undertaking, the occupants expressing their appreciation of its object." In a single month, over seventy miles of road on both sides of the island were treated; over 700,000 plants were removed.[58]

The discovery of an infestation of egg masses on March 22, 1934 marked the beginning of gypsy moth control work for the CCC at Acadia. The egg masses were "found in such profusion as to threaten an outbreak of serious proportion if they were allowed to hatch."[59] Working under the supervision of A. C. Ward of the Department of Agriculture, the blister rust pruning crew, already trained in tree climbing and pruning methods, surveyed a total 49 acres and destroyed 94 egg masses. The masses were usually treated with a "specially designed creosote paint,"[60] but in enrollees were occasionally assigned to treat the problem any way they could:

***Morang**: We killed a lot of those brown-tailed moths . . . .

***Dudley:** How did you do that?

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[58] "Narrative Report for September 1933," Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1, RG 79, Box 1. The project was also the subject of several articles in the *Bar Harbor Times*.

[59] "Narrative Report for March 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1, RG 79, Box 2.

[60] "Report on McFarland Field Camp, NP-1, Second Enrollment Period," (undated, circa April 1934), RG 79, Box 2.

***Morang**: Just squeezed them by the hand.

***Dudley:** So that was your job, to go out in the woods and squeeze moths?

***Morang**: Yes.[61]

The following year, entomologists working out of a Maine Forest Service field laboratory in the park discovered a colony of egg masses in the Aunt Betty Pond area. A crew from the McFarland camp worked with the entomologists and destroyed 94 egg masses in a four acre area.[62] For the remainder of the CCC period, Gypsy moth control work appears periodically in project applications and progress reports in the NARA records.

In December of 1934, a small CCC crew treated what was hoped to be a "spot infection" of Beech Scale, in an area immediately west of Conners Nubble. A Dr. Brower of the Maine Forest Service reported that it was the first known outbreak if the disease on MDI, and under his direction, enrollees worked for three days cutting and burning the affected trees. Somewhat unusually, the report identified the area to the second by longitude and latitude and noted that there was a "great probability" that more work would be needed. Further inspection soon identified more problem areas. By the fall of 1936, beech stands near the Tarn were described as "heavily infected," and the park implemented a plan of spraying

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[61] Interview with Merrill Morang, NA 2627, C1910-A, p. 13.

[62] "Descriptive Paragraphs on Work Projects for the Fifth Period," McFarland Camp, NP-1, 1935, RG 79, Box 3, p. 11.

the affected area with sodium sulphate, again using CCC labor. The duration of the program isn't known, but it was listed as a "continuous" project in the initial job application.[63]

Several other insect and pest control projects, involving sawfly, pine beetle, and others, are reported from time to time throughout the program period.

7.3 Stream Development

The three camps associated with Acadia National Pak undertook a number of projects on the park's rivers, lakes, ponds, and oceanfront. From an environmental perspective, much of the work focused on the maintenance of fishways for the migration of salmon, trout, and other species, especially on stream beds that had silted up or were blocked by beaver dams. In extreme cases, they even dynamited ledge to make the upper pools more accessible to migrating fish. A series of projects begun in 1934 and expanded in 1935 at both NP-1 and NP-2 were typical of the work performed.[64] Crews cleared channels and built fishways "where necessary" to facilitate the "migration of fish from . . . the principle lakes of the park to the sea." At Duck Brook and Bubble Brook, NP-1 crews cleared almost two and a half miles of stream in the fall of 1934. During the same period, NP-2 enrollees completed a combined dam and fishway at the outlet of Great Pond to "protect the landscape work at the

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[63] "Narrative Report for October, November, December, 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1; "Narrative Report, Fourth Enrollment Period, October 1,1934 to March 31, 1935, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1 (this report is misidentified as NP-2 in NARA files); "Project Application and Accomplishment Record," Park Project No. 109, Beech Scale Suppression, October 15, 1936, RG 79, Box 8.

[64] "Narrative Report for October, November, December, 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1; and "Narrative Report, Great Pond Camp (NP-2), Southwest Harbor, Maine, for October, November, December, 1934," RG 79, Box 1.

foot of the lake (near the pumping station) as well as to stop the flooding of the sites of many private camp buildings." An older dam, made of "porous stone and earth" and fitted with "a narrow screen spillway," proved completely ineffective. In high water, the spillway plugged with debris, flooding properties above the dam, and at low water, the dam leaked so badly that it held back very little water. In the new construction, a "floating fishway 'valve'" provided an additional outlet for water that couldn't be handled by the spillway alone, and it also allowed passage of trout and salmon in all seasons. The valve was weighted with stones and could be adjusted "to keep a good flow of water in the fishway 'Valve' and at the same time maintain the lake level at a constant point." It took some experimentation to achieve a proper balance. Most of these projects continued for several enrollment periods.

On all watercourse projects, maintaining the natural appearance of the park was a priority, as for other projects. On Duck Brook, a CCC fish ladder made from natural stone represented a sharp contrast with concrete fishways that had been built on the same stream by private agencies.[65] For one group of projects, designers proposed to leave large abandoned beaver dams intact above the water line but construct fishways through the base.[66] Yet there was a strong recreational imperative, as well. In project reports, applications, and support documents, the main justification is that the work will benefit recreational fishing, and the

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[65] "Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1 to September 30, 1935," RG 79, Box 3, p. 15, and photo section of same (project scans 182 and 183); see also Memorandum, G[eorge] B. G[ordon] to Arthur Briggs, Superintendent of Hatcheries, Augusta, ME, June 5, 1935, RG 79, Box 3.

[66] Memorandum, G[eorge] B. G[ordon] to Arthur Briggs, Superintendent of Hatcheries, Augusta, ME, June 5, 1935, RG 79, Box 3; see Duck Brook and Marsh Brook proposals.

species invariably named are salmon and trout. Acadia also assisted the state's stocking program through CCC projects. Six fish rearing pools were built at the East Orland Fish Hatchery by a crew from the Ellsworth Camp (see Figure 101).[67] In the park, fish rearing pools were constructed along Cold Brook, near at the head of Great Pond, and at Sieur de Monts Spring (see Figures 102, 103, and 104).[68] Both sites are high traffic areas, and thus the pools appear to have been built with "visitor experience" in mind. In collaboration with the Mount Desert Fish and Game Association, the NP-2 camp raised approximately 20,000 trout fry to a length of five inches over the summer of 1934, and released them into Great Pond. The Cold Brook pools, however, one of the earliest projects completed by NP-2 crews, had to be reworked a number of times by later crews due erosion problems. "Rearing Pool Maintenance" is list as a minor project in several of the landscape architect's reports from the late thirties and into forties. (Recently, an owner of a private camp near the Cold Brook site reported that the rearing pools were not productive because of excessively cold temperatures in the brook.)[69]

The CCC also modified waterways as part of Acadia's fire prevention program. As a member of the Great Pond Camp's carpentry crew, Lester Hartford helped to build concrete

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[67] "NarrativeReport, Maine State ParkCamp 1, Ellsworth, Maine, October - November, 1935," RG 79, Box 2.

[68] Reginald Ingalls to Benjamin L. Hadley, "Construction Activities of 158th Company, Southwest Harbor, Maine," August 4, 1933; "Narrative Report for November, 1933, Great Pond Camp, NP-2, RG 79, Box 2; "Narrative Report, Great Pond Camp (NP-2), Southwest Harbor, Maine, for October, November, December, 1934," RG 79, Box 1; and "Report Covering Third Enrollment Period, April 1, 1934 - Sept. 30, 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 3;

[69] Moreira, pers. comm., Gordon Mosley, November 18, 2008.

forms for a dam near Gilley Field, and its primary function was to create a reservoir for fire suppression.[70] Even on these small dams in relatively out-of-the-way places, appearance mattered:

> *Well, for one thing, down in the Gilley Field . . . [w]e'd build a dam in there just for our, mainly for fire haul, for collecting water for fire, in case of a fire. Poured concrete, mainly. Of course, you never see much of the concrete because it's all buried. And anything that shows, it might be a stone face. . . . . The dam in back of the [Oak Hill Road] cemetery there, you do see some of the concrete there, and around the spillway on the [Somesville dam] you see some of the concrete. But a lot of those small ones, they buried them more or less and just used the stone facing. Looked better.[71]

The Somesville Dam, one of the more high profile projects taken on during the early years, was a collaborative venture between the park, the CCC, and several branches of state and local government. The project had been proposed and rejected in the summer of 1934, and then approved a year later after the old dam gave out. Of particular concern was the fact that fish were observed below the debris pile, unable to make their spawning runs to the upper streams and ponds. Park officials, in consultation with NPS wildlife and engineers, and representatives from the State Department of Fisheries, settled on a much improved structure with fish ladders. The Town of Mount Desert paid for the skilled labor and all materials and equipment with the exception of two CCC trucks. The park contributed 1,370 man days of CCC labor, as well as technical and supervisory personnel. According to the proposal budget, both organizations would contribute roughly $3,350.00 to the project, the town a few dollars less, the park a few dollars more. The project wasn't approved until

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[70] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1925-A, pp. 3-4.

[71] Interview with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1957-A, pp. 21-22.

October 1935, but landscape architect's report for November describes all concrete work as complete and filling to stabilize the structure wrapped up in December. The fill around the dam was "rip-rapped" in 1936, along with a small amount of landscaping.[72]

Environmental projects, often undertaken in concert with recreational development or road and trail projects, were a mainstay of the CCC. The above survey has focused mainly on projects from the early years of the program because the narrative reports are more detailed and complete for that period. It should not be taken to mean that work of this sort played a lesser role in the CCC at Acadia after 1936. If anything, it became more important as the park acquired new holdings through the Resettlement Administration's land program. Many of the parcels were in desperate need of clean-up and, moreover, the park had a vested interest in developing the new areas for public used as quickly as possible. What the projects discussed so far do reveal is a tension between recreational development and natural preservation. Given the size of the work force provided by the CCC and other New Deal agencies, it was inevitable that the large scale work programs would be a cause for concern among National Park Service officials. Similar concerns went hand in hand with construction, road, and trail development projects, which are taken up in the next chapter.

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[72] The original proposal and extensive correspondence is included with the Job Completion Records, RG 79, Box 7a. See also Memorandum, G[eorge] B. G[ordon] to Arthur Briggs, Superintendent of Hatcheries, Augusta, ME, June 5, 1935; "Proposed Work Program, Fifth Enrollment Period, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," (Project 24), 1935; Memorandum, Willis King to A. E. Demaray, October 15, 1935, RG 79, Box 3; B. L. Breeze, "ECW Progress Report, Acadia National Park," November 26, 1935; Robert W. Patterson to Thomas C. Vint, December 16, 1935; B. L. Breeze, to Thomas C. Vint, April 16, 1936; and B. L. Breeze, to Thomas C. Vint, June 3, 1936, RG 79, Box 16.

Figure 50: Clean-up of heavy slash areas, such as the one pictured above in Canada Hollow, were among the earliest projects undertaken by the CCC at Acadia (NARA Photos, Project scan number 31)

Figure 51: Woods in the Great Pond / Beech Mt. area after cleanup work. Improving the appearance of the forests was one function served by such work, but fire hazard reduction was the primary motivation. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 31)

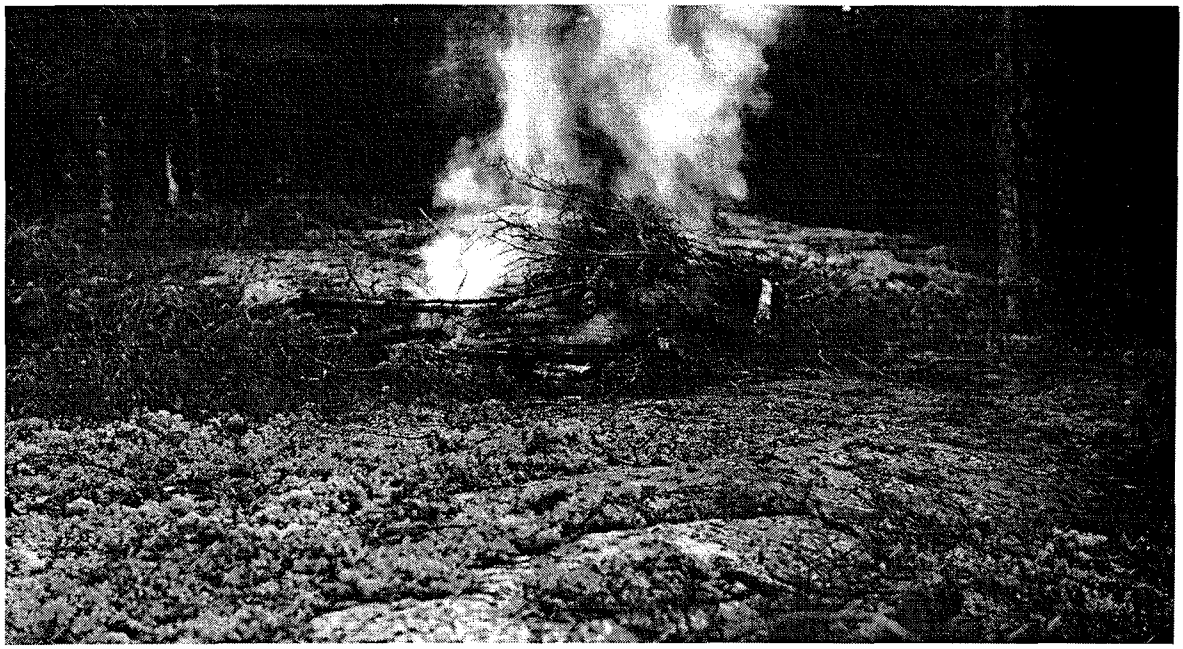
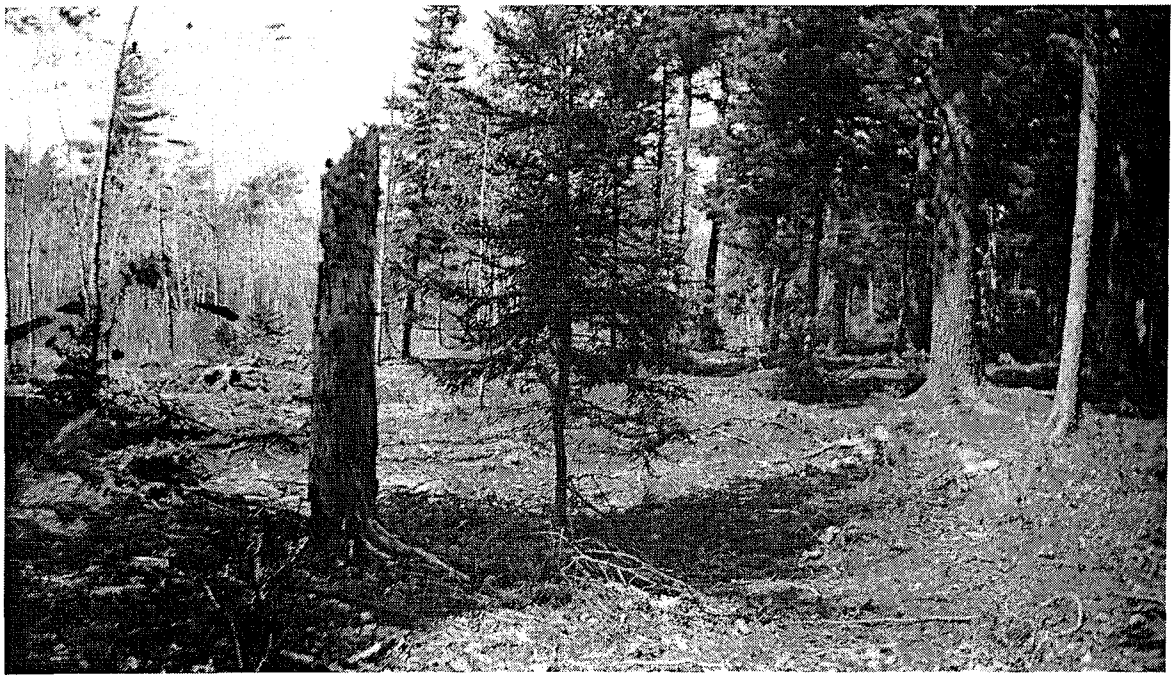


Figure 52: Anything salvageable as fire wood was yarded and truck back to camp. Everything else was burned on site, or dragged to a clearing and burned (NARA Photos, Project scan number 245)

Figure 53: Acadia foresters were especially concerned about a fir bark-louse infestation. The image below shows the effects of bark louse both on mature trees (foreground right) and new growth (mid ground left). (NARA Photo, Project scan number 33)

Figures 54 and 55: Project reports often used "before and after" photographs to show the impact of their work, such as the ones shown here from a 1934 fire hazard reduction project on Kebo Mountain. Such images raised concerns among National Park Service officials that the CCC were being too heavy handed in their cleanup operations. (NARA Photo, Project scan image 121)



Figures 56 and 57: After 1935, crews were instructed to take a less intensive approach to forest cleanup. These images show the less "polished" effects of fire hazard reduction work on the Schoodic Peninsula in 1937. (NARA Photo, Project scan image 230)

Figures 58 and 59: Cleanup of approximately 35 acres burned by forest fire on Beech Mountain. NPS Wildlife officers urged caution on such projects, as intensive removal of debris might prove harmful to birds and insects that built nests in the dead trees. (NARA Photo, Project scan image 207)

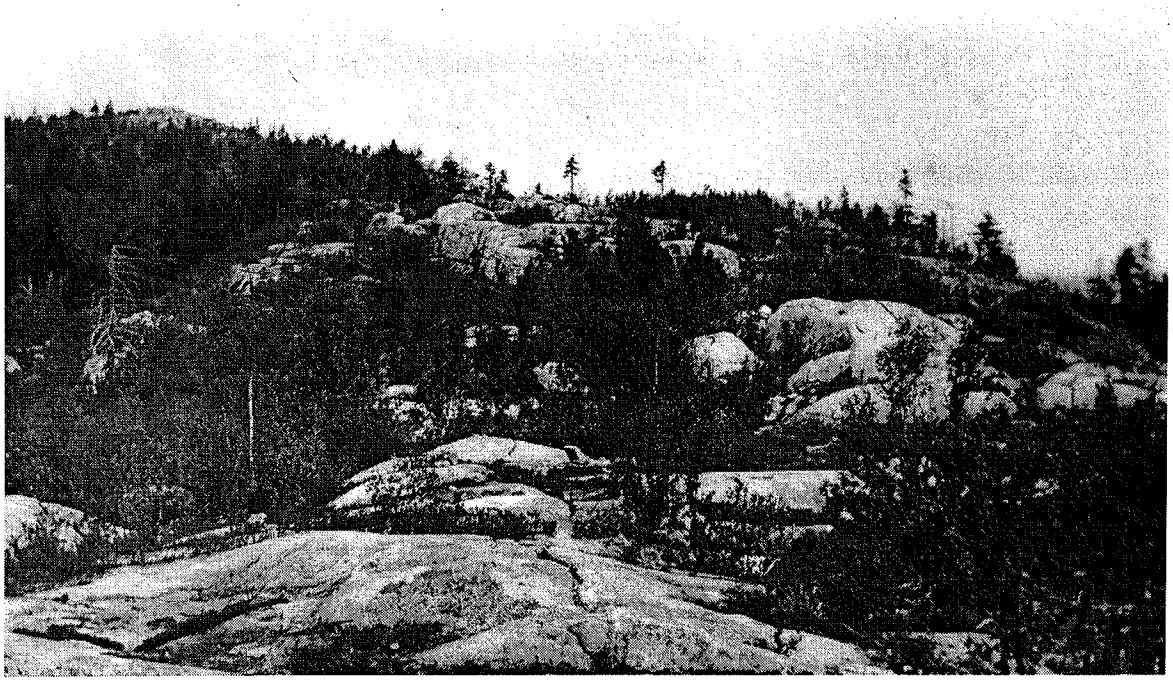


Figure 60: Forestry Foreman, William Parsons
(Courtesy of John Parsons)

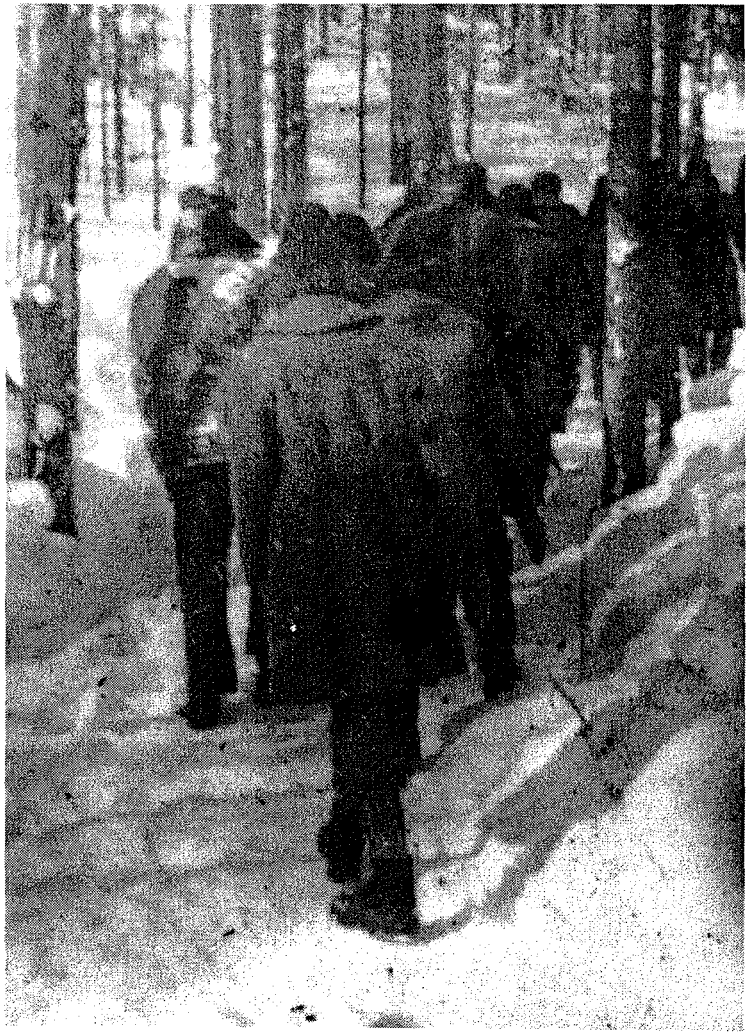
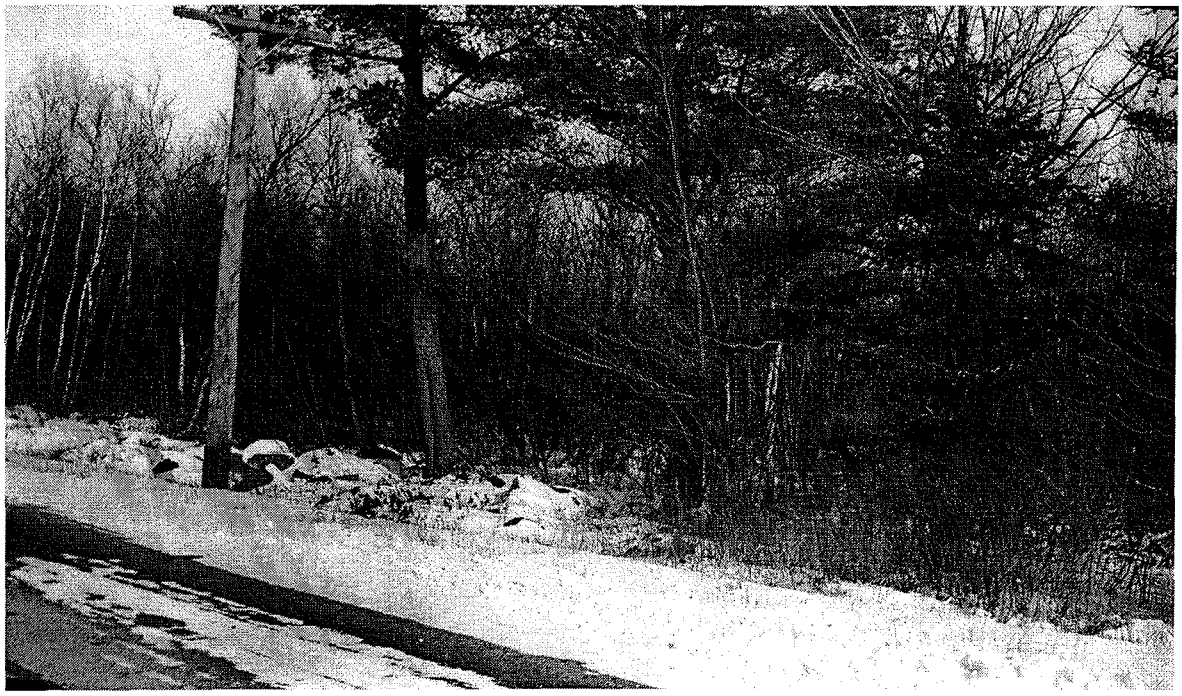
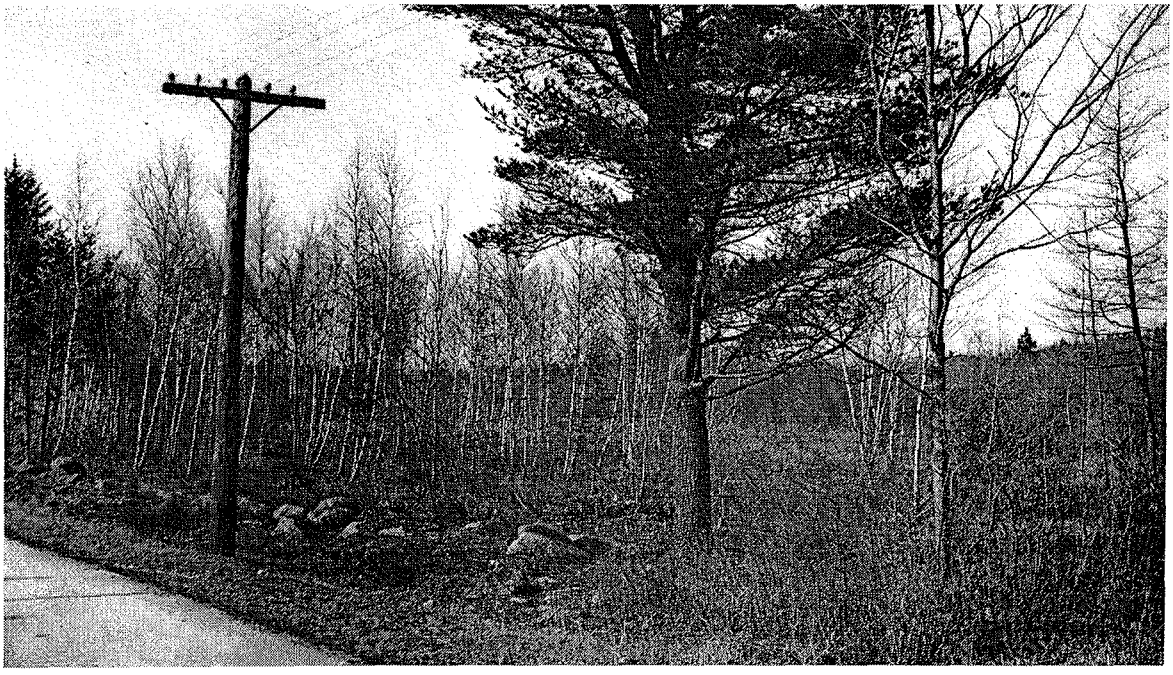


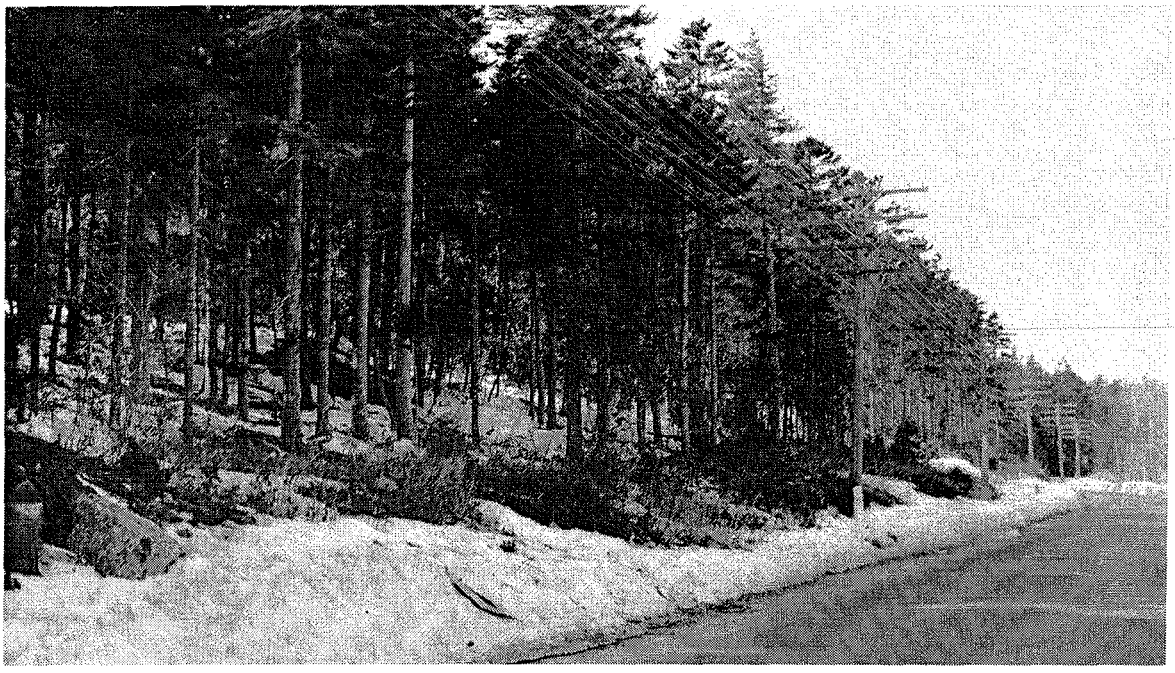
Figure 61: A winter work crew
(Courtesy of John Parsons)



Figures 62 and 63: This page and the two that follow show the effects of roadside clearing projects undertaken by Ellsworth CCC crews. Forests were cleaned for a distance of between 25 and 100 feet from the centerline. The area shown here, near Ellsworth, was worked in the winter of 1934 (NARA Photo, Project scan number 48)

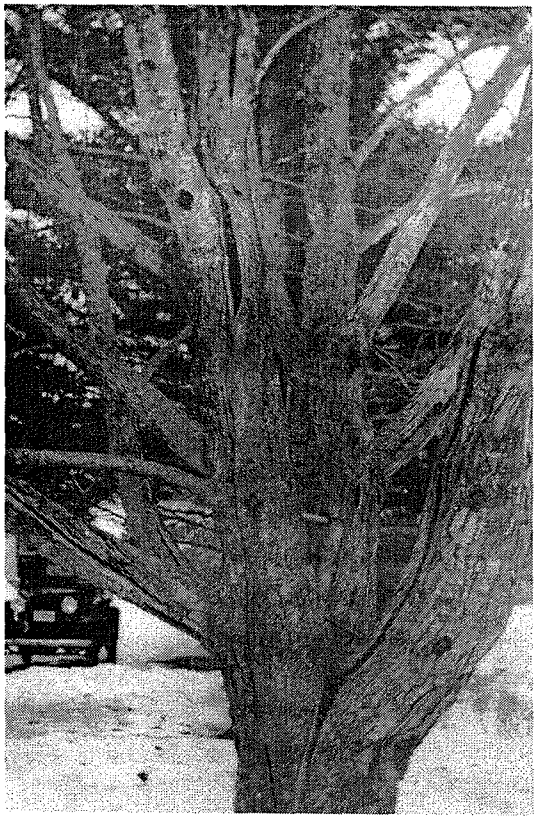


Figures 64 and 65: A similar clearing operation near Hadlock Pond. According to the original caption, only "defective firs" were removed. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 52)



Figures 66 and 67: "Vista Cutting" represented a more localized form of clearing. In the example shown here, part of CWA work on the Schoodic Peninsula, two spruce trees were removed to open up a view of a lighthouse on the opposite shore. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 237)

NP-1 Tree Surgery Crew



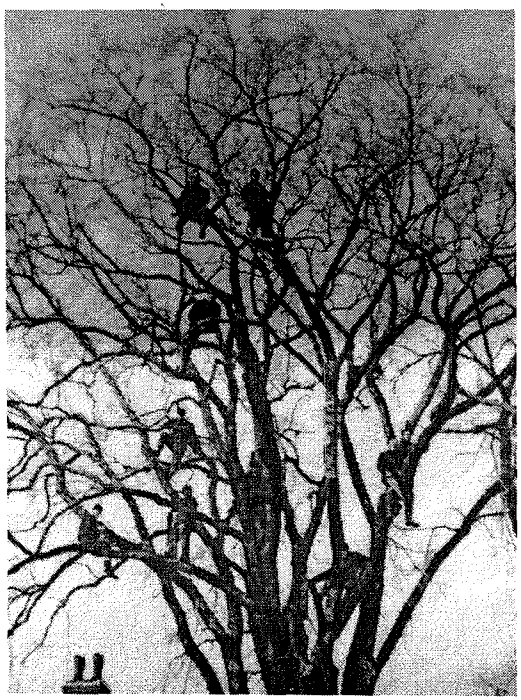
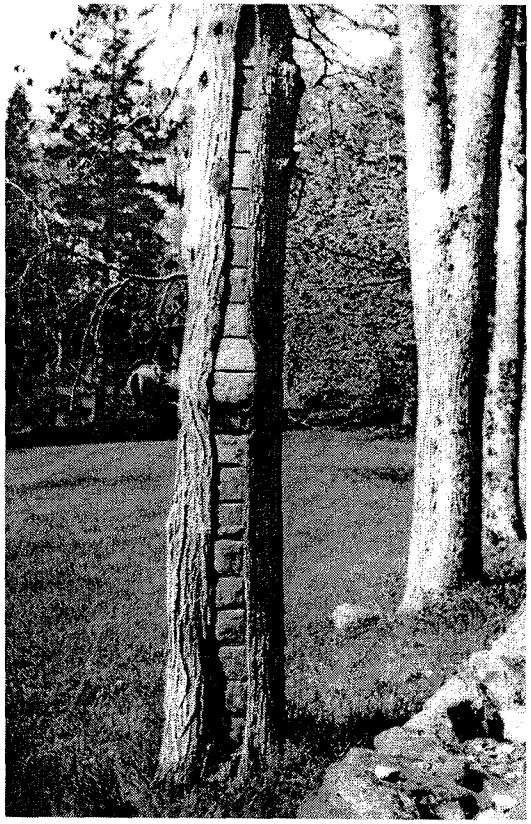


Figure 68: (Above) Tree surgery crew poses in a large elm on the Black Estate, Ellsworth. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 116)

Figure 69: (Left) Cabling and bracing on a horse chestnut. Black Estate, Ellsworth. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 349)

Figure 70: (Right) Cavity filled in a hollow elm. Black Estate, Ellsworth. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 349)



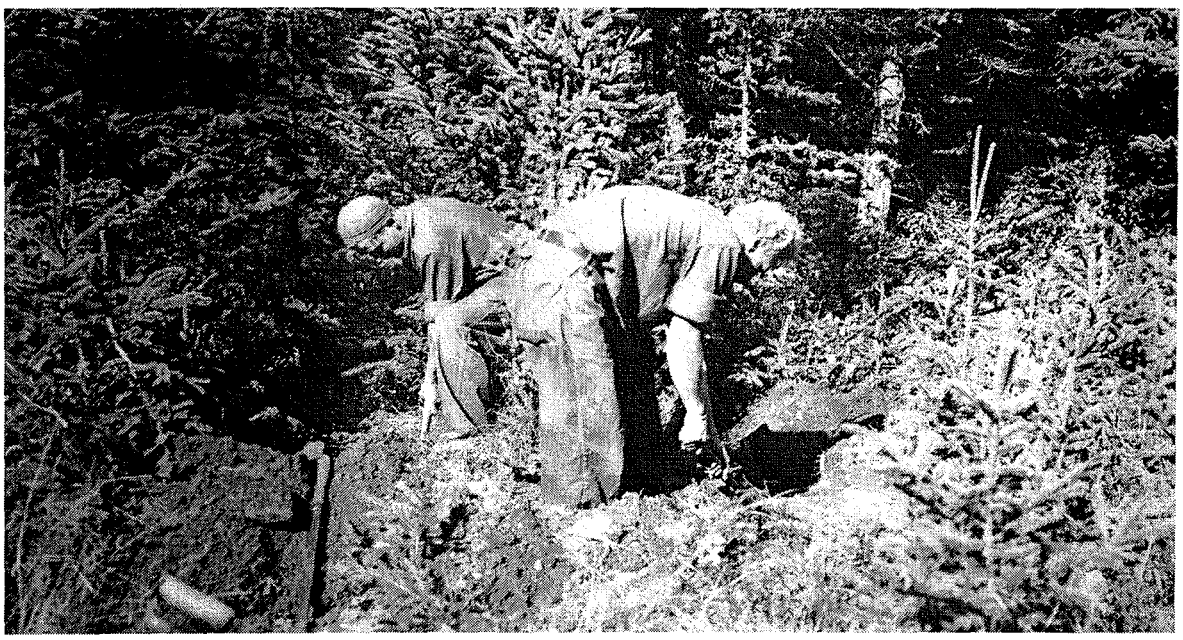


Figure 71: Gov. Brann crews collecting white spruce saplings to transplant on their beautification projects. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 94)

Figure 72: To protect the trees during transport, the branches were tied up and the root systems soaked and wrapped in burlap. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 94)

Transplanting

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Nurseries

Figure 73: The nursery of the Gov. Brann Camp in Ellsworth was established with assistance from the University of Maine and Cornell University. Most of the specimens donated by the two institutions were softwoods. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 150)

Figures 74 and 75: McFarland Camp crews collecting seedlings from the Rockefeller Nurseries. In all, the CCC transplanted over 6,500 trees from the Rockefeller gift. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 277)

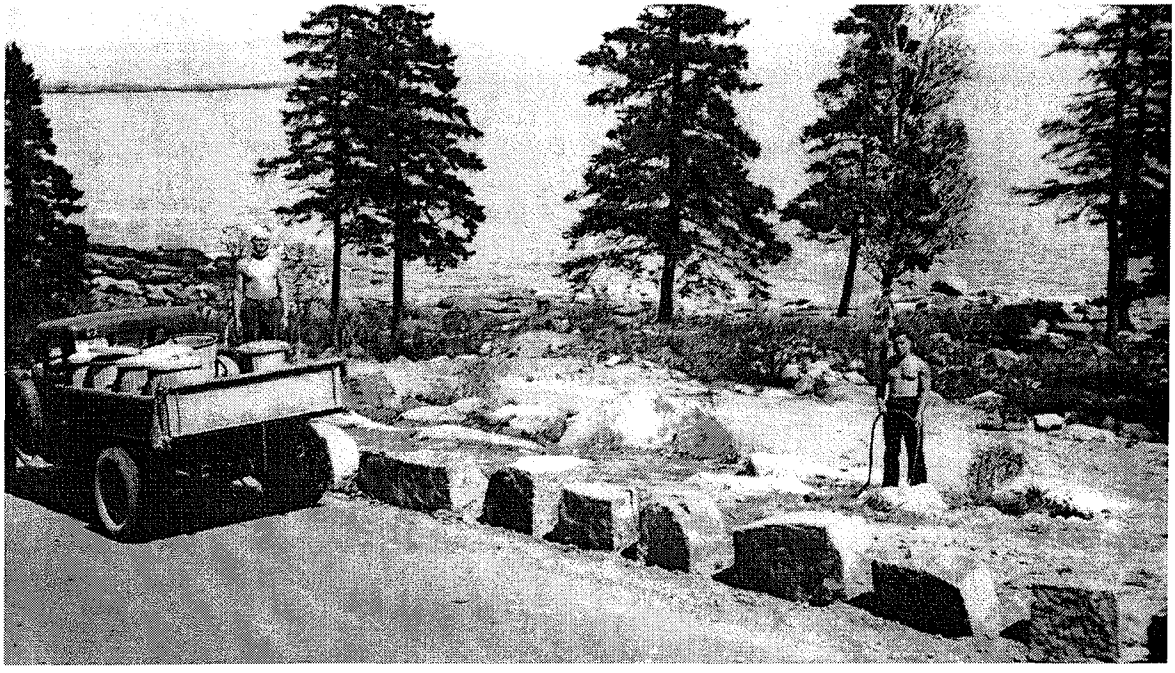
Figure 76: Collecting "muck" and organic matter as fertilizer for transplants. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 279)

Figure 77: Enrollees loading loam into a hand-barrow, which would then have to be carried to the transplant area. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 279)

Figures 78 and 79: Setting up the McFarland Camp nursery on Kebo Mountain Road.
(NARA Photo, Project scan number 278)

Figure 80: Clearing ground for the nursery on Little Meadow Hill. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 279)

Figure 81: Water had to be hauled to the transplant location by truck and then siphoned from the containers. Here, a transplant crew works on the Ocean Drive Trail in the spring of 1935 (NARA Photo, Project scan number 293)



Tree Moving

Figure 82: (Above) Crews dig through frost hardened ground, as they prepare to transplant a mature maple tree. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 125)

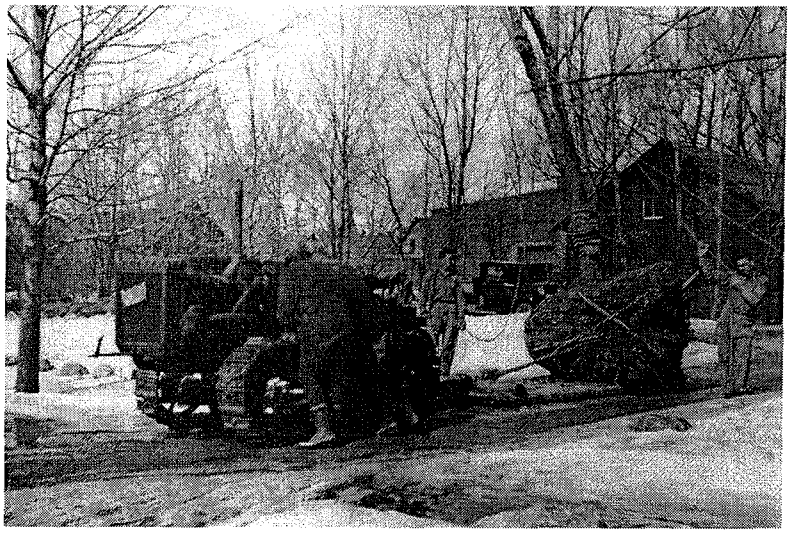
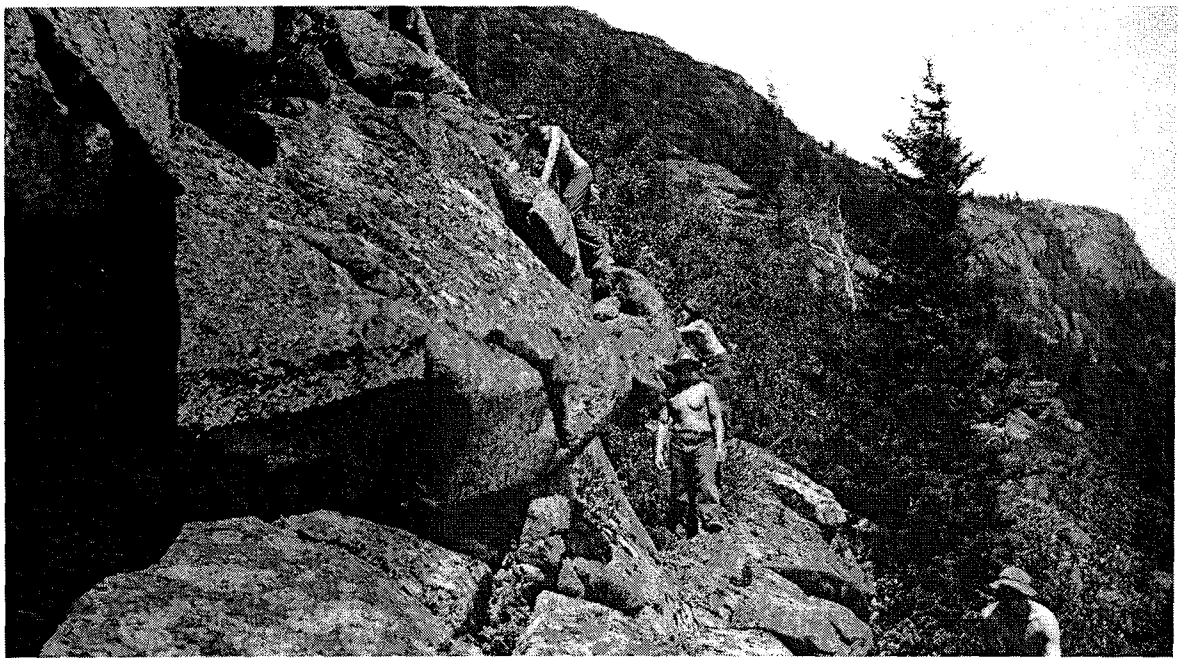


Figure 83: (Right) With its roots encased in a frozen ball of earth, the tree is dragged on a skid to its new location. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 125)

Figure 84: Preparing the new location. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 125)



White Pine Blister Rust Control

Figure 85: (Above) The first two phases of blister rust work involved checking and then re-checking broad stretches of ground for the ribes (gooseberry and current bushes) that were "hosts" to the disease. It often meant working over difficult terrain. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 280)

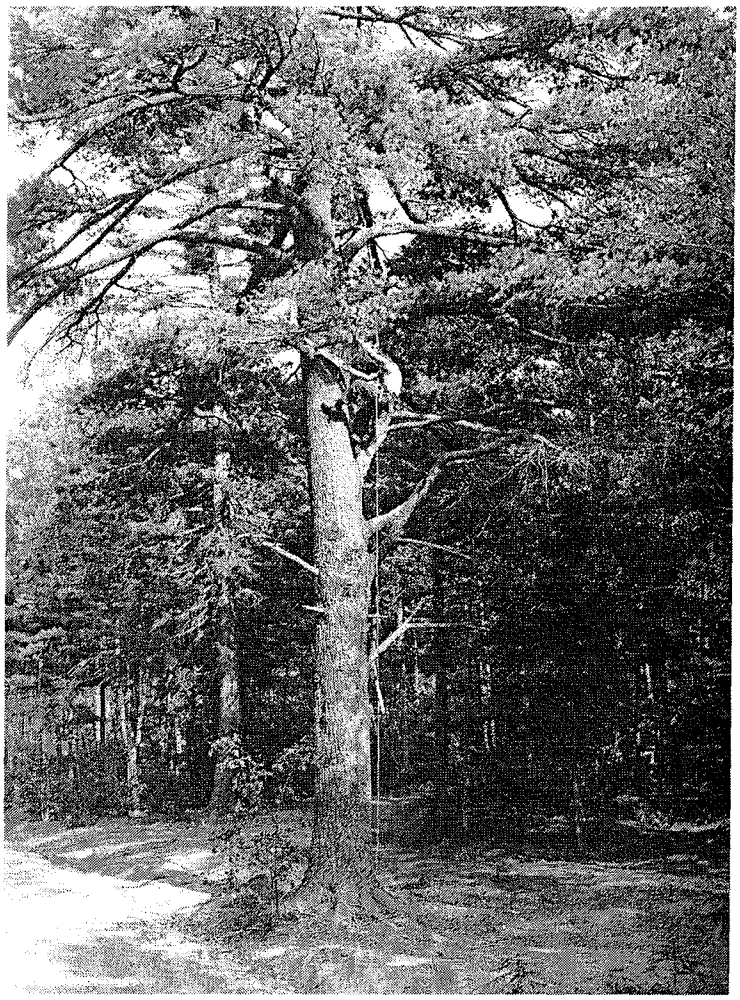
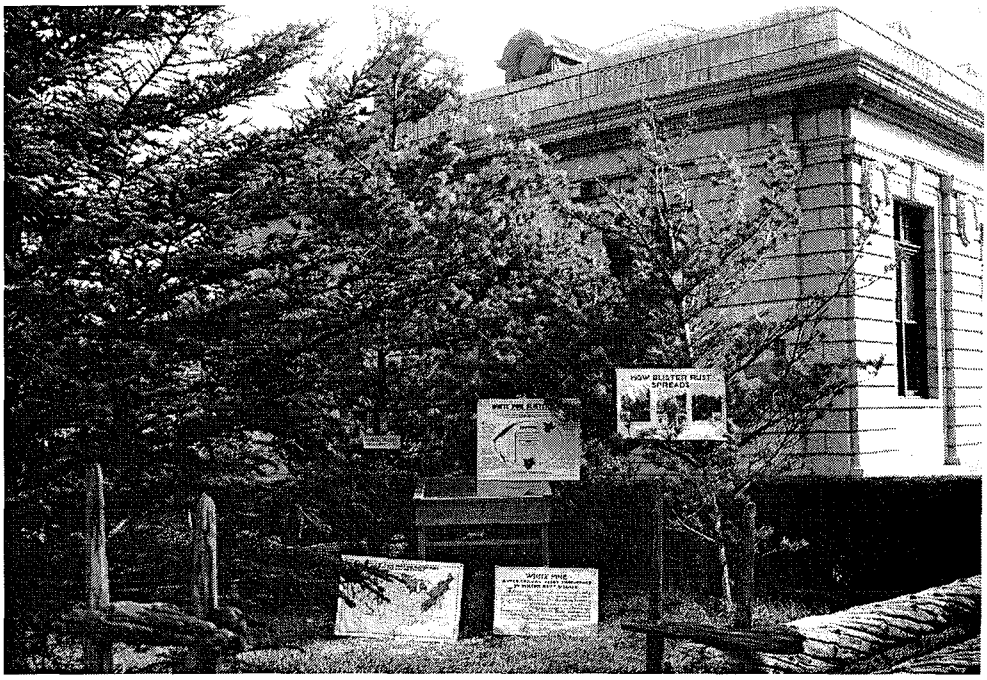


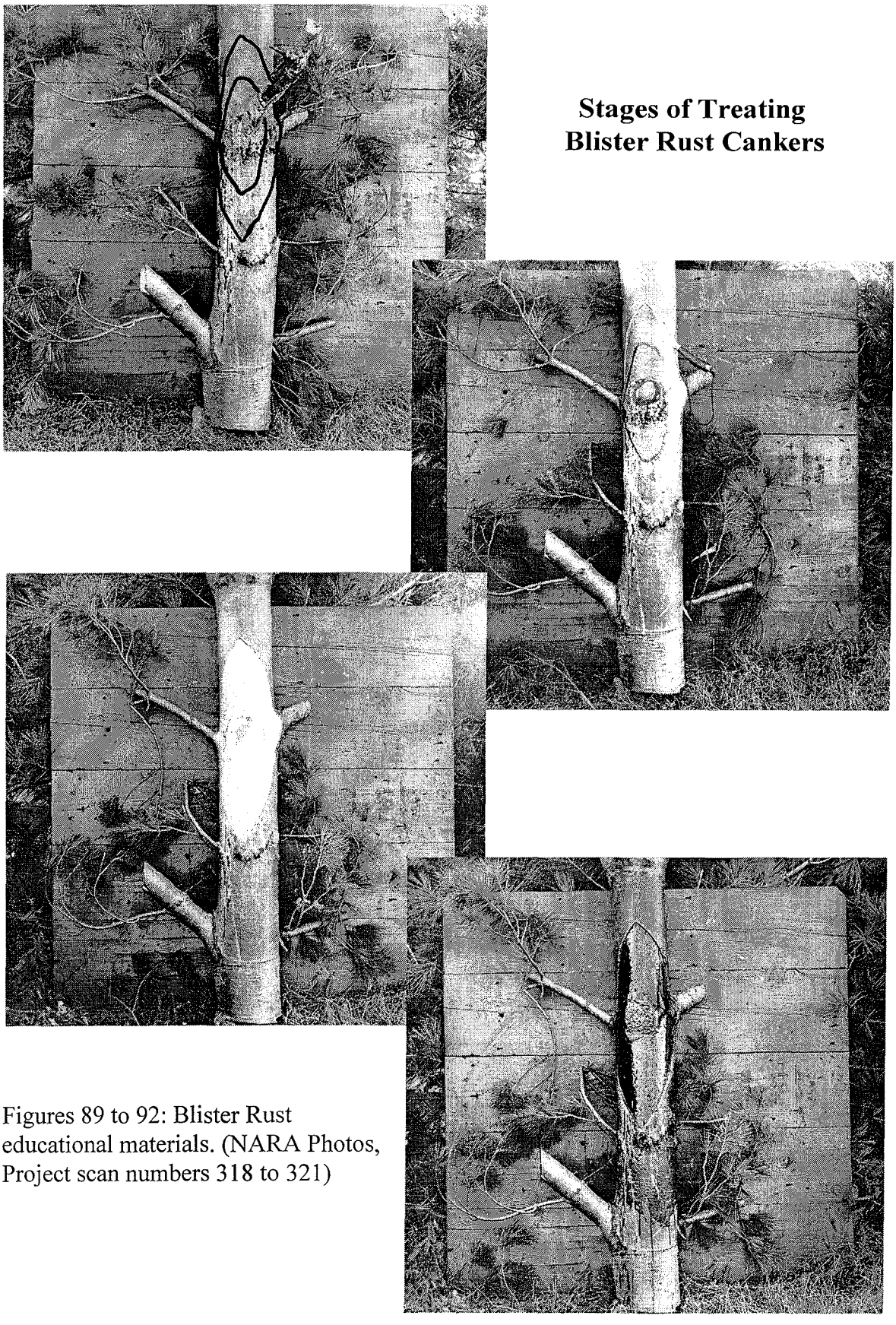
Figure 86: (Right) The third phase involved removing cankers from infected pine trees. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 332)



Figures 87: To educate local residents and park visitors about the nature and purpose of their work, the blister rust crew set up displays in Bar Harbor and other sites. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 323)

Figure 88: The NP-1 blister rust crew with a panel displaying the tools routinely used for pruning work. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 330)

Stages of Treating
Blister Rust Cankers



Figures 89 to 92: Blister Rust educational materials. (NARA Photos, Project scan numbers 318 to 321)

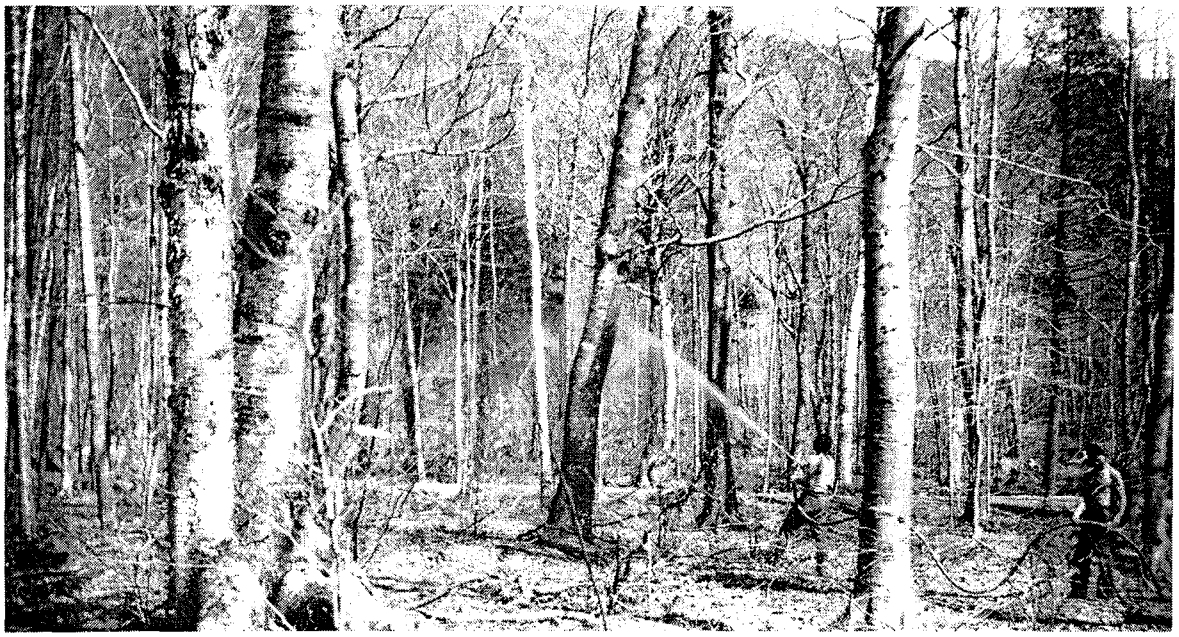
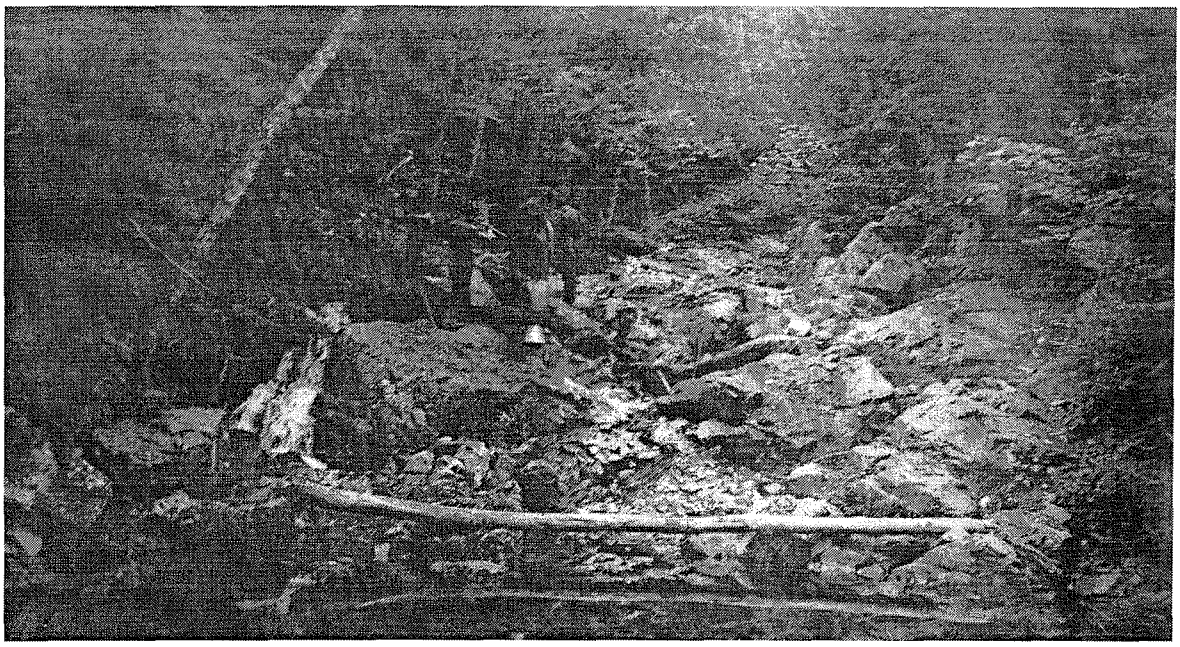


Figure 93: McFarland Camp crews spraying for beech scale in the Gorge. (NARA Photos, Project scan number 358)

Figure 94: Applying Creosote to Gypsy Moth egg clusters near Aunt Betty Pond. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 120)



Figures 95 to 96: Stream improvement on Duck Brook. The original captions says of the first photo that ". . . the brook disappears leaving a only dry stream bed," and in the second photo, ". . . the brook has been restored to the surface and led down thru several levels to the pool below. (It doesn't appear to have been much of a job: the same shirtless enrollee is seated on the same bucket in the same position in both the "before" and "after" images.) (NARA Photos, Project scan number 286)

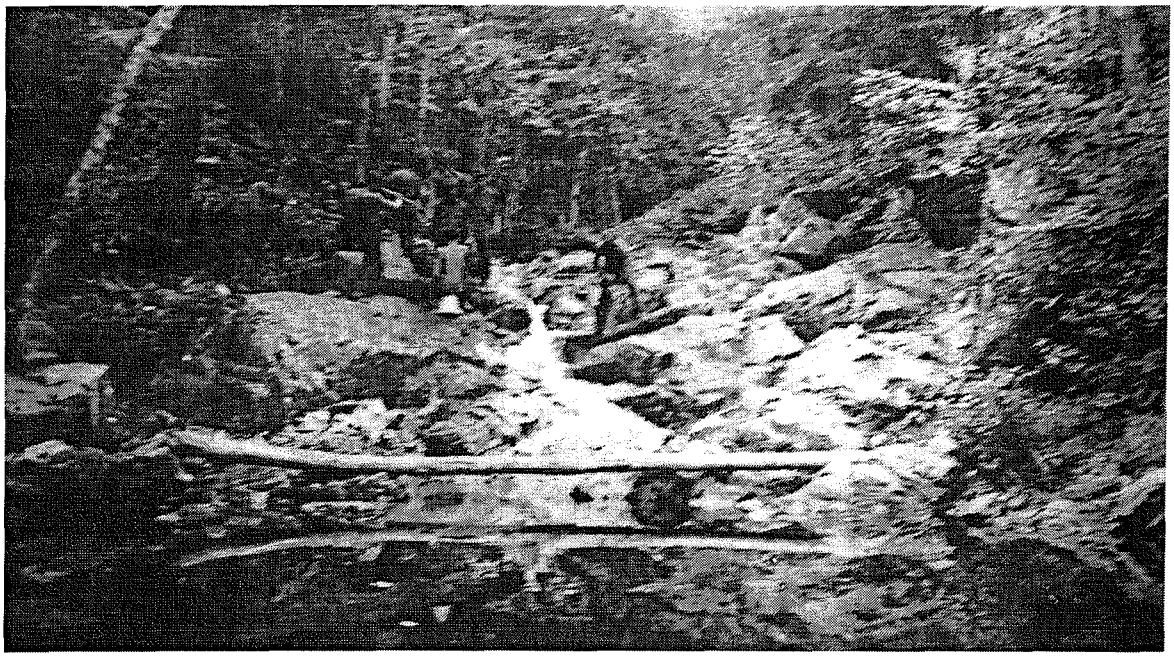


Figure 97: Stream improvement on Duck Brook. A channel has been cut through an abandoned beaver dam, clearing the way for fish to migrate upstream. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 287)

Figure 98: Stream improvement on Duck Brook. A ladder and culvert installed to allow the passage of fish. The ladder (lower right) was constructed of rocks taken from the stream bed, to give a natural appearance. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 285)

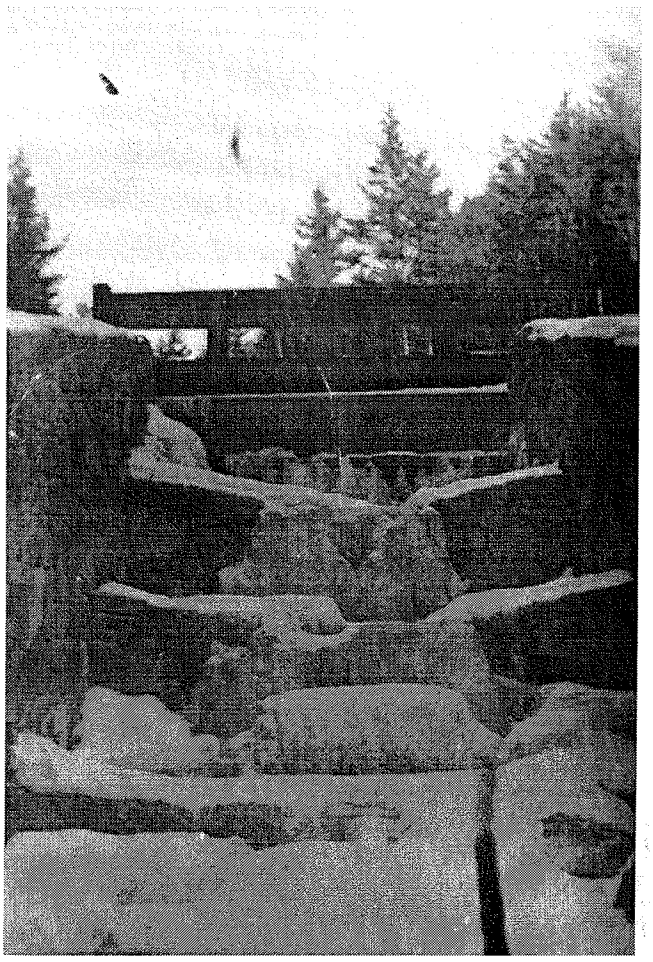


Figure 99: Dam constructed by NP-2 personnel at the outlet of Echo Lake. (Courtesy of Linwood Robshaw)

Figure 100: The original Somesville dam in an advanced state of disrepair. The dam was rebuilt as a collaborative effort between the CCC and the Town of Mount Desert. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 357)

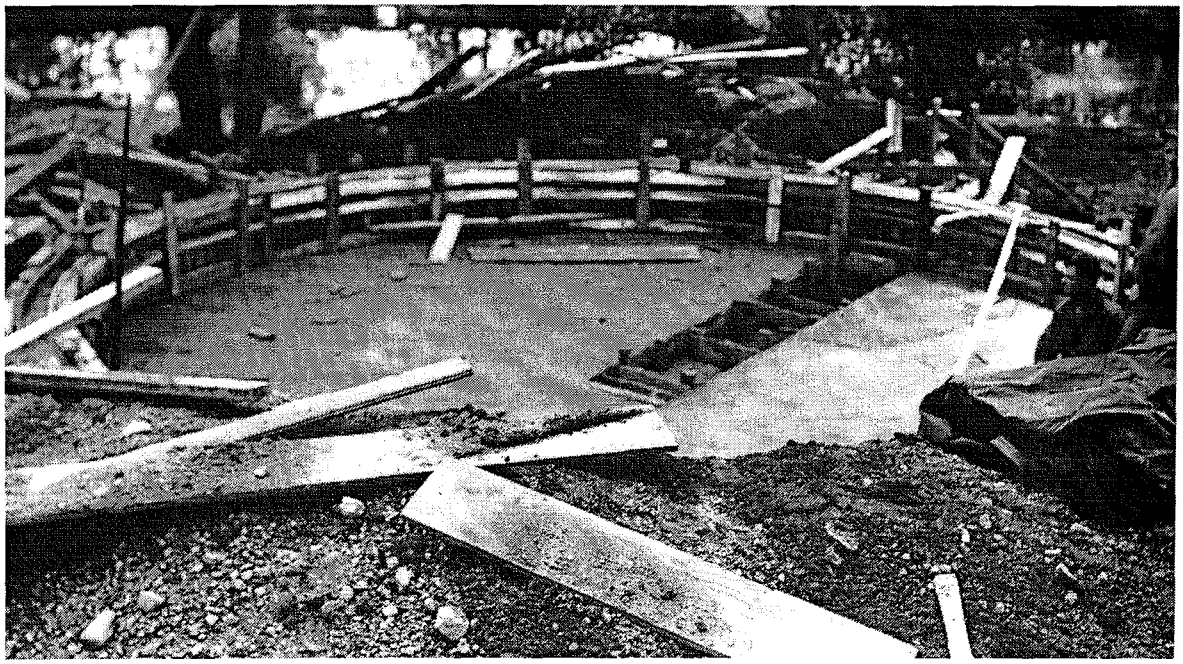
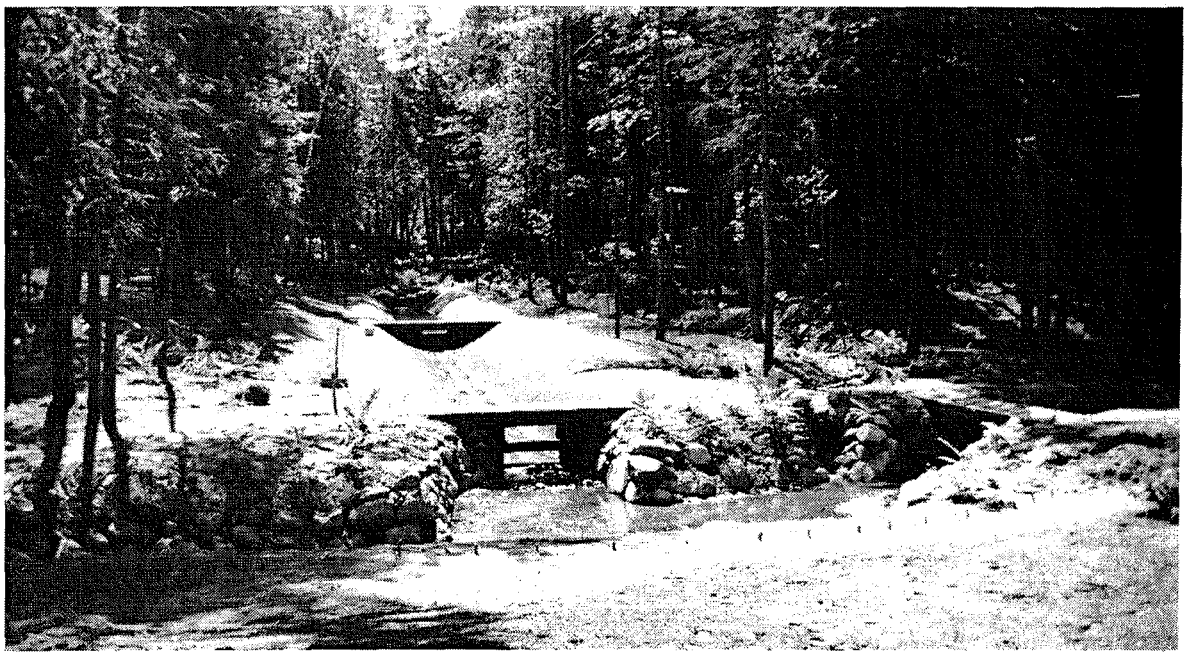
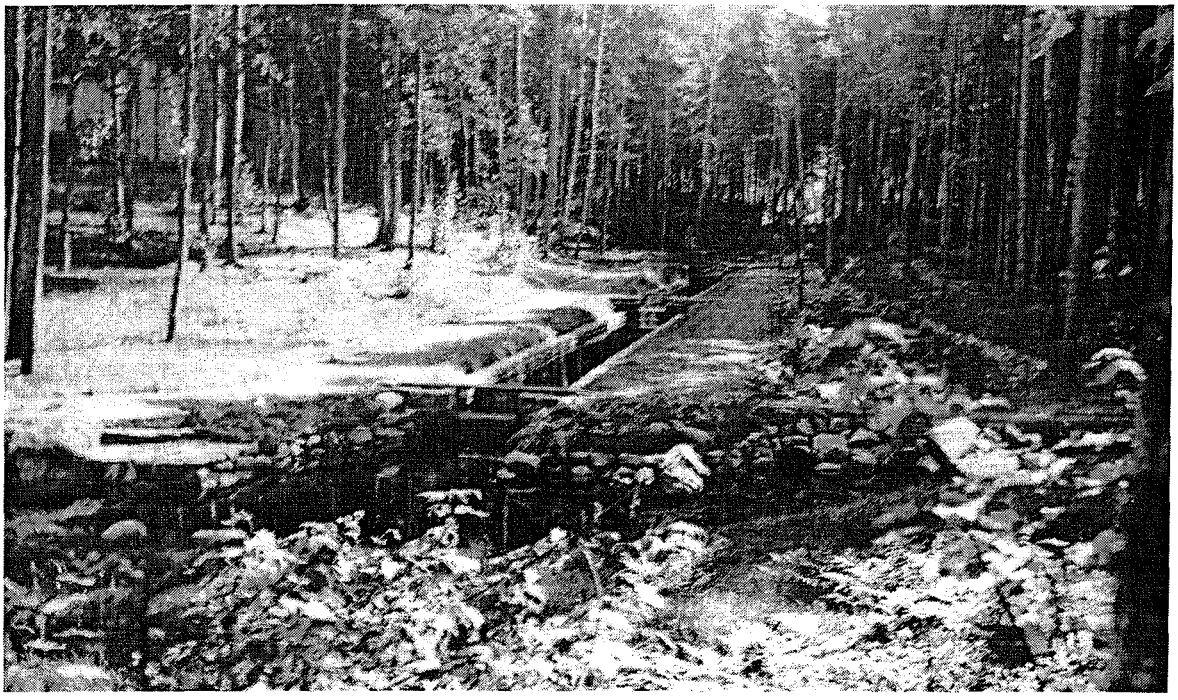


Figure 101: Construction of fish rearing pools at the Federal Fish Hatchery in East Orland, by crews from the Ellsworth CCC camp. A total of six pools, including water supply lines, were built. (NARA Photos, Project scan number 163)

Figure 102: Fish rearing pools at Sieur de Monts Spring, built by NP-1 crews in 1934. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 6)



Figures 103 and 104: Project designers didn't always get it right the first time (or even the second). The above image documents the reconstruction in 1934 of fish rearing pools on Cold Brook, which had been built originally in 1933. The banks of the first pools were too steep and eroded quickly. The image below, taken in 1935, indicates that still further work was required to protect the banks of the pools. (NARA Photos, Project scan numbers 200 and 314)



Work Programs II: Construction Projects

8.1 Foot Trails

Trail development figured prominently in CCC work at Acadia, if not for the sheer number of projects then for the number of man days they absorbed. During the second enrollment period – and bearing in mind that construction work stopped altogether in January and February – trail work accounted for 3330 man days at NP-1, second only to forest improvement, which entailed three times as many projects.[1] Over the spring and summer of 1935 (5th EP), work on the Great Meadow and Ladder Trail projects alone accounted for 2357 man days, and during the same period, truck trails accounted for 40% of NP-1's time, fire hazard reduction, 25%, and foot trails, 18%.[2] Trail crews appear to have been relatively small. Where such numbers are indicated in reports, there are rarely more than 15 to 20 men assigned to a trail crew at any given time, and often there were fewer. The 2357 man days expended on the Ladder and Great Meadow Trails in 1935 represents only 19 men working full time on the two trails. These numbers appear to be representative for trail work involving construction and/or intensive repair.

Providing an exact account of CCC trail work is exceedingly difficult, despite the relatively complete documentary record available. (A summary of major projects can be found in Table 8.1.) Early progress reports often group projects under a general work heading, which may include minor trail or road work. Trail projects also cover a diverse

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[1] "Narrative Report, Second Enrollment Period, October 1, 1933, to March 31, 1934, McFarland Field Camp NP-1, RG 79, Box 2.

[2] "Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1 to September 30, 1935, McFarland Field Camp NP-1," RG 79, Box 3.

range of activities, from new construction to minor repairs to general clean-up. When project codes were implemented in 1935, one code (206) covered all trail work. Later, other codes were used for trail maintenance projects, which included only clean up and very minor repairs. The intensity of maintenance work is reflected in the amount of territory covered on a single project. A "Foot Trail Maintenance" project assigned to NP-1 in the summer of 1940, for example, consumed only 300 man-days and covered 150 miles of trail (virtually all the trails in the park). Conversely, NP-2 trail crews spent 1500 man-days to add 1.5 miles to the Western Mountain trail system during the same period.[3] Later reports, especially summary reports, job applications, and job completion reports, provide minimal detail about the location and scope of the work. Where separate job numbers reference a single location, it is often unclear whether the work was an extension of an existing project, refurbishing of old work (occasionally even the work of early CCC crews had to be revisited by later enrollees), or completely new work. Consequently, only a general assessment of trail and road development can be offered here.

Both of the Acadia forestry camps eased into trail work on relatively minor projects. In July 1933, NP-2 enrollees began upgrading the road leading from the main road to the camp and later extended it down to the south end of Long Pond. Work on truck trails at Gilley Field, the Cold Brook rearing pools, and Beech Hill followed. It wasn't until late fall that they began working on the Beech Mt. foot trail, where they worked alongside CWA crews. Toward the end of the first enrollment period, NP-1 crews started building a trail over an abandoned section of the Cadillac Mt. summit road. Oddly enough, the actual outcome

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[3] See "Camp Applications, 1938-40," RG 79, Box 4.

for the project hadn't been decided when it began. Crews started tearing out the old road, and as work progressed engineers decided to make a walking trail out of it. The camp's next trail project was to repair the entrance to the Newport (Champlain) Mt. trail, which had been torn up by construction at the Bear Brook campground. Their first piece of new trail construction, the Anemone Cave Trail, started in October 1933, and the following month they began work on the first leg of the Ocean Drive Trail, which would be the camp's most substantial piece of trail construction and take over five years to complete.

It is true that the CCC spent more time reconstructing and repairing existing trails than building new ones. Even many if not most truck trails were built over old paths or abandoned logging roads. Yet it is also true that the extent of reconstruction was often so great that it represented a complete overhaul of earlier work. Reconstructed trails were frequently rerouted or realigned, which ultimately meant new construction coupled with obliteration of the old trail. Some old paths were in such a state of deterioration that repairs consumed the same amount of time and effort that a new trail might require. Alterations were also made to improve safety or to offer hikers better views of the landscape. All these issues can be noted in a description of work on the Dry (Dorr) Mountain Ladder Trail in the summer of 1935:

> The project was started originally to maintain and improve this trail, but as the work progressed, it was found that the trail was in such a condition that it had to be rebuilt in many places. It was also found to be advantageous to relocate it in many places for the sake of safety, and to provide better vistas. As a result, the work has been almost entirely new construction. Due to the excessive grade, the construction of the trail is a series of stone steps, separated now and then by stone ramps. This work, of course, necessitated a great deal of stone work, slowing the linear progress a great deal. The problem of securing and placing the stone offered many difficulties, as the

> steps had to be hand-drilled and split off from ledges along the side of the mountain, and carried by hand along narrow walks to the site of the trail.[4]

A year earlier, when working on the entrances and lower slopes of the trail, the CCC had set the large stepping stones that cross the brook above the Tarn, replacing smaller ones. The Great Meadow Nature Trail, another reconstruction project, further shows the effort that went into trail projects, even on relatively easy terrain:

> This trail, which is approximately one-half mile in length, accounts for most of the labor expended in this area for this period. It was necessary to build a rock base for this trail for a large part of its length, owing to the fact that it is situated in swampy meadow land. The walk was surfaced with a gravelly loam and the shoulders were covered with the mucky soil of the vicinity. This arrangement will encourage the growth along the trail side and so cover the newness of the project in a short time.[5]

CCC-era designers favored interconnected networks of trails. Many routes were laid out in circuits that incorporated several noteworthy vistas and points of interest along the way, and then returned the hiker to a central park location, usually a parking area. This, according to the park's recent trail report, contrasts with earlier trail systems, which tended to be out-and-return trails leading out from a village, estate, or resort. CCC work often linked formerly disconnected trails. Two general trail projects assigned in the fifth enrollment period, one of each side of the island, had comprehensive trail networks in view. On the east side of the island, "10 miles of the most important trails between the Schooner Head Road,

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[4] "Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1 to September 30, 1935, McFarland Field Camp NP-1," RG 79, Box 3.

[5] "Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1 to September 30, 1935, McFarland Field Camp NP-1," RG 79, Box 3.

Ocean Drive, and the Gorge [were] re-marked, and rebuilt."[6] On the other side of the island, a work program aimed very broadly at trails "west of Somes Sound" also covered ten miles of treadway. For the most part this was reconstruction work, but numerous short connecting trails were built on these projects. The work continued over the next few enrollment periods, but due to changes in reporting procedures, each trail was treated as a separate project. By 1937, NP-1 crews had completed a series of projects that constructed or rehabilitated a network of paths linking Newport Mt. Trials, the Great Meadow Nature Trail, Sieur de Monts Spring Trails, the Tarn Trails including the Gorge, and the Dry Mountain Trails. Another network of trails was underway in the Jordan Pond area. Development on the western side of the island followed a similar pattern, resulting in trails that linked Western Mountain, Beech Mountain, Beech Cliffs, Canada Hollow, and across the highway to St. Sauveur Mt., Acadia Mt., Valley Cove, and Man of War Brook.

In certain cases, Acadia's landscape architects developed clusters of projects around key locations in the park. On the east side of the island, Sieur de Monts Spring clearly served this function:

> The progress of work in this area is extensive and varied. It was inaugurated in May and contemplated the restoration of trails and foot bridges, the very necessary cleaning of the forest stand in the vicinity and the further development of the area. The area is the natural gateway to the eastern section of the Park, and a very popular gathering place for visitors. It contains the Sieur de Monts Spring, commodious, shady picnic grounds, a Museum of Indian Relics, ample parking space, and the entrance to trails leading up the nearby mountains. The work going on here consists of maintenance of existing trails and attractions and the construction of new trails, trout pools, additional picnic grounds, and new truck trails for fire protection. . . . [T]ree

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[6] "Work Programs, Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1 to September 30, 1935, McFarland Field Camp NP-1 and Great Pond Camp NP-2," RG 79, Box 3.

> surgery crews have been working in this area pruning forest trees bordering trails and picnic ground [sic]. Bridges and culverts have been repaired or replaced on highways leading through the area. In short, the entire area is receiving much needed and very general attention.[7]

Work on the Ocean Drive trail followed a similar pattern, mixing significant new construction with the "reconstruction of certain trails, previously built by other agencies, to conform in purpose and quality with paths already built in this area by this camp." With additional work on parking areas and picnic sites, the overall project would "complete the system of paths that connect all the interesting points in this area.[8] The principle is less clear in development on the west side of the island, but it can be noticed in the justification for the Canada Hollow / Lurvey Spring truck trail:

> As a unit in the large section of the park west of Somes Sound the particular area of Canada Hollow bears an important relation with Echo Lake, Beech Cliffs. Canada Cliffs, Beech Mountain, Lurvey Spring and St. Sauveur and Acadia Mountains. It contains the water supply of Echo Lake. It is the basic foreground of most any picture south and east from Beech Cliffs, Beech Mountain and Canada Cliffs, and with a completed truck trail it forms the major means of protection from fire on the south and east slopes of all these promontories. From St. Sauveur and Acadia Mountains the valley is again the principal foreground in this case to western views.[9]

Park planners were also keenly aware that more and more visitors were traveling by car. This not only meant increased traffic flow and greater demand for parking; to some degree it also assumed a different set of visitor expectations, expectations that separated

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[7] "Report Covering Third Enrollment Period, Apr. 1, 1934 - Sept. 30, 1934, McFarland Field Camp," RG 79, Box 3.

[8] "Narrative Report for October, November, December, 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1.

[9] "Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1 to September 30, 1935, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," RG 79, Box 3.

modern travelers from rusticators of former years. Time and ease of access were often paramount concerns, as is evident from the following report:

> The Beech Cliffs trail does have aside from its delightfulness a decided advantage in its ready accessibility and from the start of construction has met with steadily growing patronage of its beauties. The secret of this success is aside from inherent worth, the fact that the impatient, mile a minute public gets a quick return for the small efforts he expends to travel this trail. It appeals to him to "hoof it" for only ten minutes to reach a superb eminence such as Beech Cliffs and to see unfold the expanse of half the island.
>
> The main point to be made is that the most used trails are those where a round trip of half an hour to an hour, starting from a motor parking center is possible and of course the motor parking base which commands two or three such scenic loops is in direct proportion more popular.[10]

Trail construction techniques used by the CCC were relatively uniform. Two of our informants, Francis Laverdier and Simon Casewell, described the general procedure:

> ***Laverdier:** [Surveyors would] map out trails where it was less dangerous to build. And the trails were ordinary width, about five or six feet wide, and everybody had his job to do: remove the slate and the rocks that the foreman would map out, and the surveyor would show us where the trail was going to be. And we all had grub hoes and the right tools to work with.
>
> ***Dudley:** How did the surveyor mark it out? Did you use, like, the tapes to tie around trees to show you where the trail went? How was that done?
>
> ***Laverdier:** After the surveyor would map out, put a yellow tape, and that was to be the middle of the trail. . . . So if we went two and a half feet on one side, two and a half feet of the tape on the other side, we knew what to dig and what angle to dig out. . . . Well, after a while we get to be so clever at it, after making a lot of curves and trails going up the mountain, that we kn[e]w what was flat and what was lopsided. Then you'd take two long poles, handles on

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[10] "Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1 to September 30, 1935, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," RG 79, Box 3; as an addendum to this comment, the ANP trail report notes that after World War II, "trails in close proximity to the roads and parking areas, such as the Ocean Drive Trail, received the greatest use" (Coffin, et al., 1999, 1: 257).

> both ends, with canvas in the middle and put several of the, shovel the gravel to fill in the high spots or the low spots. . . . [I]t made beautiful trails.[11]

> ***Casewell:** Mostly just a handsaw and a crosscut saw and an axe and a grub hoe. And that was basically just about all that you would need. . . . And, and I should have added in shovels and pick axes and rakes. Because that was all, all the things that you would use. . . . [T]he truck would come as near as he could to wherever the trail was being worked on and then you would just continue on with hand tools. And we're talking a trail that would be probably four feet wide, or five feet wide or something, for footpaths. And that's basically what they were. . . . [A]fter you get the trees out of the way, why then you would use a cant dog or a pry bar or try to remove any rocks that had to be removed so you could level it. And there might have to be gravel hauled in to fill some of the low spots. So then the dump truck would, would bring that to the nearest point that they could, to that trail, and then dump the gravel, and you would shovel that into the wheelbarrows and wheel that in to wherever you needed to dump and level it. But there again, everything was done by hand, basically. . . . Yes, they had it laid out before hand . . . by either marking the trees with a, with a spot of paint or whatever, or a ribbon, or whatever it was. And of course these bosses that were in charge of all this . . . and then they just passed that information on to us as we worked on them.[12]

The overall look of trails was carefully thought out to take advantage of special features of the immediate surroundings. Project foremen were nonetheless given some latitude to solve particular construction problems. Some trails were simple in design, drawing almost no attention to the work done. For example, the trail leading to the Anemone Cave is barely distinguishable from the surrounding forest floor (Figure 105). There was nothing simple, however, about its construction, which involved "swamping, cleaning and stumping of [the] way, filling, and graveling of [the] trail and minor cleaning of woods directly bordering [the]

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[11] Interview with Francis Laverdier, NA 2650, C1931-A, p. 14.

[12] Interview with Simon Casewell, NA 2624, C1906-A & B, pp. 22-23.

trail."[13] As noted in the ANP trail report, the CCC rarely used "unconstructed" or "natural" treadway for trail projects.[14] So-called "full" construction promoted stability and durability, and it was used even where the design called for a trail to blend naturally with its surroundings, as though it were simply a path blazed through the woods. Even on upland terrain, some trails were designed to blend in. On the Beech Cliff Trail, the project foreman reported that "[o]ne of the most important requirements in stone work here is that it looks harmonious and unobtrusive in its surroundings of beautifully lichened ledges."[15] Robert Patterson, the architect who oversaw the project, noted specifically that he had "advocated making . . . these trails safe and passable, but nothing more, leaving the route as unchanged as possible."[16] On other trails, more conspicuous work was demanded. Before-and-after images of construction on the Otter Cliff Trail show how extensive construction was needed to make a steep, difficult track not only accessible but inviting (see Figures 107 to 110).

Park architects frequently looked for surprise value in their designs. They sought a mixture of visual effects along a trail or they routed paths so that hikers would come upon spectacular vistas suddenly. The Great Meadow Nature Trail led hikers through a range of scenes, and the trail itself enhanced the views with its fine-gravel surface, intermittent log borders, and rustic bridges (see Figures 113-115). Similar contrasts were noted between the

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[13] "Narrative Report for October 1933, Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 3.

[14] Barter, et al., 2001, 2: 253 and 257.

[15] "Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment, April 1 to September 30, 1935, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," RG 79, Box 3.

[16] Patterson to Thomas C. Vint, December 16, 1935, RG 79, Box 16.

lower and upper parts of the Beech Cliffs trail. Even stone-work could be used to different effect on individual trails. On the Perpendicular Trail, stone stairs were constructed to blend in with natural rock falls, and the designers made a deliberate attempt to "soften and naturalize [the] rocky sections by clothing ragged and bare surfaces with moss and mats of rock fern, such as grow for the most part throughout the talus slope." Another section of the same trail demanded more robust construction methods: there, ". . . the problem [was] one of securing substantial steps as security against heaving by ice and frost action, or a rugged coping of a size defying movement or dislodgment by any one or two individuals' efforts"[17] (see Figures 116 and 117). At the entrance to the Ladder Trail, large stone steps were built to make the trail clearly visible from the highway. Elements of trail design and construction were also influenced by the need to accommodate hikers of different fitness and skill levels or by safety concerns.

Stone-work was an integral part of trail construction. Some of the technical foremen were laid-off quarrymen (Lester Hartford's first boss was a stone cutter named "Pim" Lurvey), and under their supervision and direction, CCC crews developed a reputation for producing very high quality stone-work:

> CCC steps had a consistent appearance, relying on cut or naturally occurring stone that was uniform in size and shape. The tread and risers were consistent throughout the run of the steps, creating stairs that were comfortable for the hiker. Also, CCC steps were often wider than VIA/VIS steps, some over four feet wide to handle more use.[18]

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[17] "Photographic Report, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," September 1934, RG 79, Box 2 (see project scans 214-215).

[18] Barter, et al, 2001, 2: 211.

Stone was obtained from a number of sources and by a variety of methods. As Hartford explained, it came from *". . . anyplace we could find it. We might go out through the woods and if we found a stone that looked like a good step, we used it. . . . Some of the stones was cut. Some of them we got over at the Hall Quarry."[19] He went on to describe the process of cutting granite using drills, plugs and "feathers": using a maul and steel bit, a row of holes were drilled at 5" to 6" intervals and to a depth of 3" to 4". Two steel "half-rounds" were placed in each hole and a steel wedge or "feather" driven between them. By tapping in each wedge in succession, the granite would eventually split evenly along the line[20] (see also Figure 118). Slate was more easily acquired:

> *The grub hoe was one of the most important [tools]. And then, we tried to save as much slate rock as we could. Because going up the mountain you had these rocky cliffs, you know? And if you hit it with an axe or with a sledge hammer, you could cut nice pieces of slate, you know? Heavy. And that would go into the trail once in a while to make it picturesque. Very beautiful.[21]

CCC crews routinely extracted large quantities of stone, gravel, soil, and other construction materials from sites around the park, often some distance away, and trucked them to new work locations.[22] The construction standards expected by park engineers demanded this practice and the New Deal labor forces made it feasible of a large scale. Granite used for steps on the Dry Mountain Ladder Trail "had to be hand-drilled and split off from ledges along the side of the mountain, and carried by hand along narrow walks to the

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[19] Interview with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1957-A, p. 7.

[20] Interview with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1957-A, pp. 7-10.

[21] Interview with Francis Laverdier, NA 2650, C1931-B, pp. 20-21

[22] Coffin 1999, 1: 189.

site of the trail."[23] Stone-work on the lower part of the trail, however, re-used granite excavated from road work on Cadillac Mountain. Some of this material was carried up the hill and used for drains and coping stones on the adjoining Emery Path, which were installed as part of the same project.[24] In the winter of 1936, work on the Great Pond western shore trail was delayed until ice on the pond was strong enough for trucks to haul gravel across to the work site.[25] While trucks could transport quarried stone or grading materials to the base of a trail, anything that had to be moved higher would have to be carried there:

> *We were building the Beach Cliff Trail, right up here, and the Ladder Trail. . . . Mainly hand barrow work, hauling gravel for the trails, and things like that. . . . A hand barrow was just a little barrow between two men. One man would put gravel on it and you went out on the trail and spread it and dumped it off out there. And there was a man out there that spread it on the trails. . . .[26]

In Hartford's experience, men were not expected to carry unreasonable loads, fifty pounds at most. Stones, he said, were "[b]roken up into pieces that was usable, that is, not only usable but the right heft so that one or two men could handle them all right."

Some projects demanded much more of the crews, as the following two examples show. One of the very first CCC projects at Acadia involved the construction of an

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[23] "Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1 to September 30, 1935, McFarland Field Camp NP-1," p. 10, RG 79, Box 3; see also, Dry Mountain Trails section in "Narrative Report for October - November -December 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1.

[24] "Report Covering Third Enrollment Period, Apr. 1, 1934 - Sept. 30, 1934, McFarland Field Camp," RG 79, Box 3 (see both narrative and photo sections of the report).

[25] "Reports to the Chief Architect," January 16, 1936 and February 17, 1936, RG 79, Box 16.

[26] Interview with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1957-A, p. 5.

amphitheater at the Bear Brook campground, to be used as an outdoor classroom for presentations by the park naturalist.[27] As described in the project account, its "[s]tone steps are of natural refaced stone about 5' x 2' x 8" and weigh approx 1000# each. They were moved by hand about 1/4 mile and then hauled [by truck] 5 miles to location." The stones were acquired at the rate of two per day by a crew of 8 men.[28] Even larger stones were required for a seawall built by NP-1 crews along the Ocean Drive Trail: "The stones have an average weight of one and one-half tons and have to be handled by man power using such tackle as is available from the camp supplies. The fact that no heavy rock moving gear was available slowed the work down."[29] Small wonder that enrollees used to say that in the CCC, "there were three kinds of rocks: hernia, double hernia, and too small!"[30]

There was more to trail work than simply constructing a treadway. Fire hazard reduction and vista cutting were included on most trail projects, so some basic forestry was involved. At some locations, safety features had to be built into the trail. Hand holds, security rails, rungs, and ladders, had long been used at Acadia to aid hikers over particularly difficult trail sections, and such work continued in the CCC era. For reasons unknown, little

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[27] The amphitheater was located near the community building at the campground, which, judging by the 1942 USGS topographical map, appears to have been at or very near the location of the current restrooms in the picnic grounds. The remains of some old stone-work are still extant near this building.

[28] See Landscape Project 2, in "Report, 154th Co., C.C.C., Acadia National Park, Period June 18 - June 30, 1933," RG 79, Box 1.

[29] "Narrative Report, December 1933, McFarland Field Camp NP-1," RG 79, Box 1.

[30] Pers. comm., Ron Dougherty, 11 December 2001.

if any of the iron-work was documented.[31] It remained, however, firmly etched in the memories of those who performed it, undoubtedly because it meant working in precarious places:

> *[We worked] on the individual foot trails that went along some of the faces of cliffs. Then we were involved on making steel grid work for the foot paths. And we done that by being hung down over the top in a boatswain chair, and then you use the hand drills to punch those holes in so far so that the steel rods could go into them. . . . And, and, what it is, is a drill about [two feet] long and . . . you would, you would be wearing a belt that would hold some of this stuff as you were lowered down over there. Because I can remember and talking about it later on, of drilling those holes, and of course this is the kind of a tiresome process. And sometimes your hand or the drill would slip and you could see it bouncing on the face of that cliff and into the tops of the trees that sway under you. So it was, it was quite a thing and I remember that very vividly. . . . [The drill,] the face of it is the cutting tool, and as you hit this with the hammer, and you might, I mean, you hit this with quite a force. And then each time you hit it you turn it just a little bit. So that what you're doing, you're actually rotating this, but, a lot of hits before you get in to that. And you're going into that granite, in ledge, probably a foot or so.[32]

Where feasible, jack-hammers powered by gasoline air-compressors were used:

> ***Hartford:** We was bolting those ladders to the ledges. . . . Just drilled holes in the ledge. First thing we done was move the compressor up there. Moved it by hand from the parking lot below, so they have the air for the compressors, and drilled the holes that anchors the ladders to the cliffs. . . .
>
> ***Moreira:** Right. OK. And how long would it take to drill a hole like that?
>
> ***Hartford:** Oh, only just take a few minutes with the air compressors. And also, water was running down over those ledges, you know, in the fall of the year. You was wet half the time.[33]

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[31] Coffin, et al., 1999, 1: 195.

[32] Interview with Simon Casewell, NA 2624, C1906-A, p. 16.

[33] Interview with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1957-A, pp. 6-7.

Informants who reported installing iron-work served at different times during the CCC program: Lester Hartford worked on the Beech Cliff project in the fall of 1935; Merrill Morang helped install another ladder at Beech Cliff two years later; and Simon Casewell, who worked on trails on the eastern side of the island, served in 1940. Nonetheless, apart from the use of iron pins to secure stone steps, relatively few CCC projects appear to have incorporated iron work.

CCC crews also improved signage on trails throughout the park. Supervisors had planned to hire professional carpenters to make signs,[34] but enrollees proved to be more than capable of taking on work of this sort. Both Lester Hartford and Linwood Robshaw worked in the NP-2 carpentry shop where the signs were made. There were two designs: a simpler one for marking trail intersections, and a more elaborate one for carriage roads. Even the directional signs were substantial, made from twelve foot cedar logs, of which eight to ten feet would be above the ground once the posts were set. An arm was set in a through-mortice near the top of the log and wedge-pinned in place. Anywhere from one to half a dozen signs, carved on 5" x 24" pine boards, were hung from each post.[35] The logs used for posts were salvaged from trees destroyed by the 1938 hurricane; many were trucked in from New Hampshire by NP-2 enrollees.[36] The more substantial signs consisted of a heavy, crib-work

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[34] "Estimates of Funds," appended to Benjamin Hadley to Melvin Borgeson, February 12, 1934, RG 79, Box 4.

[35] Interview with Lester Hartford, NA 2640, C1957-A, pp. 13-16.

[36] "Monthly Narrative Report to Regional Landscape Architect," April 21-May 20, 1939, RG 79, Box 17; see also, Interview with Myron Zimmerman, NA 2547, C1929-B, p. 26.

base which supported uprights and cross-members into which the signs were set. The method of construction is well described by Linwood Robshaw, who spent an entire year working on them:

> ***Robshaw:** My longest job . . . was making those big signs. I think they're all gone now. But they were all made of cedar logs. And they had to be fitted by hand so . . . the cross pieces were fitted over the upright, and had to be fitted over that, water-tight. Hours and hours I worked with a quarter inch tool making those. . . . Th[e] cross member had to be fitted around [the upright] so it was water tight. . . . [I]t wasn't a mortice. It was just, it would be shaped like that, be concave.
>
> ***Moreira:** OK, yes, and then wrapped around the post.
>
> ***Robshaw:** And then there was a notch in that cross piece with a nut in it, and [there was] a hole through the upright so a bolt and nut was in there to draw these up tight.[37]

Lettering on both types of signs was hand-carved. The outline of the letters were incised with a sharp jack-knife to a depth of 1/16 to 1/8 of an inch, and then the body of the letter would be carved from the center to the outside notch, leaving a convex, bas relief shape. The signs were finished with a dark brown stain and yellow lettering. The method of carving made the finish easy to apply, as the paint would wick into the notches without spilling over onto the "background" area.

It isn't clear what other kinds of trailside products were manufactured in the CCC carpentry shops. The Acadia trail report comments that trailside benches were not widely used by the CCC, and the handful of references in the NARA records to the construction of "rustic furniture" indicate that it was placed in campgrounds and picnic areas rather than on trails.

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[37] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1921-A, pp. 12-14.

Trail development became less important at Acadia during the latter years of the CCC, as attention turned to the construction of the Seawall and Black Woods campgrounds. Little trail work, apart from maintenance, was done by the McFarland camp after it finished the last leg of the Otter Cliffs trail in the summer of 1938. It complete work on a circuit trail around Jordan Pond about the same time. The ANP trail report notes by that 1937 local residents were voicing complaints that park trails were not being maintained to their former standards, especially on the east side of the island.[38] Trail maintenance projects were included in every enrollment period until the end of the CCC program, but the priority given them undoubtedly declined. The last major piece of foot trail construction by the CCC was the completion of the Western Mountain trail along the shore of Great Pond, cutting west to link with the trail coming down through Great Notch. The project had been approved and deferred for years, and it was finally completed in January 1941 by an inexperienced crew working under less than ideal conditions:

> The present company began operations on August 10, 1940, with a crew of new, untrained enrollees, which reflected in the work in the early stages of their enrollment. Lack of transportation was a contributing factor in th slow progress of the work on this job, as we were obliged to walk the men to and from camp for almost two months. The job is located at a distance of two and one half miles from the road terminus, a distance which must be negotiated on foot. . . . Materials such as gravel, fill, etc., used in trail construction have to be transported by wheelbarrow. Owing to the difficulties enumerated it is possible to construct only two and one half lineal feet of trail per man per day.[39]

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[38] Coffin, et al., 1999, 1: 207.

[39] Justification, Job No. 257, undated (circa October 1934), RG 79, Box 10; when the camp re-opened, most of the trucks assigned to it were derelict, hence the lack of transport.

According to the Acadia trail report, the upper end of the Great Pond trail is one of the few stretches of trail built by the CCC that has an unconstructed treadway.[40] The conditions described in the project justification may well account for this anomaly.

[40] Barter, et al., 2001, 2: 257.

Table 8.1: CCC Foot and Truck Trail Construction, Re-Construction, and Repair Activity

Prior to 1936, projects were identified by an ECW Job Classification number, which indicated the kind of work involved (i.e fire hazard reduction or trail construction), and a Park Priority Number, which linked the project to the camp's work program for a given enrollment period. The latter numbers change frequently and have little value as an historical reference. In 1935, the ECW Job Classification numbering system changed, and the following spring camps started assigning project numbers that were used for the life of the project. It is that latter number that is given in this table. They should prove helpful for tracing information in Job Application and Completion forms (RG 79, Boxes 7 thru 10) and in the Landscape Architect's reports (RG 79, Boxes 16 and 17). To avoid confusion, projects started before 1936 are not identified by their old job numbers, but relevant reports are cited in the Notes column.

Note that some projects labeled "construction" may have involved reconstruction of existing trails; ECW code 206 applied to both. Conversely, reconstruction and repair projects might include new work on short "linking" trails to existing trails and roads. The table does not list projects that involved fire hazard reduction, vista cutting, or landscaping along trails, construction of trailside objects, or work on established roads. Nor does it list early "Maintenance" (clean-up) projects, of which there were many.

Job #	Camp	Description	Work Site	Date	Notes
	NP-1	Spur Road Trail	Cadillac Mt. Road	1933	Box 1, Work Program, First Enrollment Period, McFarland Field Camp NP-1 and Great Pond Camp, NP-2; new trail built to hide segment of old road, left after construction of new Summit Road; see also Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, 2nd & 3rd Enrollment Periods, NP-1, McFarland Field Camp; Box 2, Narrative Report, Second Enrollment Period, October 31, 1933 to March 31, 1934, McFarland Field Camp NP-1; and Box 3, Report Covering Third Enrollment Period, Apr. 1, 1934 - Sept. 30, 1934, McFarland Field Camp NP-1, and Box 1, Narrative Report for October, November, December, 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1.
	NP-1	Foot Trail Repair & Construction	Newport Mt. (Champlain Mt.)	1933	Box 1, Narrative Report for September 1933, Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1; gravel taken from the base of Newport Mt. destroyed the beginning of an existing trail. 500' of new trail had to be built to repair the problem. "A flight of of twenty stone steps weighing approximately 600 pounds each was built into the slope of the bank and joined to the trail on the top" (Narr. Rep. Nov. 1933).

Job #	Camp	Description	Work Site	Date	Notes
	NP-1	Foot Trail Construction	Anemone Cave	1933	Box 1, Narrative Report for October 1933, Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1; leaves highway 1/6 mi. S of Schooner Head and leads to the shore, .5 mi.
	NP-1	Foot Trail	Ocean Drive	1933	Box 1, Narrative Report for November 1933, Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1; 1.5 mi trail between Ocean Drive and the shore, according to plan devised jointly by Supt. Dorr, Mr. Rockefeller, and Landscape Architect Benjamin Breeze; path along the shore existed previously, but CCC work involved extensive modification, relocation, and construction; see also Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, 2nd & 3rd Enrollment Periods, NP-1, McFarland Field Camp; Box 2, Narrative Report for March 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1; Box 3, Report Covering Third Enrollment Period, Apr. 1, 1934 - Sept. 30, 1934, McFarland Field Camp NP-1; Box 1, Narrative Report for October, November, December, 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1.
	NP-1	Foot Trail	Great Meadow Hill	1934	Box 1, Narrative Report for October, November, December, 1934, McFarland Field Camp; preparatory work – cleaning area and staking the 2500' trail; plan called for it to connect Ocean Drive with Sieur de Monts / Dry Mt. trails.
	NP-1	Truck and Foot Trails	Tarn	1934	Box 1, Narrative Report for October, November, December, 1934, McFarland Field Camp; less than a .25 mi. of trail; mostly woods cleaning; smaller trails built to link with trail at the foot of Dry Mt.; see also Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, 2nd & 3rd Enrollment Periods, NP-1, McFarland Field Camp; Box 3, Report Covering Third Enrollment Period, Apr. 1, 1934-Sept. 30, 1934, McFarland Field Camp NP-1; Box 1, Narrative Report, 4th Enrollment Period, October 1, 1934 to March 31, 1935, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1; and Job # 32.
	NP-1	Foot Trails	Dry Mt. (Dorr Mt.)	1934	Box 1, Narrative Report for October, November, December, 1934, McFarland Field Camp; "repair, reconstruction, and maintenance" of network of trails on summit and east side of Dry Mt.; extensive reconstruction; includes Emery and Ladder Trails; 1500' of trail worked; see also Report Covering Third Enrollment Period, Apr. 1, 1934 - Sept. 30, 1934, McFarland Field Camp NP-1, and Job # 25.

Job #	Camp	Description	Work Site	Date	Notes
	NP-1	Truck and Foot Trails	Sieur de Monts Spring Area	1934	Box 1, Narrative Report for October, November, December, 1934, McFarland Field Camp; includes network of trails through Great Meadow; several bridges built to cross many streams in the area; 500' foot trail; 1000' truck trail; see also Narrative Report, 4th Enrollment Period, October 1, 1934 to March 31, 1935, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1.
	NP-1	Foot Trail Construction	Great Meadow Nature Trail	1935	Ideally part of the preceding job, but as work progressed it became conceptualized as a nature trail; final work included interpretive signs identifying and discussing significant plant species; Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1 to September 30, 1935, McFarland Field Camp NP-1.
	NP-1	Foot Trail Repair and Construction	Schooner Head Rd., Pickett Mt., Newport Mt., Gorham Mt., The Gorge	1935	Box 3, Work Programs, Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1 to September 30, 1935, McFarland Field Camp NP-1 and Great Pond Camp NP-2 (also Revised Work Programs for same period); "10 miles of the most important trails between the Schooner Head Road, Ocean Drive, and the Gorge re-marked, and rebuilt"; see also Box 3. Proposed Supplemental Work Program, Sixth Enrollment Period, McFarland Field Camp NP-1, and ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Reports, April 1935 - March 1936.
025	NP-1	Repair and Reconstruction of Ladder Trail	Dry Mountain	1936	Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, March 1936; completion of earlier work on this trail; construction of new steps and reconstruction of old ones; see also, Box 7a, Job Completion Reports, and Box 16, Reports to Chief Architect.
032	NP-1	Truck Trails	Tarn Area	1936	Box 3, Supplemental Work Project Progress Reports, August and September, 1936; 1.6 miles of truck trail.
054	NP-1	Minor Roads Maintenance	General	1936	Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, April 1936 and later; general category for clean-up and very minor repairs.
055	NP-1	Foot Trail Construction	Schooner Head	1936	Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, May - July 1936; .4 miles.
058	NP-1	Foot Trail Maintenance	General	1936	Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, April 1936 and later; general category for clean-up and very minor repairs.

Job #	Camp	Description	Work Site	Date	Notes
061	NP-1	Foot Trail Construction	Otter Cliffs	1936	Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, March - September, 1936.
086	NP-1	Truck Trail	Otter Cliffs	1937	Box 8, Job Completion Reports; leading from the old radio station site to highest point on Otter Cliff; distance of 0.3 miles; constructed for fire protection, the trail follows old woods road, except for minor realignments.
143	NP-1	Foot Trail Construction	Jordan Pond	1937	Box 8, Job Completion Reports; repair and construction of the circuit trail around Jordan Pond. All maintenance work on trails was later charged to Job #207.
185	NP-1	Truck Trail	MDI Biology Laboratory	1937	Box 8, Job Completion Reports; provided access to natural pond located at rear of buildings owned by MDI Biological Laboratory for purposes of adequate fire suppression.
199	NP-1 & NP-2	Minor Roads Maintenance	General	1937	Combined job # for truck trail maintenance work for both camps.
207	NP-1 & NP-2	Foot Trail Maintenance	General	1937	Combined job # for foot trail maintenance work for both camps.
208	NP-1	Foot Trail	Otter Cliffs (Ocean Drive)	1937	Box 8, Job Completion Reports; third leg of the Ocean Drive trail, finishing the run from Sand Beach to Otter Point; files include 16 photos of work in progress; see also Box 16, Reports to Chief Architect, Apr. - Dec., 1937 and June 1938.
288	NP-1	Foot Trail Maintenance	Eastern Half of MDI	1941	Job set up to cover trail maintenance on Eastern half of MDI. Because of a shortage of enrollees no man days were used the entire 1942 fiscal year.
289	NP-1	Minor Roads Maintenance	Eastern Half of MDI	1942	Job established to maintain fire and truck trails constructed by the CCC. Previously consolidated as job #199 covering both sides of the island and both camps.
	NP-2	Truck Trail	Long Pond Road	1933	Box 2, Construction Activities of 158th Company, Southwest Harbor, Maine, July 15-31, 1933; route surveyed and partially cleared the preceding two weeks; began as widening of road from "Southwest Harbor Road" (Seal Cove Road?) to camp, then extended from camp to Long Pond.

Job #	Camp	Description	Work Site	Date	Notes
	NP-2	Road Construction	Beech Hill	1933	Box 2, Narrative Report for November, 1933, Great Pond Camp, NP-2; Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, NP-2, Great Pond Camp, Oct. 1, 1933 to March 31, 1934; CCC & CWA completed road work abandoned by town of Mount Desert along the top of Beech Hill; see also, Box 1, Narrative Report for Great Pond Camp (NP-2), Southwest Harbor, Maine, October, November, December, 1934, and Box 2, monthly reports for 2nd EP.
	NP-2	Truck Trail	Cold Brook	1933	Box 2, Narrative Report for November, 1933, Great Pond Camp, NP-2; 400' road providing access from Long Pond Rd. to CCC built Fish Rearing Pools.
	NP-2	Truck Trail	Gilley Field / Western Mt.	1933	Box 2, Narrative Report for November, 1933, Great Pond Camp, NP-2; improved old woods road to provide fire truck access.
	NP-2	Foot Trail Construction	Beech Mt.	1933	Box 2, Narrative Report for November, 1933, Great Pond Camp, NP-2; from Beech Hill Road, over summit of Beech Mt., and down west side to new Long Pond Road; CWA worked on trail from Beech Hill Rd parking lot to summit; 2.5 mi. of this trail are listed as 100% complete in Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, NP-2, Great Pond Camp, Dec. 1934; see also Box 1, Narrative Report, Great Pond Camp (NP-2), Southwest Harbor, Maine, for October, November, December, 1934.
	NP-2	Truck Trail	Beech Hill	1933	Box 2, Narrative Report for December, 1933, Great Pond Camp, NP-2; lists as separate from the above, a road from "Park line to the top of Beech Hill"; appears to be an extension of the town road from N end of the Beech Cliff section of park property to the crest of Beech Hill; see also USGS maps for 1935 and 1942.
	NP-2	Foot Trail	Western Mt. / Great Pond	1934	Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, NP-2, Great Pond Camp, Apr. 1934; Photo Scans, 213-215; included construction of realigned Perpendicular Trail[41] and beginning of trail along W shore of Long Pond; later involved a network of trails in the area, many of them on land acquired through the RA purchase program; Box 1, Narrative Report for Great Pond Camp (NP-2), Southwest Harbor, Maine, October, November, December, 1934; see also and Job # 9 and # 22.

[41] Narrative elements in the NP-2 report for the third enrollment period, summer of 1934, consist primarily of the photo captions.

Job #	Camp	Description	Work Site	Date	Notes
	NP-2	Truck Trail	Canada Hollow / Lurvey Spring	1934	Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, NP-2, Great Pond Camp, Apr. 1934; later extended through Lurvey Spring; see also Box 1, Narrative Report for Great Pond Camp (NP-2), Southwest Harbor, Maine, October, November, December, 1934, and Box 3, Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment, April 1 to September 30, 1935, Great Pond Camp NP-2; see also Job # 35.
	NP-2	Foot Trail	Beech Cliff / Canada Hollow	1934	Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, NP-2, Great Pond Camp, Aug. 1934; work on trails in vicinity of the Boy Scout and Appalachian Trail Camps; listed as "Reconstruction and Repair" in Box 1, Narrative Report for Great Pond Camp (NP-2), Southwest Harbor, Maine, October, November, December, 1934. 100% in Supplemental Report for Jan. 1935.
	NP-2	Foot Trail Improvement & Reconstruction	"west of Somes Sound"	1934-35	Box 1, Proposed Work Projects, Fourth Enrollment Period, 1934; 10 miles of existing trail in need of repair and reconstruction, plus "short sections of new connecting trail construction."
	NP-2	New Trail Construction	Valley Cove to Man of War Brook	1934-35	Box 1, Proposed Work Projects, Fourth Enrollment Period, 1934; 1.5 mi. of shore trail; project not approved initially.
	NP-2	Foot Trail	Ship Harbor	1935	Box 1, Supplemental Work Projects, Great Pond Camp; does not appear to have been done right away; some NP-2 trail projects were disapproved by Washington; see Job # 22.
	NP-2	Truck Trail	Great Pond	1935	Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, NP-2, Great Pond Camp, Jan. 1935; from Great Pond Road to SW base of Beech Mt, ending in turnaround "directly back of the Ranger Station;" see also, Box 3, Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment, April 1 to September 30, 1935, Great Pond Camp NP-2. Later reports lists this trail as .3 mi., but supplemental reports and 1942 USGS map put it at .7 mi.
	NP-2	Repair of Foot Trail	Echo Lake & Beech Mt.	1935	Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, NP-2, Great Pond Camp, June 1935; not clear what this entailed; absorbed over 1600 man days in 5th EP.

Job #	Camp	Description	Work Site	Date	Notes
	NP-2	Foot Trail	Beech Hill / Cliffs	1935	Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, NP-2, Great Pond Camp, Oct. 1935; possibly an outgrowth of the previous project but is counted as a new work program; construction of trail from end of Beech Hill Road to summit of Beech Cliffs and loop on summit; included work on the Beech Cliff Ladder Trail, which was all but complete in Dec. 1935; see Box 16, Robert W. Paterson to Thomas C. Vint, resume of ECW work, Dec. 16, 1935.
	NP-2	Foot Trail	Valley Cove	1935	Box 3, ECW Supplemental Work Project Progress Report, NP-2, Great Pond Camp, Oct. 1935; see also Job # 8; listed as foot trail in supplemental reports but as truck trail in the landscape architect's reports; see Box 16, Robert Patterson to Thomas C. Vint (Reports to Chief Architect), resumé of ECW work, Dec. 16, 1935.
	NP-2	Foot Trail Construction	Western Mt. / Great Pond	1935	Box 3b, NP Project Reports April-September 1935 and Work Programs March, 1935; Information taken from Revised Work Program 5th Enr. Period; continuation of Western Mt. Trail, esp. the shore path; proposal included a 1/8th mile trail at Ship Hbr., which was a hold-over from an earlier project period.
	NP-2	Minor Roads truck trails.	Lurvey Spring, Great pond	1935	Box 3, NP Project Reports April-September 1935 and Work Programs March, 1935; Information taken from Revised Work Program 5th Enrollment Period
	NP-2	Foot Trail Reconstruction and Repair	West of Somes Sound	1935	Box 3, NP Project Reports April-September 1935 and Work Programs March, 1935; Information taken from Revised Work Program 5th Enrollment Period; (1) trail from Fernald Cove via Dog Mt. to Echo Lake; (2) A trail from Echo Lake over Robinson Mt. to Hall's Quarry; (3) a fork of which goes to the Man of War Brook outlet into Somes Sound; (4) 2 trails on Beech Mt. and a series of trails on Western Mt. which originate along the Gilley Field road and run north and west.
005	NP-2	Truck Trail	Man of War Brook	1936	Box 7a, Job Completion Reports; started under old numbering system in Jan. 1936; involved surfacing the entire length of the truck trail with fine gravel; .5 miles.
008	NP-2	Foot Trail	Valley Cove	1936	Box 7a, Job Completion Reports; repair and reconstruction of trail leading into Valley Cove; 1.6 miles; see also Box 3, ECW Monthly Progress and Cost Reports, Apr. - Aug., 1936.

Job #	Camp	Description	Work Site	Date	Notes
009	NP-2	Foot Trail	Great Pond	1936	Box 7a, Job Completion Reports; continuation of foot trail from beach at S end of Great Pond to Ranger Camp; 1.5 miles; worked through winter of 1936 as crews were able to truck gravel across the ice; concluded Oct. 1936; see also Box 16, Reports to Chief Architect for 1936.
026	NP-2	Foot Trails	Western Mountain	1936	Box 3, ECW Work Progress and Cost Reports, Oct. 1936 to Jan. 1937; 5.5 miles of trail repair; included turning South Face Trail into a ski trail; see also Box 16, Robert Patterson to Thomas C. Vint, Dec. 26, 1935, and Report to Chief Architect, Jan. 1937.
028	NP-2	Foot Trail	Flying Mountain	1936	Box 3, ECW Monthly Progress and Cost Reports, Oct. 1936; less than 1/10 mile.
035	NP-2	Truck Trail	Lurvey Spring	1936	Box 3, ECW Monthly Progress and Cost Reports, Aug. - Nov. 1936; .7 miles.
073	NP-2	Foot Trail Repair	General	1936	Box 3, ECW Monthly Progress and Cost Reports, Apr. - July, 1936; 13 miles.
077	NP-2	Foot Trail	Canada Hollow	1936	(?) Box 3, ECW Monthly Progress and Cost Reports, Apr. - Oct., 1936 lists this project but notes little progress; Job # 77 in Job Completion Reports is a trailside fire hazard reduction program on Beech Mtn.
082	NP-2	Foot Trail Construction	Echo Lake	1936	Box 8, Job Completion Report; .5 miles of narrow trail constructed between beach, wading pool, and diving board at Echo Lake; Box 3, ECW Monthly Progress and Cost Reports, in the summer of 1936 list this project, but little work seems to have been done during that period.
083	NP-2	Foot Trail Construction	Beech Mountain	1936	Box 8; Job Completion Report; 1 mile of trail development including both new work and reconstruction; job application description of the route is not entirely comprehensible; completion report suggests reworking of trail from summit down W face to Great Pond.
084	NP-2	Foot Trail Construction	Acadia Mountain	1936	Box 8; Job Completion Report; maintenance and reconstruction on 7.5 miles of existing foot trails on Acadia Mt; included the removal of fallen trees and repair of washouts; virtually no work done on this project when first approved; eventually superseded by job # 207 (Foot Trail Maintenance General) and Job #237 (Foot Trail Maintenance-Western half of MDI).

Job #	Camp	Description	Work Site	Date	Notes
132	NP-2	Truck Trails	Mill Field	1936	Box 3, ECW Monthly Progress and Cost Reports, Nov. 1936 - March 1937; improvement of 0.9 miles of woods road to truck trail standard; built to protect Western Mt. area from fire. See Box 8, Job Completion Report; Later extended from Mill Field to Seal Cove Pond as RDP (Acadia extension) project, 2.0 miles. CCC did initial construction of .25 miles, RDP 1.75 miles, then CCC applied gravel surface over the entire length. 10 ft. travel way with 2 ft. shoulders dressed down to a 3 to 1 grade in less than 3 ft. culverts and 1.5 to 1 grade in fills over 3 ft. Side drainage and culverts were provided as needed; 3 log bridges built over large streams.
144	NP-2	Foot Trail Construction	Jordan Brook		Box 8, Job Completion Report; before work began on this trail, job #207 Foot Trail Maintenance was approved – as a result all work on the Jordan Brook Trail was done under Job #207.
195	NP-2 & NP-1	Landscaping & Paths	Echo Lake	1937	Box 16, Report to Chief Architect, June 1937; general finishing work around bath houses and toilets at Echo Lake; lower parts of building were treated with paint oil and finish grading was completed along with extension of several paths to tie in with other foot trails or paths in vicinity. Additional shrubs and trees were planted to hide the buildings as much as possible.
215	NP-2	Hio Truck Trail	Seawall Campground to McKinley Road	1937	Box 16, Reports to Regional Architect, Oct. 1937 - Dec. 1938; one section of general system of truck trails proposed for western portion of the park on land optioned and cleared by the resettlement administration. Almost entire length traverses area known as the Hio; approximately 2.3 miles long, 9 feet wide, three foot shoulders, with approximately 15 inches of gravel fill and three inches of screened gravel top. One bridge constructed using stone for side wall and abutments. Project extended by Acadia RDP in 1940.
225	NP-2	Reservoir and Truck Trail Spur	Mill Field	1937	Box 16, Reports to Regional Architect, Dec. 1937 - Nov. 1938; construction details of the dam are included in the application; construction of truck trail spur from existing trail in vicinity of Mill Field, establishment of a reservoir with concrete core wall and earth fill for water storage, to be used in case of fire; construction of two minor dams on Mill Field Brook as an additional fire fighting facility.

Job #	Camp	Description	Work Site	Date	Notes
257	NP-2	Western Mt. Trail	Western Mt.	1939	Box 10, Job Completion Report, and Box 17, Reports to Regional Landscape Architect; completion of Great Pond shore trail, linking it to Great Notch Trail; initial work in winter and fall of 1939; project revised and completed after re-establishment of NP-2 in the fall of 1940; completed Jan. 1941.
279	NP-2	Truck Trail	Bass Harbor Rd.	1939	Box 10, Job Completion Report; constructed over existing road from Tremont town road to Bass Harbor Lighthouse; .53 miles in length constructed with rough gravel fill, one to two feet in depth and three inch gravel surface; 12 photos attached to report; first approved May 1939, but unforseen issues, most having to do with high volume of tourist traffic, necessitated several additions to the project; initially expected to require 1,850 man-days to complete, it ultimately needed 4,350.
280	NP-2	Marshall Brook Truck Trail	Seal Cove Pond to Bass Harbor Marsh	1939	Box 10, Job Completion Report; beginning on the Seal Cove Road just inside the Park boundary at the base of Freeman's Ridge, the road runs south and then west for 1.3 miles; CCC completed 2,800 ft of 6,900 ft originally laid; route was filled with broken rock and coarse gravel, averaging 1 1/2 ft. in depth with no gravel surface. Work discontinued due to abandonment of Camp NP-2; completed by Acadia RDP.
287	NP-2	Foot Trail Maintenance	Western Half of MDI	1939	Box 10, Job Completion Report; approved 10/28/39, but due to camp abandonment 3/26/40 and despite re-occupation 7/18/40, no work could be accomplished on the maintenance of foot trails.
095	SP-1	Truck Trail	Schoodic Mt.	1937	Box 2; Listed in uncompleted projects at Schoodic Point, July 17, 1937.

8.2 Roads & Truck Trails

Many miles of public highway were constructed in and around Acadia during the 1930s, but little of this work was done by the CCC. The completion of the Summit Road on Cadillac Mountain, for example, pre-dates the CCC by two years; the Kebo Mountain Road was constructed under contract with funding from the Bureau of Public Roads in cooperation with Acadia's landscape architects; the CWA built or reconstructed roads on Schoodic Point and Beech Hill; Ocean Drive was initiated as a Rockefeller project. The bulk of the primary construction work on major roads was done by professional road crews. Of the small number of travel roads built by the CCC, most were side access roads, such as the loop roads at Sieur de Monts Spring and the Seawall and Blackwoods campgrounds, which were built in part by the CCC, or the Fish House Road at Otter Creek. In general, only landscaping, shoulder grading, woods cleaning, and vista cutting were performed by the CCC along public roads.

The Corps did, however, build a number of fire access roads, or truck trails as they are usually called in reports. Although frequently used for hiking by park visitors, they were not intended for public travel. Their intended purpose was to give fire fighting crews ready access to remote parts of the park. Many were routed to provide access to water supplies. The Duck Pond Road, for example, which lines the northern end of the Western Mountain trail system, is never more than about 250 yards from water along its two and a half mile route. Others, such as the Duck Pond Road, the Marshall Brook trail and the Hio trail, skirt the park boundaries and offered some protection as fire breaks.[42]

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[42] See Leonard R. Sidelinger (RDP Forester) to Ivan H. Smalley, January 26, 1940, Folder "Forestry 1939-1940," RG 79, Box 12.

Most truck trails, the Gilley Field, Hio, Lurvey Spring, and Otter Cliffs Truck Trails, for example, followed old logging roads, though as with old walking trails, reconstruction was often as labor intensive as new work. Others had to be laid out and built from scratch. CCC transit crews would have assisted with the surveys for these roads were.

Fire roads, though intended for service vehicles, were nonetheless solidly built, following a consistent design. Project descriptions indicate an average foundation of between 10" and 24" of broken rock and course gravel, followed by a surface layer of fine screened gravel. Excavating and hauling the raw material from gravel pits, quarries, and soil beds at sites around the island, were all basic to the work. Road beds were eight to ten feet wide with two to three foot shoulders on either side. One architect's report states that all truck trails were intended to have a fourteen foot finished travel way, and variations were simply a matter of whether the road needed a ten foot bed with two foot shoulders, or an eight foot bed with three foot shoulders would suffice.[43] The roads were purposely left narrow in order to not to disrupt the "natural" feel of the park. To allow for two way traffic, "turn outs" were placed at intervals along the route, especially near sharp turns and bridges.

Bridges built by the CCC tended to be of two basic designs, both using round log construction. Smaller ones consisted of a corduroy deck over supporting log beams and surfaced with gravel (see Figure 140). On larger and more elaborate bridges, the side rails were supported by "out-rigger" braces, a rustic design found in CCC construction elsewhere in the country. Where needed, bridge abutments were concrete, but they were usually faced

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[43] Memorandum, George B. Dorr and Benjamin L. Breeze, to Director of the National Park Service, October 18, 1940, RG 79, Box 17.

with stone or surrounded with log crib work to conceal the cement. Photo reports and informant testimony indicate that some bridges were constructed in sections at the camp carpentry shop, and then trucked to the appropriate site and assembled (see Figures 135-139). In keeping with the favor for rustic design, some early truck trails featured closed log culverts, which consisted of an arch of logs set laterally across the road (see Figure 134). Work of this kind is not mentioned in the Acadia trail report,[44] so apparently none of it has survived. Later CCC reports, though, list only the diameter of the culverts, which suggests that this technique was replaced by the more common metal or ceramic pipe.

The McFarland camp did relatively little truck trail construction. Some of its work in the Sieur de Monts Spring / Great Meadow / Tarn area included truck trails, and it built a short road from the site of the old radio station to the top of Otter Cliffs. Another road led from Route 3 to the MDI Biological Laboratory at Salsbury Cove. On the western side, both NP-2 and RDP crews developed roads at various sites, many of them on newly acquired lands (hence the RDP involvement). Early work at Canada Hollow / Lurvey Spring, Fernald Cove, Beech Hill, and Great Pond was followed by extensive fire trail construction at either end of the Western Mountain trail system, which included a single road at the northern end and a series of roads between Oak Hill (Bald Mountain), Mill Field, and Marshall Brook to the south. Where foot trail construction tapered off in the late 1930s, truck trail development continued steadily, as it went hand-in-hand with facility development. In conjunction with the building of Seawall Campground, the Great Pond Camp built roads at Tremont, Bass Harbor Head, and the Hio.

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[44] Barter, et al., 2001, 2: 52-58.

8.3 Roadside Improvement

Along with road construction, roadside improvement projects absorbed thousands of man-days of CCC labor. The Governor Brann Camp is best known for work of this sort, since its primary objective was to perform landscaping work along the road from Ellsworth to Bar Harbor and on other public roads and highways. The fact of the matter, however, is that all the crews from the CCC and other works agencies were engaged in this work to some extent. One of the McFarland Camp's earliest projects involved final grading and landscaping along the Cadillac Mountain summit road, and related work continued under different project numbers at least until the spring of 1939.[45] Crews from both the McFarland and Great Pond Camps did similar work along the Kebo Mountain Road when it was built in the late 1930s.

Roadside beautification involved a broadly defined set of tasks intended to enhance the general appearance of roads inside and outside the park, and to control erosion.[46] Crews rounded and seeded banks along the sides of roads, obscured unsightly structures with transplanted trees and shrubs, and thinned forests to expose views or simply create a more open feel to the road. Several project reports include photos showing how crews transformed jagged, rocky cuttings into smoothed, planted banks. Stones taken out of the banks, if sufficient size, were recycled on other projects, either as fill or coping material. Eradicating gravel pits was an equally important part of the roadside improvement work. Abandoned

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[45] See "Revised Work Program, 5th Enrollment Period, April-September 1935," RG 79, Box 3, and Completion Reports for Job Nos. 117-120, RG 79, Box 8.

[46] "Supplemental Quarterly Narrative Report, April, May, June 1934, SP-1, Camp Governor Brann, July 1, 1934," RG 79, Box 1.

structures, including derelict homes, were razed, and sections of old road were torn up and planted. Photographs of this work from the summer of 1934 show that CCC crews didn't always have the "right tool for the job." On one road project, a small caterpillar tractor provided the muscle, but it hauled stone and earth using a large double-runner sled. On another project, tearing up old macadam was done not with a "pavement plow" (an example of which is on display at the Cole Transport Museum in Bangor), but with a run-of-the-mill farm plow (see Figures 154 and 155).

Beautification crews worked on park, private, state, and municipal lands, and their work encompassed an eclectic array of projects, all of them aimed at making the environs of the park attractive for visitors. An abandoned lot in Southwest Harbor was renovated as a "village green;"[47] a bridge at the Head of Some Sound was reinforced with "rip-rapping" and the area around it top-soiled and planted with wild roses;the freight yards at Ellsworth were obscured from view with trees; and a handful of gas stations on the Ellsworth-Bar Harbor Road – including the Parkadia station near the Mount Desert Narrows – were cleaned and landscaped.[48]

An enduring feature of CCC roadside work is the coping that lines many of the park roads. Earlier agencies performed similar work, often using natural boulders, but the CCC consistently used cut granite blocks. Claude Beaupre, who served at both the Ellsworth and

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[47] "Narrative Report for February, 1934, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," and "Narrative Report for March, 1934, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," RG 79, Box 2; this project received extensive coverage in the *Bar Harbor Times*.

[48] The latter three projects are covered in "Narrative Report, Maine State Park Camp #1, Ellsworth, Maine," June and July, 1935, RG 79, Box 2.

McFarland Camps, helped to install coping along the Otter Creek Road. He stated that the stone was hauled from as far away as Ilsesborough and St. George near Rockland. It is also clear from the Landscape Architect's reports that a good deal of this material was quarried by RDP crews on MDI. Once on site, the stones were carefully maneuvered into place:

> ***Beaupre:** [T]hey had a truck over there [at the quarry] and they'd load them. A truck, or a horse and buggy, or whatever. And they'd haul it to the spot they wanted. And carry these planks and trigs, and it was slow work. . . . [Y]ou didn't lift [the stone]. You'd put it on a plank, or you'd put it on planks under so much weight. You had to bridge it on there so it wouldn't break, and a lot of that is slow work. . . . [I]n one day, probably you might set up two, you might set three. A lot of handwork . . . . You just put it on rolls. You have big steel roll about [three inches in diameter] . . . and then they'd roll them down. Then we'd have a trig. When you get off the ramp, you have a trig to go just so far. . . .
>
> ***Moreira:** What do you mean a trig?
>
> ***Beaupre**: Well, you had to have some kind of a wedge to stop it from rolling . . . [b]ecause you'd run over somebody. . . . [T]hey'd have a chain on that thing there, somebody would be on the other end with a block and tackle. . . . But they would go just so far, and then roll the roller ahead, then they'd let it go that much father, until we get it where we want to go. This was on dirt, well, you'd have to put a plank down to roll it to get it where you wanted. That was the old fashioned way of doing it. . . . I seen times where some of them stones would take you a whole day to set one up.[49]

Although the CCC earn a reputation for high quality work, not everything worked perfectly on the first try. The coping on Cadillac Mountain had originally been cut between three to four feet tall, making them "unduly conspicuous," and where they were silhouetted against the skyline they were "invariably spoken of as huge teeth."[50] It took several seasons for NP-1

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[49] Interview with Claude Beaupre, August 22, 2001, NA 2666, Tape 1955; specifications for coping stones and installation guidelines are covered in a letter from Benjamin Breeze to W. C. Carnes, June 29, 1936, RG 79, Box 16.

[50] Project Application, Job No. 120, October 9, 1936, RG 79, Box 8.

crews using hand-drills and wedges to cut the stones down to the normal 24" height. It may have been to avoid a similar situation, that a new kind of guard rail was proposed for an outlook on the Kebo Mountain Road. Instead of using stone, crews built an earthen mound about 20" high. The suggestion had been made by a visiting NPS inspector from Washington, and the experiment proved successful enough that it was approved for future use on other Acadia projects and at other eastern park sites.[51] Today, this site still looks very much as it did in depression-era photographs (see Figures 158 and 159).

8.4 Site Development

CCC crews helped complete some projects that were launched immediately prior to the New Deal, such as the Summit Road on Cadillac Mountain. The actual road was completed in 1931, and CCC work was limited to clearing vistas, fine grading of the shoulders and banks, and the obliteration of a spur road off the summit route. A large amount of work around the then new Summit Tavern, mostly landscaping and trail work, was performed by NP-1 crews, but there is no indication that they had anything to do with the construction of the building.

Site development represents another area where local designers and supervisors could find themselves at odds with officials in Washington. During the first enrollment period, Acadia officials began to develop swimming areas at Lake Wood and Echo Lake. As the only fresh water bathing sites in the park and heavily used by visitors, both needed changing and toilet facilities. The plans drafted by field architects, which called for log structures in

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[51] Job Completion Reports, Job No. 233, January 12, 1939, RG 79, Box 9.

the rustic style used for ranger cabins, were rejected on the grounds that they would detract from the natural surroundings. Both Hadley and Dorr pressed the matter, but the proposals were again rejected. During the spring and summer of 1935, in the same exchange of letters that brought forest management issues to a head, Acadia supervisors were told flatly that "bathing should not be encouraged in small areas within national parks."[52] Given the work that had already gone into both areas, this was not welcome advice. Echo Lake houses were put off until 1937 and it was not until the spring of 1938 that the Lake Wood bath houses were available for use after several plan revisions.[53]

Other early recreational developments by the CCC included two ski runs, one on the northwest slope of Sargent Mountain and one on the South Face trail on Western Mt., both initiated in 1935. NPS officials were skeptical but did not oppose the projects.[54] As one of the architects argued, there was little to distinguish a ski run from general trail and forest development.[55] Another reported growing demand for winter facilities:

> [T]he South Face Ski Trail on Western Mountain . . . should be well patronized when finished. An average of 100 skiers per Sunday are in Bar Harbor alone have been using the rather limited facilities of McFarland's Hll and Kebo Golf Course; and outsiders are beginning to come in from Bangor,

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[52] Hillory Tolson to George Dorr, August 2, 1935, RG 79, Box 3.

[53] "Monthly Narrative Report to the Regional Landscape Architect," December 20, 1937, Reports to the Regional Architect, RG 79, Box 16; and Job Completion Report, Job No. 85, June 28, 1938, RG 79, Box 8.

[54] Hillory Tolson to George Dorr, May 10, 1935, RG 79, Box 3.

[55] George B. Gordon, "Proposed Work Program, Fifth Enrollment Period, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," March 7, 1935; see also, Robert Patterson to Thomas C. Vint, December 16, 1935, RG 79, Box 16; Patterson described the Western Mt. run as his "pet project."

> Ellsworth, the University of Maine, etc. in search of winter sport developments.[56]

Increased visitation also led to the expansion of the Bear Brook campground. Here, too, there were minor complaints over methods – specifically over a plan to cover exposed feeder roots with gravel to protect them from vehicles and pedestrians. Assistant landscape architect, Robert Patterson, admitted that the solution was not ideal, but then as now the number of visitors taxed the available resources to the limit. There was a "fundamental principle," Patterson reminded his bosses, that "areas used by the public (unless most carefully planned for several decades of time), tend to destroy themselves for the particular park purpose for which they are used."[57] At the time, "pressure" on park resources meant finding space for sixty vehicles in a campground that would reasonably accommodate forty. After the initial phase of campground expansion was complete in the summer of 1937, park officials reported that on the night of July 24, "an all-time high of 124 camping parties was recorded."[58] By 1941, annual visitation at the park was estimated to be 400,000.[59]

Acadia National Park greatly expanded its acreage during the 1930s (see Figures 8.1 and 8.2).[60] Private donations, especially from the Rockefellers[61] and some of which pre-date

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[56] Robert Patterson to Thomas C. Vint, February 17, 1935, RG 79, Box 16.

[57] Memorandum, Patterson to Charles Peterson, June 25, 1935, Reports to the Regional Architect, RG 79, Box 16.

[58] Job Completion Reports, Job # 3, December 28, 1937, RG 79, Box 7a.

[59] Camp Application, NP-1, Bar Harbor, Me, February 20, 1941, RG 79, Box 4.

[60] Total park acreage in 1933 has not been determined, but a 1935 document places it at 15,000 acres ("Camp Application, 6th EP, SP-1, Ellsworth, ME," June 12, 1935, RG 79, Box 4. In 1940, Benjamin Hadley reported that different accounts put park acreage between

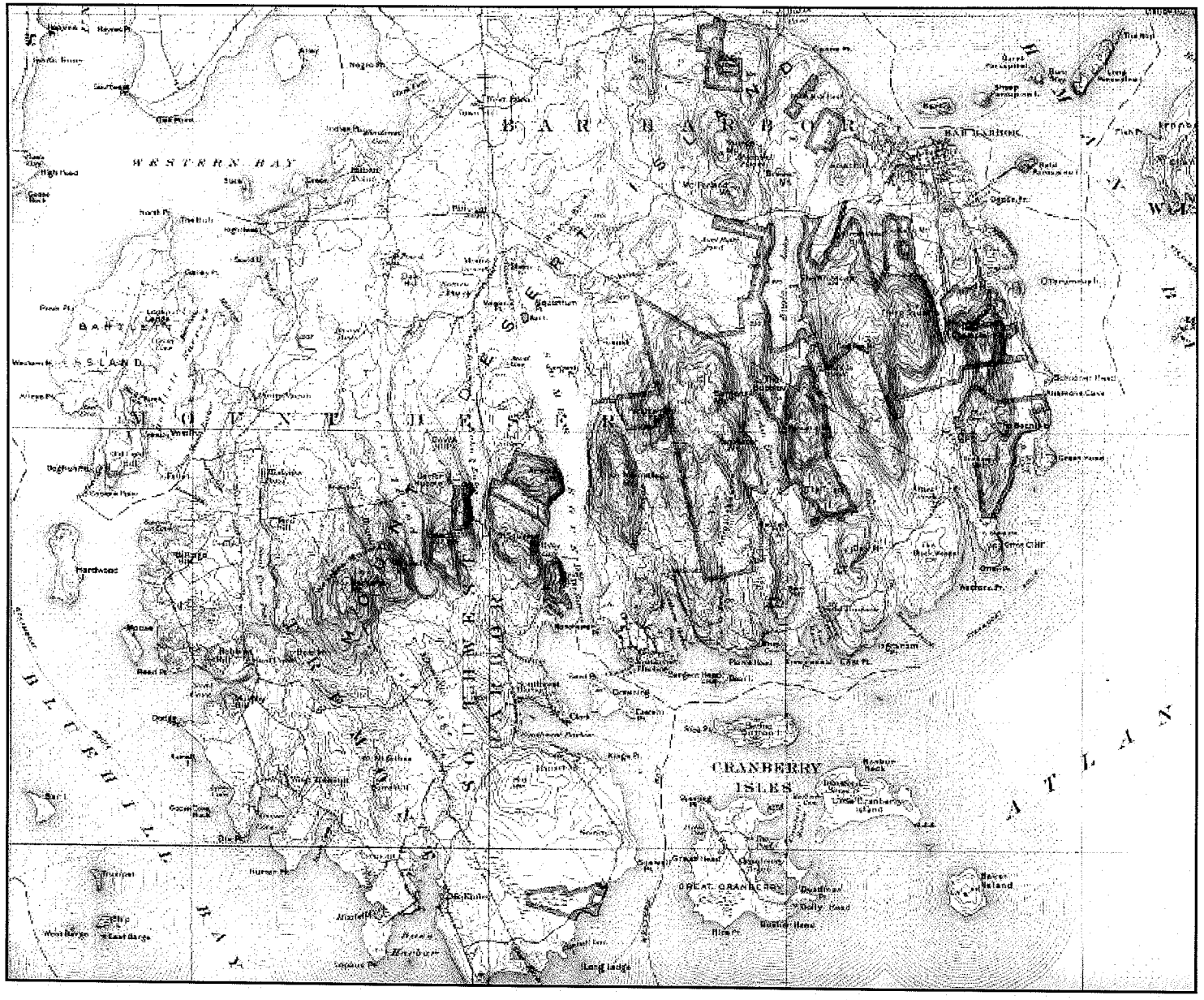

Figure 3.1: Acadia National Park Boundaries, circa 1931 (Source: United States Geological Survey, Topographic Map, Acadia National Park, Hancock County, Maine, 1:6250, 1931).

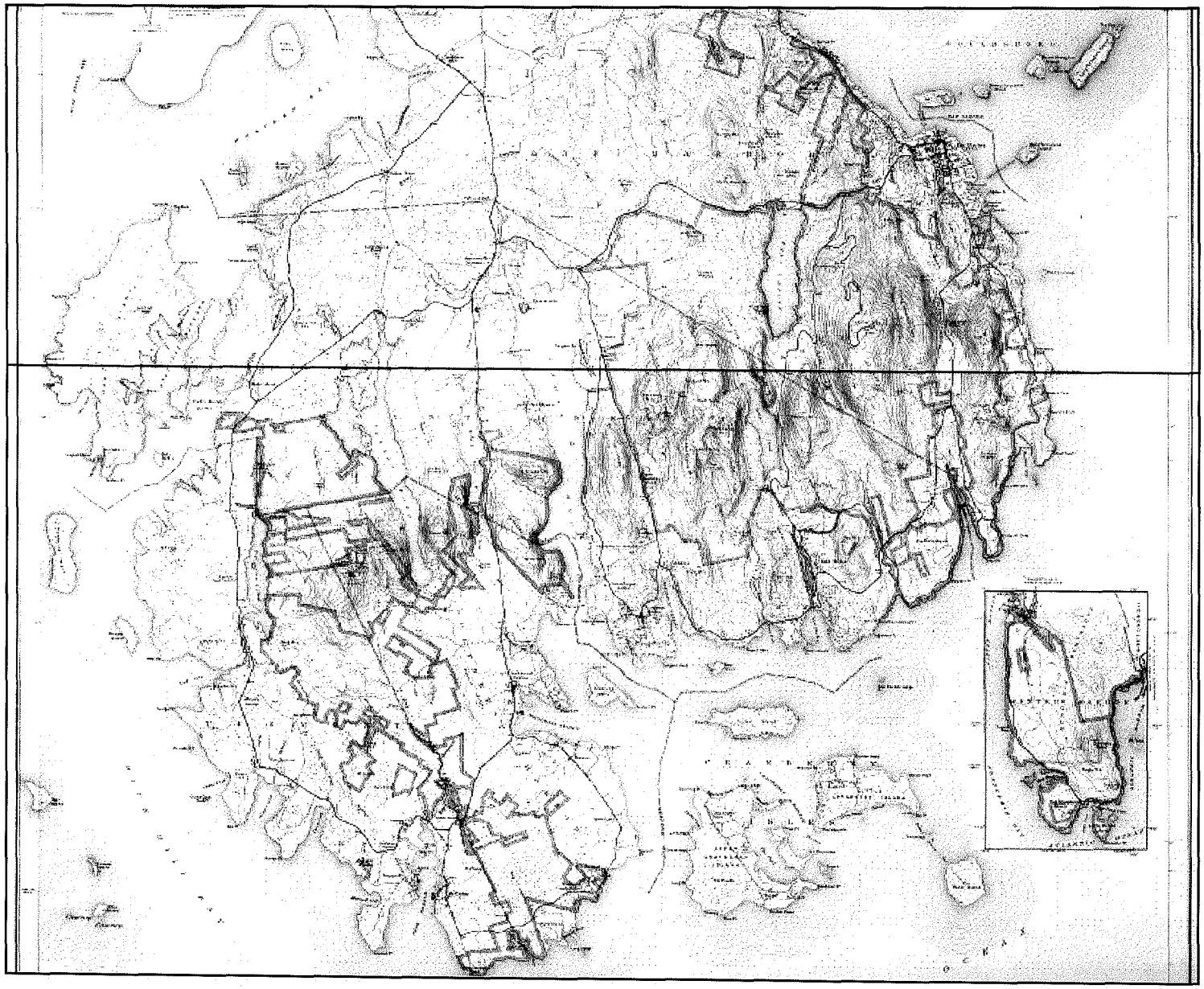

Figure 8.2: Acadia National Park Boundaries, circa 1942 (Source: United States Geological Survey, Topographic Map, Acadia National Park and Vicinity, Hancock County, Maine, 1:31680, 1942).

the CCC, account for a number of property transfers, particularly on the east side of the island. Navy abandonment of radio stations at Seawall and Otter Cliffs ceded additional lands to the park. The largest acquisition, however, was the Tremont Purchase area, which came through the submarginal land program of the Resettlement Administration. The same program supported purchases on Schoodic Peninsula from the Winter Harbor Improvement Company.[62] To prepare new areas for park use, the CCC and other New Deal agencies worked on the usual tasks of fire hazard reduction, truck trail development, and some foot trail reconstruction, but the most significant projects involved new visitor facilities.

Major site development is primarily a function of the latter half of the CCC program. Just as one can note a political divide between a first and second New Deal, there is a noticeable shift in the kind of work that dominated the CCC's schedule after 1936. Environmental work continued, but facility construction picked up appreciably. The Resettlement Administration and its Recreation Demonstration Projects provided a huge boost for these initiatives, especially on lands acquired through RA purchases. Even NPS authorities who were nervous about over-development could not ignore the opportunities for park expansion afforded by the RA program, and there appear to have been few disputes over

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21,997 and 22,183 (Hadley to Regional NPS Director, April 18, 1940, Camp Files, Camp Applications, RG 79, Box 4).

[61] NARA documents note Rockefeller donations of land on Beech Cliffs in the 1920s, ("Narrative Report for February, 1934, Great Pond Camp, NP-2," RG 79, Box 2) and a stretch of land along Ocean Drive in 1934 ("Report of Civil Works Administration Projects Carried out in Acadia National Park, December 1, 1933 to March 31, 1934," RG 79, Box 3, p. 2). There were undoubtedly many others.

[62] See chapter one for a summary of RA purchases at Acadia.

these later developments. That is not to say that everything proposed was accepted. One of the developments that George Dorr and others hoped to pursue would have attracted more "elite" visitors to the park. When the development of Pretty Marsh was first proposed in the spring of 1937, there were two plans on the table: one would have developed the site as a picnic and salt water bathing area, and the other called for the construction of docking facilities to develop the site for boaters. These plans, however, were regarded as mutually exclusive, as it was axiomatic to some that

> . . . the use of landings or docks by the group which makes up the boating and sailing clique, practically all of whom are of the summer colony group, is not compatible with the use of the immediate vicinity for picnicking, swimming and similar purposes by the general public. . . . There is the assurance on Mr. Dorr and Mr. Douglas' part that the boating clique will not inhabit a dock and shore frontage that is over-run with picnickers.[63]

There is no extended correspondence on the matter, but there are a number of names attached to the proposal – Dorr, the above named Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Dow, the project manager for Acadia RDPs – so it appears to have had some weight behind it. Ultimately, the idea was abandoned and Pretty Marsh was developed as a picnic area. Likewise, the initial Tremont purchase proposal had named Ship Harbor rather than Seawall as the site for a new campground on the west side of the island. The plan including blocking off the mouth of the harbor to make the water warmer and more inviting for swimmers.[64]

Sieur de Monts Spring was one of the first locations developed by CCC labor and also one of the last. Their initial work had been fairly modest: developing the area as a hub for

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[63] Reports to Regional Architect, March 6, 1937, RG 79, Box 16.

[64] "Preliminary Investigation Report, Tremont Submarginal Area, Mount Desert Island, Maine," 1935, RG 79, Box 3.

trails on Dry Mt., the Tarn, and Great Meadow; tree pruning and clean-up to spruce up the picnic grounds; bridge and culvert repair; creating Fish rearing pools – intended principally as a visitor attraction – along the stream. As one report summed it up, "much needed and very general attention."[65] Later work intensively remolded the area. Initially, the Spring had outlets onto both Route 3 and Kebo Mountain Road. A project started in 1939 closed off the latter entrance and built the circular access route that remains there today. Photographs showing this road work offer a good indication of the heavy labor that crews faced (see Figure 130). The wet, low-lying ground had to be dug out to 18" to 24" over some sections of the route, and then "swamped" with rock and gravel to provide a firm road bed. Rene Provencher, who worked on the foundation of the Sieur de Monts Spring visitor center, described the difficulty of working in the wet clay soil:

> *[A]fter I got through cutting in the [cedar] swamps, that's when I went to work! Sieur de Monts Springs, digging the foundation by hand, because they had no backhoes or stuff like that. I was working in blue clay. I don't know if you know what that is, but I was working in blue clay just about half way up my leg, about my calf, in blue clay. You try to pull your leg out of there; it's like in real icky sticky mud. . . .[66]

The Spring was one of several locations where visitor facilities were expanded between 1938 and 1942. Others included the Black Woods and Seawall campgrounds, the Thunder Hole area, and the Oak Hill and Pretty Marsh picnic areas. Some components of the overall development were interconnected; for example, comfort stations at Seawall, Thunder

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[65] "Report Covering Third Enrollment Period, Apr. 1, 1934 - Sept. 30, 1934, McFarland Field Camp," RG 79, Box 3; and "Narrative Report for October - November - December 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1; quote from 3rd EP report.

[66] Interview with Rene Provencher, NA 2653, C1935-A, p. 17.

Hole, and Sieur de Monts Spring were built to a common design on series of interlinked job numbers (265, 266, and 269). Because a range of tasks and skill sets were needed, site development projects usually combined CCC crews with skilled labor hired with RDP, BPR, or PWA funds. (Oak Hill and Pretty Marsh, which were exclusively RDP projects, were exceptions.) CCC construction tasks ranged from general carpentry, including foundation work, roofing, and interior and exterior trim, to laying water and sewer lines, and installing septic systems. Skilled labor was hired for all electrical work, plumbing, masonry, and tile work. Here as elsewhere, some enrollees were assigned to specialized tasks: the CCC transit crew, for example, assisted with any surveying that was needed. But the CCC's principle role was to take on the heavy lifting and basic construction, leaving more technical jobs for others. When power lines were added to the campgrounds, the CCC cleared the route and erected poles; PWA crews ran the lines. CCC crews are never identified as "skilled labor," and there is no indication that superintendents at Acadia made systematic use of "Locally Enlisted Men" to perform skilled trades.

Most CCC carpentry was done by enrollees from the Great Pond camp, working out of a shop on Carroll's Hill under the supervision of foreman Jessie Atwood. (A carpentry shop at the McFarland Camp wasn't built until 1940 when NP-2 was slated for closure.) CCC carpenters were, or more precisely became, skilled in their craft, producing finished work to the high standards expected by park supervisors. Even on projects that would not be seen by the public, the expectations for quality workmanship were high, as can be seen from Linwood Robshaw's description of paneling in the Great Pond camp office:

> *If I remember correctly, there were three inch strapping[s] with a finish on it. And the molding at the ceiling, the three inch strapping had to be fitted into that molding at the ceiling, which was a bit of a particular job. . . . The opening was the width of the strapping – three inches – and two sides of it were cut on the 45°. And then the strapping went up. And two ends, two sides of it, at the point were cut on 45° so they . . . fitted tight up into that socket in the molding. The strapping had to be from a quarter to an eighth of an inch longer than the measurements so that when they were put on the baseboard and the molding at the top, there was a bow in it. We pushed the bow out and that tightened it so that the fittings were almost invisible.[67]

Robshaw also worked on the Thunder Hole comfort station. When discussing the project, he drew particular attention to the method of shingling the roof along the hip jacks. Most of the visitor buildings constructed at Acadia during the CCC era have hipped roofs, a characteristic common in Adirondack rustic design. While many of the extant examples still have cedar shakes, the hips are now fitted with overlapping ridge caps to keep out rain water. The CCC, however, used an interlocking technique, which gave the roof a seamless appearance:

> *I had a crew after the building was up; we had to put those cedar shakes on the roof for shingles. And what we used for tools was a hatchet and a smooth plane, that's a hand plane. Well those shingles . . . if there was a high spot, this one wouldn't lay down close. So we'd have to plane some of that off, and cut a concave for the other one so they'd fit and be waterproof. And at the hip, this one was laid on top. And the next one, just the opposite. All the way up. Which made a tight, tight hip for water. . . . Well, the most difficult part of shingling the hip . . . where the shingle came over to the hip it was cut on an angle to follow the hip. And that, of course, that left an edge sticking up. Well the edge had to be flattened with a hand tool. That's where the smoother plane came in, so that the next one going over it would lay down on it flat, be water tight. And the next one had to be flattened out, which took a longer time.[68]

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[67] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1925-A, pp. 8-9.

[68] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1925-A, pp. 13-14.

It was exacting work, and Robshaw recalls, *". . . it was in the winter time, and we used [to] heat with a 55 gallon drum and scraps of lumber. We burned up as many shakes as we put on the roof."[69]

Advancing the visitor facility projects was a high priority for Acadia administrators late in the New Deal era. Aware that many of the programs were living on borrowed time, they tried to jam in as much work as they could, even though decreasing enrollments in the CCC and work force reductions in other agencies hampered progress. At Sieur de Monts Springs, the comfort station had been built on schedule in 1939, but construction of the visitor center took a good deal longer than expected. Benjamin Breeze completed plans and drawings in the winter of 1940 and construction began that spring. The foundation, framing, and sheathing proceeded quickly, but finish work took another eighteen months. The center didn't open for public use until May 1942, two months before the end of the CCC.

The delays were due in part to a greater emphasis on campground development. The CCC worked intensively on both of the new sites. At Seawall was part of which began in 1937, was almost complete when NP-2 shut for the first time in March 1940. When replacement crews arrived four months later, they built a wash house, laundry facilities, and checker station that included living quarters for the park ranger. They later assisted NP-1 crews with the Black Woods project. Work there had started a year after Seawall, and by the end of the CCC program, camp sites, road ways, power lines, water and sewer lines, and a checker station were all but finished, even though significant resources had been diverted to preparing various park sites for Army occupation in the wake of Pear Harbor. Documents

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[69] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1925-A, p. 16.

covering CCC at Black Woods refer only to loop "A" (the loop closer to Ocean Drive). The second phase appears to be a later development.

8.5 Non-CCC Work at Acadia

New Deal work at Acadia required routine and extensive collaborations between federal agencies, state and local governments, and even private citizens. The latter were by no means insignificant partners. While most New Deal work was on public lands, the acid test was that projects serve a public good, and therefore relevant work on private land was permitted. The owners of Sand Beach allowed developments on their property and generously allowed park visitors almost unrestricted access to the beach. Work on the Ocean Drive trail was initiated as a parallel project to Rockefeller construction of the drive itself. Much of the fill and surfacing materials for the trail were taken from the road excavations.[70] Many private citizens permitted the CCC to extract gravel, stone, or other materials from unused parts of their land, or allowed trails to cross their land in order to link non-contiguous sections of park property.[71] When Brann crews were reconstructing a spillway Salisbury Cove, a nearby resident purchased twenty bags of cement for the project.[72]

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[70] "Narrative Report for October 1933, Eagle Lake Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 3; and "Narrative Report for October-November-December, 1934, McFarland Field Camp, NP-1," RG 79, Box 1.

[71] The Acadia trail report notes that a few property owners adamantly opposed the building of the Carriage Road system (Coffin, et al., 1999, 1: 159). Given the amount of development that was being done on the island during the 1930s, it is hard to believe that similar criticisms weren't directed toward developments at Acadia. Somewhat surprisingly, we have found no record of complaints against particular projects in NARA documents.

[72] See caption to NARA Photo, project scan number 89, July 1934 (Figure 49).

When circumstances allowed, Acadia partnered with local communities, expanding on its prior links with VIA/VIS. Indeed, partnerships extended well beyond the four communities typically associated with VIA/VIS development – Bar Harbor, Seal Harbor, Northeast Harbor, and Southwest Harbor.[73] The Somesville Dam project, as noted, was a collaboration between Acadia and the Town of Mount Desert, and an early report by the Ellsworth camp demonstrates the importance of ties to other agencies:

> The first quarter of the third enrollment period was marked by increasingly better relations established with roadside property owners. All loam, gravel, and plant material needed for the work was secured free of cost from interested owners. Particularly valuable was the loam secured from the Bar Harbor airport project being carried out by the Town of Bar Harbor, and from an area in Trenton where a baseball park is being constructed. A power shovel, loaned by the State Highway Department was used for loam excavation, and altogether some two to three thousand yards of material had been hauled to the site on July 1st. A possible five to ten thousand yards of loam topsoil is still available at these two points.[74]

The key partners, however, were other federal work agencies, some of which worked independently of the CCC, some alongside them. Although the Civil Works Administration (CWA) was a short lived program, it contributed a force of 473 unskilled laborers, 21 semi-skilled laborers, 31 skilled laborers, 6 foresters, 11 foremen and 2 supervisors; 544 workers in all, over and above the crews already working out of the three CCC camps. The package also included nearly $11,000.00 for tools, materials, and equipment. CWA projects were basic and labor intensive: slash clean-up and fire hazard reduction, improvement of existing trails, truck trail construction, landscaping, and the construction of guard rails. Areas worked

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[73] Barter, et al., 2001, 1: 6.

[74] "Narrative Report, First Quarter, Third Enrollment Period, April 1 to July 1, 1934, Maine State Park Camp No.1," RG 79, Box 1.

included Ocean Drive, Seawall, Echo Lake and Beech Mountain, Park Headquarters, and the Schoodic Peninsula.

The Bureau of Public Roads (BPR) provided funds for both the initial surveys and subsequent construction of the Park Loop Road around Great Pond Hill and Kebo Mountain, the Otter Creek causeway, and the roads in the Black Woods Campground, as already noted. CCC crews were used in a support capacity on some road jobs, for final grading or seeding and sodding, but virtually all major road work was done by professional road crews.[75]

RDP crews, which were a direct extension of the Resettlement Administration land purchases, began working at Acadia in the spring of 1936, and from 1936 through 1942, they kept a force of between 65 and 235 men in the field at Acadia.[76] RDP crews were also assigned to the Camden site, which was another RA purchase. Park documents include an undated list of workers, presumably RDP crews, giving their local residence and primary and secondary (and in some cases tertiary) trades.[77] With the exception of about twenty men from Trenton, all were residents of MDI towns, many from small communities on the western side of the island. Since the trades listed include musician, salesman, fish cutter, and so on, the list apparently represents how the men identified themselves as workers, not the tasks they

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[75] BPR projects are covered in the Landscape Architect's reports (RG 79, Boxes 16 and 17). The accounts offer little detail, but progress is often recorded benchmark by benchmark.

[76] In park reports, RDP projects are listed as Acadia National Park Extension, LD-ME-3 (Landscape Architect's Reports, RG 79, Boxes 16 and 17). As above, few details are provided. Projects are numbered, however, and presumably support documents – job application and completion reports, project plans – exist somewhere. They are not included among the CCC materials examined for this report.

[77] In folder "Personnel Lists," RG 79, Box 13.

performed for the park. That said, their ranks included many skilled and semi-skilled trades required for park projects: masons, bricklayers, blacksmiths, carpenters, plumbers, mechanics, and gardeners. Of 130 workers employed by Acadia in July 1939, 78 were unskilled, 28 had "intermediate"skills, 21 were skilled, and 3 were professional.[78]

Generally, there is little to distinguish the kinds of projects assigned to RDP workers from those given to CCC crews. The first six RDPs proposed for Acadia late in1935 included truck trails, woods clean up, the construction of a picnic area and campground, fish rearing pools, and a boundary survey, any one of which could have been a CCC project. But the park did take advantage of skilled workers, assigning them to more complex construction projects. Of particular interest is the number of RDP workers who identify themselves as quarrymen, stone cutters, or stone masons. Chris Barter, longtime member of the Acadia trail crew, has suggested that the more elaborate stone-work in the park may have been the work of "old timers" from Maine's granite industry,[79] and here we have good evidence of that connection. RDP crews exclusively were responsible for the development of the Pretty Marsh picnic area, which features some of the finer examples of stone-work in the Park, such as a dry-stone retaining wall near the entrance to the area.[80] RDP crews were also responsible in part for the construction of the Seawall Campground and the Oak Hill picnic in addition to many other minor projects. When the last of the CCC camps closed in July of

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[78] In folder "Personnel Lists," RG 79, Box 13.

[79] Lecture, June 21, 2001, Gilley Museum, Southwest Harbor.

[80] This project is not specifically mentioned in the architect's reports that account for work at Pretty Marsh, but it could well have been included under general site development.

1942, a crew of about twenty-five Acadia Extension workers, then identified as a Works Progress Administration (WPA) crew, was all that remained of New Deal labor at Acadia.

8.6 Public Service and Miscellaneous Projects

Beyond its routine assignments, CCC enrollees performed a range of tasks that served a public good, furthered the development of the park, or improved creature comforts in camp. When the need arose, CCC men helped with fire suppression and rescue operations, or located lost hikers, sometimes even in other parts of the state.[81] Through the CCC education program, some enrollees were able to obtain Red Cross life saving certificates, and those who qualified served as back-up life guards at the local swimming areas.[82] For a brief time the men of the Ellworth camp hosted a series of radio broadcasts on WLBZ.[83] Individual enrollees were sometimes asked to perform service in the local community. Two of our informants independently reported that they or a mate were sent to private homes to read to elderly or blind residents (including George Dorr),[84] and one informant reported that he had been able to provide a blood transfusion for a woman who had hemorrhaged in labor.[85]

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[81] See for example, Job Completion Report, Job No. 333, RG 79, Box 7b; in late May 1941, enrollees assisted in the search for two teenagers near Kokadjo, ME. The boys were found alive.

[82] Interviews with Thomas Desjardins, NA 2652, C1933-B, p. 29, and with Wesley Gray, NA 2625, C1907-B, pp. 26-27,

[83] "Narrative Report for March, 1934, Camp Governor Brann, SP-1," RG 79, Box 1.

[84] Interviews with John Parsons, NA 2545, C1928-A, pp. 25-32, and with Roy Doak, NA 2663, C1952-A, p. 15.

[85] Interview with Linwood Robshaw, NA 2638, C1925-B, pp. 26-27.

The CCC also helped promote visitor use of the new park facilities. CCC drivers transported hundreds of visitors to the summit for a celebration on Easter morning in 1935. That summer, when the park lacked the funds to hire naturalist Arthur Stupka, a CCC "student" enrollee gave walking tours to visitors at Sieur de Monts Spring.[86] It did not become a routine CCC position, but in 1939 other enrollees acted as assistants to the Junior Park Naturalist.[87] In a small way, the latter task rolled over into a scientific function, as the men were "used at the park naturalist's headquarters preserving and filing plant and animal specimens collected by the naturalists and typing excerpts from scientific books and magazines."[88] Periodically, enrollees were taken along on field trips to collect and photograph specimens. Later in the program, they served as "supervisors" at new facilities at various park sites.[89]

No historical or archaeological projects were assigned to the CCC at Acadia. In fact, no company in Maine did work of this sort; it's one of the few criticisms that historian Harvey McGuire levels at First District operations.[90] The CCC did, however, construct the

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[86] "Narrative Report, Fifth Enrollment Period, April 1 to September 30, 1935, McFarland Field Camp NP-1," RG 79, Box 3.

[87] See Job Completion Report, Job No. 224, December 1, 1939, RG 79, Box 8.

[88] See Job Applications, Job # 314, June 1, 1941, RG 79, Box 7.

[89] The CCC does not appear to have acted as park warden. Claude Beaupre commented that work crew supervisors, who would have had official standing as park functionaries, were known to reprimand visitors if they caught them breaking the rules, but he added that an ordinary CCC enrollee would not have the authority to take such measures (Interview, NA 2666, C1955-B, pp. 32-33).

[90] McGuire 1966: 156.

memorial to radio pioneer Alessandro Fabbri. Thomas Desjardin, who helped install the monument, claimed that all work except the plaque itself was done by CCC crews:

> *[I]t's a huge rock, and to get it there from where it was – I don't know where it was, but it was somewhere in the forest – the construction company helped us put it on the flatbed, haul it over here to the point where we were going to build this monument, and the bulldozer pushed it in place on this mound of dirt. . . . Then we built a stone walk way from the road to the face of the monument. . . . Then we transfer little trees from the forest to there around. But it hides the rock. It hides the monument now because the trees are big. Very few people know it's there . . . . If they just drive through the loop, they'll miss it.[91]

While there was relatively little opportunity for men to exercise their own creativity and design projects for the park, they could occasionally apply their skills on projects in camp. Lester Hartford designed and built a semi-circular counter for the canteen at the Great Pond camp (see Figure 170), and John Parsons built three rustic gates for the McFarland camp (see Figure 171).

From 1934 to 1935, the McFarland Camp had a resident artist, Edgar D. H. Hegh (1909-2000), whose paintings and sketches documented the life and work of the CCC, as well as the landscape of the park. (He was also assigned the more mundane task of making signs and posters.) Originally from Grimsby, England, he came to the United States as a child. Little is known about his early artistic training, but his work for the CCC included roughly fifteen works in oil, watercolor, and pastel. He later earned BFA and MFA degrees from Yale and served as an Army aerial photographer in the Pacific during World War II. His style, which is mildly reminiscent of his contemporary Thomas Hart Benton, was well received. When his canvasses were sent to Washington, four were selected to hang in the

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[91] Interview with Thomas Desjardin, NA 2652, C1934-A, p. 6.

office of Congressman Ralph Brewster, and one, "Sawing Wood in Winter," was displayed at the White House at Mrs. Roosevelt's request.[92] That painting is now in the Smithsonian's American Art Museum collection (see Figures 178 and 179). The only other known example is in the Acadia National Park collection. Some works might still exist in private collections, but the chances of finding them are remote. In 1944, *Life Magazine* reported that the federal government had divested itself of thousands of pieces of WPA art, which were snapped up by auction houses and sold in New York for as little as $3 to $5 a canvas.[93] Some of Hegh's work might well have been included among the surplus items.

Camp supplementary reports list another "Camp artist" in 1936. This may have been a draftsman assigned to work with the park's engineering and architectural staff.

8.7 Side Camps

In addition to their work on MDI, the CCC worked at several remote sites or "side camps." Ellsworth crews worked at side camps at the East Orland Fish Hatchery, Ft. Knox, Green Lake, and the Naval Radio Station at Schoodic Peninsula. Most of these projects were close enough that crews could be trucked to and from the site each day, but at Schoodic a semi-permanent camp was built, including barracks, kitchen, and mess hall. At the East Orland Fish Hatchery, crews constructed and maintained fish rearing pools, but elsewhere crews were engaged mainly in landscaping, brush clearing, or road work. Some areas were

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[92] Jackson, "Hugh Edgar Hegh."

[93] "End of WPA Art: Canvasses which Cost the Government $35,000,000 are Sold for Junk," *Life Magazine*, April 17, 1944, pp. 85-86.

worked for a relatively brief time, others were part of a more extensive work program. The Schoodic Peninsula was probably the most active side area, and there were plans at different times to establish a fourth camp at Schoodic, though they were never realized.

The two forestry camps did not need side camps to any great degree. In 1937 and 38, the Great Pond Camp provided 600 man-days of labor to do landscape and other work at a Coast Guard Station on Cranberry Island. In addition to billeting the work crew, the Coast Guard contributed 1000 cu. yds. of borrow, 300 of gravel, 30 of stone, 250 of topsoil, and 17,424 sq. ft. of sod to the project.[94] Merrill Morang, who worked on the projects, recalls that some aspects of it were unsuccessful:

> *[W]e went out to Cranberry Island and built a alarm out there for the light house. That was an endless job because we'd do it one day and the next day a storm would come and that would be the end of that. And then we'd start all over again. I was out there a month, I think. . . . [W]e finished it, but . . . when we left, so did that [alarm]. . . . Well, the storms come and washed it right out.[95]

Beginning in the summer of 1936, work performed by the CCC at Camden (now Camden Hills State Park) was administered by project superintendents at Acadia, even though, like the Ellsworth camp, it had a State Park designation (SP-4). This appears to have been a purely administrative link, however; in one report, Breeze notes that project design and implementation at Camden would be handled by supervisors at the site.[96] CCC projects at Camden included trails for hiking and skiing, winter shelters and rest areas, a gate house

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[94] "Request for Side Camp," November 23, 1936, RG 79, Box 4.

[95] Interview with Merrill Morang, NA 2627, C1910-A, p. 21.

[96] Memorandum, Breeze to Thomas C. Vint, Re. Camden SP-4, June 10, 1936, Reports to Regional Architect, RG 79, Box 16.

and picnic area, a public swimming pool, and other more generalized projects. In 1939, Camden projects disappear Breeze's reports, but they return in the spring of 1940 when he was given administrative responsibility not only for Camden, but also for work at the Salem Maritime National Historic Site, Baxter State Park, the CCC camp in St. Alban's, VT, and for a brief time during the very last months of the CCC, for the Statue of Liberty. Once again, his responsibilities appear to have been purely bureaucratic. During this period, however, Camden was given a National Park designation (NP-3), and in the last months of the program both it and the camp in St. Alban's operated as side camp of Acadia, drawing even more CCC resources away from Acadia at a very critical time.[97]

[97] See Reports to the Chief Architect, 1941 to 1942, RG 79, Box 17.

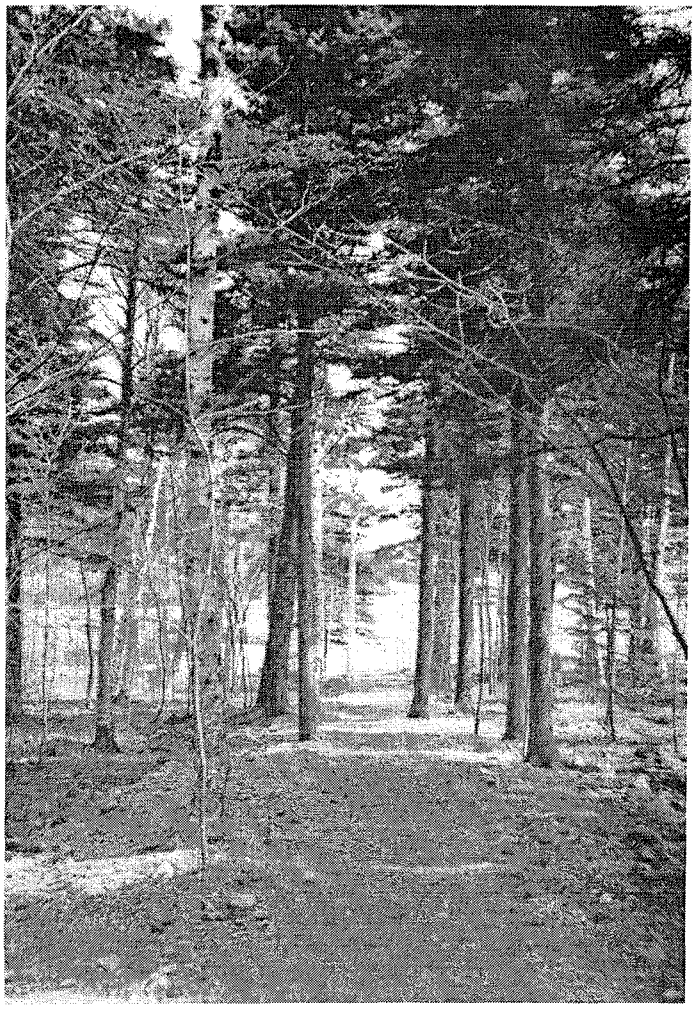


Figure 105: Looks can be deceiving. Though simple in appearance, the Anemone Trail required extensive construction. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 114)

Figure 106: Even with stonework, designers often tried to have trail blend in with its surroundings. On the Beech Cliffs Trail, Architect Robert Patterson wanted the route to be "safe and passable" but nothing more. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 304)

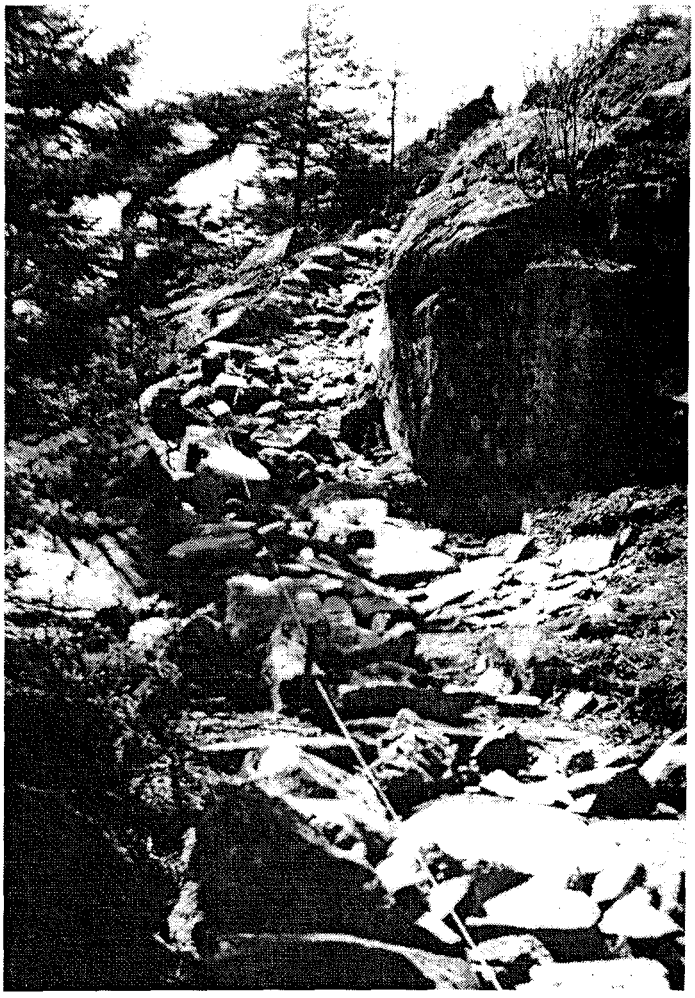
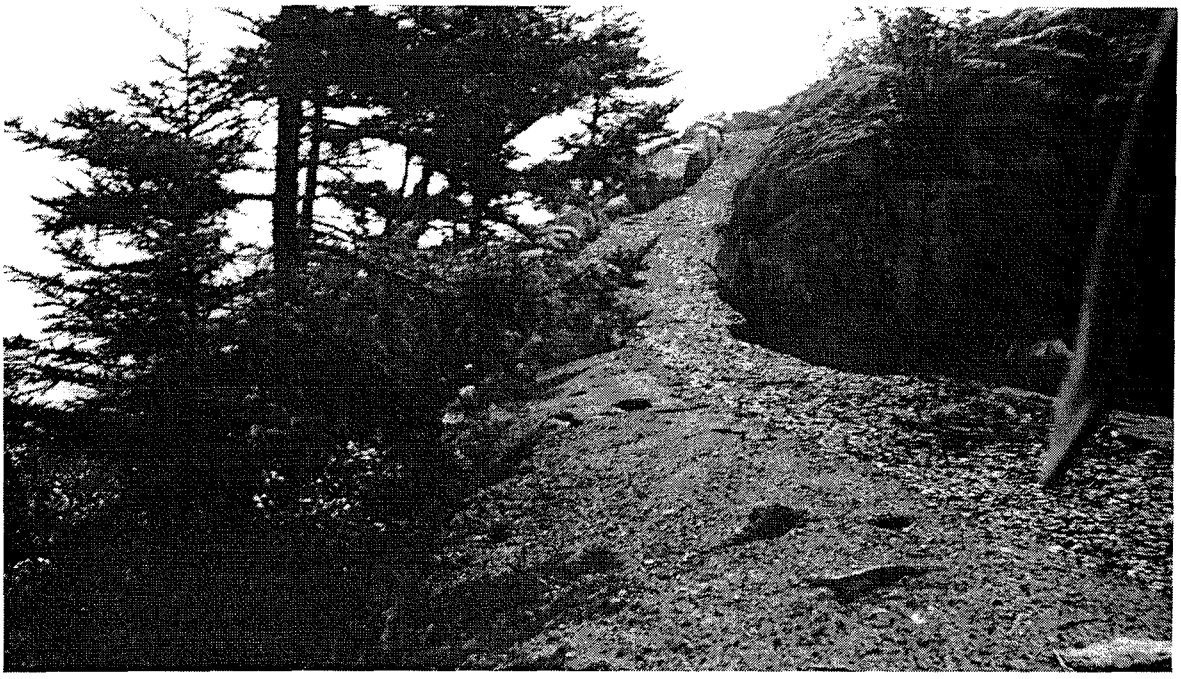
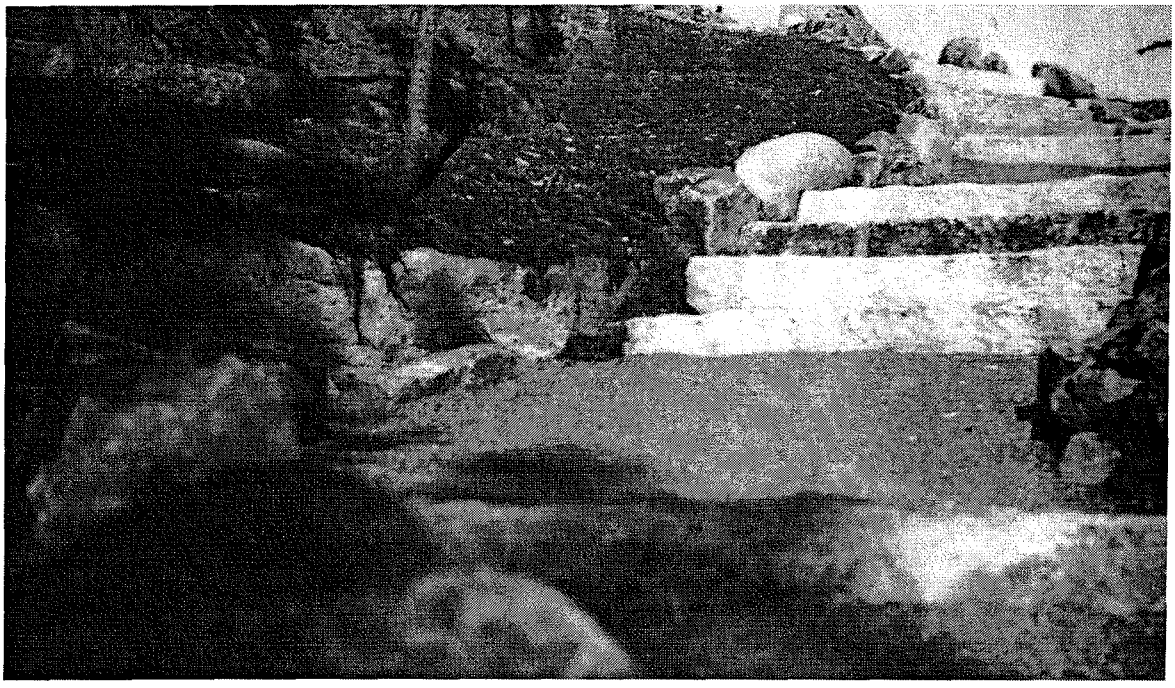


Figure 107 to 108: Other designs called for more dramatic modifications to the landscape. The difficult pitches shown here on the Otter Cliff Trail . . .

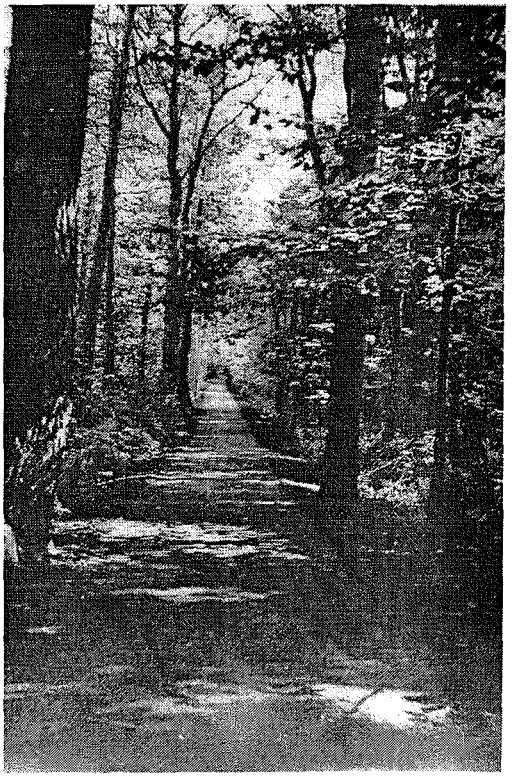
(NARA Photos, Project scan number 366)



. . . were transformed into the very accessible path shown here. (Figures 109 to 110, NARA Photos, Project scan number 367)



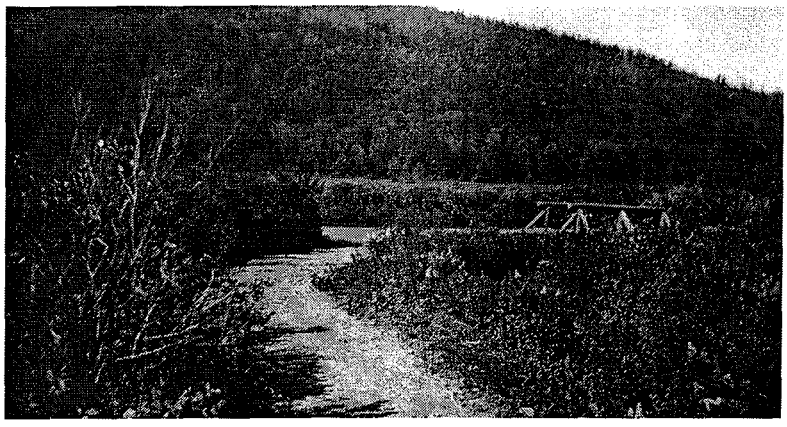
Figures 111 to 112: Wherever possible, designers tried to vary the effects of the trails. The Beech Cliffs Trail led hikers from a close, gentle woodland to expansive views from the break of the cliff. (Below) Beech Cliffs, looking south toward Southwest Harbor. (NARA Photos, Project scan number 303)



Figures 113 to 115: Changing views along the Great Meadow Nature Trail (captions quoted from the original report).

"The western entrance of this trail is a long, shaded walk between straight, bold hardwoods.

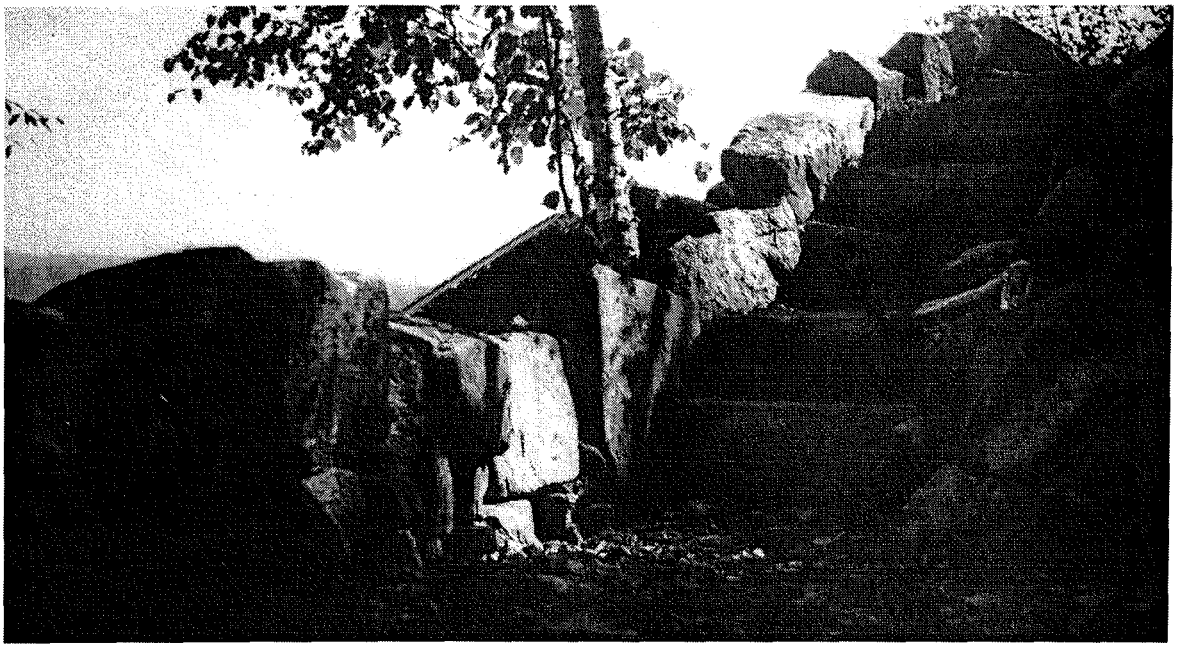
"Later, the trail begins to wind between specimens of lowland hardwoods. The unbroken canopy above excludes all but a dim light shattered here and there by brilliant rays of sunlight.

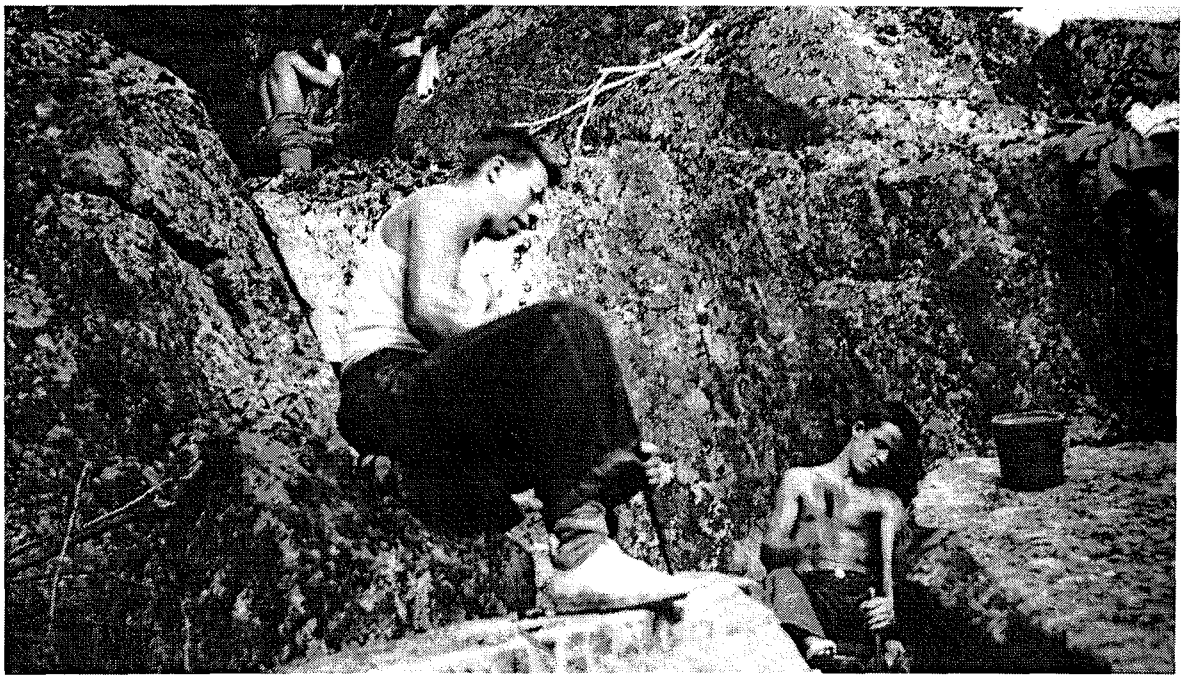


"Suddenly one emerges in a broad expanse of meadow-land and the wide vistas of the valley burst upon the eye."

(NARA Photo, Project scan number 282)

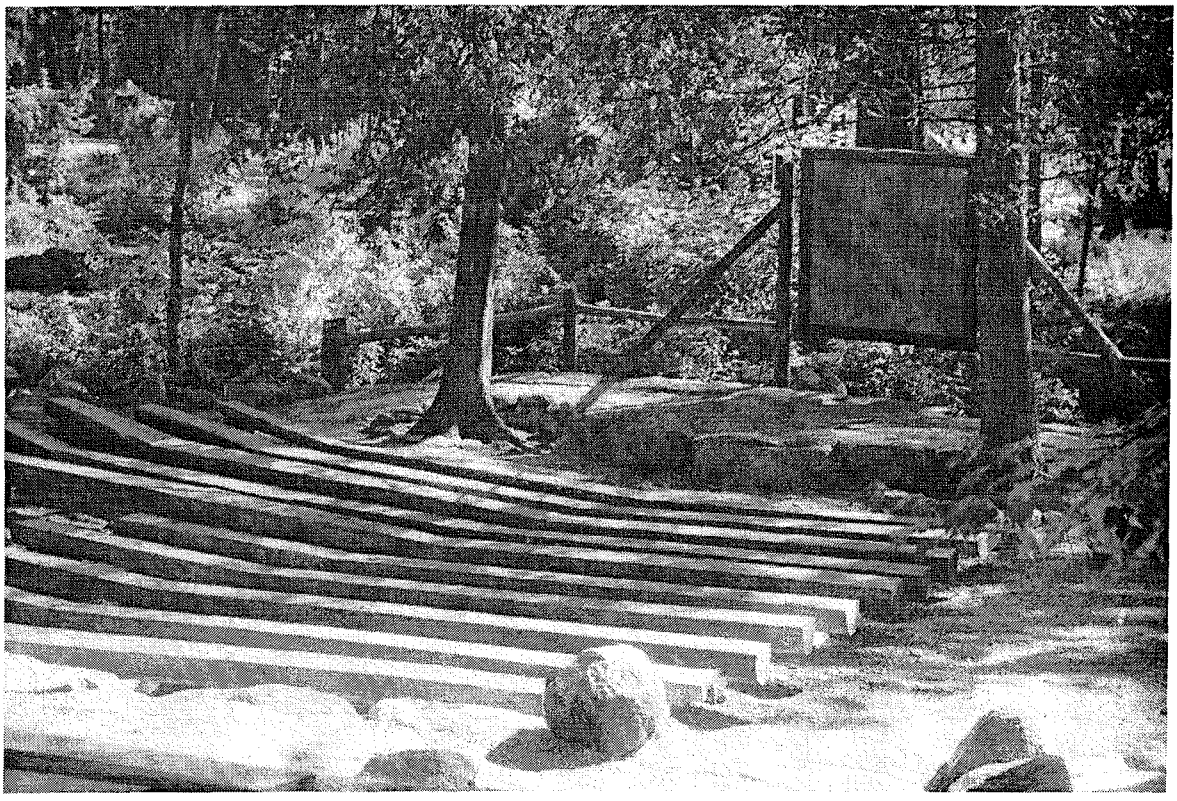
Figures 116 to 117: Designers used stonework to varying effect and for varying reasons, sometimes even on different sections of the same trail. On the Western Mt. (Perpendicular) Trail, above, the stairway through the talus slope blends with the surroundings, and crews used mosses to further "soften and naturalize" the effect. Elsewhere on the same trail, stonework is massively constructed "as security against heaving by frost and ice action . . . and defying movement or dislodgement by any one or two individuals' efforts." (NARA Photo, Project scan number 214)





Figures 118: NP-2 enrollees using hand drills to cut stone for the Western Mountain trail system. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 284)

Figure 119: Some stones used for the park's Amphitheater weighed half a ton and had to be carried, by hand, a quarter of a mile. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 111)



Figures 120: Sign posts manufactured by the NP-2 carpentry crew. The taller signs, right, were used for trail intersections (NARA Photo, Project scan number 309)

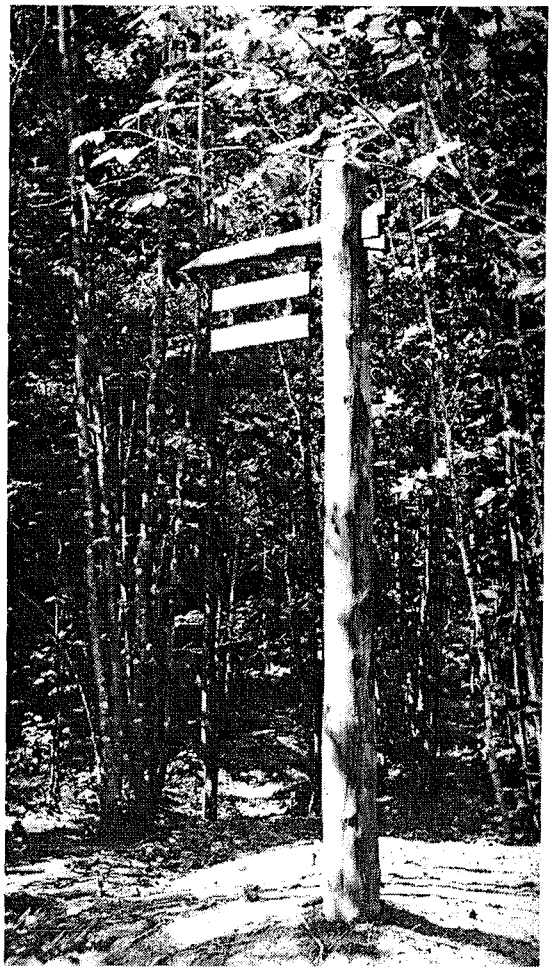


Figure 121: More robust signs, below, were used to mark carriage roads and road intersections (NARA Photo, Project scan number 309)

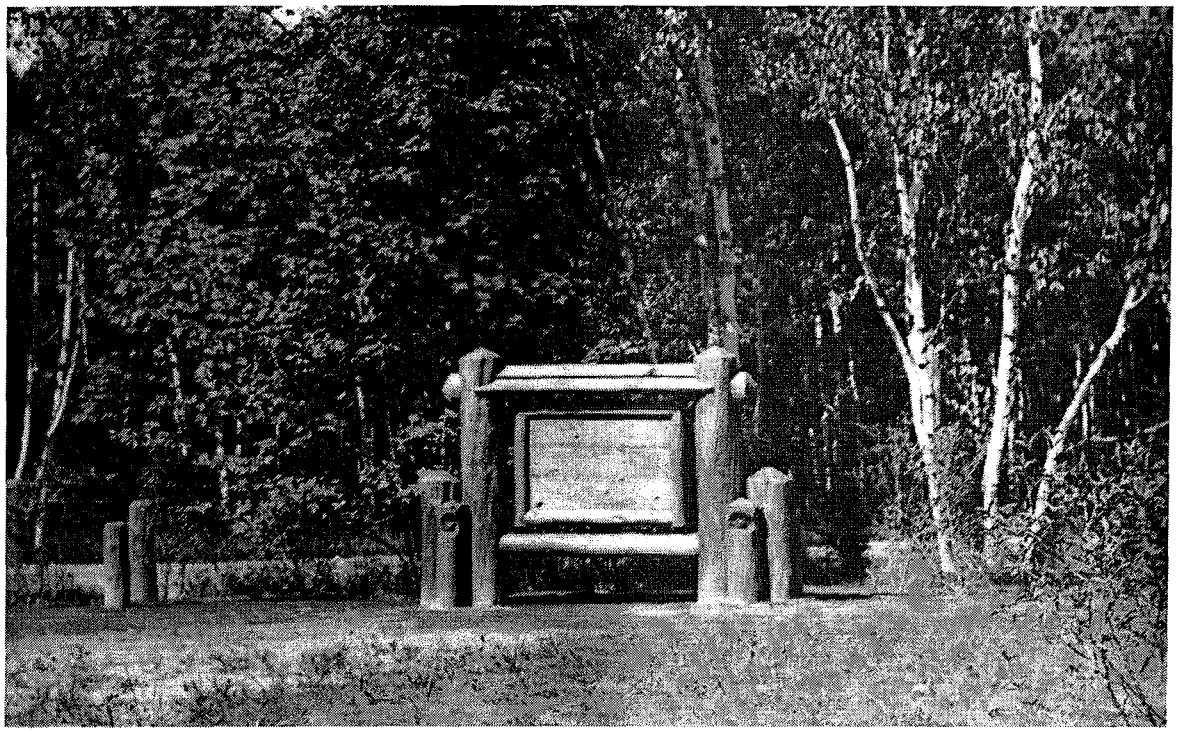
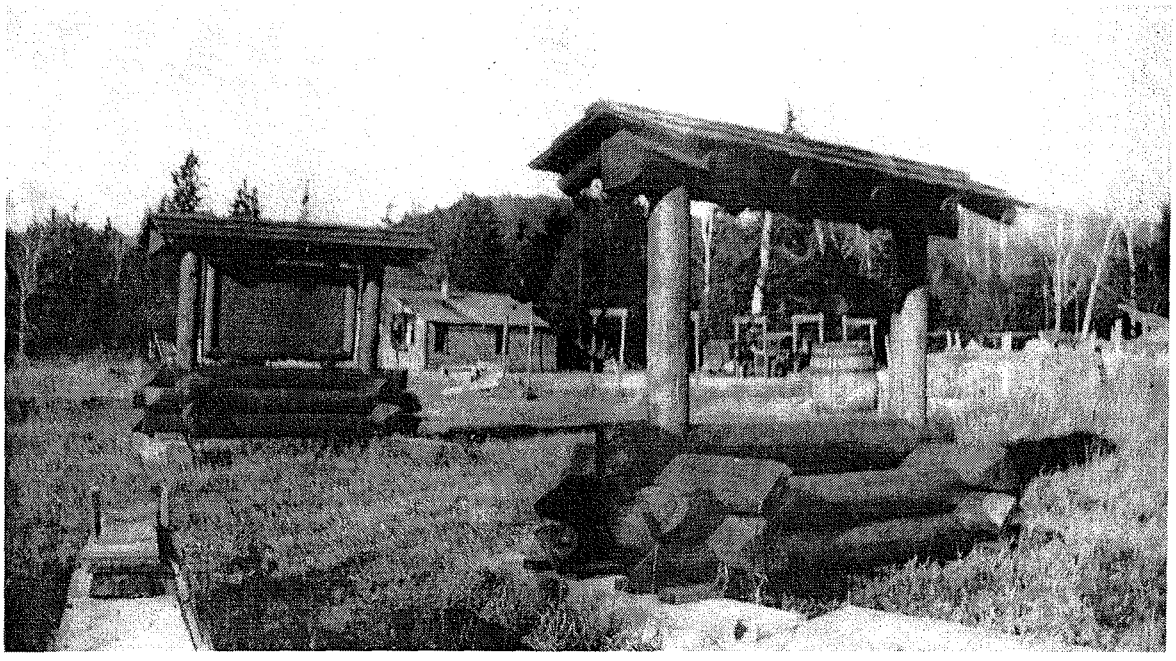


Figure 122: (Left) Linwood Robshaw shaping the end of a sign post. The joints had to be fitted well enough to make a water-tight seal. (Courtesy of Linwood Robshaw)

Figure 123: (Below) Laying out the signs in the yard of the NP-2 carpentry shop. (Courtesy of Linwood Robshaw)

Figure 124: (Below) Signs nearing completion. These later signs (ca. 1938) are of a slightly different design than the one shown in Figure 117, which was manufactured ca. 1935. (Courtesy of Linwood Robshaw)



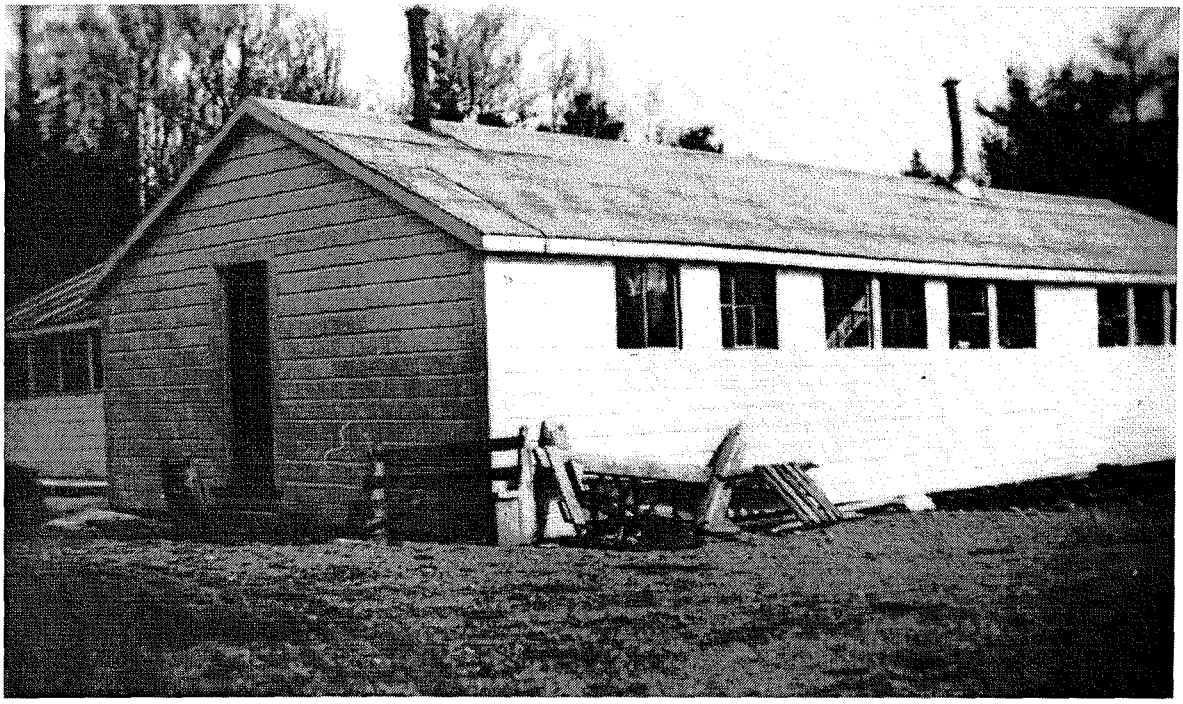


Figure 125: The NP-2 Carpentry Shop on Carroll's Hill, a short distance from the camp. (Courtesy of Linwood Robshaw)

Figure 126: Rustic benches and chairs manufactured at the NP-2 carpentry shop for visitor facilities in the park. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 313)

Fire Lanes and Truck Trails

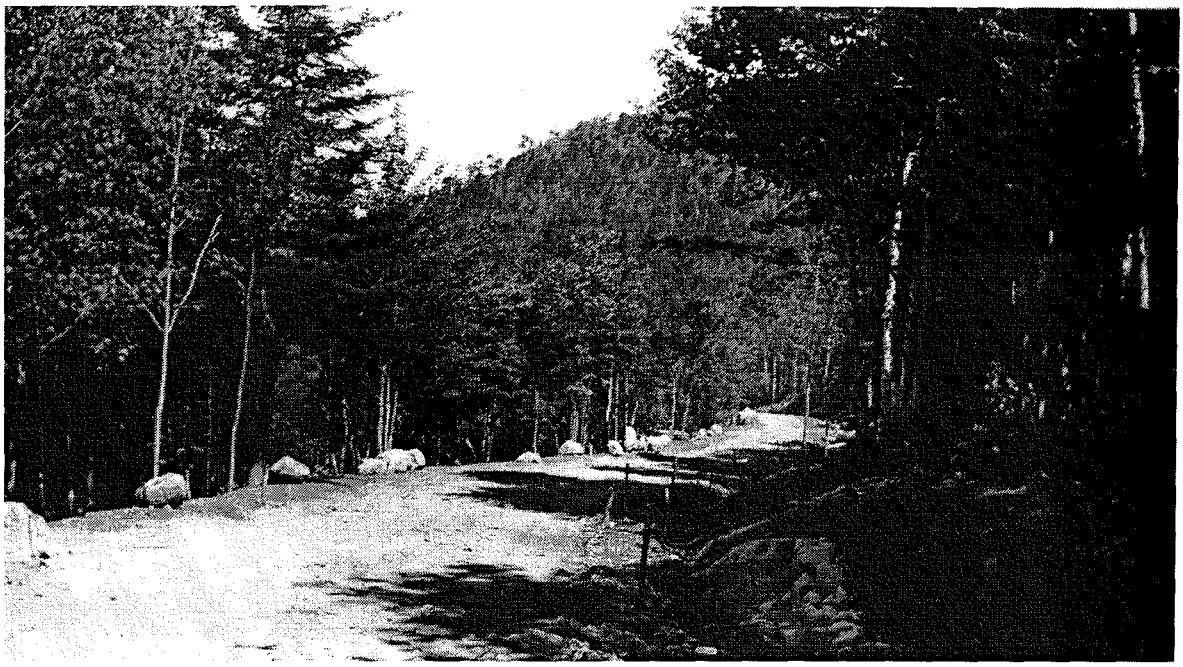


Figure 127: Most roads built by the CCC at Acadia were single-lane fire trails, intended primarily to move equipment and men to a problem area, and to provide access to nearby water supplies. Above is the Great Pond fire trail (NARA Photo, Project scan number 300)

Figure 128: Canada Hollow truck trail. Care was taken to ensure that roadways did not mar the natural beauty of the park. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 279)

Figure 129: Though not intended for use by public vehicles, the roads were nonetheless solidly built. Left, sub-grading of the Canada Hollow fire trail in1935 by crews from NP-2 (NARA Photo, Project scan number 299)

Figure 130: Marshy areas required a substantial base to stabilize the road. Here NP-1 crews prepare the foundation for a road at Sieur de Monts Spring (NARA Photo, Project scan number 375)

Figure 131: A layer of coarse stone is spread over a boggy section of the truck trail on the Schoodic Mountain Road. Part of the work performed by the SP-1 side camp on the Schoodic Peninsula in 1937. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 224)

Figure 132: The coarse layer is covered with earth and fine gravel. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 224)

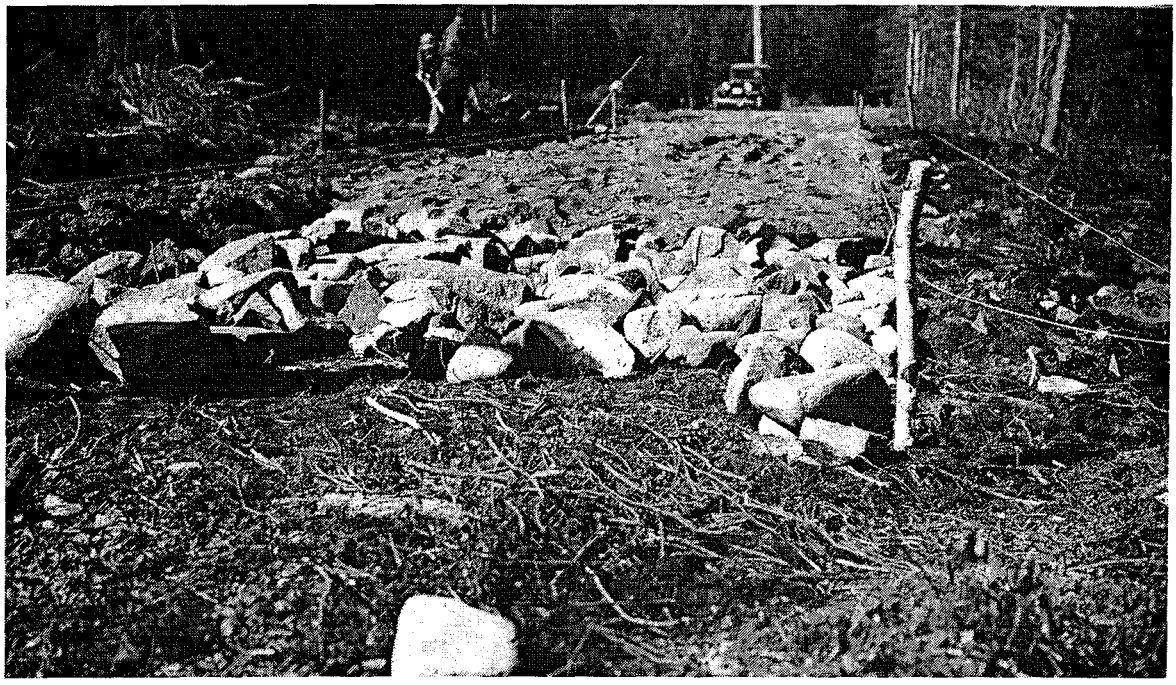
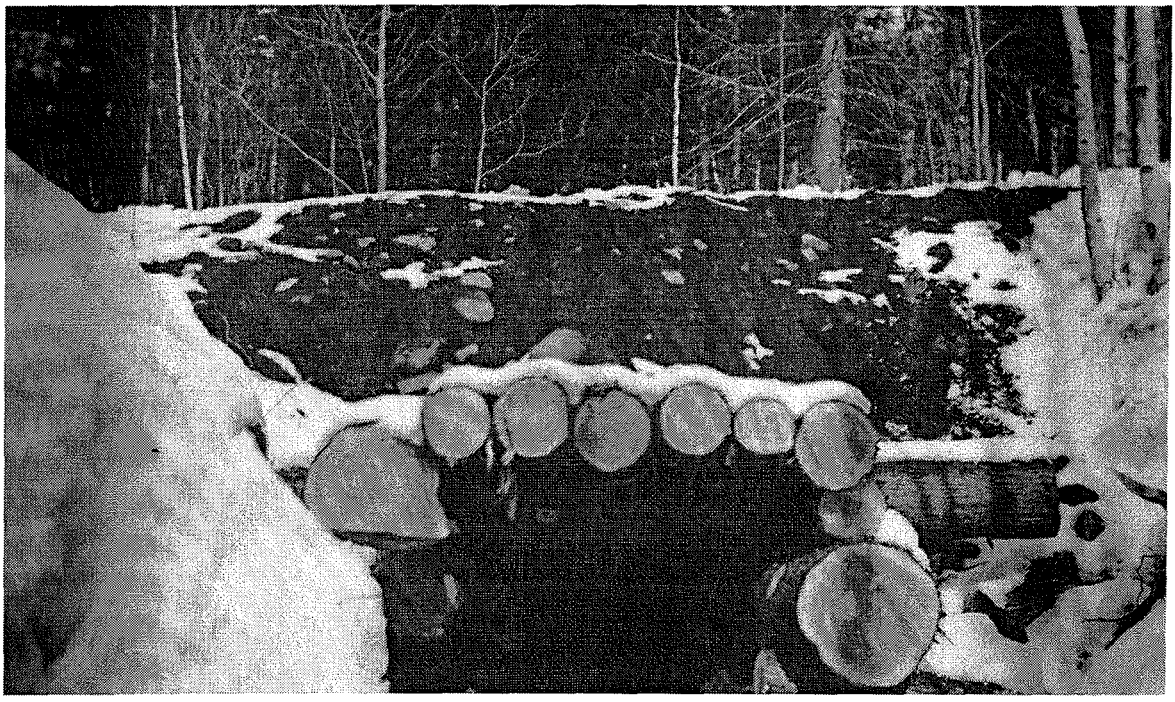


Figure 133: On the narrow roads, "turn- outs" were necessary at periodic intervals. Left, a turn-out on a Canada Hollow truck trail, under construction in 1935. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 298)

Figure 134: End view of a cedar log culvert on the Great Pond truck trail, 1935. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 35)



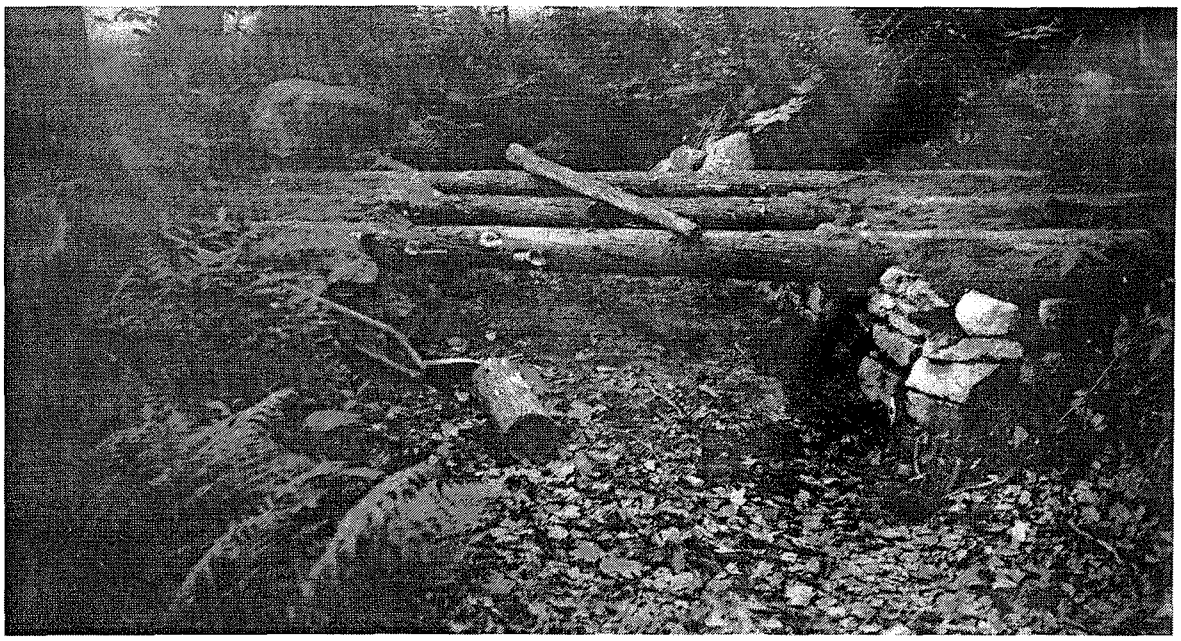
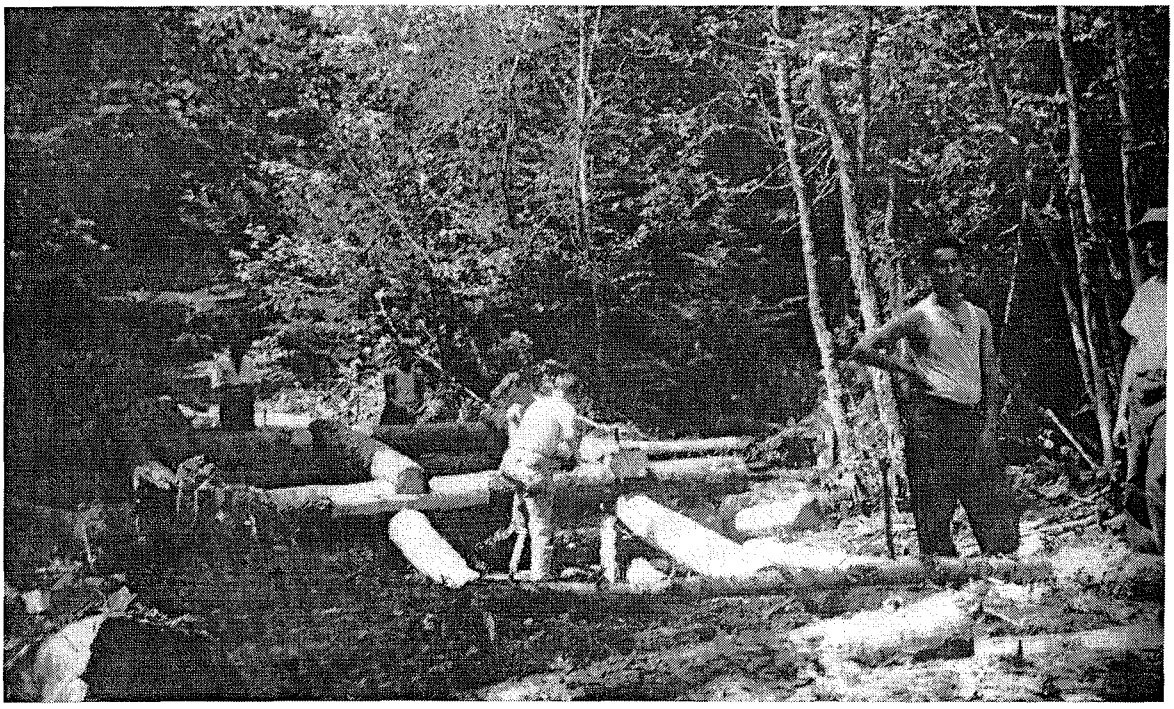


Figure 135: Preliminary stages of construction on a bridge at Sieur de Monts Spring in 1934. The heavier stringers were covered with a "corduroy" decking and surfaced with fine gravel (NARA Photo, Project scan number 181)

Figure 136: Framing the foundation for an "out-rigger" bridge on the Canada Hollow road. Notes to the original photo state that deck height for the bridge was determined after a review of flood data for the area in question. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 209)



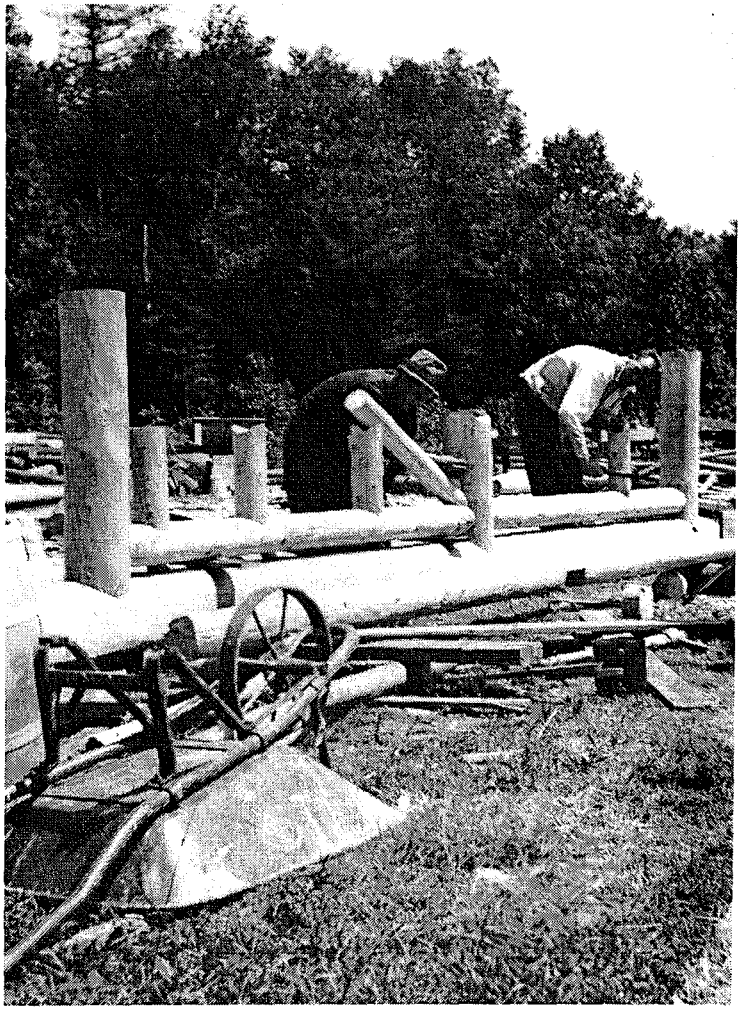


Figure 137: The frames for some larger bridges were pre-fabricated at the NP-2 carpentry shop. This bridge, built in 1935, was installed over a stream at the outlet of Great Pond. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 311)

Figure 138: With the frames in place, decking was installed on site. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 312)

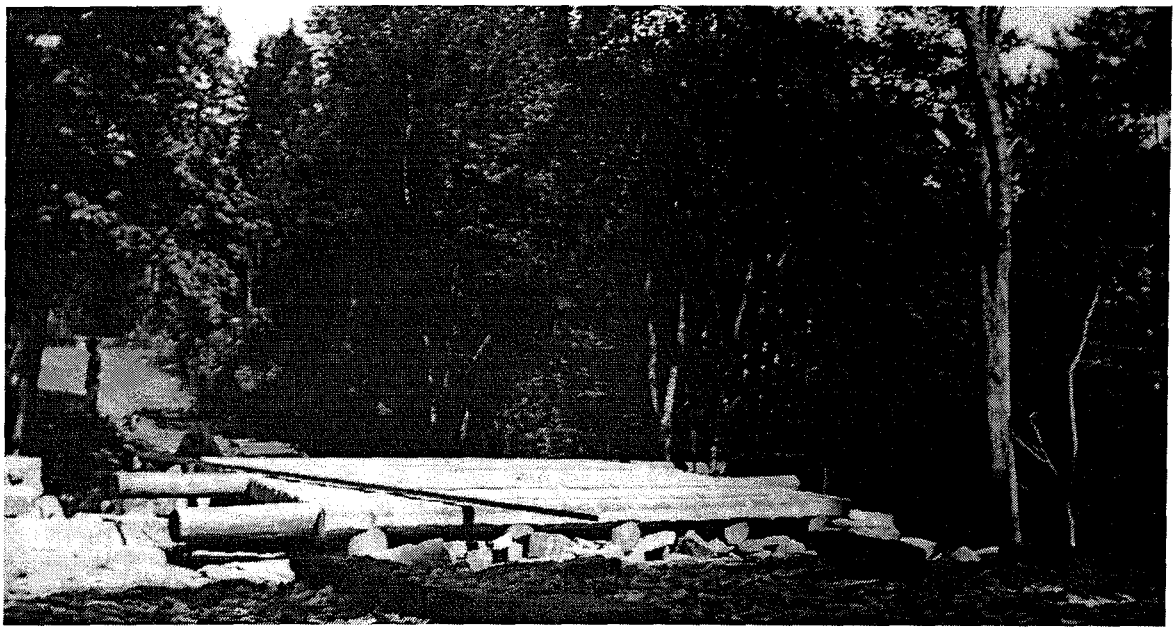


Figure 139: The completed bridge. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 312)

Figure 140: A typical "corduroy" foot bridge, built at Sieur de Monts Spring in 1934. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 181)

Roadside Improvement

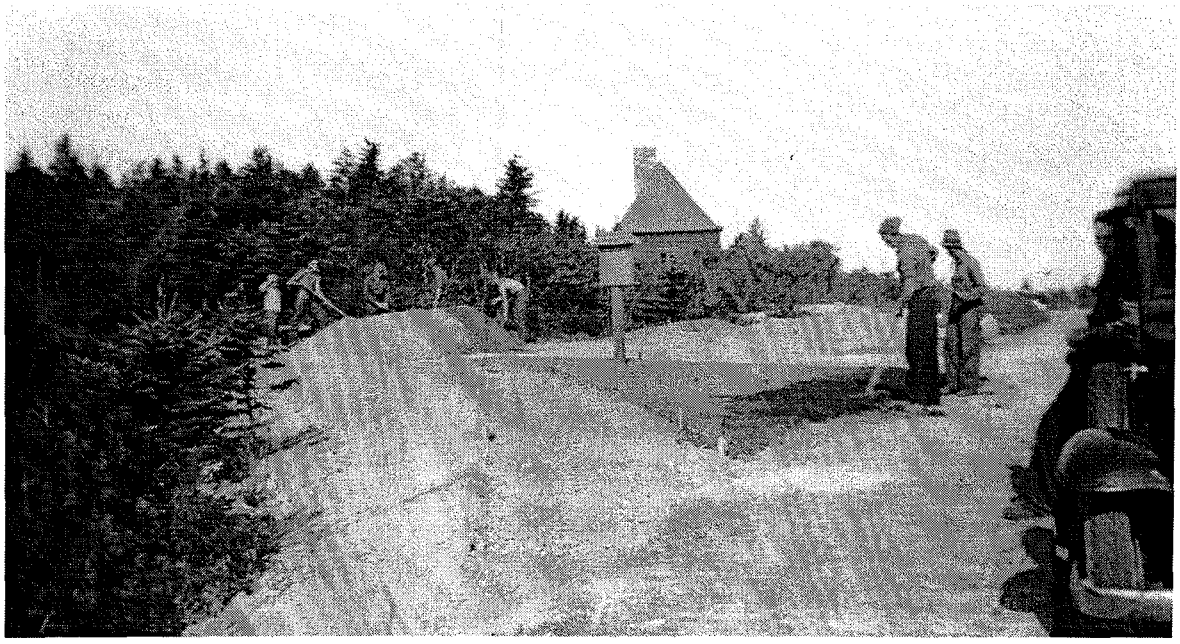
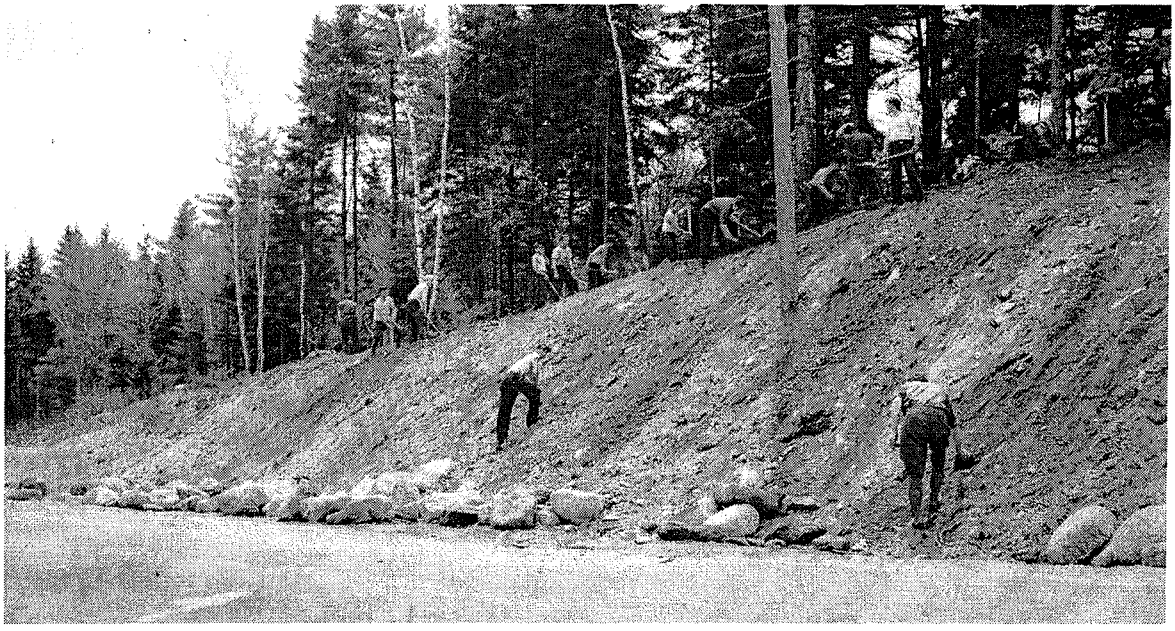
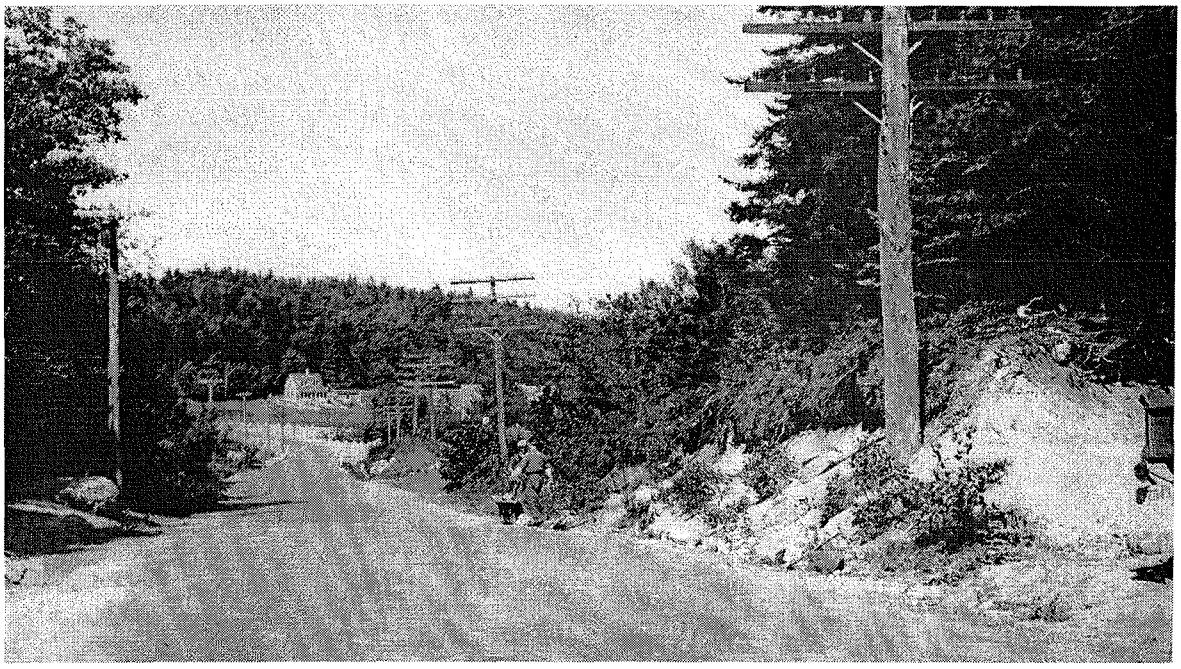


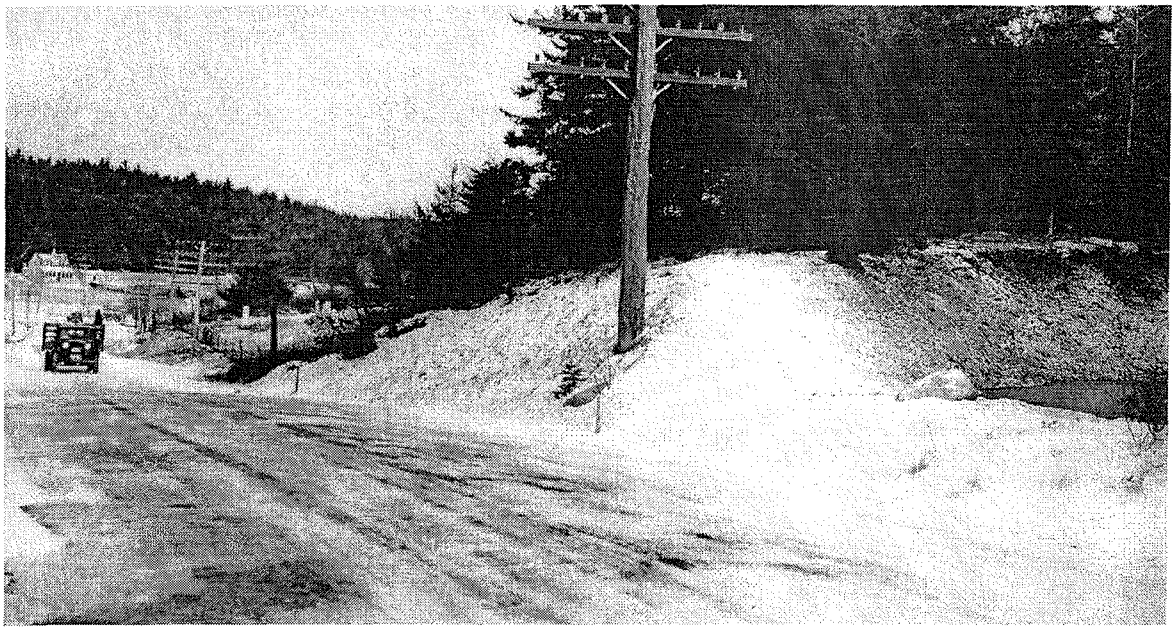
Figure 141: Early roadside improvement by NP-1 crew on the summit of Cadillac Mountain. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 347)

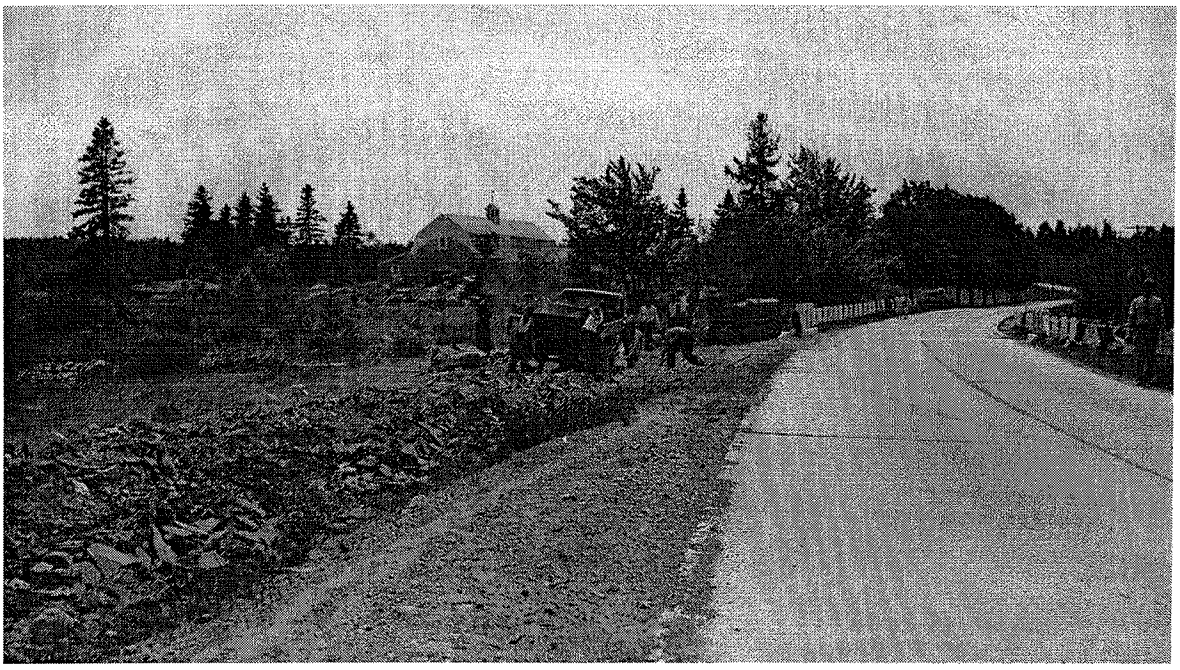
Figure 142: In addition to planting and woods work, roadside improvement involved grading and smoothing banks. Here, Ellsworth crews are grading a bank on Asticou Hill. The stones along the shoulder were carted away and used on other projects. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 95)



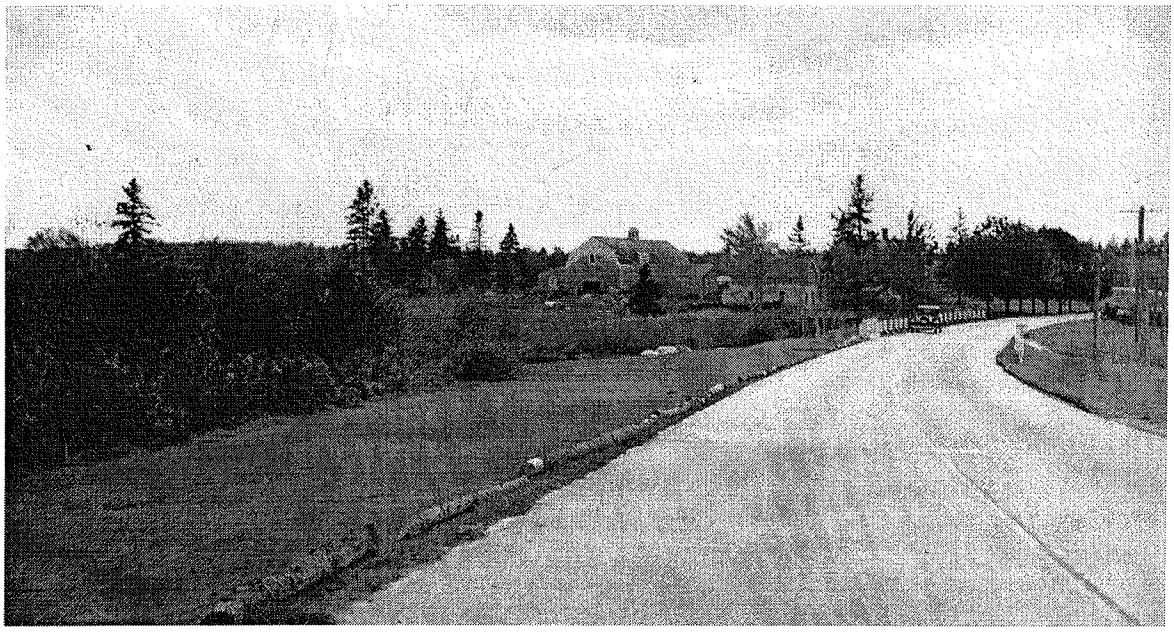


Figures 143 and 144: The effect of roadside improvement work on the Northeast Harbor Road in 1935. According to the project superintendent, the rounded banks were much less susceptible to erosion. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 132)

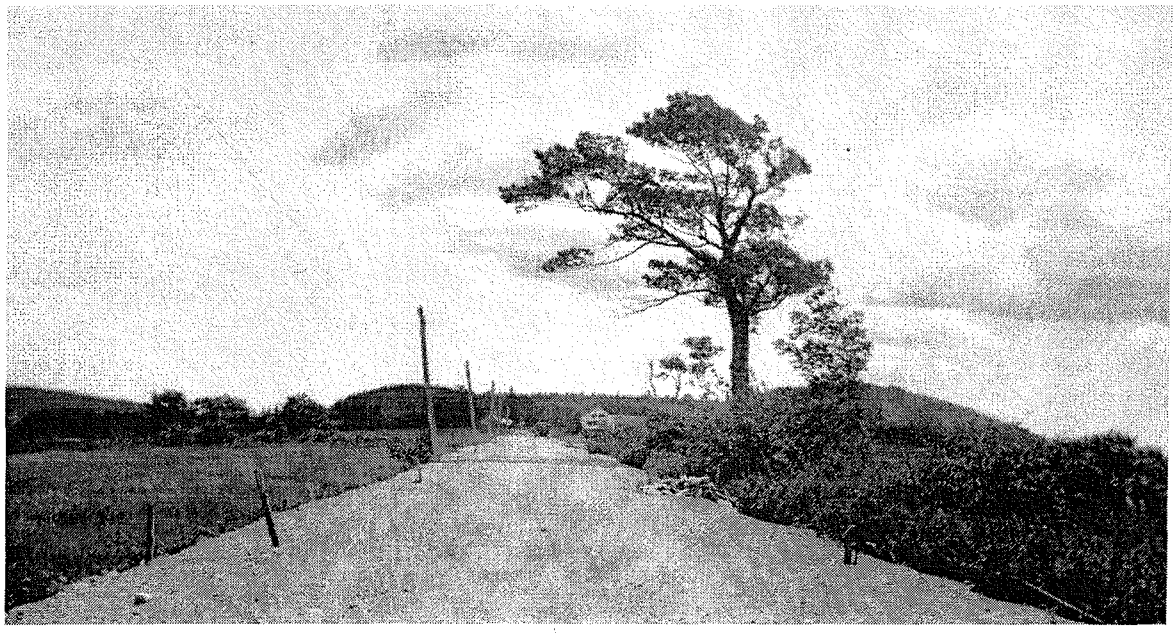


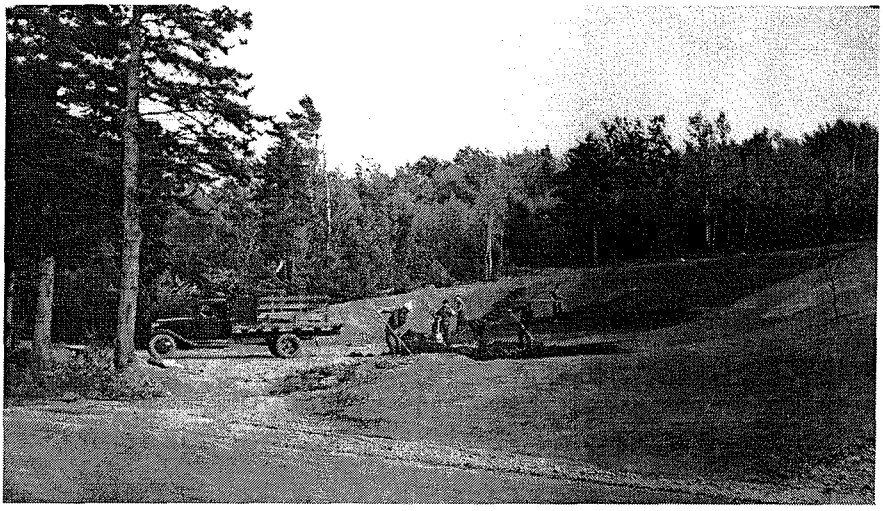


Figures 145 and 146: Roadside improvement work near the Northeast Creek in 1934. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 88)

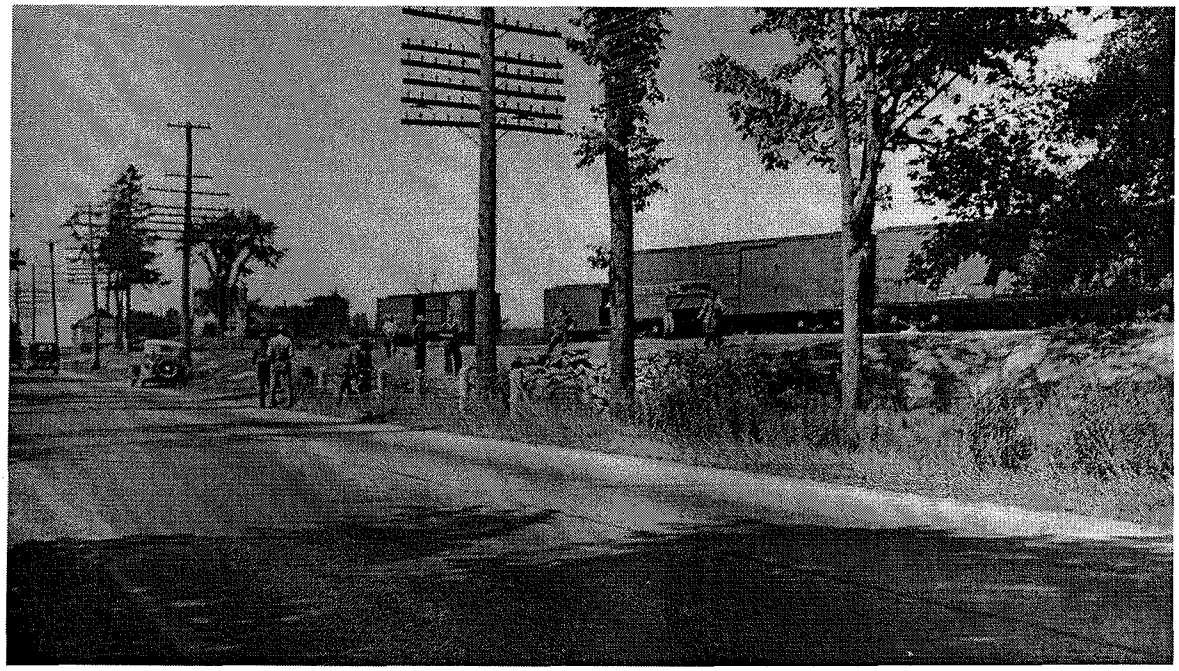


Figures 147 and 148: In the winter and spring of 1934, crews from the CWA and NP-2 filled and resurfaced the road leading to Beech Cliffs. These images give a "before and after" view of the same stretch of road. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 206)

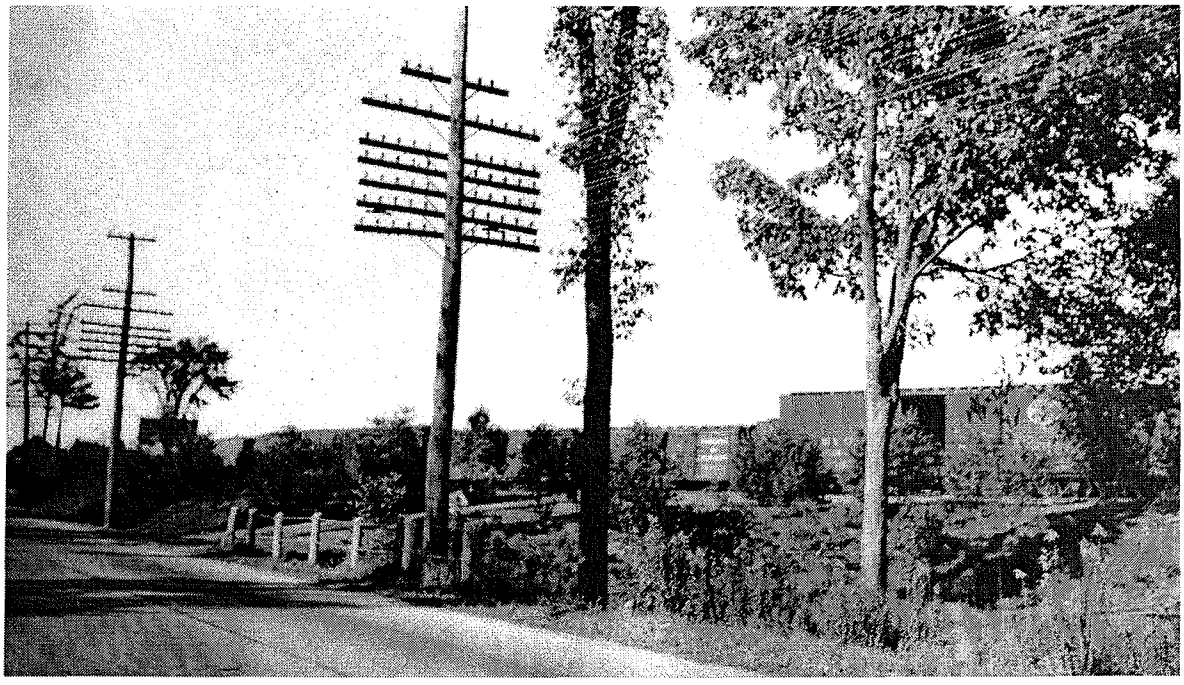




Figures 149 to 151: Landscaping a gravel pit near Salisbury Cove in 1934. (NARA Phots, Project scan numbers 86 and 87)



Figures 152 to 153: The Ellsworth Freight yards. Some "eyesores" could not be removed, and so trees and shrubs were planted to soften their impact on the landscape. (NARA Phots, Project scan number 59)



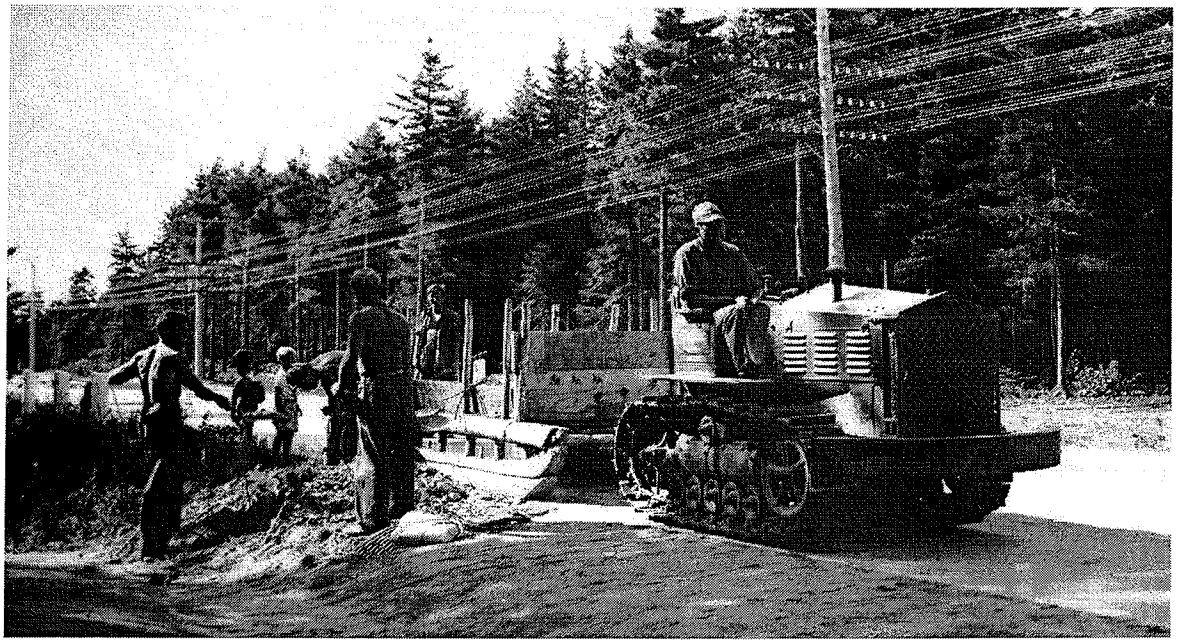


Figure 154: This small "Cletrac" tractor was the workhorse of the CCC at Acadia, one of the few pieces of "heavy" equipment available. For "accessories," crews often had to improvise. Above, a sled is used to haul debris from the project site. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 91)

Figure 155: Ellsworth crews tearing up old pavement with an ordinary plow. Note the man standing on the shaft of the plow to keep the share from riding up out of the track. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 59)

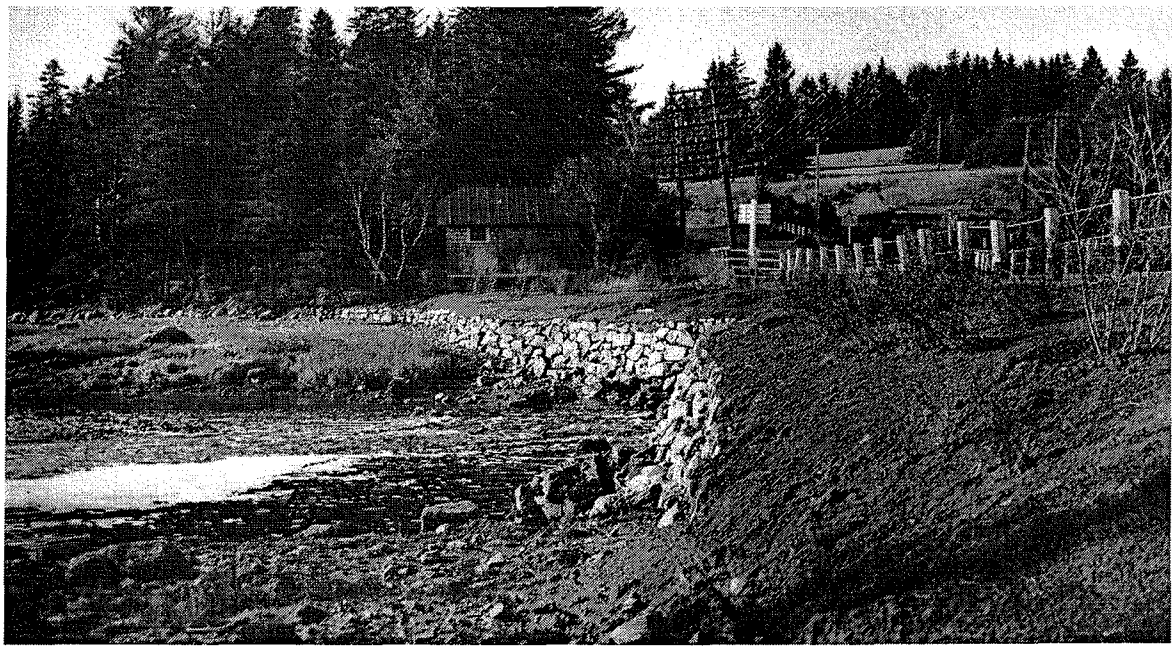
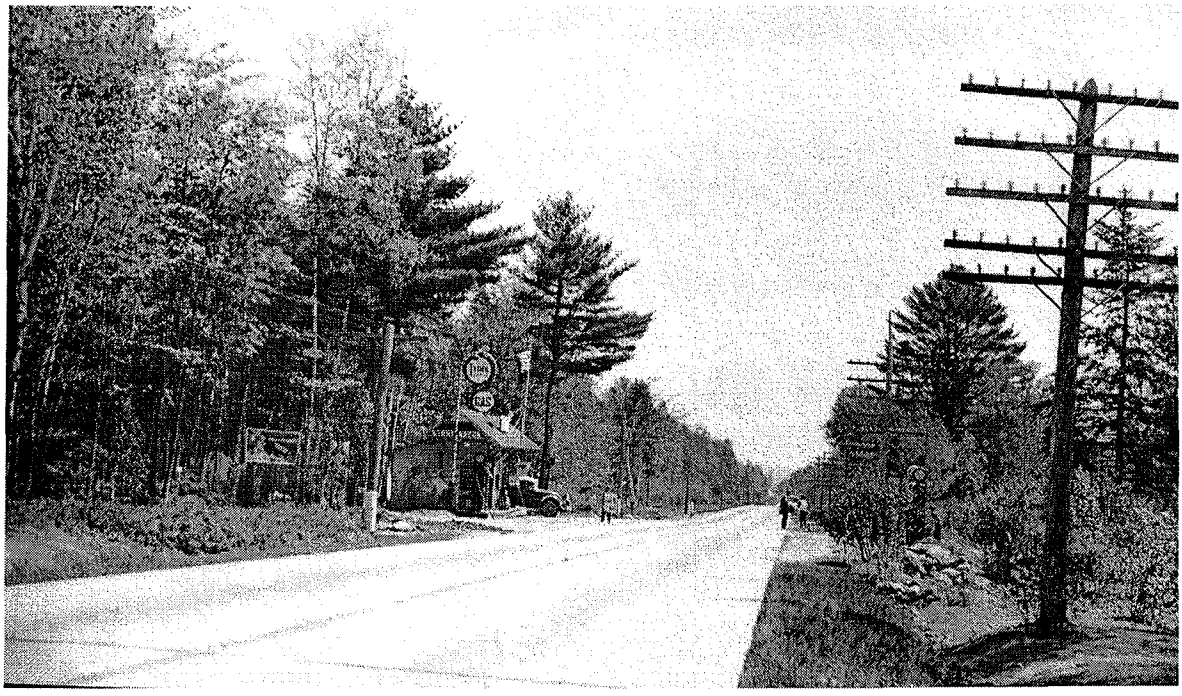
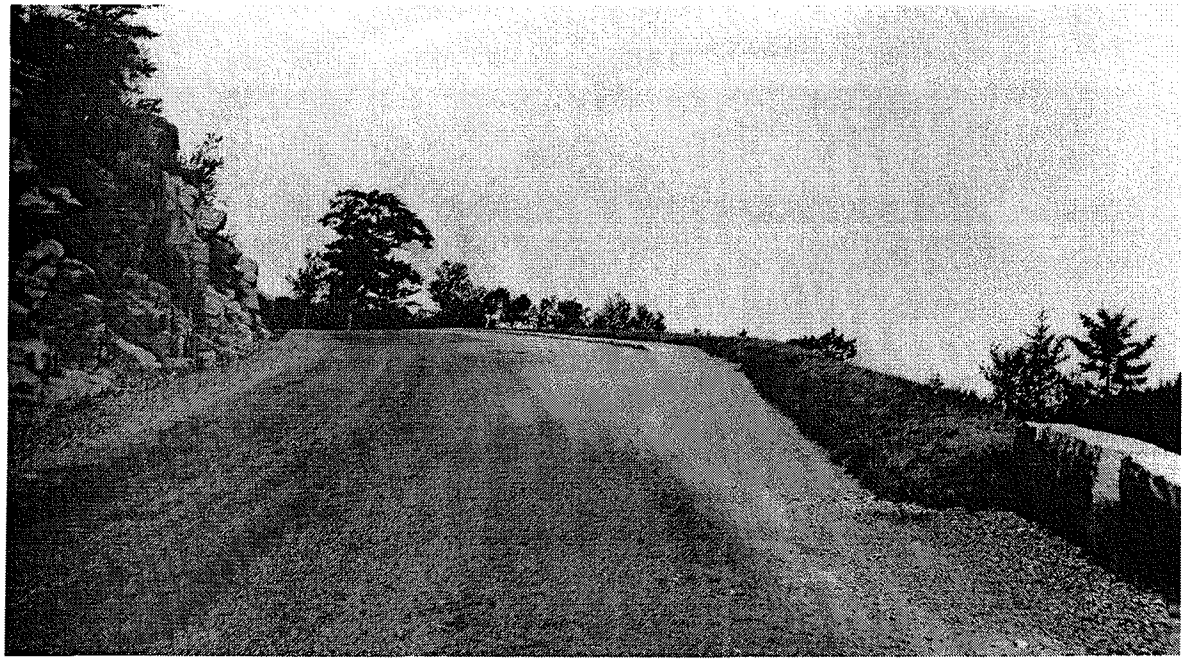


Figure 156: Rip-rapping and planting near the head of Somes Sound. Work performed by SP-1 crews in 1935. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 130)

Figure 157: Roadside beautification around a local business near Trenton. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 77)



Figures 158 and 159: A trial guard rail on the Kebo Mountain Road. Instead of the usual stone rail, the coping built here consisted of a raised mound of earth, about 18" high and covered with sod. (NARA Photo, Project scan numbers 412 and 413)



Sub-Marginal Land Purchases

Figure 160: Near Seawall. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 257)

Figure 161: Near Southwest Harbor. Depressed economic areas were specifically targeted by the Resettlement Administration program. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 259)

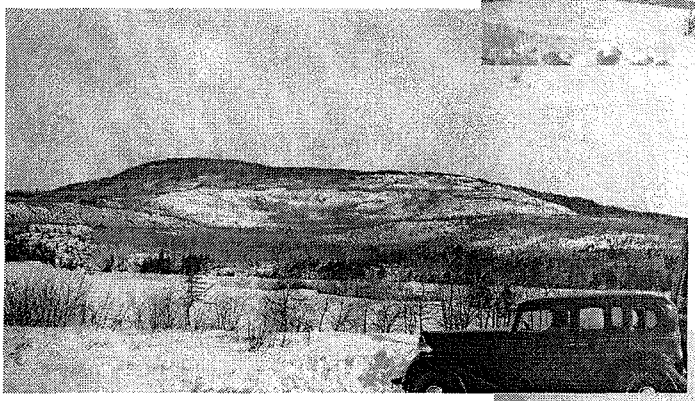


Figure 162: Looking toward Western Mountain from Seal Cove. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 263)

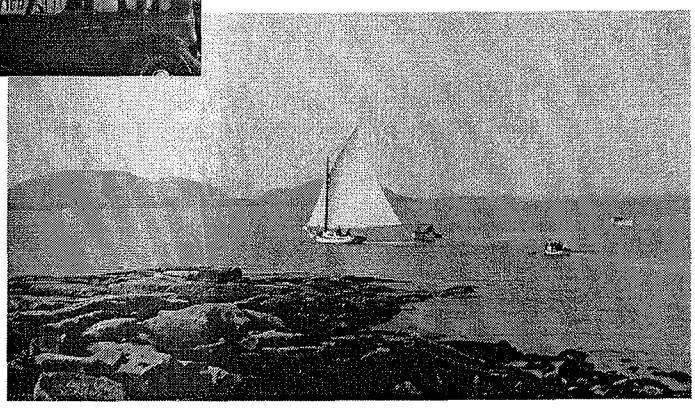


Figure 163: Bakers Island; island properties were not included in the final purchase. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 266)

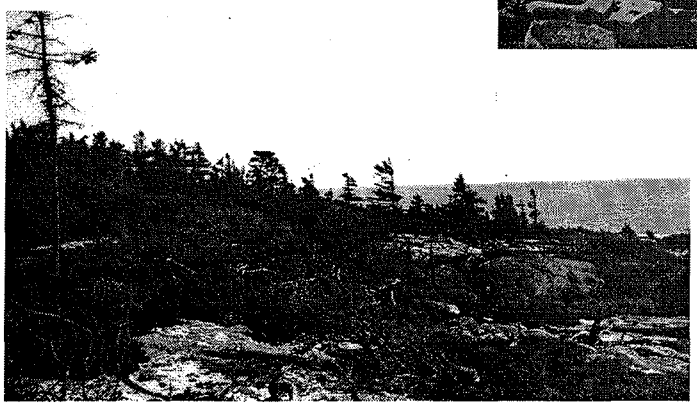


Figure 164: Schoodic Peninsula. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 271)

Figures 165 and 166: The Lake Wood (shown here) and Echo Lake swimming areas were among the earliest development projects at Acadia during the CCC era. Neither project, however, had the support of NPS officials in Washington, and both took years to accomplish as a result. (NARA Photo, Project scan numbers 107 and 109)

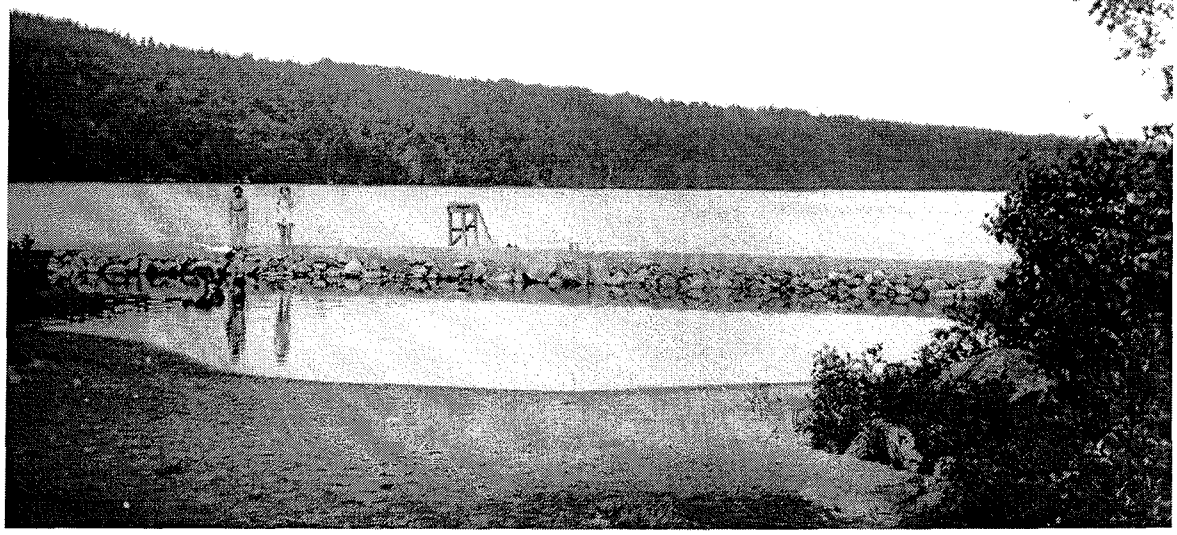


Figure 167: A wading pool built by NP-2 crews at Echo Lake. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 188)

Figure 168: The bath houses at Ike's Point on Echo Lake were not built until 1937, even though the design had been submitted for approval as early as 1934. (Courtesy of Lester Hartford)

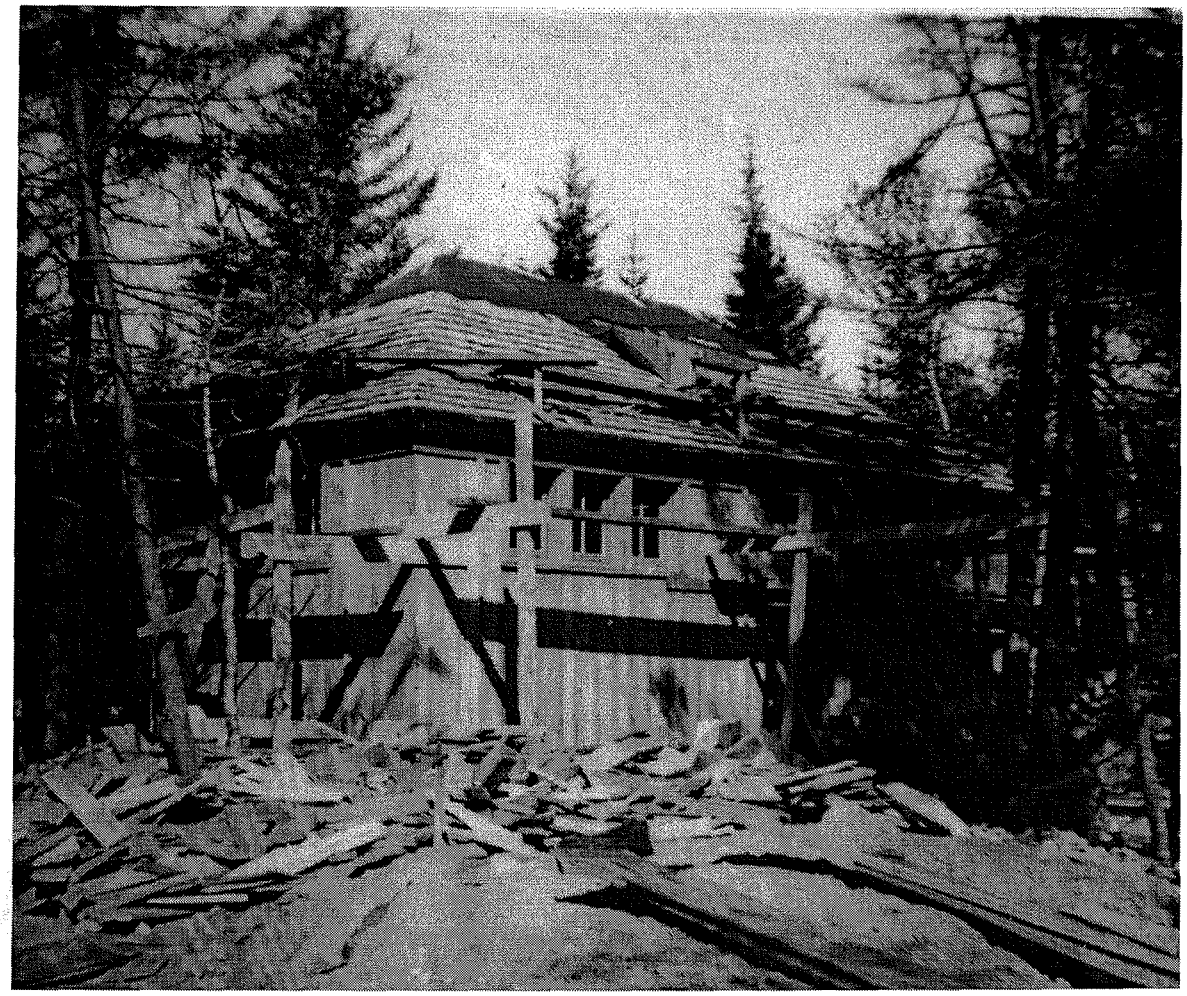
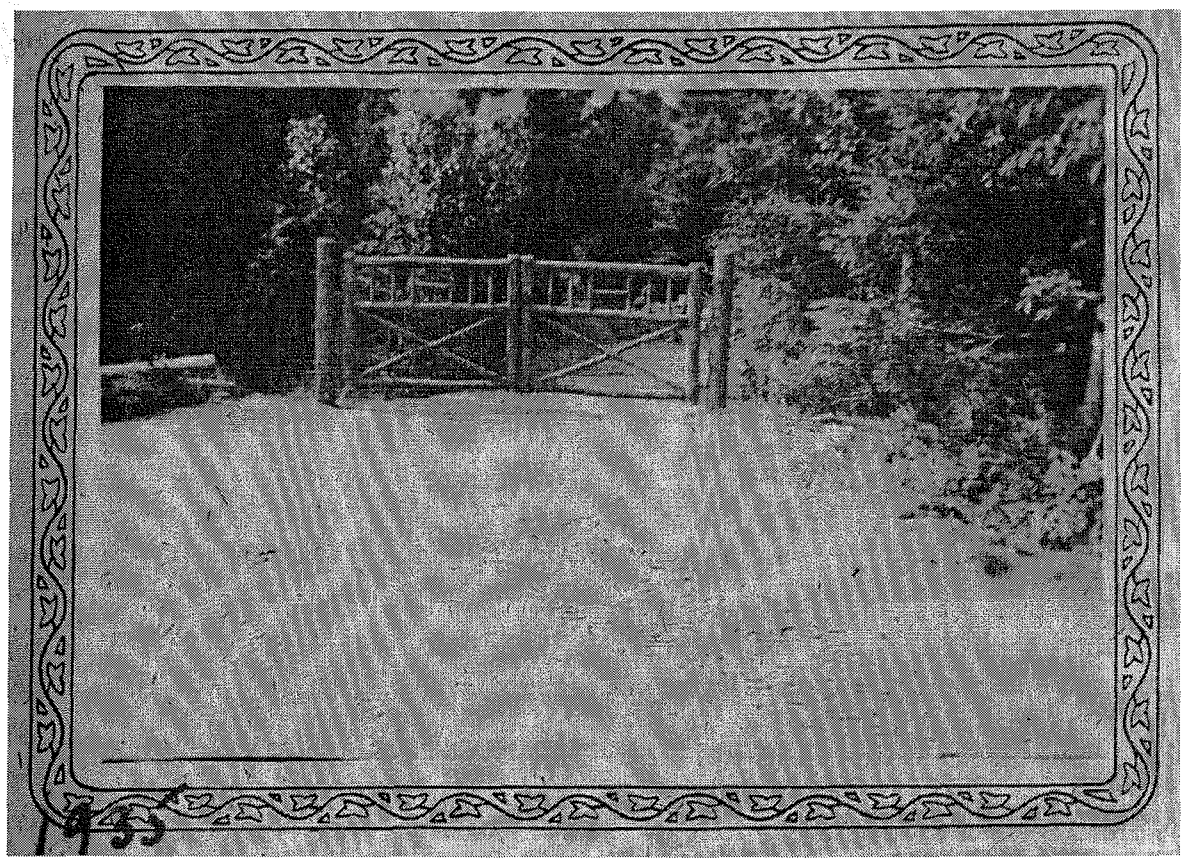


Figure 169: Comfort Station at Thunder Hole under construction in 1939. The CCC often collaborated with crews hired by other New Deal agencies on these later projects. On this building, NP-2 enrollees did much of the carpentry work while PWA workers took care of the plumbing. (Courtesy of Linwood Robshaw)

Figure 170: CCC enrollees had virtually no part in the design decisions regarding park projects. There were occasional opportunities, however, for them to develop projects of their own around the camps. NP-2 Leader Lester Hartford designed and built the canteen counter, shown above, in the Recreation Hall. (Courtesy of Lester Hartford)

Figure 171: Enrollee John Parsons built the gate shown below and two others at the McFarland Camp. (Courtesy of John Parsons)



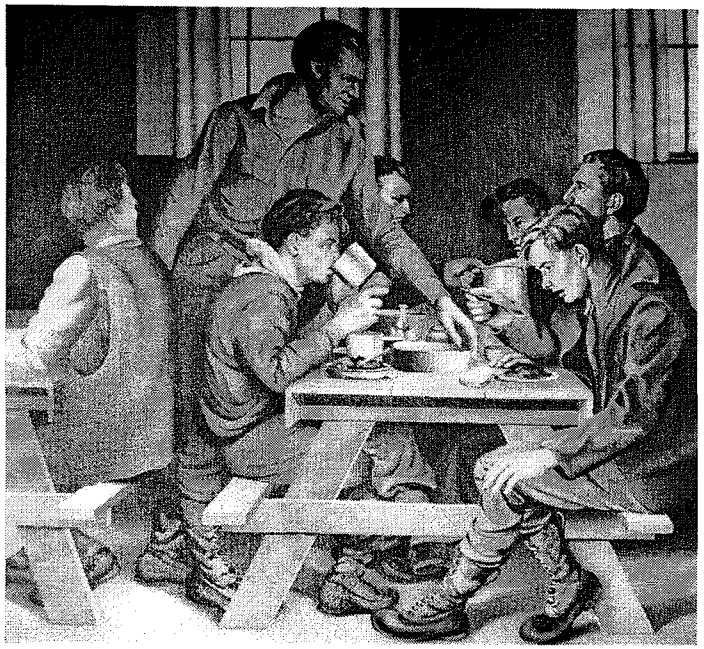
Fire Fighting

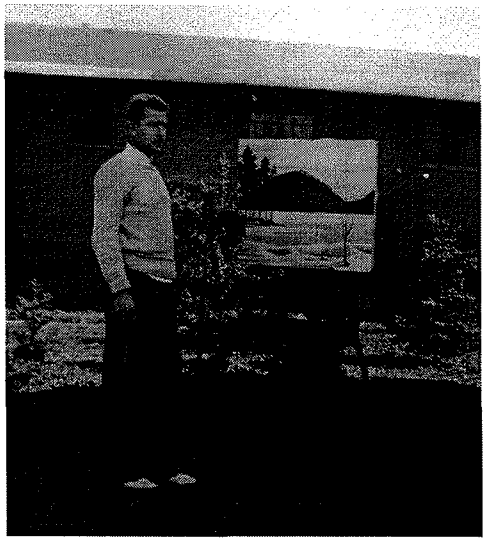
In addition to fire hazard reduction work, CCC crews helped battle fires when they broke out in and around the park.

Figure 172: Enrollee with back-pack fighting a brush fire near Aunt Betty Pond. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 120)

Figure 173: An enrollee soaks a burned area on Young's Mountain to prevent a flare up. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 292)

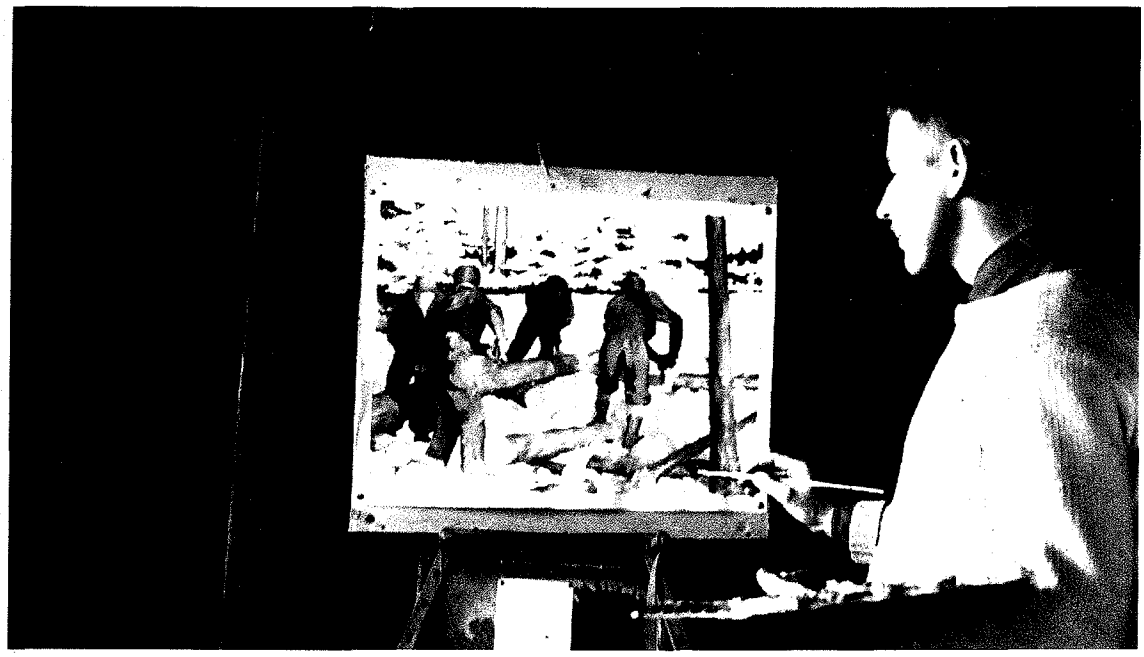
Figure 174: Small portable pumps, such as the one shown here, could supply water to crews over 2000 ft away and 200 ft above the water level. Jordan Island fire, 1935. (NARA Photo, Project scan number 292)





Camp Artist (NP-1): Edgar Hegh

Figures 175 to 177: In 1934 and 35, Hegh produced numerous works, including several oil canvases, depicting life in the CCC and the landscape of Acadia National Park. (NARA Photos, Project scan numbers 272 and 295).



Figures 178 and 179: Hegh painting "Sawing Wood in Winter" (oil on canvas, 17"x23"), circa March 1935 (NARA Photos, Project scan number 20); the work was displayed in the White House and is now part of the Smithsonian American Art Museum Collection (1965.18.91).

Conclusion

As an affiliate agency for the Civilian Conservation Corps, Acadia Nation Park was one of the "first in" and one of the "last out." The McFarland camp spanned the entire program period uninterrupted, the only camp in Maine (other than first district headquarters) to do so. In that time, it and the two other camps took nearly 450 individual projects (our research database lists 427 jobs). Some CCC histories try to summarize CCC achievement with lists of miles of trail built, trees planted, acres cleaned, structures built, Ribes pulled, man-days expended. ECW reporting procedures are so variable, however, that it's difficult to find the numbers useful. More meaningful and doable is an assessment of where and how the CCC concentrated its energies at Acadia during the nine year course of its history.

The CCC was comprised of unskilled labor, but all the average enrollee lacked was experience, for which energy, enthusiasm, and a willingness to learn more than compensated. Many enrollees were highly competent individuals, and in general the Corps demonstrated a high degree of proficiency at the tasks assigned to it. A good deal of credit for this, no doubt, lies with the supervisory staff hired by the park to oversee the work. Yet what the CCC had in its favor was a large work force *and* the time available to make sure that the work was done correctly (and as safely as possible). Those who were new to outside labor were given the time to learn, and foreman with the training and patience to teach them. But overall, the tasks assigned to the CCC were basic and required basic skills. They were designed to take advantage of the "lifting power" of the work force and the care that could be exercised.

Those enrollees fortunate enough to secure work on a special crew were a minority. The few reports that address personnel qualifications often distinguish between unskilled, intermediate or semi-skilled, and skilled labor. The tasks performed by special crews –

carpentry, surveying and transit use, tree surgery, infirmary orderlies, company clerk, and so on – would presumably have been considered "semi-skilled." All skill levels, however, appear to have performed their functions very well. The scarcity of complaints about CCC work in park reports is noteworthy.

The only exception to this appears to have been the first group of enrollees assigned to the Ellsworth camp, who were not only from out of state – which almost certainly wasn't a factor in and of itself – but were by all accounts a rough-and-tumble group of individuals. There tenure, though, was fairly brief. The only other non-Maine contingent to work on the island was the last group to occupy the Great Pond camp, who were also from Massachusetts. All other companies working at Acadia consisted of men from Maine. If we can attribute an advantage to this, it would be that many if not most were already familiar with working outdoors, as supervisors at the time noted. Not only would such men be able to "jump right in," but those unfamiliar with the work could advance through peer-to-peer learning, rather than constantly drawing the foremen's attention away from the large task at hand.

In very broad terms, the projects assigned to the CCC fall under five categories: forestry, watershed development, beautification, trail construction, and facility development. There is, interestingly, a marked shift in emphasis in the kinds of projects that absorbed most of the CCC's time between the first half of the program and the second. Because beautification and its associated tasks – vista cutting, roadside cleaning, planting, and transplanting – was such a large part of the Ellsworth camp's work, and because Ellsworth was the first camp to close, it is not surprising that beautification projects are much less evident in the later years of the program. Watershed projects, too, are mainly associated with

the early years. A dam and reservoir near Mill Field and the reconstruction of a dam at the Great Pond outlet, both built in 1939, are among the few exceptions in later years.

Forestry, of course, is a staple throughout. Fire hazard reduction occupied thousands of man-days in almost every enrollment period. Woods work probably allowed supervisors to keep large numbers of men employed without them getting in each other's way. But keeping trailsides clear was an annual task. Staying on top of this work was difficult even while the CCC was active; it became an impossible task after the CCC left. (After 75 years it's hard to imagine how many vistas assiduously cleared by CCC crews actually remain vistas.)

Even some of the construction projects undertaken by the CCC deteriorated in the decades that followed. Either they have been allowed to return to nature or have been re-developed beyond recognition. Some remarkable examples of CCC work remain, however: the Perpendicular Trail, the Beech Cliffs Ladder Trail, much of the Ocean Trail, and parts of the Dorr Mt. Ladder Trail.[1] Among the enduring features of New Deal work at Acadia are the visitor sites that were developed during that time: Seawall and Black Woods campgrounds, Sieur de Monts Spring, Kebo Mountain lookoff, Sand Beach, and numerous parking areas. (The latter are significant in showing the transition of the area from resort to tourist destination.) It's crucial to stress that the CCC was only one of several federal agencies that contributed to this development. The Bureau of Public Roads and the Resettlement Administration deserve special mention for such projects as Ocean Drive, the

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[1] The authors of this report are unable to assess are the alterations that have been made over the past seventy years. The Acadia Historic Trails reports, however, examine these developments in detail.

Otter Creek Causeway, Kebo Mountain Road, Pretty Marsh picnic area, Oak Hill picnic area, and many others.

Some New Deal sites have either disappeared altogether – the Bear Brook amphitheater, and the Cold Brook fish rearing pools – or been greatly scaled down as visitor sites. Remnants of the Lake Wood swimming area are still visible – the bath house foundations and a sliver of the beach – but it no longer attracts bathers. Cross-country skiing has developed as a popular winter activity in the park, but no mountain trails are maintained for downhill skiing. In some cases, the deterioration may be intentional or welcomed, either because the function of the site was superceded by other facilities, as with the amphitheater, or because the development was later considered inappropriate from the park, as perhaps was the case with the ski trails and the fish rearing pools, or because visitor use didn't justify the upkeep, which might have been the case for Lake Wood.

By one route or another, each of these issues – especially the second – leads back to the larger issue of development. The Acadia trail report notes at least two instances where later observers have been critical of CCC projects, notably forest stand improvement / vista cutting, and the fish rearing pools.[2] As the current review of park documents has shown, these were concerns for park planners at the time. In fact, as discussions were underway about whether or not to rebuild the Somesville dam, the Washington office of the National Park Service sent wildlife specialist, Victor Cahalane, to investigate the situation and report back. The document he wrote offers a remarkably balanced view of conditions on MDI in the 1930s. He takes particular care to note the centuries of human occupation of the area by

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[2] Coffin, et al., 1999, 1: 195 and 199.

both Native and European populations, as well as the fact that large areas of the park had, within living memory, been "under the plow." Those lands provided families with a mean living through a combination of forestry, agriculture, and, along the shoreline, fishing, back in the days when subsistence was a viable path to survival. It was, in fact, that very mode of existence that the Resettlement Administration helped to eradication. Cahalane's conclusions regarding waterway development at Acadia are insightful for the "middle road" approach they suggest for the park, and acknowledging the very particular impact that humans were already having in the area:

> Due to the highly modified nature of the Island, fish have assumed a place of paramount importance in the biology of Acadia National Park, and due to factors such as heavy tourist travel and demand for sport fishing, certain measures, not to be considered in a truly primitive wilderness, should be taken to improve the fishing.[3]

This recommendation, which in turn must have helped soften the resistence of some Washington supervisors toward other park developments, underscores the fact that parks by definition are landscapes shaped by human activity and human intention. This is particularly the case with a area like Acadia, where human history is deep but not so intensive that its mark is indelible. It must have made for problematic development decisions, but the confluence of federal funds and work programs, coupled with opportunities to acquire significant parcels of new land and still further funds to develop those lands, must have held sway.

The work force provided by the CCC made it logistically possible for the designers at Acadia to put a park stamp on the newly acquired land in a very short period of time. As

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[3] Memorandum, Victor Cahalane to Mr. Thompson, June 20, 1935, RG 79, Box 7a.

Robert Patterson, Junior Landscape Architect at Acadia, reported in the fall of 1935, "Much of this program would be years being realized on any other park work program other than the CCC,"[4] and although he was referring specifically to work on the Schoodic Peninsula, his comments no doubt applied to CCC work throughout the park. CCC labor helped create essential infrastructure, such as roads, fire breaks, and visitor facilities, and it also helped to tailor the look of the park according to an overarching vision of the architects. It laid important foundations for a public facility that millions continue to enjoy.

[4] ECW Progress Report, Nov. 26, 1935, RG 79, Box 16.

Appendix I: Mount Desert Island, Alternate Placenames

A number of places on MDI, mostly Park sites, were renamed prior to the Depression, but the old names remained in use. Occasionally, they turn up on maps used by Acadia planners and in reports and correspondence. (USGS maps from the period generally use the names that would be familiar today.) The table lists old and current names for some of the more prominent sites:

	Old Name	Current Name
East Side	Asticou Hill	Elliot Mt.
	Browns Mt.	Norumbega Mt.
	Dry Mt.	Dorr Mt.
	Flying Squadron Mt.	Dorr Mt.
	Green Mt.	Cadillac Mt.
	Jordan Mt.	Penobscot Mt.
	Little Browns Mt.	Parkman Mt.
	Newport Mt.	Champlain Mt
	Pickett Mt.	Huguenot Head
	Stag Cove	Newport Cove
	Turtle Lake	Bubble Pond
West Side	Denning Pond	Echo Lake
	Dog Mt.	St. Sauveur Mt.
	East Peak	Mansel Mt.
	Great Heath	Big Heath
	Great Pond	Long Pond
	McKinley	Bass Harbor (village)
	Oak Hill	Bald Mountain
	Robinson Mt.	Acadia Mt.
	West Peak	Bernard Mt.
	Western Mt. Notch	Great Notch

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CCC/ERA Job Category Numbers and Descriptions
Summary of Jobs Completed at Acadia
May 1933 – July 1942[1]

Number	Classification	Units of Work-CCC/ERA	Description
101	Bridges, foot and horse	27/0	Peeled and squared, log construction
104	Bridges, vehicular	12/1	Log construction
106	Bath houses	5/0	Half-log construction, 3 Echo Lake; 2 Lakewood
110	Pit latrines	0/5	1 Oak Hill; 2 Pretty Marsh; 2 Pine Hill
111	Equipment and supply storage	1/1	Camp NP-1 – 15,500 cu. Ft. wooden structure
112	Garage	0/1	Wood structure, gravel floor, 180 ft long x 24 ft, plain construction
112	Repair shop	0/1	40 ft x 22 ft stone foundation, wood structure, cement floor
112	Blacksmith shop	0/1	3,840 cu. ft
113	Latrines and toilets	15/0	Latrines, half-log construction; toilets, board and batten construction
118	Adirondack shelters	0/2	Log construction, shake shingles, 3 closed sides
119	Outlook shelters	0/4	15 ft x 22 ft natural product hewn timbers, shake shingles
120	Buildings, other	13/0	Dynamite house, NP-2; checker building at Seawall; spring house; checker building at Black Woods; ranger patrol shelter; Army patrol shelter; razing 5 barracks buildings winterizing Army quarters, Cadillac Mountain; dynamite house, NP-1
121	Boundary cutting	0/28 (miles)	3 ft to 6 ft wide
131	Bunk fencing	0/621 (rods)	New England style
132	Guard rails	174/0 (rods)	Stone and earth mound
134	Power lines	0.8/0 (miles)	Overhead and underground cable
139	Sewage and waste disposal systems	8/1	7 with septic tanks; 2 direct disposal to ocean
140	Telephone lines	8.5/0	Maintenance cable and overhead, and permanent line Sargent Mountain
143	Water supply system	17,450/0	Sieur de Monts Spring, Ocean Drive, Seawall and Blackwoods campgrounds
145	Water storage facilities	2/0	50,000 gals – Blackwoods campground, 15,000 gals – Seawall campground
146	Wells and pump houses	3/0	282 ft deep, 12 gal min – Blackwoods campground
148	Fireplaces	0/112	Completed
153	Stone boundary markers	0/1250	All placed
153	Signs and markers	1084/0	Carriage roads, motor roads, foot trails and truck trails
155	Picnic tables	93/165	Campgrounds and picnic areas
156	Fire tool boxes	12/0	NP-1

[1] From National Archives, Waltham, Mass., Acadia National Park record group 79, box 14.

157	Gates	22/2	Minor roads, carriage and motor roads
161	Small reservoirs	5/0	Mill Field and Somesville
202	Entrance roads	0/4 (miles)	22 ft width; 1000 ft granite guard rail
202	Fire and truck trails	3.9/2.58 (miles)	15 ft width
202	Truck trails	14.03/5.79 (miles)	15 ft width
202	Minor roads	1.31/2.2 (miles)	18 ft width
202J	Resurfacing roads	0/2.48 (miles)	-
206	Foot trails	15.1/3 (miles)	General
406	Culvert installation	555/500 (feet)	Seal Cove Road
503	Nurseries	3576/0 (man days)	Bear Brook Valley, Cromwell Harbor
601	Fighting forest fires	209.21/0 (acres)	General
602	Fire breaks	3.5/0 (miles)	Schoodic Peninsula
603	Roadside cleaning	2.5/6 (miles)	General
605	Fire hazard reduction	6094/2920 (acres)	General
606	Fire pre-suppression training	5580/0 (man days)	-
608	Tree and plant disease control	7484/0 (acres)	General
609	Tree insect pest control	8457/2020	General
701	Beach improvement	0.55/2 (acres)	Pretty Marsh, Lakewood, and Echo Lake
702	Fine grading	0/15,912 (sq. yards)	Various points
705	Landscaping	0/46.5 (acres)	Various points
706	Moving and planting trees and shrubs	5240/0 (acres?)	General
710	Camp court, Blackwoods	0/1	9000 sq. yd.
710	Parking areas	19,650/3 (sq. yards)	Various points
711	Public campground development	92/0 (acres)	Bear Brook, Black Woods; 10,000 sq. yd., Seawall
713	Razing buildings	11/10	Various points
713	Pit obliteration	0/3	Various points
714	Seed collections	2.0/0 (bushels)	Red spruce
715	Seeding and sod	46.24/0 (acres)	Various points
717	Vista cutting	449.7/0 (acres)	Various points
901	Fish pools	8/0	Long Pond and Orland fish hatcheries
905	Stream development	1.9/0 (miles)	Dennings, Duck and Somes Brooks
906	Wildlife census	4141/0 (man days)	Eastern half, Mount Desert Island
1001	Educational	1730/0 (man days)	Assisting park naturalist
1005	Experimental plots	4/0 (plots)	2 currant, 2 sawfly
1010	Marking boundaries	4.1/0 (miles)	Eastern half, Mount Desert Island
1012	Preparation and transportation of materials	8876/7032 (man days)	Stones, curbing, peat and fuel for campground
1023	Surveys	0/28 (miles)	Boundary
1023	Surveys	3852/0 (man days)	General
1026	Equipment manufacture	225/0 (pieces)	For educational program

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